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Letnik / Volume

Številka / Number

Revija za teorijo scenskih umetnosti
Journal of Performing Arts Theory

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GLEDALIŠKI
INSTITUT

Univerza v Ljubljani
Akademija za gledališče, radio, film in televizijo



Ljubljana, 2019

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Revija za teorijo scenskih umetnosti / Journal of Performing Arts Theory

Letnik / Volume 7, Številka / Number 1

ISSN 1855-4539 (tiskana izdaja)

1855-850X (elektronska izdaja)

Glavna in odgovorna urednica / Editor-in-Chief: Maja Šorli

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Soizdajatelja: Slovenski gledališki inštitut (zanj Mojca Jan Zoran, direktorica)

in Univerza v Ljubljani, Akademija za gledališče, radio, film in televizijo (zanjo Tomaž Gubenšek, dekan)

Published by: Slovenian Theatre Institute (represented by Mojca Jan Zoran, Director)

and University of Ljubljana, Academy of Theatre, Radio, Film and Television (represented by Tomaž Gubenšek, Dean)

Prevod v slovenščino / Translation to Slovenian: Katja Kosi

Prevod v angleščino / Translation to English: Katja Kosi, Franc Smrke

Lektoriranje slovenskega besedila / Slovenian Language Editing: Andraž Polončič Ruparčič

Lektoriranje angleškega besedila / English Language Editing: Jana Renée Wilcoxon

Bibliotekarka / Librarian: Bojana Bajec (UL AGRFT)

Korektura / Proofreading: Maja Šorli, Jana Renée Wilcoxon

Oblikovanje / Graphic Design: Simona Jakovac

Priprava za tisk / Typesetting: Nina Šturm

Tisk / Print: CICERO, Begunje, d.o.o.

Število natisnjenih izvodov / Copies: 250

Revija izhaja dvakrat letno. Cena posamezne številke: 10 €. Cena dvojne številke: 18 €. Letna naročnina: 16 € za posameznike, 13 € za študente, 18 € za institucije. Poštšina ni vključena.

The journal is published twice annually. Price of a single issue: 10 €. Price of a double issue: 18 €. Annual subscription: 16 € for individuals, 13 € for students, 18 € for institutions. Postage and handling not included.

Prispevke, naročila in recenzentske izvode knjig pošiljajte na naslov uredništva / Send manuscripts, orders and books for review to the Editorial Office address:

Amfiteater, SLOGI, Mestni trg 17, Ljubljana, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

E-pošta / E-mail: amfiteater@slogi.si

Ljubljana, junij 2019 / Ljubljana, June 2019

Revija za teorijo scenskih umetnosti Amfiteater je leta 2008 ustanovila Akademija za gledališče, radio, film in televizijo Univerze v Ljubljani. / Amfiteater - Journal of Performing Arts Theory was founded in 2008 by the University of Ljubljana, Academy of Theatre, Radio, Film and Television.

Revija je vključena v / The journal is included in: MLA International Bibliography (Directory of Periodicals).

Izdajo publikacije sta finančno podprla Agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije. / The publishing of Amfiteater is supported by the Slovenian Research Agency and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia.

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Maja Šorli, glavna in odgovorna urednica

Prva letošnja številka črpa iz mednarodnega simpozija *Umetnost kamišibaja: Beseda podobe in podoba besede*, ki je potekal v SLOGI maja leta 2018. Na izjemno bogatem tridnevnem dogajanju smo bili priča slovenskemu in svetovnemu razcvetu te gledališke forme, ki se odvija med občinstvom in izvajalkami_c ob butaju – malem lesenem odru, v katerega je vložen niz slik, s katerimi pripovedujemo zgodbo. Na simpoziju je sodelovalo 26 govork in govorcev, z obiskom pa je simpozij počastila tudi enajstčlanska japonska delegacija Mednarodne zveze kamišibaja na Japonskem – IKAJA. Prispevki, nastali ob tej priložnosti, prihajajo iz dvanajstih držav in so dostopni tako v video zapisu kot v elektronski publikaciji na spletnih straneh SLOGI. V pričujoči številki tematski sklop začnemo z esejem Igorja Cvetka, ki široko kontekstualizira slovenski kamišibaj. Temu sledi razprava Tare McGowan, ki umesti kamišibaj v svetovno avdiovizualno zgodovino, segajočo od laterne magike do interneta, s čimer vedno znova sproža raznovrstne adaptacije svoje oblike v povezavi z uveljavljenimi medijskimi formati in razvijajočimi se tehnologijami. Julia Gerster analizira načine uporabe kamišibaja po jedrski nesreči 3. marca 2011 na Japonskem in pokaže, kako se je kamišibaj uporabljal kot orodje za posredovanje izkušenj in kot mehanizem, ki je preživelim omogočil predelavo travmatičnih dogodkov ter odkrito žalovanje. Za to obliko kamišibaja predlaga nov termin, in sicer kamišibaj spominjanja. Še eno praktično rabo kamišibaja, tj. za ohranitev ogroženega dialekta, opiše Yosuke Miki. Posvetitev kamišibaju pa zaključimo s knjižno recenzijo prvega priročnika za ustvarjanje kamišibaja Jelene Sitar. *Umetnost kamišibaja: Priročnik za ustvarjanje* je ocenila Sandra Jenko in izpostavila, da v njem avtorica »s teoretskega in praktičnega vidika razjasni celotno ustvarjalno, avtorsko genezo kamišibaja« ter »postavlja umetnost na prvo mesto, saj želi v priročniku poudariti umetniško plat ustvarjanja kamišibaja«. Da bo vaše kamišibajsko znanje popolno, pa vas vabim k branju prispevka Emice Antončič v rubriki Jezikovni kot revije Dialogi (leto 2019, št. 5/6, str. 36–39), v katerem piše o zapisu in besedni družini, povezanih besedah ter naglasu besed, ki jih kamišibajska umetnost vnaša v slovenski prostor.

Poleg kamišibaja sta tu še dve razpravi v angleščini in ena v slovenščini. Nika Leskovšek z metodo analize medijske recepcije dogodka ter uvodnih ritualov predstave *Dramski observatorij Kapital* iz leta slovenske osamosvojitve 1991 raziskuje javno dojemanje vloge umetnosti v družbi v času spremenjenih družbenopolitičnih razmer in tranzicije iz socializma v demokracijo. Tasos Angelopoulos na dveh primerih odrskih uprizoritev Aristofanovih *Ptičev* pokaže, kako sta družbena in politična ideologija *grštva* vplivali na interpretativne okvire grškega občinstva ter kritike. Miha Marek pa na izviren

način analizira opus Slavka Gruma, da bi prikazal, kako njegova dramatika ne uspe uveljaviti katarze kot dramaturškega principa, a je prav zato podobna psihoanalitični terapevtski metodi.

Poleg prej omenjenega kamišibajskega priročnika smo pripravili še tri knjižne recenzije. Lana Zdravković označi knjigo Tine Kolenik *Koža kot kostum: Oblačenje in slačenje v vsakdanjem življenju in umetniškem ustvarjanju* za »izjemno zanimivo in izvirno branje, saj fenomen človeške kože razdela zgodovinsko pregledno in z različnih teoretičnih zornih kotov (psihoanaliza, fenomenologija, kulturologija) ter tudi resno premisli uporabo človeške kože kot materiala v umetniškem ustvarjanju«. Eva Pori v znanstveni monografiji Tomaža Toporišiča *Medmedijsko in medkulturno nomadstvo: O vezljivosti medijev in kultur v sodobnih uprizoritvenih praksah* prepozna »produktivno sintezo poglobljenih teatrološko-praktičnih analiz, ki so plod avtorjevega večletnega sistematičnega in vseskozi jasno fokusiranega ukvarjanja z zgodovino in teorijo gledališča«. Eva Kučera Šmon pa pregleda knjigo Roberta Pfallerja *Interpasivnost: Radosti delegiranega uživanja*, v kateri avtor »preko premisleka *interpasivnosti* osvetli problematiko novega, modernega človeka, ki se bolj kot smrti boji slabega in užitkov polnega življenja«.

Naj vam branje tekne!

Maja Šorli, Editor-in-Chief

This year's first issue draws on the international symposium *The Art of Kamishibai: The Word of the Image and the Image of the Word*, which took place in May 2018 at the Slovenian Theatre Institute in Ljubljana. The rich, three-day programme of events revealed the growing popularity, both in Slovenia and globally, of this theatrical form that unfolds between the audience and the performers in front of a *butai*, a miniature wooden stage with inserted images that are changed as the story is told. Attended by twenty-six international speakers, the symposium was also honoured to host an eleven-member-strong Japanese delegation of the International Kamishibai Association of Japan (IKAJA). The symposium's contributors came from twelve countries and their presentations are available in video format and/or in the online publication on the website of the Slovenian Theatre Institute. The thematic section of the issue is introduced with an essay by Igor Cvetko, who examines the wider context of kamishibai in Slovenia, followed by Tara McGowan's article positioning kamishibai into the global audio-visual history that extends from the magic lantern to the internet, thus inspiring multiple, hybrid adaptations of the form in relation to established media and formats as well as developing technologies. Julia Gerster analyses how kamishibai was used after the tsunami and nuclear accident on 11 March 2011 and argues that the form became not only a tool to convey lessons learned but also a coping mechanism for the survivors to deal with personal trauma and express their grief. She proposes a new term to highlight these features: the memorialisation kamishibai. Another practical use of kamishibai, that is, as a tool to preserve an endangered language, is described by Yosuke Miki. The thematic part devoted to kamishibai is rounded off by a review of the first Slovenian kamishibai handbook written by Jelena Sitar. In her review of *Umetnost kamišibaja: Priročnik za ustvarjanje* (The Art of Kamishibai: An Artist's Handbook), Sandra Jenko states that the book "comprehensively sheds light on the creative, authorial genesis of a kamishibai from the theoretical and practical points of view" and "puts art first, aiming to highlight the artistic aspects of creating kamishibai works". To polish up your knowledge of kamishibai, you are invited to read Emica Antončič's contribution in the Language Corner of the journal *Dialogi* (Vol. 2019; No. 5–6, pp. 36–39), which examines the spelling, word family, related words and the pronunciation of words introduced into the Slovenian space through the art of kamishibai.

Besides kamishibai-related articles, this issue also brings two articles in English and one in Slovenian. Analysing media reception and the introductory rituals of the performance *Drama Observatory Kapital*, performed in 1991 – the year of Slovenia's

independence –, Nika Leskovšek explores the public understanding of the role of art in society under the changed socio-political circumstances and the transition from socialism to democracy. Comparing two performances of Aristophanes's *The Birds*, Tasos Angelopoulos shows how the social and political ideology of *Greekness* has determined the way the Greek audiences and critics interpret Aristophanes's comedies. Miha Marek offers an original perspective on the opus of Slavko Grum to show how his playwriting fails to enact catharsis as a dramaturgical principle, which is also the reason why it is similar to the method of psychoanalytic therapy.

In addition to the review of the kamishibai handbook, the issue features three other book reviews. Lana Zdravković describes Tina Kolenik's *Koža kot kostum: oblačenje in slačenje v vsakdanjem življenju in umetniškem ustvarjanju* (Skin as Costume: Dressing and Undressing in Everyday Life and Art) as “fascinating and original, as it provides a historically comprehensive and theoretically grounded (psychoanalysis, phenomenology, cultural studies) consideration of the phenomenon of human skin, but also sets out to exhaustively examine the use of human skin as material in artistic creation”. Eva Pori recognises in Tomaž Toporišič's scientific monograph *Medmedijsko in medkulturno nomadstvo. O vezljivosti medijev in kultur v sodobnih uprizoritvenih praksah* (Intermedial and Intercultural Nomads: On the Intertwining of Media and Cultures in Contemporary Performing Arts) a “productive synthesis of in-depth theatrological-practical analyses, which are the result of the author's years of systematic and clearly focused research into the history and theory of theatre”. And finally, Eva Kučera Šmon writes about Robert Phaller's *Interpasivnost: radosti delegiranega uživanja* (Interpassivity: The Aesthetics of Delegated Enjoyment), in which the author “by reflecting on *interpassivity* sheds light on the problematic of the new, modern man who fears not death, but a bad life full of pleasure”.

Wishing you insightful reading!

Translated by Katja Kosi



Thematic Block / Tematski blok

Slovenski kamišibaj v luči kulturne antropologije

Igor Cvetko

Izhodiščna dejstva

Leta 2009 sem s svojega prvega potovanja na Japonsko prinesel nekaj Doshinshinih tiskanih kamišibajev. Zame so bili pravi zaklad. Našel sem jih v srednje velikem supermarketu v Nakashibetsuju na otoku Hokaido. Doma sem lahko v miru proučil kamišibaj in ga poskusil razumeti.

Za rojstni datum gledališča kamišibaj na Slovenskem štejem 15. april 2013. Takrat se je v Hiši otrok in umetnosti na Komenskega ulici 9 v Ljubljani zbralo pet lutkarjev iz dveh lutkovnih gledališč, Zapika in Fru-Fruja, ter v sklopu spremljevalnega programa 16. pripovedovalskega festivala »Pravljice danes« ob 17. uri izvedlo 40-minutni kamišibajski program:

- Igor Cvetko: *Slonček iz gline* (Doshinshin kamišibaj, s spremljavo drobnih zvočil),
- Jelena Sitar: *O lisički in rakunu* (Doshinsha, avtorska kombinacija dveh kamišibajskih zgodb),
- Irena Rajh: *Gorska čarovnica* (Doshinshin kamišibaj),
- Marjan Kunaver: *Pritisni tukaj* (za kamišibaj predelana interaktivna slikanica Hervéja Tulleta, MK, Ljubljana 2011) in par ugank po japonski predlogi ter
- Anže Virant: *Mojca Pokrajculja* (pripovedovanje [brez butaja] ob ilustracijah slikanice).

Program si je ogledalo okrog 20 ljudi, ki so domov odhajali zadovoljni z videnim.

Ljubljanskemu premiernemu dogodku je sledil tridnevni, že tradicionalni Zapikov ustvarjalni in raziskovalno-izobraževalni tabor v Selih na Krasu (5.–7. 7. 2013), na katerem je 12 vabljenih ustvarjalcev v okviru delovnega naslova »Mejne oblike gledališča: kamišibaj« vzelo pod drobnogled to v Sloveniji novo gledališko formo. Delo na individualnih projektih (organizirano po sekcijah) se je prepletalo s pogovori na plenarnih srečanjih. Tabor se je sklenil z javno predstavitvijo kamišibajev, ki so nastali na taboru. Odziv lokalne publike in sodelujočih udeležencev tabora je spet presegel pričakovanja.

Po taboru je nastalo še nekaj novih (avtorskih) kamišibajev in avgusta (22.–24. 8. 2013)

je sledila nova akcija: Zapik je ob pomoči ZKD Piran na Židovskem trgu organiziral informativno kamišibajsko »točko« in tam izvedel 1. Pravljične večere s kamišibajem, *Serata di fiabe con kamishibai*, revijo kamišibaja, podnaslovljeno 1. slovenski festival kamišibaj gledališča. Na njej se je v treh večerih predstavilo dvanajst kamišibajkarjev.

Odziv domače publike in naključnih turistov je bil velik, izreden. Vsi trije večeri so bili polno obiskani – skupaj si je predstave ogledalo več kot 250 obiskovalcev. Organizatorji so jim morali obljubiti, da bodo leta 2014 na Židovskem trgu ponovno organizirali festival kamišibaja. Kamišibaj v Sloveniji je dobil potrebni in zadostni zagon.

Prva »petletka« kamišibaja v Sloveniji

V petih letih se je zgodilo marsikaj: na Zapikovih raziskovalno-izobraževalnih taborih smo raziskovali različne aspekte kamišibaja kot mejne oblike gledališke umetnosti; izvedeni so bili tri- ali štiridelni seminarji, delavnice, tečaji in praktična predavanja, v glavnem sta jih vodila Društvo Zapik (Igor Cvetko in Jelena Sitar) in Atelje Slikovedke (Jerca Cvetko in Jure Engelsberger); Zapik je izvedel tudi tri celovita (tri- do štiridelna) izobraževanja v tujini: 2017 – za Akademijo umetnosti Novi Sad (Srbija), za Filozofsko fakulteto in lokalne vrtce v Splitu (Hrvaška) in 2018 – v organizaciji CTA (Centro teatro d'animazione v Gorici, Italija), do maja 2018 smo izobrazili prek 500 kamišibajkarjev; organizirali smo vrsto regionalnih festivalov kamišibaja, ki se že od leta 2014 redno odvijajo po vsej Sloveniji.

Združeni slovenski kamišibajkarji smo se avgusta 2013 prvič zbrali v Piranu na Židovskem trgu. Od takrat smo v Piranu izvedli že pet slovenskih festivalov gledališča kamišibaj: v selekciji, s po tričlansko žirijo, podelitvijo priznanj in z glavno nagrado festivala: »Zlatim kamišibajem« za najboljši kamišibaj v celoti.

Doslej smo se uspešno lotili kamišibaja:

- kot medija za umetniško ustvarjanje,
- kot medija za družinsko ustvarjanje,
- kot pedagoškega pripomočka,
- kot terapevtskega pripomočka,
- kot ustvarjalnega ventila, pripomočka za osebno rast,
- kot priložnosti za gledališko in umetniško eksperimentiranje.

Uporabili smo ga pri naslednjih dejavnostih.

1. Pri delu z različnimi starostnimi skupinami:

- najmlajšimi (0–3 let),

- otrocih, ki ne obiskujejo vrtcev,
- otrocih, vključenih v vrtce,
- šolarjih,
- srednješolcih in študentih,
- odraslih,
- starostnikov.

2. Pri delu z ranljivimi skupinami:

- gluhi in naglušni,
- slepi in slabovidni,
- ljudje z izkušnjo zlorabe drog in alkohola,
- starostniki s specifičnimi težavami,
- ljudje s čustvenimi in vedenjskimi motnjami,
- ljudje z gibalno in motorično oviranostjo,
- ljudje z motnjami v duševnem razvoju,
- zaporniki ...

Za kamišibaj bi lahko po vsem povedanem rekli, da je to medij, ki se je na naših tleh presenetljivo hitro in uspešno vključil v številne družbene in socialne mehanizme ter se še naprej zlahka prilagaja različnim družbenim skupinam in normam.

Kot dolgoletni etnomuzikolog in raziskovalec ljudske kulture si bom ta fenomen zato poskušal razložiti z dveh zornih kotov: z vidika socialno-kulturne antropologije in folkloristike.

Kamišibaj v luči antropoloških in folklorističnih razmišljanj

»Eksplozijo« slovenskega kamišibaja bom poskušal najprej osvetliti skozi prizmo nekaterih zanimivih pogledov posameznih socio-kulturnih predpostavk in teorij v zadnjih desetletjih 20. stoletja do danes.

Ustaviti se moram ob dveh vprašanjih, ki se mi v povezavi s kamišibajem že dolgo zastavljata.

- Kako je mogoče, da je priljubljenost gledališča kamišibaj pri nas v tako kratkem času dosegla okvir nacionalne razsežnosti?
- Kateri so bili (potrebni in zadostni) notranji (družbeni) razlogi in vzvodi, da je do takega »gibanja« sploh prišlo?

Vprašani sta razvejani in kompleksni ter nanju ni enoznačnih odgovorov. Zato začnimo svoja razmišljanja še s podvprašanjem.

- Je razcvet kamišibaja pri nas v kakršni koli povezavi z majhnostjo in homogenostjo Slovenije, ki jo lahko (po diagonali) z avtomobilom prepelješ v slabih treh urah in v kateri se po vzponu na 2864 m visoki Triglav v dobrih dveh urah lahko okopaš v morju (npr. v Piranu)?

Prepričljiv in enoznačen odgovor sodobne kulturne antropologije se jasno glasi: majhnih dežel ni! Vsaka zaokrožena in znotraj sebe delujoča »etnijska« je samostojna entiteta, znotraj sebe delujoč sistem in funkcionalna celota. Iz zgornje ugotovitve¹ torej sledi, da je lahko posledična opredelitev za »majhnost« neke dežele bolj stvar subjektivne ocene njenih prebivalcev ali »perifernih« zunanjih opazovalcev, ki je praviloma površna, neobjektivna, nestrokovna, nepoznavalska, torej nemeritorna. Z majhnostjo Slovenije si v okviru kulturno-antropološkega razmišljanja o kamišibaju pri nas torej ne moremo prida pomagati. Poskušajmo svoja razmišljanja zato razširiti.

Kulturna antropologija danes zagovarja tezo, da kultura ni nekakšen materialni pojav *per se*, ampak bolj izraz ravnanj, po katerih ljudje zaznavajo, povezujejo in interpretirajo stvarnost in sebe v njej. Torej je vse, kar ljudje delajo in govorijo, njihov družbeni angažma in vse, kar se jim pri tem dogaja, proizvod njihove kulture (prim. Prošev Oliver, »Jezik: lingvistička«).

Poglejmo si, kateri so tisti kulturni mehanizmi, ki lahko neposredno prispevajo k oblikovanju kamišibajskega gibanja pri nas. Že Levi-Strauss ni mogel mimo ugotovitve, da je v človeški družbi kultura njen najzapletenejši in najkompleksnejši del, ter je izpostavil jezik kot *conditio sine qua non*, osnovni pogoj za njeno funkcioniranje.

1. Jezik nam oblikuje misli.
2. S pomočjo jezika spoznavamo svet.
3. Jezik določa in oblikuje naš svetovni nazor.
4. Z njim se sporazumevamo.
5. Z njim se družbeno povezujemo.

Jezik je torej temelj, na katerem funkcionirata kultura in družba in s katerim se identificira določena družbena skupnost. V njej si s pomočjo jezika vsak posameznik tudi oblikuje osebno identiteto in se vključuje v okolje. Pri tem mu jezik predstavlja sredstvo primarne enkulturacije,² procesa sprejemanja kulturnih vrednot, simbolnih praks in njihovega pomena.

¹To mnenje je v svojih delih večkrat zagovarjal James Fergusson (Stanford University).

² Po M. Herskovitsu je to proces osvajanja kulturnih vrednot, simbolnih praks in njihovega pomena.

Ob razmišljanju o odnosu posameznik-skupnost si privoščimo majhno digresijo! Z njeno pomočjo bomo prišli do pomembnega zaključka in morda celo do (delnega) odgovora na zgoraj zastavljeni vprašanji o presenetljivo hitrem in zanimivem sidranju kamišibaja na naših tleh. Poglejmo si od bliže del naše vokalne tradicije³ – način, na katerega ljudje po Sloveniji pojejo. Razumevanje tega »detajla« nam lahko po mojem mnenju v marsičem pojasni notranje občutenje in doživljanje slovenskega človeka.

Pri nas se je pelo od vekomaj. »Trije Slovenci so pevski zbor,« pravi star slovenski pregovor. Kadarkoli se je na Slovenskem zbrala skupina ljudi, se je ob tem tudi zapelo. Ob delu, na zabavah in za praznike, ob vahti mrliča, na ohcetih, v žalosti in veselju. Doma, v gostilni, na procesiji, ob sejmi, na gostijah, ob pogrebih. Nekdo je začel peti, je »vodil«, ostali so mu začeli »pridajati« vsak svoj glas. Dva pevca sta zapela dvoglasno, trije triglasno, štirje štiriglasno in tako do pet- in celo šestglasja. Večglasje je moralo zazveneti »polno«. Po (nepisanih) glasbenih pravilih je to za ljudi tam pomenilo »lepo« petje. Pravila domačega petja so bila vedno spoštovana, znotraj njih pa so si lahko posamezni pevci privoščili precej svobode. Večglasje in zvočno tkivo so pevci svobodno improvizirali, ga sproti gradili in soustvarjali. Vedno za skupen končni rezultat: uglašeno skupno muziciranje, v katerem so neizmerno uživali.

Iz zgoraj zapisanega lahko izpeljemo ključ, kodo za (arhetipsko) razumevanje slovenskega ljudskega občutenja: občutiti individualno – delovati skupinsko. To kodo bi lahko imenovali »pravzorec« slovenske (neverbalne) komunikacije. Poskušajmo zdaj razširiti svoje ugotovitve in si pogledati, ali bi zapisano lahko odgovorilo tudi na naša vprašanja, povezana s komunikativno močjo kamišibaja.

Kamišibaj in njegova komunikativna moč

Že dolgo vemo, da je komunikacija (prenos informacij in sporočil po izbranem kanalu) najpomembnejši dosežek moderne (humane) civilizacije. Sestavljena je iz (grobo rečeno) treh segmentov:

- govornjena komunikacija,
- gesturalna komunikacija in
- grafična (vizualna) komunikacija.

Prav njen zadnji segment, grafična komunikacija, je najbolj specifično človeška. Je

³ Slovensko vokalno izročilo je po pravilu skupno, večglasno in improvizirano petje v 5/8 taktu. Značilno zanj je neenakomeren, sestavljen ritem in rubato izvedba. Ta obvezno temelji na skrajnem sodelovanju »izvajalcev«, ki se jim med petjem po pravilu priključijo tudi »poslušalci«. Tradicija enoglasnega pripovednega petja prastarih balad, predvsem na skrajnem zahodu Slovenije, kjer se izmenjujejo petje (v kiticah) in izrazito dramatisirano, parlando »pripovedovanje« posameznih delov pesmi. Velikokrat se melodija poje na način *katastihona*, antičnega (bardskega) petja ob izvajanju ritmično- melodičnega vzorca, ki dopušča zelo »svobodno« (neverzificirano) sporočanje vsebine.

velika človekova iznajdba. Pri njej se sporočilo (informacija) prenese (v prostor) in se ohranja (v času). Ker je slika in prek nje grafična (vizualna) komunikacija (že od ledene dobe) morda najpogostejši način človekove komunikacije, si pogledjmo, kako se vključuje v našo zgodbo o gledališču kamišibaj!

Že dolgo je znano, da je gledališče tisto med umetnostmi, »kjer se 'zgodí' (čista) komunikacija najbolj neposredno«, celo fizično (Kulenović 35). Če vemo, da je teater nastal iz t. i. ritualnega sinkretizma, spoja govornje besede, geste, giba, mimike, plesa in glasbe (zvoka), je njegova miniaturna izpeljava – gledališče kamišibaj medij, ki ob zgodbi in pripovedi izrazito izpostavi še sliko. Poudarjena vizualna (grafična) komponenta postane pri tem njegova specifika, njegov prepoznavni in izstopajoči del in lahko zato kamišibaj v kontekstu »komunikacijskega gledališča« štujemo za posebno gledališko formo. Pri njem nepremična(!) slika prevzame funkcijo vizualnega pripovedovanja in se tako iz prostorske umetnosti prelevi v časovno umetnost. Slika sporočilo okrepi, ga naredi bolj osebno, konkretnjše, razumljivejše, večplastno, bolj asociativno. »Paketa« pripovedovanje-slika pri kamišibaju izvajalec ne le interpretira in kaže, gledalec ga ponotrani in preko svojega notranjega doživljanja poveže s svetom zgodbe ter v njem aktivno sodeluje. Zgodi se ritual gledališča.

In kakšno vlogo lahko pripišemo ritualu kamišibaja – te drobne umetnostne forme?

Freud je nekje zapisal, da je vsak ritual aktiven socialni ventil in filter družbe, tisti socialni korektiv, skozi katerega se zadovoljujejo potrebe in nagoni skupnosti in posameznika v njej. Temu razmišljanju je pritrnil tudi Bahtin⁴ in poudaril, da družba skozi svoje ritualne manifestacije uravnoveša vse, kar njej in posamezniku preti od močnejših (vladajočih) slojev družbe. Ritualizacija družbenega obnašanja naj bi torej množice brezpravnih posameznikov in skupnost kot celoto varovala pred represijami moči in oblasti.

Če predpostavimo, da je v nekaterih pogledih (zaradi enostavne komunikacije in učinkovite in aktivne izbire tematike) kamišibaj lahko celo radikalizirana gledališka oblika, mu v tej zvezi zlahka pripišemo precejšnjo moč, celo določeno stopnjo subverzivnosti, kar se je ne nazadnje izkazalo tudi v njegovi relativno kratki zgodovini, zlasti med in po drugi svetovni vojni. (prim. Nash). Kamišibaj je že ob svojih začetkih (na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje) v sebi nosil izrazit ritualni in socialnokorektivni naboj. Rodil se je na začetku gospodarske krize v poznih 20. letih na Japonskem in tam takrat, predvsem pa med in po drugi svetovni vojni, izkazal veliko prevratniško, povezovalno in aktivacijsko moč. Verjetno ni naključje, da se je izrazito vitalno razširil in se udomačil tudi po (revolucionarni) Srednji in Južni Ameriki ter da je odigral aktivno vlogo tudi v slovenski zgodbi.

Kakšna je pravzaprav narava komunikacije, ki jo sproža kamišibaj?

⁴ Bahtin je potrebo in prizadevanja družbe po karnevalizaciji poimenoval s svojo znamenito sintagmo o »kultura smeha« - odredilno iznajdbo in učinkovit vzvod človekove kulturne in civilizacijske evolucije.

Pripovedovanje in slika se pri kamišibaju združita v enotno sporočilo. Kamišibajkar (izvajalec kamišibaja) se publiki predstavi s svojim komunikacijskim »paketom«, ki ga je predhodno »zapakiral« doma, pred publiko pa ga začne postopoma »odvijati«. Po načelih kibernetike začne zdaj delovati mehanizem, na las podoben tistemu, ki smo ga spoznali že pri skupnem (ljudskem) petju: kamišibajkar (oddajnik) »vodi« dogajanje, publika (sprejemnik) se aktivno vključuje in dopolnjuje kamišibajkarja; vsak gledalec po svoje, vsak malo drugače, voden od svojih (individualnih) izkušenj in lastnega občutenja. Pa vendar vsi udeleženci tega procesa začnejo doživljati zgodbo (sporočilo) skupaj, saj vsi gledajo isto predstavo! *Kijokan* kot temu skupnemu doživljanju rečejo Japonci, ki se pri tem ustvarja in širi, je natančno ta občutek soudeležbe, ki ga v predstavi začuti občinstvo. Energija, ki nastaja ob butaju, se prenese v publiko, pri tem se oplemeniti z individualnim (po)doživljanjem in »soustvarjanjem« posameznika ter se po fizikalnih zakonih (resonance) okrepi, zaokroži in se tako okrepljena vrne nazaj k oddajniku (izvajalcu). Skupinsko občutenje »enosti« in individualni občutek »multiple povezanosti« posameznika s skupino je tisti hipnotični občutek zamaknjenosti (odtujitve) in notranje povezanosti skupine, ki spremlja vse ritualizirane dejavnosti človeka od pradavnine do danes.

Kamišibaj s stališča kulturne antropologije

Omenil sem že zgodovinski kontekst, v katerem je kamišibaj že ob nastanku odigral zanimivo družbeno aktivacijo. Poglejmo si kulturno in družbeno okolje, v katerem se je pojavil in udomačil kamišibaj (ta zanimivi kulturni novum) na Slovenskem! Kako nam lahko ta fenomen približa kulturna antropologija, veda, ki raziskuje človeka kot kulturno bitje oz. kot pojav kulture?

Pogoj za »udomačitev« česar koli v družbi ali za »modernizacijo« že obstoječega v njej so specifične kulturne oznake te družbe, njena družbena logika in njeni tradicionalni mehanizmi delovanja. Ob tem je M. Morishima v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja, ko je razmišljal o »vsakokratni družbeni modernosti« zapisal, »da mora vsaka družba priti v stanje modernosti na sebi lasten način, ki se sklada z njeno družbeno, kulturno, ekonomsko in politično zgodovino« (prim. Godina 65) pri čemer uporabi (implementira) že obstoječe in delujoče družbene mehanizme, institucije in prakse.

To idejo je leta 1994 slikovito in duhovito dopolnil M. Sahlins: »Intenca (neevropskih ljudstev, tistih, ki se približujejo zahodu) ni, da postanejo takšni, kot smo mi, ampak da postanejo še bolj takšni, kot so sami. Tuje dobrine ta ljudstva spreobrnejo tako, da le-te služijo domačim idejam in jih propagirajo. Z njimi potem opredmetijo svoje razumevanje dobrega življenja in svoje odnose in delovanje« (nav. po Godina 77). Proces tovrstnega prilagajanja takim »uvoženim« rešitvam je poimenoval »indigenizacija modernosti«.

Mislím, da je ta Sahlinsova ugotovitev ključ do razumevanja večine družbenih in enkulturacijskih procesov danes, saj gre (še posebej zaradi neustavljivih procesov globalizacije) pri slehernem od njih tudi za tuje kulturne vplive, udomačitve in/ali modernizacije le-teh. Prav »indigenizacija modernosti« je, po mojem mnenju, »spiritus agens« celotnega družbenega napredka.

Pri analiziranju mehanizmov in procesov, ki poganjajo družbo (ne le njeno ekonomsko plat), je v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja A. Inkeles opredelil vrsto »družbenih vrednot« kot predpogoj za uspešen razvoj družbe in dobro počutje posameznika v njej. Naj jih nekaj naštejem: pripravljenost za nove izkušnje, odprtost za novosti, sledenje lastnemu mnenju, pomen izobraževanja, usmerjenost na sedaj, pogled naprej, gospodarjenje z lastnim življenjem, težnja k zastavljenim ciljem, nagrajevanje v skladu z vloženim delom in trdom ... (prav tam 99)

Mc Lelland pa je ob podobnem razmišljanju poudaril, da je ključni dejavnik družbenega in kulturnega razvoja v največji meri t. i. »motivacija za dosežek«. Ta je po njegovem mnenju celo gonilo družbenega razvoja (prav tam).

In če se natančneje ozremo po Inkelesovem spisku družbenih vrednot in mestu posameznika v njih, vidimo, da prav vse točke, ki jih avtor navaja, veljajo tudi za aktivnosti, mimo katerih ne more nihče, ki se je namenil ustvariti kamišibaj – *tezukuri*, lastni, avtorski kamišibaj. Njegov spisek je pravzaprav navodilo, kako se lotiti kamišibaja in zakaj!

Kratek zgodovinski obris slovenske kulturne biti

Poglejmo si še, kako se Sahlinsova razmišljanja o »indigenizaciji modernosti« skladajo s profilom slovenske družbe.

Slovenska družba (bolj zaprta kot odprta in komunikativna s pridržki) je morala biti v zgodovini dovolj pretočna (predvsem v odnosu do sosedov), saj v izolaciji ali ob občutku samozadostnosti nobena družba dolgoročno ne more preživeti. Sprejemanje tujega je bilo v tem okolju vedno nekaj, čemur se nismo mogli izogniti, ohranjanje in negovanje lastnega pa tisti globoki motiv in mehanizem, ki nas je v dolgih stoletjih, na stičišču treh tujih velikih etnij (romanske na zahodu, germanske na severu in madžarske na severovzhodu) in v sosedstvu s Hrvaško ohranil etnično (iz)oblikovane in prepoznavne.

»Statična kultura«, s katero nekateri etiketirajo (celo karikirajo) slovensko etnično bit, se po eni strani večkrat res izkaže kot moteča lastnost te družbe, a se po drugi šteje, da je (bila) obenem prav ta tisti potrební »preživetveni« moment, ki nas (je)

vso zgodovino držal in tudi obdržal pri življenju. Da v nadaljevanju ne bi zašel v nepotrebno historiziranje, se bom skušal na kratko zaustaviti le ob nekaterih, za razumevanje naše teme relevantnejših dejstvih.

Razlog, da se Slovenci tako množično, aktivno in poglobljeno posvečamo kulturi, je zagotovo zgodovinsko dejstvo, da je (bila) kultura za nas vedno tista centripetalna sila, ki nas je (sprva bolj jezikovno, kasneje pa tudi narodnostno) povezovala in nam dajala občutek etnične skupnosti in pripadnosti.

Leto 1848 in z njim politični program Zedinjene Slovenije, ki je zahteval eno upravno enoto in enakopravnost slovenskega jezika znotraj avstro-ogrske monarhije, pa je prvič jasneje izpostavil velike državotvorne ambicije slovenskega ljudstva. Ker za to ni bilo potrebne politične podpore, je pobudo in povezovalne aktivnosti prevzela kultura. Tabori, organizirana množična politična zborovanja in odmevne kulturne akcije (pevski zbori, godbe, gledališke predstave, literarne predstavitve ...) ter sokolska društva (fizikalne, kulturne in politične dejavnosti) so gojili (organizirano) množično kulturo. Ta pa se je vzporedno in spontano odvijala tudi na podeželju: pevski zbori, ljudski odri, godbe, folklor, plesne skupine ... Kulturna društva so med obema vojnama združevala ljudi, gradili so se kulturni domovi, bogata kulturna dejavnost pa se je odvijala celo med drugo vojno na osvobojenih ozemljih. Socialistična oblast je tudi po vojni nadaljevala z intenzivno kulturno politiko. Povezovalca množične kulturne organiziranosti je predstavljala Zveza kulturnih društev, krovna organizacija, ki je povezovala (in delno financirala) več tisoč raznovrstnih kulturnih društev, skupin in posameznikov, številne in raznovrstne šolske kulturne dejavnosti pa so se odvijale tudi prek šolskih in pedagoških ustanov.

Po razpadu socialistične Jugoslavije in v kriznem času pred in po naši osamosvojitvi (1992) ter še posebej ob vključitvi Slovenije v večnacionalno evropsko družino, EU (2007), naj bi postalo slovensko etnično in narodno organiziranje in profiliranje pomemben del tudi naše državne in nacionalne strategije. Ta pa se je med in zlasti po gospodarski krizi, ki nas je doletela leta 2008, z nepremišljenimi neoliberalnimi prijemi začela obnašati do kulture precej mačehovsko. Če je prej socializem gojil in podpiral naravno potrebo ljudi po kulturi in kulturnem organiziranju in delovanju, kapitalizem tem prizadevanjem ni bil enako naklonjen.

In danes? S sistemskimi varčevalnimi in politično vodenimi ukrepi se politika odloča za usmerjeno favoriziranje »nacionalk« in kulturnih ustanov – na račun (naj)širše organizirane (ljudske) kulture. Vse to pa se posledično izkazuje v grobem siromašenju amaterizma in postopnem usihanju organiziranih »masovnih« kulturnih aktivnosti pri nas, kar je bilo vso zgodovino osnova našega kulturnega in nacionalnega obstoja. Mislim, da smo danes prvič resneje soočeni z institucionalnim kratenjem (že omenjene) človekove naravne pravice do kulture, predvsem s strani oblasti, ki se obnaša do kulture širše vzeto – nenarodotvorno!

Kamišibaj – oblika novega slovenskega kulturnega gibanja?

Ob vsem povedanem se zdi, da je kamišibaj zašel v Slovenijo v času, ko je lahko ljudem ponudil potencialno možnost širokega kulturnega samoorganiziranja in jim nakazal pot, po kateri bi posameznik skozi lastno ustvarjalnost lahko »prišel do sebe« in se izrazil na sebi (in okolici) primeren način. Analogno in humano! In to v času, ki je poudarjeno brezoseben, digitalen, virtualno voden in agresivno komercialno usmerjen.

Oglejmo si zgornjo trditev še z vidika bogate slovenske folkloristične tradicije!

Očitno je, da je slovenski primer *kamišibajskega gibanja* (Igor Cvetko) prerasel okvire enodnevne »modne muhe« in se v marsičem že približal pojmu *kamišibajske kulture* (Tara McGowan).

Ta ugotovitev me je tako pritegnila, da sem si ob fenomenu »brstenja« kamišibaja na Slovenskem začel zastavljati naslednja vprašanja:

- na čem temelji fenomen slovenskega kamišibajskega gibanja,
- kje tiči vzrok, da si je ta majhna »uvožena« gledališka oblika pri nas tako hitro pridobila zanimivo »domovinsko pravico«, in
- kaj je tisto v kamišibaju, kar »ga dela« našega?

V družbi lahko torej uspešno delujejo le ustanove in prakse, ki so usklajene z lokalnimi kulturnimi mehanizmi (Sahlins). Na novo se lahko torej »prime« le tisto, kar je usklajeno z že obstoječim (Morishima). Morebitno ukinjanje le-teh pa po pravilu pusti posameznika v družbenem in kulturnem vakuumu.

Najprej si na kratko pogledjmo, katere so na Slovenskem tiste (tradicionalne) kulturne in družbene prakse, ki bi jih lahko uvrstili v kategorijo tradicionalnih in zgodovinsko pogojenih lokalnih kontekstov, tj. mehanizmov in dejavnikov, ki po mojem mnenju najbolj poganjajo in oblikujejo kamišibajsko gibanje,⁵ ki smo mu priče.

Jezik

Pod ta termin lahko uvrstimo številne mehanizme, ki so slovenščino stoletja dolgo ohranjali, širili in plemenitili. Če za koga velja, da je »jezik naredil narod«, to zagotovo velja za Slovence. Prvi ohranjeni zapisi v slovenščini segajo v 10. stoletje (Brižinski spomeniki), prve tiskane knjige v slovenščini (Trubarjeva *Abecednik* in *Katekizem*, Dalmatinov monumentalni tiskani prevod *Biblije ...*) pa v sredino in drugo polovico 16.

⁵ Na predvečer začetka mednarodnega simpozija Umetnost kamišibaja, 9. maja 2018, se je po vsej Sloveniji na pobudo in v organizaciji Društva kamišibaj.si igral kamišibaj. V 24 urah je bilo odigranih 775 kamišibajev, ki si jih je ogledalo več kot 35.000 ljudi! Celotna akcija tega zanimivega kulturnega eksperimenta, s katerim smo se hoteli »prešteti«, je skrbno dokumentirana in arhivirana.

stoletja. Od takrat se pojem »Slovenec« istoveti s slovenščino – z enotnim (pisanim, uporabljanim in funkcionalno izdelanim) jezikom. Danes združena knjižna produkcija slovenskih založb letno dosega okoli 4000 naslovov (3800 leta 2017), leta 2005 pa, ko je bila »rekordna«, skoraj 5000 »resnih« knjižnih izdaj.

Gledališče

Gledališče je bilo od nekdaj pomemben del naše (ljudske) tradicije. Pasijonske procesije (od leta 1617 – v spomin in opomin na epidemije kuge) in pasijonske igre (npr. *Igra o paradizu*, 1670), ki so jih izvajali jezuiti po ulicah večjih slovenskih mest, so bile slikovite dramatisirane procesije z »živimi slikami iz Kristusovega življenja«. »Igralcem« so v procesijah sledili bičarji in prenašalci križev. Škofjeloški pasijon (1721) je še vedno priljubljena prireditev in živa tradicija (Škofja Loka, danes celo pod Unescovo zaščito).

Ljudsko in ritualizirano ljudsko gledališče

Pust je bil pri nas vedno poseben dogodek *par excellence*, klasičen primer ritualnega sinkretizma, radikalnega obrednega ljudskega teatra, o katerem sem nekaj že govoril. Šeme, pustni obhodi in pustne povorke – žive in presenetljivo vitalne še danes – predstavljajo (med drugim tudi) pomemben del slovenske ljudske likovne in pripovedne izraznosti ter ustvarjalnosti. Naličja (lesene, kaširane, usnjene, kovinske ... maske) in kostumi so proizvod spontane ljudske domišljije in tradicionalnih (likovnih) rešitev. Pustni scenariji so domišljene, največkrat improvizirane in avtentično odigrane (večkrat tudi »odplesane«) burke, travestije in komični (scensko-ritualni) prizori. Največkrat jih spremljata tudi hrupen zvok (zvonci, biči, rogovi, zvočila ...) in glasba. Pust se v Sloveniji danes odvija v svoji prvotni obliki⁶ in funkciji⁷ na mnogih krajih, zlasti po deželi, urbane pustne šege pa so bolj karnevalskega tipa in vsako leto privabljajo veliko število gledalcev in obiskovalcev.

Peto pripovedovanje, »peti cajtengi«, so bili ob koncu 18. stoletja iznajdba na Koroškem in po Pohorju (sever Slovenije), ki je imela vzporednico v nekoliko starejšem petju moritatov, srhljivih in nenavadnih zgodb, in javnem prepevanju iz pesemskih letakov. Pomemben avtor te »tradicije« je bil Jurij Vodovnik, »novičar«, njegove pesmi (in pesmi njegovih posnemovalcev) pa so nekakšni peti dokumentarci, pete slike iz življenja ljudi in dogodkov, (p)opisovanje aktualnih in žgečkljivih tem ter komentarjev skozi pesmi (Cvetko, *Jaz sem Vodovnik*). Najbližji sorodnik petim cajtengom bi lahko bil kar peti kamišibaj.

⁶ To so obhodi maskirancev in godcev. Ti pri vsaki hiši obvezno zaplešejo z domačini, ki jih ob tem obdarujejo. Glavni lik pustnega rituala je *Pust*, krivec za vse, kar se je slabega zgodilo v preteklem letu, ki ga ob koncu pustovanja obredno pokončajo.

⁷ Obred preganjanja zime je obračun z vsem starim in potencialno nevarnim in prebujanje novega življenja.

Ljudsko pripovedovanje je bilo stoletja dolgo obvezen del tradicije pri vsaki hiši. Načrtno se še vedno goji tudi po vrtcih in osnovnih šolah. V zadnjih 15 letih so se pripovedovalci organizirano predstavljali tudi po priljubljenih pripovedovalskih festivalih, tako da je kakovostno pripovedovanje zgodb danes v vzponu.

Ljudsko in amatersko gledališče je bilo izredno živo in vitalno še ves čas po drugi svetovni vojni. Od skoraj 500 osnovnih šol po Sloveniji so bile še pred nekaj desetletji redke tiste, ki niso imele organizirane svoje lutkovne skupine in/ali dramskega krožka.

Film in zlasti *strip* sta v vzponu in dosejata mednarodne standarde.

Ljudska likovnost

Vpogled v likovno (slikovno) tradicijo (ljudskega izročila) nam za slovenski etnični prostor kaže naslednjo sliko.

Ljudsko slikarstvo in freskarstvo. Cerkvice in kapelice, posejane po Sloveniji, so bile od srednjega veka v veliki meri poslikane s freskami samoukov in ljudskih podobarjev ter opremljene z njihovimi izdelki (kipi, slikami, rezbarijami, dekorativno opremo ...). Veliko likovnih motivov (križevi poti, tematsko zasnovano freskantstvo, slikovni prizori ...) se večkrat približuje pripovedovanju v slikah, načinu izražanja, ki je (bil) našim ljudem od nekdaj blizu.

Slike na steklo, ki še danes visijo po številnih kmečkih domovih in krasijo prenekatero cerkev, so bile od konca 18. do začetka 20. stoletja priljubljen okras predvsem po Gorenjski. So sestavni del bogate ljudske ustvarjalnosti na Slovenskem.

Panjske končnice so edinstven kulturno-umetnostni spomenik Slovenije, avtohtoni kulturni fenomen. Gre za poslikane čelne stranice (deščice) panjev, »kranjičev«, z nabožnimi, historičnimi, legendarnimi ali žanrskimi prizori, ki so zanimivi za pripovedovanje v slikah. Nastajati so začele v drugi polovici 18. stoletja in so bile priljubljene med čebelarji do začetka 20. stoletja. Ustvarjali so jih pretežno pripadniki nižjih (kmečkih) družbenih plasti. Čebelarški muzej v Radovljici in Slovenski etnografski muzej v Ljubljani hranita skupaj skoraj 2000 (zelo različnih) primerkov panjskih končnic. Danes se v trgovinah s spominki prodajajo na novo naslikane končnice, posnete po starih, tradicionalnih motivih in v prepoznavni tradicionalni tehniki in stilu.

Okraševanje. Sem prištevamo tradicionalno: čipkarstvo, izdelovanje pirhov, lectarstvo in svečarstvo, rezbarstvo, kamnoseštvo, umetno kovaštvo, barvarstvo, tkalstvo ...

Zaključek

Kamišibaj je na Slovenskem nastal kot socialno-kulturni eksperiment majhne skupine lutkarskih zanesenjakov in v kratkem času postal nadvse aktivna in v določenem pogledu subverzivna umetniška gledališka forma! Je vsakemu dosegljiv, poceni, prenosljiv, priročen, relativno »enostaven«, učinkovit in prepričljiv ob stiku s publiko. Ponese jo s seboj, jo nahrani in »poboža«.

Ko kamišibajkar nastopa, je tam zaradi svoje publike in predvsem zanjo. Za vsakega od njih posebej! S publiko deli čustva in jim sporoča: »Niste sami, jaz sem z vami!« Ob koncu nastopa ga prav ta publika z aplavzom nagradi za čas, ki ga je presedel ob ustvarjanju kamišibaja, za vse vloženo delo in napore, ki so botrovali nastanku njegovega kamišibaja, ter za njegovo pripravljenost podeliti svojo intimno ustvarjalnost z njo. In z vsakim novim kamišibajem in kamišibajkarjem je družba malo bogatejša. Z njim pridobijo vsi: tako posameznik kot družba v celoti. Celo več: z vsakim gledalcem, ki je skupaj s kamišibajkarjem doživel *kijokan*, se tehtnica družbenih vrednot pomakne v smer razvoja.

In zakaj se socialno-kulturno okolje v Sloveniji zdi kot naročeno za razvoj t. i. kamišibajske kulture (*kamishibai culture*), o kateri govori Tara McGowan v zaključku svoje knjižne uspešnice *The Kamishibai Classroom*?

Ali morda zato:

- ker pri nas itak vsi delajo vse sami,
- ker so si še do nedavna ljudje na deželi sami gradili hiše in delali vse drugo kar v lastni režiji in izvedbi, v veliki meri s sosedsko pomočjo,
- ker smo družba, v kateri je večina ljudi na podeželju gasilcev – prostovoljcev,
- ker pri nas še danes težko najdeš koga, ki ne bi bil vključen v nobeno prostočasno interesno dejavnost (kultura, šport, rekreacija, neinstitucionalno izobraževanje, osebna rast, potovanja, družbeno-socialne aktivnosti ...) in
- ker pri nas še vedno denar ni kralj sveta za vse?

Zagotovo ne. Tudi ne zato, ker bi si (enkrat ... »ko bomo dovolj dobri«...) želeli kamišibaj komercializirati po zgledu založniških hiš, ki tiskajo kamišibaj in z njim zalagajo šole, vrtce in knjižnice. Kot kaže, bi bil tak poskus pri nas danes celo kontraproduktiven.

Verjamem pa, da je družba, v kateri:

- nastajajo kamišibaji kot po tekočem traku,
- se z njim ukvarjajo vse starostne skupine ljudi, od vrtcev do domov za starejše,
- se kamišibajkarji med sabo srečujejo in se o kamišibaju pogovarjajo,

- se kamišibaj uporablja kot pripomoček pri delu z ranljivimi in deprivilegiranimi,
- postaja: enim (ustvarjalcem) kamišibaj cilj, pribežališče in motivacija za ustvarjalnost, druge (kot gledalce) razveseljuje in polni, družba pa stopa po poti, na kateri kultura iz samostalnika postaja »glagol« (McGowan 86).

Kaj ni v marsičem ta glagol pri nas nekoč že obstajal, pa smo nekje »na poti« na to skoraj pozabili?

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Igor Cvetko je magister etnomuzikologije, lutkar in publicist. V svojem raziskovalnem obdobju (15 let sodelavec Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani) je bil deset let tudi predavatelj etnomuzikologije na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani in na Pedagoški fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru ter vrsto let kustos za duhovno kulturo v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani. Svoje izsledke je objavjal v številnih znanstvenih publikacijah in člankih, predvsem otroško narodopisno gradivo pa je izdal v odmevnih (strokovnih in popularnih) knjigah, med njimi: *Slovenske otroške prstne igre*. Didakta, 1996; *Najmanjše igre na Slovenskem*. Didakta, 2000; *Aja, tutaja. Slovenske ljudske uspavanke*. DZS, 2005; *Trara, pesem pelja. Otroška ljudska glasbila na Slovenskem*. MK, 2006. *Veliko malo prstno gledališče*. Didakta, 2010; *Slovenske otroške igre od A do Ž*. Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2017. Kot lutkar je Igor Cvetko skupaj z Jeleno Sitar soustanovitelj Lutkovnega gledališča Zapik, v slovenskem prostoru znanega predvsem po svojstveni in zanimivi estetiki ter principu kontaktnih predstav za najmlajše gledalce. V teh predstavah je Igor Cvetko podpisan predvsem kot izvajalec, likovnik in glasbenik, režija pa je največkrat skupno delo Igorja Cvetka in Jelene Sitar.

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Slovenian Kamishibai in the Light of Cultural Anthropology

Igor Cvetko

Starting points

From my first visit to Japan in 2009, I brought home some *Doshinsha printed kamishibai*. I considered them a real treasure. I had found them in a medium-sized supermarket in Nakashibetsu on Hokkaido. As I bought them, I thought I would study kamishibai in peace at home and try to understand it.

I consider 15 April 2013 to be the birthday of kamishibai theatre in Slovenia. It was then that five puppet players from two puppet theatres, Zapik and Fru-Fru, gathered at the House of Children and Arts, 9 Komenskega Street, Ljubljana, and as part of the accompanying programme of the 16th Storytelling Festival *Fairytales Today* performed a 40-minute kamishibai programme at 5 PM:

- Igor Cvetko: *Little Clay Elephant* (Doshinsha kamishibai, accompanied by tiny sound toys);
- Jelena Sitar: *The Fox and the Raccoon* (Doshinsha, author's combination of two kamishibai stories);
- Irena Rajh: *Mountain Witch* (Doshinsha kamishibai);
- Marjan Kunaver: *Press Here* (interactive picture book by Herve Tullet, MK, Ljubljana 2011, adapted for kamishibai theatre) and a couple of riddles based on Japanese ones; and
- Anže Virant: *Mojca Pokrajculja* (storytelling without a *butai* (kamishibai stage), using the illustrations of the picture book).

The performance was attended by around twenty people, who left the hall delighted with what they had seen.

This kamishibai première in Ljubljana was followed by the traditional three-day Zapik creative and research educational camp in Sela na Krasu (5–7 July 2013); under the working title *Borderline Forms of Theatre: Kamishibai*, twelve invited artists thoroughly examined this new theatre form in Slovenia. The work on individual projects (organised in sections) was combined with discussions in the plenary

sessions. The camp concluded with a public presentation of the kamishibai stories composed during the camp. The response of the local audience and participants of the camp exceeded expectations.

Several new (authored) kamishibai stories were created and a new event followed 22–24 August 2013. Assisted by the Piran Association of Cultural Societies, we organised an information point on kamishibai in Židovski Square in the frame of the *1st Fairytale Evenings with Kamishibai/Serata di fiabe con kamishibai*, a kamishibai showcase, subtitled *The First Slovenian Festival of Kamishibai Theatre*. In the course of three evenings, twelve kamishibai storytellers performed in the festival.

The response of the domestic audience and accidental tourists was exceptional. All three evenings were well-attended and the performances were watched by over 250 visitors. The organisers had to promise that a national kamishibai festival would be organised in Židovski Square in 2014. And that is how kamishibai gained the necessary and sufficient momentum in Slovenia.

The first five years of kamishibai in Slovenia

Since 2013 a lot has happened:

- research and education camps led by Zapik have dealt with different aspects of kamishibai as a borderline form of theatre art;
- three- to four-part seminars, workshops, courses and practical lectures were held. They were mainly led by the Zapik Theatre (Igor Cvetko and Jelena Sitar) and the studio Atelje Slikovedke (Jerca Cvetko and Jure Engelsberger). Zapik also carried out three complete education seminars (also three- to four-parts) abroad: for the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad (Serbia), and for the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Split and interested preschools in Split (Croatia), both in 2017; and for CTA (Centro teatro d'animazione) in Gorizia (Italy) in 2017;
- To date (May 2018) we have trained around 500 *kamishibayas* (kamishibai performers) and organised a range of regional kamishibai festivals, which have been taking place across Slovenia since 2014;
- The “United Slovene Kamishibayas” met for the first time in Židovski Square in Piran in August 2013. Since then we have organised five Slovenian kamishibai festivals, including selections by three-member juries, awarding commendations and a main festival award, the *Golden Kamishibai*, for the overall best kamishibai.

To date (May 2018) we have successfully introduced kamishibai as: a medium for artistic creativity; a medium for family creativity; an educational aid; a therapeutic

aid; a creativity relief valve (aid for personal growth); an opportunity for theatre and artistic experimentation. We have also used kamishibai in working with different age groups, such as the youngest (birth to 3 years); children who do and do not attend preschool; primary school pupils; students of secondary school and tertiary school; as well as adults and the elderly. In addition, we have used it in working with people who are differently-abled or have special physical or social needs: deaf and hard-of-hearing people; blind and partially-sighted people; people with drug and alcohol addictions; elderly people with specific problems; people with behavioural disorders; people with physical disabilities; people with mental health issues; people in prisons.

Considering all of the above, one can say that kamishibai is a *medium* that has been adopted in Slovenia surprisingly quickly and successfully in many social mechanisms and continues to be easily adapted to different social groups and norms. As a long-time ethnomusicologist and researcher of folk culture, I will try to explain this phenomenon from two angles: social and cultural anthropology and folkloristics.

Kamishibai in the light of anthropological and folkloristic reflections

I will first seek to shed light on the “explosion” of Slovenian kamishibai through the prism of interesting views advanced by individual socio-cultural theorists from the last decades of the 20th century to the present.

I will first tackle two questions regarding kamishibai that I have been asking myself for a long time:

- How is it possible that the popularity of kamishibai theatre gained national dimensions in such a short period? and
- What were the (necessary and sufficient) internal (social) reasons and levers which *produced* this “movement”?

The questions are complex and multi-layered and there are no unambiguous answers to them. Let’s start our research with an additional question:

- Is the boom of kamishibai in Slovenia in any way connected with the small size and homogeneity of Slovenia, a country you can cross in a car in less than three hours or in which, after climbing 2864m high Triglav, you can go swimming in the sea (for example, in Piran) two hours later?

The convincing and unambiguous answer provided by contemporary cultural anthropology reads: There are no small countries! Every compact, internally

operational “ethnicity” is indeed an independent entity, a working system and a functional unit. The above conclusion¹ tells us that the definition of a country “as small” is rather the result of the subjective judgement of its inhabitants or the “peripheral views” of external observers, and is as a rule superficial, partial, unprofessional and without any merit. In the framework of cultural and anthropological reflections on kamishibai, the smallness of Slovenia is not really of use to us. Let us therefore try to widen our reflections.

Cultural anthropology today advances the thesis that culture is not a material phenomenon *per se*, but rather the expression of actions through which people perceive, connect and interpret reality and themselves in this reality. This means that everything people do and say, their social engagement and everything that happens to them, is the result of their culture (compare Prošev Oliver).

Let us see first which cultural mechanisms can efficiently contribute towards the model of the kamishibai movement in Slovenia. Levi-Strauss could not avoid the conclusion that culture is the most complex part of human society and pointed to language as the *conditio sine qua non*, or the basic condition for its functioning.

1. Language forms our thoughts.
2. Language enables us to get to know the world.
3. Language defines us and shapes our world view.
4. Language allows us to communicate.
5. Language helps us to socially connect.

Language is thus the basis for the functioning of culture and society, and a given community identifies itself with that language. In this community, every individual uses language to shape his/her personal identity and incorporate himself/herself in the identity of the community, society and environment. Language is the means for people’s primary enculturation,² the process of adopting cultural values, symbolic practices and their meanings.

While reflecting on the relationship between the individual and the community, let us make a digression. It will help us to reach an important conclusion, and perhaps even a (partial) answer to the above question about kamishibai in our territory. Let’s have a closer look at a part of our vocal tradition³ – the way people around Slovenia sing. In

1 This opinion was repeatedly advocated by James Fergusson (Stanford University).

2 According to M. Herskovitz, this is a process of adopting cultural values, symbolic practices and their significance.

3 The Slovenian vocal tradition is, as a rule, common, polyphonic and improvised singing often in a 5/8 rhythm. Typically, it is an uneven, composite rhythm and performed mostly rubato. This must be based on the extreme cooperation of the “performers”, who are usually joined by the “listeners” during the singing process. The tradition of single-voiced narrative singing of ancient ballads, especially in the extreme west of Slovenia, where singing (in strophes) is exchanged with expressive and dramatic parlando “narration” of particular parts of the song. Often, the melody is sung in the way of *katastihon*, an ancient way of (bardic) singing, performing a rhythmic-melodic pattern, which allows for very “free” (unspecified) messaging of the content.

my opinion, understanding this “detail” can tell us a lot about the inner feelings and experiences of the Slovenians.

People have been singing in Slovenia from time immemorial. “Three Slovenians make a choir” is an old Slovenian proverb. Whenever a group of people gathers in Slovenia, there will be singing. At work, at parties, on holidays, at a wake, at a wedding, in sadness and in joy; at home, in an inn, in a procession, at fairs, feasts and funerals: someone will start to sing and the others will each add their voice. Two singers will sing in two parts, three in three, four in four, and up to five and even six voices. Part singing has to resonate “fully”. According to unwritten musical rules, this is what beautiful singing means to people. These rules are always respected and within them individuals are allowed quite a lot of freedom. Polyphonic singing and the sound tissue are freely improvised by the singers and constantly built – they co-create for a joint final result: joint singing in tune, which they enjoy to no end.

The above leads us to a key, a code for (archetypical) understanding of folk feelings: *feel individually – work in a team*. This code may be called the “prehistoric pattern” of Slovenian (non-verbal) communication. Let us now try to widen our findings and find out if the above might have an impact on our questions regarding the communicativeness of kamishibai.

Kamishibai and its power of communication

We have known for a long time that communication (the transfer of information and messages by a chosen channel) is the most important achievement of modern (human) civilisation. Human communication (roughly speaking) consists of three segments: a spoken segment; a gestural one; and a graphic (visual) one. The last segment, graphic communication is the most specifically human. It is a great invention of mankind. It allows a message (information) to be transferred (into space) and to be preserved (in time). Since images, and through them graphic (visual) communication, may be perhaps (since the Ice Ages) the most human of all communications, let us look at how these conclusions may be of key importance to our reflection on kamishibai theatre.

It has also been known for a long time that theatre is the one art “where (pure) communication ‘happens’ most directly”, even physically (Kulenović 35). Knowing that theatre originated from so-called ritual syncretism, a combination of spoken language, gestures, movements, mimics, dance and music (sound), then its miniature derivation is the kamishibai theatre, a medium, where besides the story and narration, great emphasis is dedicated to images. The emphasised visual component becomes its specific aspect, its recognisable and outstanding part, and in the context

of “communication theatre” kamishibai can therefore be seen as a special form of theatre, in which immovable (!) images take on the function of storytelling, turning it from a spatial art into a temporal one. The images strengthen the message, make it more concrete, easier to understand, multilayered, more associative. In kamishibai, the kamishibaya not only interprets and shows images, but also creates the storytelling/ images “packages”, which the spectators internalise, interpret and, through their inner experience, connect with the world around. In short, the spectators participate in the ritual of theatre.

And what role can we attribute to the ritual inside the theatre – this ritualised art form?

Freud wrote somewhere that ritual is a social relief valve and filter, the social corrective through which society’s needs and instincts are satisfied, as well those of the individual in it. This statement is in agreement with Bakhtin’s view⁴ that ritual is in the function of balancing everything that threatens society and the individual from the more powerful (ruling) classes of society. The ritualisation of social behaviour is thought to protect the masses of individuals without rights and the community as a whole against the repression of the powers and authorities.

Having established that in some aspects (communicative ease and thematic potential) kamishibai may even be a radicalised form of theatre, we can now credit it with quite some power. And even with a certain degree of subversiveness, as is revealed after all by its relatively short history, especially during and after World War II (compare Nash). From its beginning (at the turn of the 20th century), kamishibai had a distinctly ritual and social corrective charge. It emerged in Japan at the beginning of the economic crisis of the late 1920s and it was then, but especially during and after World War II, that it showed its great revolutionary, connecting and activation power. It is probably no coincidence that it spread remarkably vitally and took roots in the (revolutionary) Central and South Americas, and that it has played a similar role in the Slovenian story.

What is the nature of the communication triggered by kamishibai?

Kamishibai combines storytelling and images in a united single message. The kamishibai performer presents oneself to the audience with one’s communication package, which one has “packed” in advance at home, and starts to gradually “unpack” it in front of the audience. Following the principles of cybernetics, a mechanism now starts to operate that is a dead ringer for the one we established in joint (folk) singing: the kamishibaya (transmitter) “leads” the event and the audience (receiver) becomes engaged; every viewer in his/her own way, a little bit different, led by his/her own (individual) experiences and feelings. Nevertheless, all the participants in this process

⁴ Bakhtin described the need and efforts of the society for carnivalisation with his famous syntagm “the culture of laughter” – a salvific invention and an effective lever of human cultural and evolutionary progress.

start to experience the message together, since they are all watching the same show! The *kyokan*, as this common feeling or collective experience created and spread by the event is called by the Japanese, is exactly the common experience felt by the audience. The energy produced at the *butai* (stage) spreads to the audience, is enriched by the experience and “co-creation” of the individuals and is, in line with the physical laws (of resonance), strengthened, completed and returned to the receiver (performer). The joint feeling of “unity” and the individual’s feeling of “multiple connectedness” with the group that is created in this process, is the hypnotic feeling of ecstasy (alienation) and inner connectedness of the group that has accompanied all ritualised activities of mankind from prehistory to the present.

Kamishibai from the viewpoint of cultural anthropology

I have already mentioned the historical context in which kamishibai brought about an interesting social activation. Let’s now have a look at the social environment, in which kamishibai – this interesting cultural *novum* – has emerged in Slovenia. How can we perceive this phenomenon from the viewpoint of cultural anthropology, a science dedicated to investigating the human as a cultural being, as an outcome of culture?

A condition for the “domestication” of anything in society, or the “modernisation” of anything existing in it, are the specific cultural traits of that society, its social logic and its traditional mechanisms of operation. In the 1980s, while reflecting about “every new social modernity”, M. Morishima wrote that “every society must achieve the condition of modernity in its very own way, which is in line with its social, cultural, economic and political history” (compare Godina 65), and in doing so use (implement) already existing and functioning social mechanisms, institutions and practices.

This idea was beautifully and wittily complemented by M. Sahlins: “The intention (of non-European peoples, those who are getting closer to the West) is not to become the way we are, but to become even more the way they are themselves”. Foreign goods are converted by these peoples to serve domestic ideas and propagate them. They use them to make their own understanding of a good life tangible, as well as their relationships and activities (qtd. in Godina 77). He called the process of this adaptation to “imported” solutions the “indigenisation of modernity”. Sahlins’s conclusion is the key to understanding most social and enculturation processes today, because (in particular because of the unstoppable globalisation processes) each and every one of them involves foreign cultural influences, domestication and/or modernisation of these influences. Indeed, in my opinion, the “indigenisation of modernity” is the very *spiritus agens* of all social progress.

In his 1970s analysis of the mechanisms and processes that propel society (not only in the economic sense), A. Inkeles listed a number of “social values” as the precondition for a society’s successful development and the well-being of the individual in it. Let me list some of them: willingness to engage in new experiences, openness to novelties, follow one’s own opinion, the importance of education, focus on the now, look ahead, managing one’s own life, striving towards set goals, rewards in accordance with invested labour and efforts ... (Ibid. 99).

Reflecting in a similar way, McLelland emphasised that the key factor of social and cultural development was to the greatest extent the “motivation for achievement”. In his opinion, this was even the motor of social development (Ibid.).

If we now have a more detailed look at Inkeles’s list of social values and the position of the individual in them, we see that all the points he mentions hold true for the activities no one, who intends to create his own *kamishibai*, *tezukuri*, can ignore. The list is indeed a set of instructions on how to go about a *kamishibai* and why.

A short review of the Slovenian cultural essence

Let us now look how much Sahlins’s “indigenisation of modernity” corresponds with the profile of Slovenian society.

During its history, Slovenian society (more closed than open and communicative with reservations) had to be open enough (especially to its neighbours), since in the long term, no society can survive in isolation or if it feels self-sufficient. Accepting things foreign has always been something that could not be avoided in this environment, while preserving and nurturing one’s own identity remained the deep motive and mechanism that preserved the Slovenians ethnically throughout long centuries at the juncture of three great ethnicities (Romanic to the West, Germanic to the North, Hungarian to the South-East) and in the neighbourhood with Croatia.

A “static culture” is the label (or caricature) sometimes attributed to the Slovenian ethnical essence; on the one hand, it often shows as an irritating element of our society, but on the other hand, it is often held to be simultaneously the necessary “survival” momentum that has kept us alive and preserved us. To avoid falling into useless historicising below, I will consider only a few facts relevant to the understanding of our questions.

The reason why the Slovenians dedicate themselves to culture massively, actively and profoundly certainly lies in the historical fact that culture has always been

the centripetal force that connected us (initially only linguistically, later also as a nation) and gave us the feeling of an ethnic community and affiliation. The year 1848 and the political programme United Slovenia, which demanded a single administrative unit and equality for the Slovenian language within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, exposed the great state-forming ambitions of the Slovenian people for the first time. In the absence of the required political support, the initiative and connecting activities were taken over by culture. Rallies, organised mass political meetings and emphatic cultural actions (choirs, brass bands, theatre performances, literary presentations, etc.), as well as the Sokol movement (physical education, cultural and political activities) engaged (organised) masses of people. Parallel to these activities and spontaneously, the same developments occurred in the countryside: choirs, folk stages, brass bands, folklore, dance groups, etc. In the interwar period, cultural societies brought people together; cultural centres were built, and during World War II, rich cultural activities spread across the liberated territories. After World War II, the socialist regime implemented an intensive cultural policy. The Association of Cultural Societies connected the mass cultural organisations as their umbrella organisation, including (and partly financing) several thousands of cultural societies, groups and individuals, while in the educational sector numerous and diverse cultural activities took place in the schools.

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, during the period of crisis before and after independence (1992), and in particular after Slovenia joined the multi-national European family, the EU (in 2007), it was expected that organising and profiling the Slovenian ethnic and national identity would become part of our national strategy. However, during and especially after the economic crisis which hit Slovenia in 2008, the government's attitude to culture became quite neglectful, favouring an ill-considered neoliberal agenda. If earlier, socialism promoted and supported the natural need of people for culture and cultural organising and activity, capitalism did not favour these efforts.

And today? With its systemic austerity policies and politically-driven measures, politics today support a more directed favouring of the "national" cultural institutions, but to the detriment of the widest organised (folk) culture. All this is consequently reflected in a harshly impoverished amateur culture and the gradual waning of organised "mass" cultural activities that have historically always been the basis of our cultural and national existence. I feel that what we are facing today for the first time is an encroachment on the abovementioned natural right to culture, especially from the government with an attitude to culture that is in a wider sense detrimental to nation-building.

Kamishibai – a new form of Slovene cultural movement?

With regard to the above considerations it seems that kamishibai was introduced in Slovenia in a time when it could provide people with an opportunity to move towards a condition of cultural self-organisation, clearly showing the way for every individual to “arrive at oneself” through one's own creativity and express oneself in a way that suited oneself and one's environment. Analogously and humanely, and in a time that is markedly impersonal, digital, virtually-driven and aggressively commercialised.

Let us now consider the above statement from the viewpoint of the rich Slovenian folklorist tradition. It is quite obvious that the Slovenian case of the *kamishibai movement* (Igor Cvetko) has outgrown the nature of a “craze”, and in many ways has come close to the notion of a *kamishibai culture* (Tara McGowan).

I found this conclusion so enticing that given the phenomenon of the kamishibai boom in Slovenia I started to ask myself:

- What is the phenomenon of Slovenian kamishibai based on?
- What are the reasons for this little “imported” theatre form to have acquired the status of a household activity so quickly, and
- What exactly is there in kamishibai that makes it “ours”?

In a society, only institutions and practices which are in harmony with the local cultural mechanisms can function successfully (M. Sahlins). Anything new can only “catch on” if it is in harmony with the existing (M. Morishima). Anything abolishing the existing leaves the individual in a social and cultural vacuum.

Let us now consider which are the (traditional) cultural and social practices in Slovenia that may be classified into the category of traditional and historically determined local contexts, for example, the mechanisms and factors which in my opinion most evidently drive and shape the kamishibai movement we are witnessing today.⁵

Language

The term embraces numerous mechanisms that have preserved, spread and enriched the Slovenian language for centuries. If there is any truth in the saying that “language built the nation”, then it certainly holds true for Slovene. The oldest preserved records in Slovene go back to the 10th century (the Freising manuscripts), the first books printed in Slovene (Trubar's *Abecedarium* and *Cathechismus* and Dalmatin's

⁵ On the eve of the opening of the international symposium The Art of Kamishibai, on 9 May 2018, kamishibai events took place all over Slovenia, organised by the Kamišibaj Association. During the 24-hour event, 775 kamishibais were performed before over 35,000 people. This important cultural experiment, aimed at “counting our numbers”, was carefully documented and archived.

monumental translation of the Bible) to the middle and second half of the 16th century. From then onwards, the notion “Slovenian” is identified with the Slovene language – with a uniform (written, used and functionally elaborated) language. Today, the combined book production of Slovenian publishers amounts to around 4,000 titles annually (3,800 in 2017), and 2005 was a “record” year, with the publication of nearly 5,000 “serious” books.

Theatre

Theatre has always been an important part of our (folk) tradition. Passion processions (since 1617, in memory and warning of the plague) and passion plays (for example, *Paradise Play*, 1670), performed by the Jesuits in the streets of the larger Slovenian towns, were beautiful dramatised processions with “living images from the life of Christ”. The “actors” in these processions were followed by flagellants and cross bearers. The *Škofja Loka Passion Play* (1721) is still a highly popular event and a living tradition (Škofja Loka, today protected by UNESCO).

Folk and ritualised folk theatre

Shrovetide rituals (Slavic carnival rituals) have been a special event *par excellence*, a classical example of ritual syncretism or radical folk theatre in Slovenia. Masks, Shrovetide processions and parades – living and surprisingly vibrant even today – represent (among others) an important part of the Slovenian folk visual and narrative expressivity and creativity. Wooden, cardboard, leather, metal, etc. masks and costumes are the products of spontaneous folk imagination and traditional (visual) solutions. Shrovetide ritual scenarios are imaginative, most often improvised and authentically performed (often danced) farces, travesties and comical (staged ritual) scenes. They are most often accompanied by loud noises (bells, whips, horns, sound sources, etc.) and music. Shrovetide in Slovenia today unfolds in its original form⁶ and function⁷ in many places, especially in the countryside; while urban Shrovetide customs have a more carnivalesque nature and attract many spectators and visitors every year.

Sung newspapers were invented in Slovenian Carinthia (Koroška) and on the Pohorje mountain range (northern Slovenia) towards the end of the 18th century, and they had a parallel in the somewhat older singing of (murder) ballads, eerie and unusual stories, and the public singing from poem leaflets. An important writer (and singer)

⁶ These are the rounds of masks and musicians. At each house they dance with the locals, who give them gifts. The main character of the Carnival ritual is *Pust*, the main offender for everything bad that has happened in the past year, who is ritually killed at the end of the ceremony.

⁷ The rite of the end of winter is a bargain with all the old and potentially dangerous and awakening of a new life.

of this tradition was Jurij Vodovnik, a “newsman”, whose songs (and those of his imitators) were a kind of sung documentaries, sung scenes from the life of people and events, with topical and erotic themes and comments (Cvetko, *Jaz sem Vodovnik*). The closest relative of the sung newspapers would be a *sung kamishibai*.

Folk storytelling was for centuries a traditional household activity at every home. It is still systematically promoted in kindergartens and primary schools. In the last 15 years storytellers have been presenting themselves in organised ways in popular storytelling festivals and the quality of storytelling is today on the rise. *Folk and amateur theatres* have been exceptionally vibrant and vital all since World War II. Of the nearly 500 primary schools in Slovenia, a couple of decades ago only a handful did not have a *puppet* and/or *drama club*. *Film* and especially *comics* are on the rise and achieve international standards.

Folk design

Examining the visual (pictorial) tradition (of folk expressions) reveals the following picture in the Slovene ethnic territory:

Folk paintings and frescoes. The little churches and chapels, dotted all over Slovenia, have been largely adorned with frescoes by self-taught artists and folk painters, and enriched with their works (statues, paintings, carvings, decorative furnishings, etc.). Since the Middle Ages, many visual art motifs (the Stations of the Cross, thematically based frescoes, pictorial scenes, etc.) are often close to storytelling in images, a way of expression that has been familiar to the Slovenes from time immemorial.

Glass paintings, which today still adorn many peasant homes and churches, were the most popular decoration from the late-18th to the early-20th century, especially in Upper Carniola (Gorenjska). They are an essential part of the rich folk creativity in Slovenia.

Beehive panels are a unique cultural and artistic monument in Slovenia, an autochthonous cultural phenomenon. They are the painted front panels of hives, featuring religious, historical, legendary or genre scenes that are suitable for storytelling in pictures. They started to appear in the 2nd half of the 18th century and were popular among beekeepers until the early 20th century. They were largely created by members of the lower (peasant) classes. The Beekeeping Museum in Radovljica and the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana have a total of nearly 2,000 (very diverse) painted beehive panels. Nowadays, souvenir shops sell newly-painted panels, copied after old traditional motifs, but in a recognisable, traditional technique and style.

Decoration traditionally includes lace-making, Easter eggs, gingerbread and candle making, woodcarving, stone masonry, artistic blacksmithing, dyeing, weaving, etc.

Conclusion

Kamishibai emerged in Slovenia as a social and cultural experiment by a small group of puppetry enthusiasts, and in a short time, has become a highly active, and in a certain way subversive, artistic theatre form. It is accessible to anyone, cheap, portable, handy, relatively simple, efficient and convincing in contacting audiences. It engages and moves the audience, nourishes it and “caresses” it.

When a kamishibaya performs, he is there because of the audience. She performs for each and every one in particular. He shares his emotions with the audience and tells them: “You’re not alone, I’m with you.” At the end of the performance the audience rewards her with an applause for the time she has spent creating the kamishibai story, for all the invested work and efforts that led to her kamishibai and for her willingness to share her intimate creativity with them. Every new kamishibai and kamishibai performer enriches society a little. Everybody gains: the individual as well as society as a whole. Moreover: with every viewer who experiences *kyokan* with the kamishibaya the scales of social values tip towards progress.

And why does the social-cultural environment in Slovenia seem to be right on cue for the development of a so-called kamishibai culture, to which Tara McGowan refers in her bestseller *The Kamishibai Classroom*?

Perhaps for the following reasons:

- because in Slovenia everybody is anyway a do-it-yourself enthusiast;
- because until recently people in the countryside used to build their homes themselves, but also with a lot of neighbourhood assistance;
- because we are a society in which most people in the countryside are volunteer-firefighters;
- because it is hard to find in Slovenia anyone who is not engaged in any leisure activity (culture, sports, recreation, non-institutional education, personal growth, travelling, social activities, etc.); and
- because money does not yet rule the world in Slovenia.

Certainly not. And also not because (later, ... “when we’ll be good enough”) we would like to commercialise kamishibai in the way publishers do, printing kamishibai and supplying them to schools and libraries. It seems to be very likely that such an attempt would be counterproductive today.

I believe that we live in a society in which:

- kamishibais are produced one after the other;

- people of all ages engage in kamishibai, from preschools to retirement homes;
- kamishibayas meet and talk about kamishibai;
- kamishibai is used as an aid in working with vulnerable and deprived groups, and in particular;
- to some, kamishibai has become a goal, a refuge and a motivation for creativity, and others (audiences) are delighted and fulfilled by it, and is a society on the way to becoming a place where culture changes from a noun into a “verb” (McGowan 86).

In many ways, this “verb” has already existed among us, but we somehow almost forgot about it somewhere “along the way”.

Translated by Franc Smrke

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Igor Cvetko, MSc, is an ethnomusicologist, puppeteer and author. During his fifteen years as a research associate of the Music Institute at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Science and Arts in Ljubljana, he also lectured about ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana and at the Faculty of Education of the University of Maribor. For eight years, he was a curator for spiritual culture at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana. He has published his findings in numerous scientific publications and articles, as well as in high-profile (professional and popular) books (in particular about children's folk traditions), among which are: *Slovenian Children's Finger Games*, Didakta Publishing House, 1996; *The Smallest Games in Slovenia*, Didakta Publishing House, 2000; *Aja, tutaja. Childrens' folk lullabies*, DZS, 2005; *Trara, pesem pelja. Songs and children's folk musical instruments in Slovenia*, Mladinska knjiga Publishing House, 2006. *A Big Little Finger Theater*, Didakta Publishing House, 2010; *Slovenian Children's Games from A to Z*, Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2017. As a puppeteer, Igor Cvetko, together with Jelena Sitar, co-founded *Zapik Puppet Theater*, famous in Slovenia for its unique and interesting aesthetics and the principle of contact performances for the youngest spectators. In these performances, Igor Cvetko works primarily as a performer, artist and musician, as well as co-director with Jelena Sitar.

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In the late 1920s, the inventors of kamishibai (Japanese “paper theatre”) took simple materials and created the magical illusion of the “big screen” in miniature. When television first entered Japan, it was called “electric kamishibai” because of the outward similarity of a screen with moving images and audio enclosed within a frame. Twenty-first-century technologies, which still rely on moving images and screens, are often credited with enabling a “new” remixing of modes and media, but kamishibai’s history illustrates that technological progress, like a möbius strip, often folds back upon itself, offering scholars and practitioners opportunities for time travel, as forgotten ideas are rediscovered and taken in new directions. Drawing upon examples of early kamishibai-related artefacts in the Cotsen Children’s Library at Princeton University, this article traces how kamishibai developed in close relation to other audio-visual media, such as magic lantern and film, until the 1950s, after which kamishibai has been increasingly compared with picture books and other paper-based media. Placing kamishibai within a global audio-visual history that extends from the magic lantern to the internet provides us with fresh perspectives and opens up new possibilities, as artists, storytellers and educators from around the world engage with kamishibai in relation to media from their own traditions, as well as new developing technologies. The non-digital, audio-visual aspects of kamishibai free it from the constraints of technological development and provide the versatility and potential for play that continue to inspire multiple, hybrid adaptations of the form.

Keywords: kamishibai performance, multimedia history, magic lanterns, new literacy, transmediation, convergence

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Time Travels with Kamishibai

The Ongoing Adventures of a Magical Moving Medium

Scholars and practitioners alike tend to describe kamishibai as a uniquely Japanese medium. While this may be true, kamishibai would certainly not have developed in the way it did without several timely technological innovations from abroad. The story of kamishibai's emergence in relation to early cinematic forms, such as shadow-theatre, magic lantern and silent film, reveals that, unlike narrative retellings of events, lived history does not always progress forward in a linear fashion, but often folds back upon itself like an infinite möbius strip. Exploring these non-linear chronologies opens up opportunities for "time travel" in a very real sense, as forgotten aspects of the past are rediscovered, and old ideas are picked up and taken in new directions.

In their introduction to *Multimedia Histories from the Magic Lantern to the Internet*, James Lyons and John Plunkett write:

New media [...] refashion pre-existing artistic forms [...] this process reminds us not only that new media technologies are invariably introduced into aesthetic and social contexts that shape their contours, but that those new media appropriate and transform facets of earlier arts (xx).

This paper traces the development of kamishibai as an evolving new medium during the 19th and 20th centuries and reveals how its introduction involved the appropriation and transformation of earlier art forms, which have continued to intersect and cross-fertilise with each other over time.

In *Gentō no seiki* (The century of the magic lantern), Iwamoto Kenji¹ describes what he sees as the chronologically backward nature of kamishibai's development:

The emergence of kamishibai is a strange phenomenon. At a time when many different audio-visual technologies were tied in some way to modern scientific instruments, kamishibai was made of just pictures and narrative and seemed to be a throwback to Edo-period spectacles created for a child audience. Using noisemakers to gather the children to buy candy is completely reminiscent of Edo-period traveling salesmen. But,

¹ I will use Japanese name order with last name appearing first and first name second.

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Andrea Immel and Princeton University's Firestone Library for allowing me to use images of objects from the ever-inspiring Cotsen Children's Library collection. I am also grateful to Igor Cvetko and Jelena Sitar for inviting me to the symposium *The Art of Kamishibai: The World of Image and the Image of the Word* to give the talk on which this article is based.

while kamishibai was new, the fact that the details of its emergence are unclear is also strange. (197; author's translation)

Iwamoto is reluctant to embrace the idea that kamishibai is an offshoot of the magic-lantern show because he thinks of it as a “throwback”, rather than a forward-looking innovation. He goes on to use the conflicting historical accounts of kamishibai's development to question its connection to the history of the magic lantern.

Given its humble beginnings as a street-performance art, it is not surprising that the history of kamishibai's development is largely anecdotal, but Iwamoto's dismissal of it as a chronological anomaly reveals the limitations of examining any medium in isolation. Lyons and Plunkett write that “In contemporary media practice, ‘convergence’ stands for the dominance of fusion and transferability between different forms [...] We are in an era in which media are always used *in relation* to each other” (xxii; emphasis added). Although they claim this as a new phenomenon, the history of kamishibai demonstrates that this is anything but new. Children's cultural scholar and illustrator, Kako Satoshi examines eight differing accounts of the origins of kamishibai, but unlike Iwamoto, he concludes that kamishibai is not “just pictures and narrative”, but that it was born from “light” (光) and “shadow” (影) (Kako 7). He goes on to claim that kamishibai was a product of a hybridisation of Chinese shadow-theatre (literally, “shadow pictures” 影絵) and early magic-lantern technology from Holland. This explanation is supported by the fact that Edo-period magic-lantern shows, which were called *utsushi-e* (projected pictures) in the eastern part of Japan, were called *nishiki kage-e* (錦影絵, or “brocade shadow theatre”) in the western region.

According to Kako's account, kamishibai was an important innovation because it took the magic of light and shadow – the foundation of all cinematic technologies – and *transmediated*² it into what remains perhaps the most mundane and commonly available material of all: paper. The question then arises, what steps could have led from the technology of the magic lantern to a paper simulation of it? In what follows, I will examine examples of transmediated objects from the Cotsen Children's Library collection to demonstrate a possible missing link in our understanding of the invention of kamishibai and to show that its emergence was not such a strange phenomenon in a cultural context where media convergence, or transmediation, particularly to paper, was quite commonplace. Evidence from the Cotsen Collection reveals that kamishibai not only converged with magic-lantern technology from the outset, but also confirms Kako's later assertion that the two audio-visual technologies – kamishibai and magic lantern – continued to develop *in relation* to each other, cross-fertilising and intersecting as they moved in tandem over time (Kako 7). The imaginative leap that translated the “magic” of light and shadow to the mundane material of paper provides at least a partial explanation for why kamishibai is such a remarkably adaptable and

² I will use the term transmediation, rather than convergence, because it retains a sense of crossing back and forth.

versatile medium, the possibilities of which continue to appeal to artists, teachers, puppeteers and storytellers around the world today.

Before proceeding further, it is important to distinguish between two different but related types of kamishibai. The first, which I will call the puppet-style of kamishibai (*tachi-e*), was developed in the 1890s and is considered to be the direct descendant of Edo-period magic-lantern shows. The second type, which I will call the card-style of kamishibai (*hira-e*), emerged around 1928. The development of this second type of kamishibai – the most common format today – was a hybridisation of a storytelling medium called *ebanashi* (picture-story) and silent film. As we shall see, it was also inspired by Western-style magic lantern shows (*gentō*), which, like silent film, had entered Japan at the turn of the century.

Omocha-e (play prints): The missing link between magic lantern and kamishibai

During the long Edo period (1603–1868), Japan pursued a policy of seclusion from the outside world, but that did not stop technologies and ideas from trickling into the country from abroad, most notably through the Island of Dejima, where Japanese merchants carried on a limited trade with the Dutch. It is thought that a magic lantern from Holland first entered Japan in the 1700s because records of a uniquely Japanese adaptation of the instrument, called *utsushi-e* (projected pictures), began appearing in the city of Edo in 1801 (Tsuchiya, Okubo & Endō 33). With *utsushi-e*, animation of the characters was possible because the quick pulling of a series of slides – like a flipbook – before a light source fooled the audience into thinking the characters projected on a screen had moved (see Fig. 1).

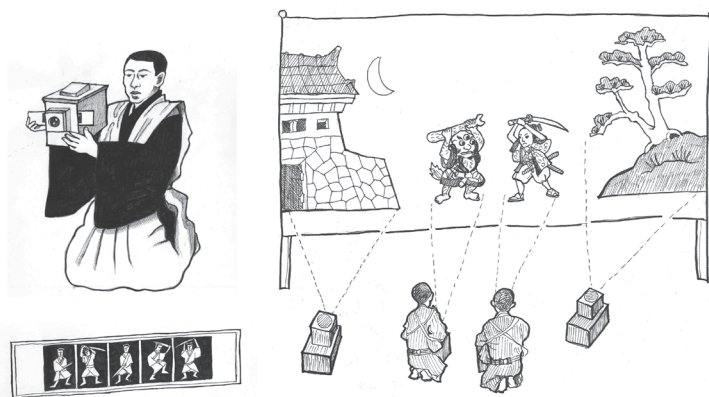


Figure 1. An *utsushi-e* performer with a close-up of an animated slide (left). An example of an *utsushi-e* performance with several *furo* (lanterns).

These early projectors were made of wood, with an opening at the top for the chimney of an oil lamp (closed off in the illustration above). Several performers, each holding a different projector, would animate different parts of the story onto a screen in a darkened room. Similar to phantasmagoria in the West, *utsushi-e* shows were projected from behind the screen instead of in front, like film projectors today. This made the performances even more magical because the ghostly images seemed to materialise out of nowhere. Performers could freely adjust the size of the image by moving the hand-held projector closer or farther from the screen.

Utsushi-e shows were adapted to be performed in a popular theatrical venue called *yose*. Although today *yose* is primarily associated with a humorous form of oral storytelling called *rakugo*, in the Edo period, it was more like vaudeville in the West, featuring many different kinds of magical acts and dramatic spectacles (*misemono*). Against the backdrop of *yose*, it becomes easier to understand the development of the first kamishibai in 1899 (Ishiyama 26). Quoting from a survey conducted in Tokyo in 1935, historian Kamichi Chizuko introduces the inventor of the first kamishibai as follows:

Shin-san was a *rakugo* storyteller, but he was not very good [at *rakugo*]. Instead, he excelled at drawing, so his master, Enchō (Sanyūtei Enchō) had him draw scenes from his popular plays, *Journey to the West* and *Chūshingura* (The 47 loyal retainers). These were made into wood-block prints and sold in the candy stores, one print for one *sen*. The children would cut out the pictures and paste them onto bamboo skewers so they could play with them [...] Later, Shin-san collaborated with the incense seller Maruyama Zentarō to come up with a *tachi-e* puppet that was not just a wood-block print for children. (24)

As Kamichi goes on to explain, these wood-block prints are referring to *omocha-e* (play prints), a genre of *ukiyo-e* designed for children. According to this explanation, kamishibai did not develop directly from Edo-period magic-lantern shows but was first transmediated into an *omocha-e* play print. Before examining Shin-san's invention of the first kamishibai, it becomes necessary to highlight the overlooked role of the *omocha-e* play print as a paper "bridge" between *utsushi-e* and kamishibai.

Omocha-e play prints were a widely popular medium of entertainment that flourished, alongside other *ukiyo-e* wood-block print genres for adults, during the Edo period. They were ostensibly designed for children but were probably enjoyed by people of all ages. Inexpensive and portable, they were the perfect gift to bring back from the urban centres to the provinces. As such, they were a particularly effective medium for spreading new concepts, technologies and fashions around Japan. In fact, most titles of *omocha-e* prints begin with *shinpan* (or "the latest"), claiming that they provided the most up-to-date information on any given topic. Although largely dismissed until recently as juvenile ephemera, *omocha-e* are now receiving increasing scholarly

attention for the light they shed on early popular cultural trends.

Omocha-e came in a dizzying array of genres, but theatre was a particularly popular theme, especially for prints that could be cut up and assembled to recreate performances at home. This is the genre of *omocha-e* that Kamichi describes above, and it may well be the missing link in our forming a clear understanding of how a Japanese form of paper-theatre developed out of Edo-period magic-lantern shows. In the Cotsen Children's Library Collection, there is an *omocha-e* print titled *The Latest Magic-Lantern Show Pictures* (Shinpan utsushi-e) by Tsunashima Kamekichi from 1884. This single-sheet, wood-block print was designed for children to cut and assemble, but in this case, instead of putting the images on bamboo skewers, they would have fortified them with wood or cardboard. The slides would be moved quickly behind the *yose* stage at the bottom of the print, to simulate an *utsushi-e* performance. Just as with the *kamishibai* puppet invented by Shin-san, the animation of *utsushi-e* slides depended on the quick movement of the images behind the stage. These paper "slides" would be pulled out incrementally from right to left, just like the cards in a typical *kamishibai* stage (for a detailed analysis of this print, see <https://blogs.princeton.edu/cotsen/2018/02/omocha-e/>).

Of course, the real *utsushi-e* projectors relied on light and shadow – a fire-source and a darkened room – to work their magic, but, as the play-print in the Cotsen Collection demonstrates, a dramatic simulation of this effect could be achieved on paper using dark and light pigments so the images could be appreciated in open daylight as a child's amusement. From here, it is not such a big leap for the imagination to go where Shin-san's evidently did – to the invention of *tachi-e* *kamishibai*. Although Shin-san's original *omocha-e* play print is long gone, play prints of the same genre, no doubt inspired by Shin-san's prototype, can still be found.



Figure 2. Kamishibai puppets of Sarutobi Sasuke driving out demons (*bakemono taiji*), artist unknown, c. 1920–30, Cotsen Children's Library (Cotsen ID No. 98569).

This *omocha-e* play print from the Cotsen Children's Library collection (Fig. 2) provides all the kamishibai puppets needed to recreate the story of legendary *ninja* Sarutobi Sasuke, driving out ghosts and demons. Just as with the Edo-period magic-lantern shows, still images of scenery are provided on right and left to be used for the setting – in this case a castle and a haunted temple – but otherwise, each character is depicted in two different poses side by side. The two poses would be cut out and glued to either side of a bamboo skewer, just as Kamichi describes above, so that, when the puppet was flipped around quickly – just like the quick pulling of the lantern slides out of the stage – the puppet would appear to move.

The *tachi-e* kamishibai print in Figure 2 dates from the 1920s or 30s, but it depicts many of the same themes and characters as the *utsushi-e* print described above. The two samurai in the *utsushi-e* print (not shown) battle the stock figures of the three-eyed monster and the lantern ghost, just as *ninja* Sarutobi Sasuke does in the *tachi-e* print in Figure 2, revealing how these media – magic lanterns, play-prints, and kamishibai – continued to develop *in relation* to each other over time. In fact, these same figures continue to appear in Japanese animated movies, picture books and videogames today. It is not entirely clear whether Shin-san was the first to create this particular kind of *omocha-e* play print, but what Kamichi does clearly state is that he was the first to recognise that this child's toy could be developed into a type of dramatic spectacle in its own right. By making larger versions of these puppets and performing them in a stage against a black curtain, which made the animated images stand out, Shin-san created a new kind of performance, which he dubbed “the new magic lantern show” (*Shin-utsushi-e*). Audiences, however, saw that he was using paper puppets to perform theatre, so they took to calling it *kamishibai* (Kata 8).

Shin-san's innovation freed him from the challenges of performing actual magic-lantern shows, which required fire, expensive glass for the slides, and the darkness of an interior space. It also gave him autonomy as a one-man show, instead of having to coordinate with several performers. Although initial performances occurred inside, these shows were later taken out into the open and performed on the streets, offering audiences of all ages and walks of life the novelty of the magical illusion of cinematic animation. In an outdoor setting, selling candy was adopted as a way to ensure remuneration for street performers. To say that this invention was a “throw-back” is to ignore the technological leap from magic lantern to paper, which, it could be argued, is analogous to paintings in Europe after the discovery of three-point perspective. The materials used may be simple and mundane, but the way of seeing (and, in this case, animating) was entirely new.

From *ebanashi* (picture-stories) to the “new” kamishibai

The development of the card-style of street-performance kamishibai, which emerged around 1928, in some ways mirrored the first. Just as the puppet-style of kamishibai tried to bill itself as the “new magic-lantern show” (*shin-utsushie*), the card-style of kamishibai likewise presented itself as the “new picture-story” (*shin-ebanashi*). According to Kata, this was a sly tactic to avoid confrontation with the police, as well as competition from more senior puppet-style kamishibai performers (25–26). At the time, *ebanashi* would have been considered more innocuous than the street-performance puppet-style of kamishibai because it was a medium already in use in formal educational settings. In *Educational Research into Kamishibai* (*Kamishibai no kyōiku teki kenkyū*), authors Nomura Shōji and Uchiyama Kendō (1937) describe two major types of *ebanashi*: drawn pictures and expressive pictures. The “drawn” variety included simultaneous drawing with chalk on a blackboard or painting with a brush on paper while telling a story in front of an audience. The “expressive” kind included telling stories using hanging scrolls, rolling scrolls (*emaki*-style), or, finally, card-pulling (80).

Nomura and Uchiyama acknowledge that outwardly, there was no difference between the last variety of *ebanashi* and the new kamishibai, but they do make an important distinction. Whereas *ebanashi* consisted of still images, like a series of dramatic tableaux, designed in response to an existing text or story, kamishibai required movement in the transition from one card to the next. Nomura and Uchiyama describe kamishibai cards as similar to a reel of film with some of the frames missing (81–83). In other words, the creators of the “new” *ebanashi* made the imaginative leap from silent film to paper cards by *transmediating* the movement and visual techniques – zooming in, panning out and montage – of film to the *ebanashi* card format and adopting the narrative style of the popular film narrators (*katsudō benshi*). Just as with the puppet-style, it was the audiences who took to calling this invention *kamishibai* because it offered cinematic drama on paper.

Although early puppet-style kamishibai may have emulated kabuki or bunraku theatre, later puppet-style kamishibai were based on silent films. Kata recalls that the very first kamishibai he was asked to make was a *tachi-e* puppet of the eponymous hero from Charlie Chaplin’s film *The Kid*. In fact, terms used for the two types of kamishibai were so fluid that it can be confusing for researchers (Orbaugh 329), and even early film was variously referred to as “Moving Shadow Pictures” or “Moving Magic-Lantern Pictures” – indicating that there was a similar confusion between magic lantern and film (Fukujima 6–7). What is clear is that

both styles of kamishibai arose from a similar impulse – to *transmediate* cinematic media onto paper – and this apparently “backwards” innovation freed the performer from the inconvenience and expense of complicated technology and allowed them to perform in the open air and interact with audiences in new ways.

By 1937, according to Nomura and Uchiyama, there were 2,000 kamishibai storytellers on the streets of Tokyo, and about 800,000 children were watching kamishibai stories on a daily basis nationwide (1).³ The power of this informal educational mass media soon attracted the attention of innovative instructors, who wanted to harness its popularity for their own purposes. An early proponent of educational kamishibai, Matsunaga Kenya wrote, “All things considered, kamishibai is a marvelous weapon in the educational arsenal. I cannot begin to imagine what a powerful influence it will have five or ten years down the road in every aspect of teaching” (McGowan 16; Suzuki 55). Matsunaga’s words turned out to be prophetic, not only for classroom teachers, but also for the militaristic Japanese government. With the onset of WWII, kamishibai soon became one of the government’s pedagogical “weapons” of choice for instructing the whole nation to pull together for the war effort (Suzuki; Orbaugh).

Western-style magic-lantern shows and the rise of educational kamishibai

By the mid-1930s, when religious leaders, teachers and government officials were just discovering the potential of street-performance kamishibai as a teaching tool, Western-style magic lanterns had already long established themselves as permanent fixtures in educational environments. The *re*-introduction of the magic lantern to Japan provides a perfect example of the möbius strip of history mentioned at the outset. Magic-lantern technology had continued to evolve in Europe and America, and, when Japan opened its doors to international trade in the 1860s and participated in the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, Tejima Seiichi brought back Western-style magic-lantern projectors called *gentō* (literally “illusion lantern”) (Ishiyama 23). The Meiji government promptly commissioned the creation of educational magic-lantern projectors and slides to teach about constitutional reforms and civic responsibilities in a new era. Again, the Cotsen Children’s Library collection offers an *omocha-e* play print in the form of a sugoroku game board to illustrate.

³ Ishiyama puts this figure closer to 700,000 (57).



Figure 3. *Kyōiku hitsuyō gentō furiwake sugoroku* (Important slides for education board game), Artist: Hiroshige III (1842–1894), depicting Meiji educator Tsurubuchi Hatsuzō lecturing, 1896 (Cotsen ID No. 101597).

This image, used at the “start” (*furidashi*) of the game, depicts the government-commissioned educator Tsurubuchi Hatsuzō, instructing a group of young people about an exemplary episode from the life of the legendary emperor Nintoku. It is important to note the similarity between the way Tsurubuchi explains the slide and the way silent film was performed in Japan with a narrator alongside (*benshi*), providing oral explanation of the pictures, often with piano accompaniment (Dym). The game follows a series of magic-lantern slides illustrating moral behaviours and exemplary historical figures. Depending on the path the player follows through the game-board slides (analogous to life), they could end up at one of several possible destinations – as a merchant, agriculturalist, engineer or government official – illustrating the new sense of upward mobility made possible with modernisation. Thanks to the success of Tsurubuchi and others, magic lanterns soon became a widely accepted educational tool in schools, religious settings and private homes, leading to what Iwamoto describes in the title of his book as “The Century of the Magic Lantern”.

What becomes apparent is that from the 1930s until the 1950s, kamishibai and magic lanterns were viewed together as similar or complementary audio-visual formats. Sharalyn Orbaugh, who has written extensively about the appropriation of street-performance kamishibai for the purposes of propaganda, notes that one of the first propaganda kamishibai used in the war effort was, in fact, a *gentō* magic-lantern show (53). The Cotsen Children’s Library collection holds one such kamishibai-style set of

magic-lantern slides titled *Daitōa sensō!!* (The War for Greater East Asia!!) (<https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9908471>). It begins with the patriotic display of Japanese flags in front of the imperial palace in Tokyo and proceeds to the dramatic bombing of the island of Hawaii. The narrative progresses over 12 scenes, much like a typical kamishibai story.

Even after the war, magic lanterns and kamishibai continued to commingle. In the 1950s, Takahashi Gozan, director of the Magic Lantern Kamishibai Association and a leading voice in educational kamishibai, oversaw a series of historical kamishibai designed to mimic magic-lantern shows. The visual style of this series clearly transmediates the colours and techniques of magic-lantern slides to the medium of paper with the distinctive use of shadow and light. This series, beginning with the historical transition from Edo to Tokyo, was designed for older students in public schools. As kamishibai and magic lantern continued to converge and transmediate one another in this manner, there was increasing danger of confusion. In Volume 33 of *Educational University Seminars: Audio Visual Education*, Saki Akio (1951) wrote, “Many people think kamishibai and magic lantern are the same, but they should be treated as different media” (189). In fact, in the 1950s, when a turn to audio-visual education took Japanese schools by storm, books on the topic almost invariably place *gentō* magic lanterns together with kamishibai to weigh their similarities and differences.

As the technology for developing photographic slides improved, however, magic lanterns were increasingly considered more appropriate for close examination of scientific phenomena, whereas kamishibai, by contrast, was considered more suited to figurative and plot-driven narrative content. This distinction was in many ways arbitrary because there were plenty of examples of animated, narrative-style magic-lantern shows, as well as photographic, news-reel kamishibai (especially during the war years), but perceived distinctions between photo realism and narrative increasingly worked to drive a wedge between the two formats.

When discussing the similarities and differences between kamishibai and magic lanterns in the early 1950s, Saki acknowledged that both of these media were relatively new to education – especially in the case of kamishibai – but that they both held great promise and had become essential to classroom teaching (187). Although this may have proved true in the case of the magic lantern as it morphed into the slide projector and, more recently, into power-point slides, it could be argued that several historical setbacks in the intervening years prevented kamishibai from reaching its full potential in classrooms in Japan. The first major setback came in 1967, when the ministry of education decreed that kamishibai stages and cards were “expendable goods” and no longer required in schools. By the 1970s, kamishibai cards had been

moved from the audio-visual to the picture-book sections of libraries (Kamichi 99–100). During the 1980s and 90s, kamishibai illustrations were increasingly juxtaposed with picture books and were deemed to be crude by comparison. In a period of rapid economic growth, kamishibai was viewed as backwards and tainted by association with the war. By the early 2000s, the few publishers that still published kamishibai stories tended to focus on stories for the very young. Today, the general public in Japan has largely forgotten that kamishibai were once created for audiences of all ages and that they have their roots in audio-visual film and theatre.

A new era for Kamishibai: An emerging “new literacy” for a global audience

When kamishibai were no longer housed in the audio-visual section of libraries but were placed instead alongside picture books, transmediations of picture books into kamishibai became commonplace. Whereas books on kamishibai written in the 1950s endeavoured to keep the confusion between kamishibai and magic-lantern slides at bay, today, we see the same energy being exerted to differentiate kamishibai from picture books (Matsui; McGowan; Ute).

As we enter a new era of digital technology, it seems clear that kamishibai will continue to evolve *in relation* to other media, including picture books, as it travels both inside and increasingly outside Japan. The coordination of moving image, words and sound have only become more important to communication in the 21st century (Jewitt), and kamishibai can be used to teach many of these “new” multimodal literacies without the expense of technology (McGowan). The materials necessary for making kamishibai are still universally available, whereas internet technology continues to be expensive and in constant need of upgrading. For school districts that cannot afford libraries, much less computer facilities, kamishibai offers students an opportunity not only to combine multiple modes into one communication but also to practise these skills for different audiences with each performance (McGowan). At the same time, a renewed interest in do-it-yourself “maker spaces” and interactive user-generated content has made the hands-on (*tezukuri*) potential of kamishibai increasingly attractive to storytellers around the globe.

Online hybridisations of kamishibai, like the animated series *Yami Shibai* (literally, “theatre of darkness”), or the use of iPads to perform kamishibai for a new generation of audiences familiar with scrolling through images, actually brings the format back to its roots in intriguing ways. The screen of an iPad is closer to the size kamishibai cards were in the 1930s at the time of the street-performances, and the popularity of stories about ghosts and the supernatural hails back to kamishibai’s beginnings in Edo-period

magic-lantern shows. The cinematic media that gave rise to kamishibai in the first place continue to make it an easily assimilated format in the digital age. However, the non-digital aspects of kamishibai may be even more appealing to a new generation of puppeteers, teachers and storytellers around the world. In Peru, graphic designer and storyteller Pepe Cobana Kojachi creates stages “with Peruvian art and the Japanese heart”, drawing upon the talents of local artists to create colourful kamishibai stages resembling Peruvian retablos (<http://kamishibai.com/spotlight/kojachi.html>). In Slovenia, puppeteers and ethnomusicologists, Jelena Sitar and Igor Cvetko create original kamishibai out of Slovenian poetry and song. In Honduras, performing artist Laura Yanes, combines dolls and other three-dimensional props with kamishibai, using the card transitions for changes of scene and backdrop (<http://kamishibai.com/spotlight/interview5.html>).

In a particularly intriguing synthesis of old and new media, the Japanese kamishibai troupe Spice Arthur 702 has developed a performance of Bunraku *Star Wars*, which transports the kamishibai format back to its roots in both traditional Japanese theatre and film, while at the same time recreating that most well-known of futuristic galaxies far, far away. The möbius strip of historical inspiration that enabled George Lucas to cross jedi/ninja warriors with space travel transported Sarutobi Sasuke as Luke Skywalker into the hearts and minds of 21st-century viewers. These multiple and varied transmediations of the kamishibai format provide ample sources of optimism that our “time travels” with kamishibai are only just beginning and that its potential may yet be realised as its adventures continue.

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Potovanje v času s kamišibajem

Nepričakovane dogodivščine magičnega gibljivega medija

Izumitelji kamišibaja (japonskega »papirnatega gledališča«) so v poznih dvajsetih letih prejšnjega stoletja s pomočjo preprostih materialov ustvarili čarobno iluzijo »velikega platna« v miniaturo. Ko se je na Japonskem prvič pojavila televizija, so jo zaradi zunanje podobnosti med zaslonom in kamišibajem poimenovali »električni kamišibaj«, saj gre pri obeh za gibanje podob in zvoka znotraj zaključenega okvira. Pri tehnologijah 21. stoletja podoba v gibanju in zaslon še vedno igrata veliko vlogo; pogosto se jima pripisuje, da omogočata »nove« načine prepletanja medijskih formatov. Vendar pa nam zgodovina kamišibaja razkriva, da se tehnološki napredek podobno kot Möbiusov trak pogosto zguba sam nase ter tako strokovnjakom in izvajalcem ponuja možnosti za potovanje skozi čas, kjer znova odkrivajo pozabljene ideje in jih peljejo v nove smeri. Pričujoča razprava na podlagi zgodnjih, s kamišibajem povezanih artefaktov iz zbirke Cotsen Children's Library Univerze v Princetonu sledi razvoju kamišibaja v tesni povezavi z drugimi avdiovizualnimi mediji, kot sta recimo laterna magika in film, do petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, ko se je začelo kamišibaj vedno bolj povezovati s slikanicami in drugimi papirnatimi mediji. Umestitev kamišibaja v svetovno avdiovizualno zgodovino, ki se razteza od laterne magike do interneta, odpira nove poglede in ustvarjalne možnosti, saj kamišibaj umetnikom, pripovedovalcem zgodb in pedagogom po vsem svetu omogoča ustvarjanje tudi v povezavi z uveljavljenimi medijskimi formati in razvijajočimi se tehnologijami. Z nedigitalnimi, avdiovizualnimi značilnostmi se kamišibaj osvobaja spon tehnologije ter omogoča vsestranskost in potencial za igro, s čimer vedno znova sproža številne raznovrstne adaptacije svoje oblike.

Ključne besede: kamišibaj, multimedijska zgodovina, lanterna magika, nova pismenost, transmediacija, konvergenca

The Great East Japan Earthquake, tsunami and nuclear accident of 11 March 2011 were not the first disasters to hit Japan, but they became known as the worst catastrophe of the peninsula after World War II. Thousands of people had to find a way to deal with the trauma they experienced and pass on the lessons they learned. Many of the survivors turned to art and culture to cope with their experiences. Among these art forms is also kamishibai, Japanese paper theatre. This paper analyses how kamishibai was used after the disaster and argues that it became a tool to convey lessons learned and a coping mechanism for the survivors to deal with personal trauma and express their grief. Thus kamishibai dealing with the disaster does not fit into classical typologies of the paper theatre, but rather represents a hybrid of memorialisation practices and disaster risk education in the sense of classical educational kamishibai. For this reason, I propose the new term of memorialisation kamishibai (*kataritsugi kamishibai*) to highlight these distinct features.

Keywords: kamishibai, Japanese paper theatre, disaster risk education, memorialisation, 3.11, Great Japan East Earthquake, tsunami, radiation

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Beneath the invisible Cloud

Kamishibai After 11 March: Between Disaster Risk Education and Memorialisation

Julia Gerster

Introduction

“A big earthquake occurs; a big earthquake occurs. Keep calm and make sure that your surroundings are safe.”

I thought the world would come to an end on 11 March. But the next day, the sun rose silently, and the morning came. (*Mienai kumo no shita de*; Beneath the invisible cloud)

These are scenes from a kamishibai, Japanese paper theatre, which describes the terrible events of 11 March 2011. A magnitude 9.0 earthquake triggered a tsunami that washed away entire villages along the coastline of north-eastern Japan. Almost 20,000 people died (of which more than 2,500 have not been found), 121,776 houses were destroyed, and 470,000 people continued living in temporary housing for many years – some still do as of August 2018 (Reconstruction Agency). In addition, the tsunami destroyed the cooling system of the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear power plant, leading to the worst nuclear disaster since Chernobyl. Evacuation zones were declared and changed several times. Some people were allowed to return already half a year after the catastrophe; others still do not know if and when their former homes will be released from the evacuation order. More than eight years after the disaster, the consequences are still influencing the daily lives of the people affected.

In the aftermath of the disaster, many people turned to art and culture to deal with their experiences (Hashimoto and Hayashi; Hashimoto; Hayashi). Festivals were revived (Yamaguchi), and newly invented, paper cut projects like the *kiriko* of Kesenuma brought people together (Niwa), and dances such as the lion dance (*shishi mai*) and deer dance (*shika mai*) of disaster-stricken regions were performed all over Japan. When I visited the Tōhoku region during one year of fieldwork in 2017, I was surprised to see many people performing kamishibai about the disaster. Some of the performers also volunteered as so-called *kataribe*, storytellers who report about the calamity, thus taking kamishibai as a tool to express their experiences. Others had

Acknowledgements: I want to thank all my interviewees for willingly sharing their experiences and explaining the world of kamishibai. Moreover, I want to thank GEAS and Tōhoku University (IRiDeS) for their ongoing support during my doctorate studies and field research that also made this study possible. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Slovenian Theatre Institute and all the organisers, attendees, staff and discussants at the 2018 Symposium The Art of Kamishibai where I was invited to present an earlier version of this paper and received valuable feedback.

turned to kamishibai for the first time after 11 March. According to the International Kamishibai Association of Japan (Personal interview, 25 April 2018), there is a large number of kamishibai dealing with the disaster. Moreover, it is striking that the majority of kamishibai performers dealing with the disaster are female (Personal interview, 8 April 2019). Nevertheless, the International Kamishibai Association points out that the exact number of performers as well as the percentage of females is hard to estimate as many of the pieces are handmade and not officially published (*tezukuri kamishibai*).

Taking three stories that deal with the earthquake, the tsunami and the nuclear disaster of 2011 as examples, this paper examines how kamishibai is used to convey messages of risk education as well as personal experiences as part of the memorialisation culture after the disaster. I argue that paper theatre, like other art forms, is used by often marginalised people to have their voices and opinions heard and as a method for disaster risk education featuring elements of educational (*kyōiku*) kamishibai. At the same time, and unlike classical educational kamishibai pieces, most of the kamishibai are handmade (*tezukuri*), talk about individual experiences and have become part of memorialisation practices. While still aiming to educate or empower larger audiences, these practices are also used for personal trauma or stress release of the performers, who, as of the time of this article, are themselves mostly affected by the 2011 or other disasters. Participating in kamishibai gives the performers the chance to reach for mutual support among people with similar experiences and to challenge official narratives of recovery.

First, I will give a brief overview of the role of memorialisation practices after disasters. Then, I will summarise the historical background of kamishibai, before introducing three different kamishibai that deal with the 11 March disasters. Each of them was produced with a different background, while each of the authors is somehow connected to a catastrophic event. The interviews were conducted with the authors as well as the International Kamishibai Association of Japan. The paper concludes that kamishibai is used as a tool for memorialisation and to voice critical views which are otherwise difficult to mention. Moreover, new forms of presenting kamishibai emerged after the 2011 disasters. Therefore, introducing a new term such as memorialisation kamishibai (*kataritsugi kamishibai*)¹ may be useful to highlight the empowering and educational aspects of this art form and to distinguish such plays from other forms of kamishibai.

¹ *Kataritsugu* in Japanese is better translated as “to pass something on” or “to keep talking about certain experiences.” As these meanings are also encompassed in the term memorialisation, this could be a proper description of the kamishibai performances analysed in this paper.

Memorialisation of disasters

Japan has a long history of disasters. Strong earthquakes strike the country every few years. The Hanshin Awaji earthquake in 1995, which almost completely destroyed the city of Kobe, or the Kumamoto earthquake in 2016 are just two recent examples. Unfortunately, with the atomic bombings, the Fukushima nuclear disaster is also not the first Japan must face. When experiencing traumatic events, people have to find a way to deal with disaster; to grieve, or pass on their experiences to continue their life. Memorialisation culture can take many forms such as monuments, rituals or forms of art which serve as a way of expressing official and alternative narratives of disasters and their aftermath.

According to Boret and Shibayama, “societies develop various modes of grieving and remembering disasters and their victims. These modes are both tangible (monuments, gardens, museums, and archives) and intangible (ceremonies, rituals, storytelling, oral histories)” (1). The authors argue that memorial monuments give people a private place to grieve, while at the same time they are used for official statements of grieving as when politicians visit them, or they remind next generations of what has happened (Boret and Shibayama 1). Monuments “objectify memory” and “pre-empt alternative conceptions of the past” (Liebich and Myshlovska 751). Although memorial monuments can take many forms, these depend on who builds them; in contrast, memorial activities may be more individual and change over time. Governments may perform them differently than a family, those directly affected may have different rituals than those who have not been, and memorial activities directly after a disaster may be different than those performed decades after the actual event. Memorial practices can also be used to express political opinions or to voice critique. Examples are memorial services of Okinawan returnees from Micronesia after the Pacific War as examined by Iitaka. The scholar argues that the Okinawan personal memories challenge the official Japanese war memory (Iitaka 127–28). He concludes that one of the reasons for the continuation of these practices is a common identity as disadvantaged people in a larger system. He states:

Okinawans had adopted a broader perspective due to their experiences [...] where they had been marginalized and suffered extreme hardships and traumas during the war. Recognizing that they shared historical memories of the war with other Asians and Pacific Islanders, they had closer relationships with Micronesians and displayed respect toward them. Micronesians, in turn, helped to maintain the observation of memorial services. (145)

Memorial practices help to build a common identity or a community that does not have to be linked to a nationality. Similar experiences during a disaster, or similar hardships in the aftermath of it, strengthen social ties of those who had to suffer from

them. The hardships people have to face are also unifying, as everyone “is in this together” (Oliver-Smith; Steger).

Art seems to play a special role within memorialisation practices but also concerning expressions of marginalised people. Regarding their work with photography and other forms of visual arts with members of sexual and gender communities, Barker et al. (63) stressed that “when it comes to artistic objects, there is a dominant cultural understanding that these do not all have to be the same: that vastly diverse pictures, sculptures and so on can be regarded as equally ‘true’ as representations of the same object or concept.” Although this impression of art may vary depending on the political and social system the form of art is presented, it displays that different forms of art can give people a voice that they usually struggle to express.

Thus it may not be surprising that theatre, as another form of art, is also an important part of memorialisation and gives marginalised people or disadvantaged people such as victims of disaster the opportunity to express their opinions. Regarding performances on trauma, Haughton (2) writes “the staging involved, particularly via embodied knowledge and viscerally affective encounters, creates a shared space for the unspeakable to struggle in its desire for articulation and acknowledgment. The compulsion, and indeed inherent contradiction, to simultaneously express and suppress the traumatic is unfaltering in these performance contexts.” Plays that deal with traumatic experiences thus can be a way for the victims themselves to express their feelings while simultaneously involving the audience by sharing their experiences. Like the abovementioned memorial practices (litaka), theatre can also be used to challenge official narratives. Such critique can go against a range of certain lifestyles such as heteronormativity (Halferty) or aimed directly at a political elite (Bhatia). Lukić, for instance, describes how the theatre plays by Croatian playwright Ivan Vidić criticised Croatian nationalism and national mythology after the fall of communism. To do so, his stories depict “enrichment of the new war-profiteer class” or “Croatian war veterans, destroyed by PTSD, neglected, living on the verge of poverty, giving into alcohol” (278), thus going against the official glorification of that period. Although theatre was and is also used to convey political ideologies or even propaganda (Bathia; Eisner; Kano), these and numerous other examples show how it is also a means of resistance and expression of self-identity.

This paper argues that kamishibai became a special tool that bridges several aspects of memorialisation practices and aspects of educational kamishibai. It is further used for the mental recovery of individuals, to pass on lessons learned from the disaster, and as a way to challenge official narratives. As the majority of kamishibai performers regarding post-11 March pieces seem to be women, the paper theatre also empowered them to express themselves in art.

The historical background and distinct features of kamishibai

In order to understand why kamishibai is used to convey messages about disasters, it is necessary to look at its history and how it was used over time. *Gaitō* (street corner) *kamishibai* became popular in Japan during the 1920s. The kamishibai performer would ride on a bicycle carrying a small stage for the paper sheets with him and stop somewhere to perform for children. Kamishibai performers made their living from the money they earned by selling sweets to the audience, as the performances themselves were for free (Ishiyama). Naturally, the often adventurous or emotional stories in combination with the colourful, sometimes hand-painted pictures contributed a lot to its popularity. From its emergence in the 1920s, kamishibai developed in close relation to early cinematic forms, such as shadow-theatre, magic lantern, and silent film (McGowan). Despite its popularity until the late 1950s, kamishibai was said to have lost the race against television, which was originally called “electric kamishibai” in Japan (Orbaugh 79).

Nevertheless, kamishibai never really died. As *kyōiku kamishibai*, educational paper theatre, it was soon used in schools to convey messages or to study material and make it more accessible for the children. Today, kamishibai is used in all kinds of subjects ranging from English lessons to history or even biology to make the subjects easier to understand. In disaster education, too, kamishibai is used to study, for example, which goods need to be prepared in case of a disaster or how to behave during an earthquake. Although videos are used as educational material in Japan as well, there are clear advantages of kamishibai, especially when working with young children. Here, the interactive parts of kamishibai proved to be handy to understand better and remember the lesson. The pace of the story can be adjusted to the audience, and the teacher, as well as the pupils, can ask questions in-between or add comments. Further, especially younger children find it easier to remember content if it is accompanied by colourful pictures. Hidenobu Fukumoto, a kamishibai director, sees the main difference to movies or Anime as follows: “Kamishibai waits for you. Anime doesn’t.” (*Kamishibai wa matte kureru. Anime wa matte kurenai kara*). Further, having somebody actively perform a piece and interacting with the audience creates a mutual influence that may change the performance, even though the content of the pictures does not.

The connection between the audience and the performer as well as the connection among the members of the audience (*kyōkan*, literally, “shared feelings”) is seen as one of the most important aspects of kamishibai (Ishiyama; Suzuki; Orbaugh; Nash). Laughing and crying together or sharing a moment of surprise creates compassion and a group feeling. While this is another reason for its popularity as teaching material or merely entertainment, this aspect also made it a tool for propaganda purposes during World War II. Stories like *Kintaro* with cute looking animals as the main characters

“who defend Japan from foreign demons” (Nash 200) trivialised the horrors of the war and conveyed nationalist messages not only to the youngest.

Its use as propaganda eventually led to the decision of the General Headquarters GHQ to ban kamishibai for a while after the end of World War II (Ishiyama; Nash). After the ban was lifted, however, kamishibai similar to those after the 11 March disasters emerged. Among the most famous is *The Peace Oath* (*Heiwa no chikai*) that talks about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and the life of the victims. A young girl finds herself in the midst of hellfire and loses her mother due to the bombing. Years later, she gets bullied by a group of boys because of a radiation burn on her face. An older student tells them about the background of her mark, and they apologise. Born after the bombing, they claimed to not know about its consequences. The story has clear parallels to the suffering of many evacuees from Fukushima prefecture, as more and more cases of bullying become apparent (Aoki).

The Peace Oath was breaking a taboo that exists until today: Japan as stained and the fear of the victims spreading contamination. Additionally, it speaks about mobbing by other Japanese that adds to the suffering of the victims. Here, the kamishibai produces an alternative narrative that goes against the country’s national one of staying together and supporting the victims.

Although *gaitō kamishibai* was mainly (but not exclusively) used as an entertainment tool for children, the paper theatre’s interactive aspects and colourful pictures prove helpful as an educational tool as *kyōiku kamishibai*. That the division between these categories can be blurry and how easily the evoked compassion (*kyōkan*) can be exploited for political purposes became clear during World War II when kamishibai was used for propaganda (Orbaugh; Suzuki). Nevertheless, stories like *The Peace Oath* show that kamishibai can also work the other way around: as a challenger of official narratives and a breaker of taboos. After the 11 March disasters, survivors thus turned again to paper theatre to convey their messages.

Kamishibai after 11 March

After the devastating earthquake, tsunami and nuclear accident in 2011, many kamishibai were produced that revolved around the disasters. In the following three of such kamishibai plays, and different ways to perform the pieces are introduced. What they have in common is a prominent role of women – either as the author, performer or narrator of the original story. This needs to be highlighted as women are found to be in especially difficult situations in the aftermath of the disaster even compared to other victims. On the one hand, they were expected to support their communities

and husbands by joining in the official narratives of unity and compassion. On the other hand, especially mothers were also seen as responsible for their families' safety (Kimura; Morioka; Morris-Suzuki; Reiher; Slater et al.). This left them in the challenging situation to navigate between expectations and made it difficult for them to voice differing opinions on issues like recovery, food safety or problems regarding risk education. The following kamishibai pieces, however, address issues of disaster risk education as well as personal feelings of guilt and powerlessness.

Tsunami no ehon. Boku no furusato (Tsunami picture book. My hometown)

The kamishibai *Boku no furusato* (My hometown) was made by Mayumi Kudo, a priest who survived the earthquake and tsunami in her hometown, Shizugawa, Minamisanriku. The story was later turned into a picture book, thus the additional title *Tsunami Picture Book*.

The kamishibai introduces Kudo's personal experiences of 11 March. She and her family live in a shrine and care for the *Kami* (spirits) there. She leaves her son Yusuke with her grandparents to go grocery shopping. After the earthquake strikes, she runs home worried about her family. Kudo finds them all doing well but has to convince the grandmother to evacuate with them to higher ground. The grandmother wants to stay since the shrine has functioned as an evacuation shelter after previous earthquakes. Yet, Kudo insists on evacuating. On higher ground, they hear a woman repeating the evacuation order while they watch firefighters driving around the coastline. The tsunami is depicted as a brown hand that grasps the city. The voice of the woman fades. Along with other survivors, the family evacuates to an elementary school which serves as a shelter. The next day they realise that their hometown is gone. Their shrine, however, is not damaged. They continue to live in the shelter for several days until the health condition of the grandmother and Yusuke get worse, so they decide to stay at a relative's place in Sendai. One day, Yusuke tells his mother, "I have a broken hometown (*furusato*)." Kudo is surprised, as she thought they would not have a hometown anymore. "Even if it's broken, here will always be Yusuke's one and only hometown." The kamishibai ends with a call to take the right behaviour after a strong earthquake: to tell people to evacuate without hesitation in a loud and clear voice.

In the foreword of the book, Kudo writes that she turned the piece into a picture book so that the wealth of her hometown and the sadness would not be forgotten, and the life of the deceased would not be in vain. Adults all over the world should tell children that "after a big earthquake a tsunami comes. People need to evacuate to higher ground immediately and individually" (Kudo 2012 preface).

Kudo's kamishibai is based on her own experiences during and after the disaster. The Japanese audience is likely to recognise parts of the accounts which later became news. Thus, without a very detailed description, they understand that the young woman announcing the tsunami warnings did so until she was swept away and died. Her working place had a designated evacuation area on its roof, but it was not high enough to withstand the tsunami. The firefighters died because they were checking the water gates. The high embankment did not allow them to see the approaching wave. In other areas, people also died because they were trying to advise others to evacuate. These and other tragic cases lead to discussions about evacuation practices in Japan. For instance, Kudo's hometown as well as other municipalities committed to the promotion of evacuating individually, without searching for others (*tsunami tendenko*). Thus, it is not surprising that this principle is also raised in the kamishibai.

The author combines her personal experience with lessons learned from the disaster. In Minamisanriku, she was reading the kamishibai to the audience in front of her destroyed hometown. This adds another, immediate dimension to the theatre play, as the environment is included. The audience may recognise the buildings on the pictures and imagine the direct impact of the tsunami. This kind of surrounding impacts the understanding regarding the importance of immediate evacuation.

Regardless of the place of performance, before starting, Kudo asks for a minute of silence to remember the dead. This act emphasises that the kamishibai is based on true experiences while at the same time representing a clear cut to the every day as the audience is asked to remember the dead. This is a significant difference of the kamishibai version compared to the picture book.

My Hometown is an example of how kamishibai is used as a memorialisation practice and to pass on lessons learned from the disaster. The 11 March disasters, however, did not only affect people who lived on the coastline as the nuclear accident unfolded. In Fukushima prefecture *kamishibai* is also produced to talk about the consequences of the disaster.

Chichi Ushi Monogatari (The tale of the milk cows)

The Tale of the Milk Cows is part of the "Namie town kamishibai storytelling" project of Hidenobu Fukumoto, a director from Hiroshima. His project started with the purpose to collect stories from Namie town, which was evacuated completely after the nuclear disaster. Remembering the effects of the nuclear bombings, he feared that folklore and old stories vanished along with the evacuated people. Additional to legends and fairytales from the regions, he turns the real experiences of the evacuees into paper

theatre. The following is based on the memories of the main character's wife.

The Tale of the Milk Cows introduces the story of a dairy farmer and his cows. The story is told from the cows' perspective and begins shortly after the earthquake. In the beginning, the cows enjoy the freedom they have. Yet, after a week, their owner whom they kindly call "Tō-chan" (father) does not return, and the cows begin to worry. "Tō-chan never forgot us. Even when he had a high fever he was still feeding us," says one of the cows. "Something terrible must have happened in the world of the humans." After Tō-chan comes back to milk them, they are shocked to see the farmer throwing all of the milk away. Soon rumours begin to spread.

"Have you seen the other herd? People dressed all in white came and gave them a shot. After a while, they were all falling to the ground."

"Do you think they were sleeping?"

"No, I think they are dead."

Finally, Tō-chan appears again and cries out loudly. When the cows realise that they are going to die, they start to cry as well. The piece ends with the cries of the cows and of their owner mingling in desperation.

In a personal interview (5 November 2017), Kinue Ishii, who is the wife of the farmer and also the author of the piece, talked about the reasons to turn her experiences into kamishibai. To her and her husband, the cows meant everything, and he always made sure that they were well. She could not forget them, and she was sure that she heard them crying. The sorrow she felt was evident during the interview as she had to cry several times. "This kamishibai is my way to apologise to them. I am so sorry," she stressed (5 November 2017).

The group produced several kamishibai that highlight the horrific events which resulted from the nuclear accident. Ishii, however, did not stress this point, despite the fate of her cows being clearly linked to the accident. For her, the foremost reason to create the play was to face what she calls her "personal guilt regarding the cows' death". Creating the play thus meant to revisit what had happened in the wake of the disaster. Even without mentioning the tsunami or showing pictures of the crippled power plant, *The Tale of the Milk Cows* conveys the aftermath of the nuclear accident, while engaging with personal feelings of directly affected people.

Tsunami wo ikinobita Gen-chan (Gen-chan who survived the tsunami)

The last kamishibai shows another side of the paper theatre after 11 March. Although *Gen-chan Who Survived the Tsunami* by Yuiko Tsuno was not based on her own experiences, it is based on a true story which unfolded in Fukushima prefecture.

The story begins with a picture showing Gen-chan, a big, white dog, living a happy life with his owner on the coast somewhere in Fukushima prefecture, when suddenly the earthquake strikes. After the quake stops, the owner makes sure that Gen is not harmed, before he starts cleaning his house. Gen-chan starts to worry after hearing the neighbours calling for evacuation because of a tsunami warning. When his owner finally finishes putting together the goods needed for the shelter, it is already too late. The tsunami surpasses the dyke and washes them away. After fainting in the black wave, Gen-chan dreams of a being carried on the back of a golden deer. The dog wakes up in the middle of devastation, where the city once used to be. Gen-chan decides to search for the way back home to find his owner. "Is life such a hard thing?", he wonders. After four months, people finally manage to catch the dog whose white fur has turned pitch black. Gen-chan is kept at a shelter for lost pets but is suffering from several diseases as a result of his long travels. Remembering his owner and the golden deer, Gen gains new strength and does not give up. Finally, a man decides to adopt him. To support the dog who always looks sad and ill, the new owner decides to call him "Genki", shortened Gen ("to be full of energy"). Because of Gen's story, the owner starts to teach people in their neighbourhood about the importance of disaster preparedness. The last picture shows Gen living happily with his new family in Tokyo.

Tsuno's *kamishibai* shows many elements which can be found in other post-11 March *kamishibai* as well. The main characters are first unsure about evacuating. People who spend too much time cleaning the house or searching for utensils are swept away by the tsunami. Unlike Kudo's *kamishibai*, the need to evacuate to higher ground or evacuation instructions are not strongly emphasised with words but conveyed by the actions the characters take and their results (not evacuating right away may lead to the loss of life). In contrast to the human characters, Gen does not know what a tsunami is. He thus resembles children who may not have heard of tsunamis yet.

Despite the similarities regarding the advised behaviour, there is a huge difference to the other *Disaster-kamishibai*. Tsuno lived in Yokohama, close to Tokyo when the earthquake struck. Thus, she did not experience the tsunami and hesitated when she was asked by a friend to create a *kamishibai* about the disaster. Yet, when she heard the story of the dog, she changed her mind and decided to make Gen-chan the main character. Nevertheless it was another catastrophe that made her see more in the *kamishibai* and gave her the final push. Tsuno had just moved to Paris when she was suddenly confronted with traumatic experiences herself. On 13 November 2015, the Paris terrorist attacks on Bataclan and other public places happened close to where she lived. In an interview she described the weeks that followed: "It was horrible. Almost all cultural activities were cancelled. People were afraid and suspicious. It was then, when I realised that there is more that Gen-chan can do and I changed many things in the story" (Tsuno, Yuiko. Personal interview, 20 October 2017).

The story which she originally designed to convey disaster risk reduction methods (Personal interview, 20 October 2017) turned into a more general tale about survival and hope. The children should get inspired by Gen-chan. If he was able to overcome such hardship, they could do it too. Tsuno chose animals as the main characters because children are familiar with dogs and they are often treated as family members. The deer that appears in Gen-chan's dream tells him (and the children) where to find safe places in case of a tsunami and to carry on. Further, animals do not resemble a certain nationality, although the story is set in Japan. "I wanted to do something for French children, too, as many were stressed after the terrorist attacks," said Tsuno. "Also, there are many refugees in France now, and they are facing many problems, too. Many of them had traumatic experiences when they fled. I wanted them to recognise themselves in Gen-chan. He should give them hope."

Post-disaster kamishibai: Memorising the disaster, dealing with trauma and speaking out

All three introduced kamishibai deal with the disaster and yet do so in diverse ways regarding technique and story-telling. *My Hometown* and *The Tale of the Milk Cows* are based on real experiences and were turned into a theatre play by the victims themselves, although the latter received support by a third party, namely the director from Hiroshima.

Whereas *Gen-chan Who Survived the Tsunami* is based on a true story, it was not produced by a victim of the tsunami. Nevertheless, another catastrophe – the terror attacks in Paris, November 2015, turned Tsuno's everyday into a "post-terror France." This is when she saw new possibilities for kamishibai. Despite Tsuno performing in France for an international audience, her kamishibai performance is the most traditional among the three introduced. She uses a traditional frame and turns the pictures while reading the story that is written on the back. She emphasises that *kyōkan* (shared feelings) help the children to deal with the experiences – be it French children who suffered from the post-terror situation; or refugees who reached France after often long and fearful journeys. The colourful pictures and animals as main characters seem to work for children from different cultural backgrounds as they themselves can more easily associate with the main characters.

Mayumi Kudo, the writer of *My Hometown*, explained "the power of kamishibai" in a similar way: "I was originally writing poems and short stories about the disaster, but children could not read them and there are also many foreigners who had difficulties with that. Kamishibai is much easier to understand" (Personal interview, 25 April 2018). Nevertheless, she does not stick to the traditional way of performing the theatre

and introduced a minute of silence in the beginning as a new element. This act clearly marks the paper theatre as a practice of memorialisation and at the same time evokes *kyōkan* among the audience as they turn their heads down together to remember the victims. Further, when performing the kamishibai within places in Minamisanriku which were destroyed by the tsunami, she integrates her surroundings into the play – something that was already common in the 1950s when *Gaitō kamishibai* was performed outside in the streets. These acts also show the different possibilities in kamishibai compared to the picture book version.

Fukumoto's and Ishii's kamishibai is performed in several versions. A conventional kamishibai with one performer reading and turning the pages, an animated version to reach a larger audience and to make it consumable at any time (Personal interview, interview Fukumoto 10 November 2017), and what Fukumoto calls "*Kami-oto-shibai*" (paper-music-theatre). The latter is a combination of traditional kamishibai which is additionally projected on a screen and accompanied by an orchestra, to reach larger crowds (such as in Tokyo). Fukumoto emphasised that these measures are necessary to make kamishibai suitable and accessible to a larger audience that would still see the paper theatre as mainly for children (Fukumoto, Personal interview, 15 April 2017). Yet, the kamishibai version of *The Tale of the Milk Cows* again showed the important aspect of shared feelings when watching the play together – in this case even conveying more forcefully as the play is conducted by the victims themselves. Whenever I saw an audience watching the play, they started crying in the end and thus joined the performers in their sorrow.

Nevertheless, not only the performances were impacted by the disaster, but also the stories themselves. Whereas all stories reflect real experiences, some of them share the normative approach to disaster risk education (as in what people should or should not do). Kudo is explicit about it with her call for immediate and independent evacuation following the *tsunami tendenko* practice. In Tsuno's story, the advice is more implicit, but still, it is important to her that children learn about the importance of fast evacuation and also about more universal aspects of life like "not to give up." Although, according to the International Kamishibai Association of Japan, these stories do not fall into the category of educational kamishibai as they are not produced for schools with an explicit goal of teaching a certain content (Personal interview, 25 April 2018), performers like Kudo stated that teaching lessons learned from the disaster and engaging in disaster risk education were her most important achievement and one of the reasons for relying on the theatre (Personal interview, 25 April 2018). Hence, while not overtly following the rules of *kyōiku kamishibai* (educational kamishibai), some elements are included in the plays on purpose.

Lastly, the examples of the "Namie town Kamishibai storytelling project", to which

belong *The Tale of the Milk Cows* and *Beneath the Invisible Cloud*, which was cited in the beginning, show that the plays can be used to challenge “official narratives” of the disaster and recovery. Fukumoto emphasised how he regards it his duty to pass on the stories of the victims of the Fukushima nuclear disaster, as they faced the same kind of discrimination that the survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs had to endure. He stressed that like *The Peace Oath*, kamishibai were among the first mediums to openly talk about the discrimination. Whereas *The Tale of the Milk Cows* does not voice critique openly, the audience is likely to remember that contaminated milk had to be disposed of after the disaster and that rumours led to ongoing disposal even after the milk was declared consumable again. Other kamishibai from the project talk about the consequences more drastically: people from Tokyo throw away products from Fukushima in fear; and those directly affected by radiation are afraid of possible health effects and left alone in uncertainty.

It is remarkable that the majority of the kamishibai performers are female. Although one of the reasons certainly is that many of them are housewives or pensioners and thus have more free time, the practice allows them to express their thoughts through art. Just as other scholars have noted (Kimura; Morioka; Morris-Suzuki; Reiher; Slater et al.), women were facing exceptional challenges and often found it hard to voice concerns or opinions that would question the recovery efforts. Being also a memorialisation practice and used to represent individual narratives, kamishibai worked as a “soft challenger” to the official narrative of the disaster almost being overcome. For example, Kudo’s and Tsuno’s works remind of the mistakes that people made by not evacuating. Ishii’s piece can be seen as a critique of nuclear power and also as a critique of people not trusting food safety. Without explicitly stating their discontent with how history is represented, the creators and performers of the kamishibai can present alternative views through their personal stories. This reminds of Iitaka’s description of the Okinawan memorialisation practices and also of other theatre forms that were used to express differing opinions (Bathia, Lukić) and empower people in marginalised positions (Halferty).

Another important point is the social aspect of practising and performing in front of an audience. Although the time spent together is relatively short regarding pieces that are performed by just one person, like Kudo’s or Tsuno’s pieces, the stories can encourage questions and discussions about the situation of the disaster affected people. Especially in the case of the Namie-machi kamishibai group, however, the practices and performances as a group are turning into a space where socialising and exchange among people facing similar hardships are possible. As Oliver-Smith and Steger noted, traumatic experiences can work as a unifier and strengthen social ties of the affected, even if it is just for a short time. This was expressed by Fukumoto as well, who was not affected by the Fukushima nuclear disaster, but coming from Hiroshima,

he still considered it his duty to support others similarly affected by radiation. Connecting to kamishibai after the bombing of Hiroshima, the paper theatre was his choice to convey the hardships of people suffering from the disasters.

Finally, each of the three presented stories which stand for a variety of kamishibai after the 2011 disasters feature elements of educational kamishibai (*kyōiku kamishibai*), disaster risk education, and memorialisation. They mingle personal experiences with messages to future generations: to learn from the past and to never give up hope. These distinct features show that the common labels of various kamishibai might be too narrow to grasp the features of Japanese paper theatre after catastrophic events. Hence, I propose that the introduction of the term memorialisation kamishibai (*kataritsugi kamishibai*) may be an appropriate way to emphasise the coping, learning and memorialisation aspects kamishibai offers to performers, producers and the audience. The term could be used to distinguish paper theatre dealing with disastrous and traumatic events that happened in the past from other stories purely meant for entertainment or education. Highlighting these aspects could further promote this particular kind of kamishibai as its performances contribute to disaster risk education of generations who did not experience the disaster and support the mental recovery of the survivors themselves. Kamishibai was influenced by the 11 March disasters, and at the same time it became a coping mechanism for those affected to deal with their experiences.

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Pod nevidnim oblakom

Kamišibaj po 11. marcu: med izobraževanjem o nevarnostih naravnih nesreč in spominskim obeležjem

Veliki potres na jugu Japonske, cunami in jedrska nesreča 3. marca 2011 niso bile prve velike nesreče, ki so prizadele Japonsko, a so kljub temu širše znane kot najhujša katastrofa na Japonskem po drugi svetovni vojni. Več tisoč ljudi se je moralo spoprijeti s travmatičnimi posledicami razdejanja, o svoji izkušnji pa so hoteli spregovoriti tudi prihodnjim rodovom. Da bi lažje prebrodili travmatične dogodke, so se številni preživeli zatekli k umetnosti in kulturi. Med umetniškimi oblikami, po katerih so posegali, je bil tudi kamišibaj, japonsko papirnato gledališče. Prispevek prinaša analizo načinov uporabe kamišibaja po marčevski nesreči in pokaže, da se je kamišibaj uporabljal kot orodje za posredovanje izkušenj in kot mehanizem, ki je preživelim omogočil, da predelajo travmatične dogodke in odkrito žalujejo. S katastrofo povezani kamišibaji tako ne ustrezajo uveljavljeni tipologiji papirnatega gledališča, ampak predstavljajo hibridno obliko med praksami spominjanja in izobraževanjem o nevarnostih (naravnih) nesreč v smislu tradicionalnega izobraževalnega kamišibaja. V zaključku zato predlagam nov termin *kamišibaj spominjanja* (*kataritsugi kamishibai*), saj poudarja specifične lastnosti tovrstne oblike kamišibaja.

Ključne besede: kamišibaj, japonsko papirnato gledališče, izobraževanje o nevarnostih (naravnih) nesreč, spominjanje, 11. marec, veliki potres na jugu Japonske, cunami, sevanje

Kamishibai in Dialect

Aiming to Inherit the Endangered Hachijo-jima Dialect

Yosuke Miki

1. Introduction

In this paper, as an example of how speech discourse materials can be used for language succession, I introduce the efforts made to create kamishibai written in Hachijo dialects. Hachijo dialects, spoken on Tokyo's Hachijo-jima island, was designated in 2009 by UNESCO as a "language in danger of extinction" and judged to be "definitely endangered" (UNESCO 2009). Additionally, it was said that if no measures were taken, the Hachijo dialects would disappear in 100 years. This announcement is a warning about the possibility of disappearance of minority languages and cultural diversity in the process of globalisation.

Language disappearance is equivalent to the loss of local culture and identity. Currently, there are about 500 people who can speak the traditional Hachijo language, most of whom are over 70 years old. Descriptive research, recordings and preservation are urgently required, and the need for language succession activities is also increasing. With the announcement by UNESCO in 2009, a movement to record and inherit Hachijo dialects is being promoted in Hachijo town under the guidance of the Board of Education.

Given this background, I am attempting to work in cooperation with the Hachijo Town Board of Education and the National Institute of Japanese Language to create discourse materials with voice data (hereinafter referred to as "speech discourse materials") given the critical need for language preservation. In addition, I aim to make the speech discourse materials available not only for preserving languages but also for linguistic succession activities and use in educational settings.

I created a kamishibai based on a folktale from Hachijo-jima Island (Miki 8–12) and documented and recorded the speaker's kamishibai performance on video. This paper discusses the adopted approach.

2. Outline of Hachijo-jima island

Hachijo-jima is an isolated island located in the eastern end of Far East Asia. It is located about 287 km south of Tokyo. It is a gourd-shaped island with the distance from the northwest to the southeast of the island is 14 km, and the distance from the northeast to the southwest is 7.5 km where the two volcanoes of Nishiyama (Hachijo-Fuji, 854 m) and Higashiyama (Mihara-Yama, 701 m) join, with an area of 69.11 km². It belongs to the Tokyo prefecture and forms one town that combines the two islands together with an uninhabited small island. It has an oceanic climate influenced by the Kuroshio Current, which is a warm current, and is also referred to as “the island of ever-spring”. The average annual temperature is 17.8° C, and the weather is hot and humid, characterised by strong wind and heavy rainfall throughout the year.

The town of Hachijo-jima is divided into Sakaue and Sakashita across the Osaka Pass, which used to once pose a difficulty for transportation. Furthermore, it is divided into five villages, namely Mistune, Okago of the Sakashita area and Kashitate, Nakanogo and Sueyoshi of the Sakaue area. The population of the entire island is less than 7,500 and comprises about 4,400 households, with the majority of the population concentrated in Sakashita. In the past, Sakaue area, Nakanogo and Kashitate formed the centre of the island, but now the centre has moved to Sakashita area’s Okago and Mitsune. The main facilities of the island, such as the town hall and the airport, are located in the Sakashita area.

You can travel by plane and ship to get to Hachijo-jima from the mainland (Tokyo). There are three flights a day from the Haneda airport to the Hachijo-jima airport, which are approximately 55 minutes in each direction. However, it is difficult to approach the Hachijo-jima airport, and given the weather conditions, cancellations are not unusual. A large passenger ship is operated once a day from the Takeshiba pier, but since the Kuroshio Current flows between Hachijo-jima and the mainland, it takes about 10 hours in each direction.

Hachijo-jima has been separated from the mainland for many years by the Kuroshio Current. Therefore, since the long-term banishment of Ukita Hideie to Hachijo-jima in 1600, Hachijo-jima became a place where political prisoners were expelled.

3. About Hachijo dialects

3.1 Outline

Hachijo dialects are spoken in six areas, namely the five villages in Hachijo town and the Aogashima village, but with its population of less than 170 people, the number of Aogashima speakers appears to be around 10 and most of speakers are in Hachijo-jima. According to Kaneda (2), there are no major differences in the grammars of the six dialects. Differences appear in phonology, but the main difference lies in how the vowels are fused. Although differences exist between the dialects, communication is possible, and there is no problem in conversing between the different dialects.

Next, I explain the features of Hachijo dialects. There are many dialects in modern Japanese, but Hachijo dialects are not similar to any of them. In Japanese dialect classification, they are an isolated language. In Japanese dialects studies, Hachijo dialects are treated as one of the subclassed dialects of Japanese, but UNESCO treats Hachijo dialects as an independent language different from Japanese because of its specificity. It is thought that owing to geographical conditions Hachijo dialects were isolated from the external world and did not interact with other dialects for a long time.

For that reason, even now, Hachijo dialects continue to retain features of an extremely old form of Japanese that was use in before the Nara period (A.D. 710–794), which has already disappeared in contemporary Japanese language. It maintains the grammatical features of the East-Japan area dialect of the period seen in the work “Man-yo-shu” (A.D. 759) from the Nara period (Hojo 184–87; Kaneda 3). In Japan, in A.D. 759, the central languages and the East-Japan area dialect had already diverged as different languages. The dialect of the East-Japan area at that time retained features of a form of Japanese that was older than the central language at that time. Hachijo dialects, which continue to retain the characteristics of the Japanese spoken at that time, are languages that offer hints to rebuild the Japanese language of an era that is older than the ancient Japanese language that is found in the oldest Japanese written document.

3.2 Hachijo dialects as an endangered crisis language

Currently, the number of speakers who can speak traditional Hachijo is much less than that of the population of Hachijo-jima, which is estimated to be about 500 older adults. The majority of speakers of Hachijo dialects have an average age of over 70 years. Most of the adults younger than this age group (those in their 50s) can understand Hachijo, but do not know how to speak it. It is also difficult for younger generations (those

under 40s) to understand Hachijo or to recognise the words of Hachijo dialects. In the following 10–15 years, the number of speakers will decrease by half, making language succession and maintaining the language even more difficult. In addition, the local communities comprising older adults who speak the same dialect, whose presence is important for maintaining the language, will soon disappear.

There is only a short time span in which the research and storage of Hachijo dialects can be done. Now, when we still have an adequate number of speakers, we urgently need to investigate, describe and save the language. In addition, the need for language succession activities is increasing.

4. Approach to preservation and inheritance

4.1 Local government's efforts towards preservation and inheritance

The Asahi Shimbun (newspaper) dated 20 February 2009 published an article entitled “World 2500 language annihilation crisis”, stating that “According to UNESCO, 8 languages are targeted in Japan”. The islanders thought that their language was a rural language that was only one of many Japanese dialects, and that its decline was inevitable. However, from an international point of view, they were shocked to know that losing their dialect represented a major loss for society.

After Hachijo Town learned about this fact, the Hachijo Town Board of Education became the centre for initiatives on the succession of Hachijo dialects from 2009. At the Board of Education, they surveyed all the elementary, junior high and high school students in the island to grasp the actual state of dialect use. The results revealed that children hardly use the dialects. Based on this, the Board of Education tried to incorporate dialect education into school education, etc., and efforts were made over four years.

This activity is described in detail in Motegi (88). In this paper, I introduce “Hachijo-jima-Kotoba Karuta” (a card game using island words), which was created through this activity.

Through their activities, the Board of Education identified that the dialect Karuta is effective for passing the dialect to the next generation, and created “Hachijo Jima-Kotoba Karuta.” This game has a reading card written in five regional dialects, and a CD that has recordings of how a speaker from each region sounds. The members of the Board of Education are not experts in dialects, so they hear the opinions of the speakers and make corrections. In addition, revised versions are also made as necessary, and the content has been updated. Karuta is sold at souvenir shops and tourist information centres, and anyone can easily access it.

Furthermore, events concerning Hachijo dialects have been organised. In addition to holding many events that use Karuta, information about them is also posted on the restaurants and hot spring rest areas on the island, so that the people on the island usually know about Karuta. The Board of Education also frequently hold events such as workshops for teachers and staff, the Hachijo dialect course, and the Carta tournament to promote awareness to the islanders. Although several other such activities are carried out as well, “Hachijo island word Karuta” offered a clue for the creation of kamishibai.

4.2 What you need to save the language

I have been involved in the educational activities to describe, save and inherit Hachijo dialects since 2014, working in collaboration with the Board of Education and the speakers of the dialects. Currently, I am engaged in activities to preserve and maintain natural discourse as voice data. In order to save the language, it is necessary to have a dictionary, a grammar book and discourse materials. Discourse materials correspond to textbooks for language learning, meaning that speech discourse material is a set of textbooks and recording materials.

There is an excellent grammar book written about Hachijo dialects, such as Kaneda (2001). Also, non-researcher islanders have created a collection of materials that collect vocabulary and expressions of Hachijo dialects (Asanuma 1999; Yamada 2010). On the other hand, there are very few speech discourse materials and recorded materials. In order to preserve and utilise the speech data of the natural discourse of Hachijo dialects, I transcribed the natural discourse speech as characters, created a text, and created an appendix of the research information to develop as discourse material with sound.

Such materials can be used not only for preserving the Hachijo dialects but also in various fields such as teaching materials and research materials, and can greatly contribute to academic research and language succession activities. If speech discourse materials are available, it will become easier to gather new researchers and collaborators with this as a mediator, and it will become easier to hand down and preserve activities in collaboration with such researchers and collaborators. Additionally, in response to the requests of the local community, by returning research results to the local community, the dialects can be extended and the extinction can be delayed.

Preserving Hachijoku languages contributes to preventing the diversity of the area from being lost in globalisation and maintaining diverse cultures.

4.3 Problems when collecting Hachijo dialects data

The current form of Hachijo dialects is different from the pure, traditional Hachijo dialects because it has been mixed with standard Japanese language. Therefore, even in the natural discourse between the older adults on the island, it is very difficult to collect discourse that adequately reflects the expression of traditional dialects.

As the first step of describing the language, I record natural speech as it is. And I transcribe the speech to the texts. In the second step, I verify with the speaker who listens to the recording to ensure that the written text is correct. We then correct it to a more traditional version of the Hachijo dialects. The following is an example of such a correction.

Correction example (1)

Originally, in the verbs and adjectives of the Hachijo dialects, the attributive form and the conclusive form are distinguished by different word forms, but there are examples where confusion is occurring now. The following example sentences have the same meaning both before and after correction, but since the grammar form has become the standard Japanese one, I changed it to the traditional grammar form.

Before correction — tonosamaga hitoyasumi siyaru tokide

After correction — tonosamaga hitoyasumi siyaro tokide

Meaning — When the Majesty is taking a break ...

Correction example (2)

Some speakers sometimes omit a particle and pronounce, but this omission is an influence of common Japanese. Traditionally, it is rare (Kaneda 33–35) to speak without a particle, so I supplemented the particle as follows.

Before correction — bene osiroi__ cukete

After correction — bene osiroio cukete

Meaning — Apply lipstick and Oshiroi (Japanese traditional foundation) ...

Correction example (3)

Common Japanese vocabulary (*ine*) was used instead of Hachijo dialects. Because there was no fusion of particles, which is a feature of Hachijo dialects, I corrected to traditional vocabulary (*tabu*), and the particle was modified to a fused form (*tabu+wo=tabu:*) ([:] is a long vowel).

Before correction — *kono ineo. cumede sigoitōQtei*

After correction — *kono tabu: cumede sigoitōQtei*

Meaning — Squeeze this rice with a nail ...

By applying these corrections to the text, I can create a sophisticated dialect text. Unfortunately, the text and recorded speech do not match. Additionally, if you rerecord the sound based on the modified text, it sounds unnatural. Because it is not spontaneous, just reading a sentence. As such, it will be unnatural and of low quality as speech discourse material.

To reconcile these issues, I adopted a “storytelling” style using topics from folk tales, asked the speakers to speak based on the modified text, and decided to record them. By doing this, I figured that I could save the traditional Hachijo dialects text and the sound based on it. Such “storytelling” using text might not be a natural discourse, but it is a better approach than reading the text aloud.

Additionally, in order to make it easily applicable to language succession activities, I painted pictures so that children could understand as well. This is an important point for conveying meaning. The picture helps the speaker speak, even if the speaker cannot tell the story well. Additionally, listeners can infer from the picture even if they do not know the dialect. Thus, I came up with the idea of creating a *kamishibai*.

4.4 Advantages of folk tales

Nobuhiro (1–3) notes that it is possible to capture the actual state of dialects that cannot be easily captured using the ordinary question-answer method investigation by storytelling. Folklore involves copying the form as it is. Old expression forms are retained in folk tales, and words that are nearly no longer spoken in everyday conversation and old grammatical forms continue to remain.

There is a tool for picking rice from rice panicles called *Nade:shi*, but the vocabulary has been forgotten because the tool itself is no longer used. However, these vocabularies

continue to exist in folk tales. In order to preserve and inherit such vocabularies, it is beneficial to make folklore the theme.

5. About the kamishibai

5.1 Outline

Next, I will discuss in detail the Hachijo word picture show. As mentioned previously, on Hachijo-jima, there is an excellent “Hachijo-Jima-Kotoba-Karuta” (Hachijo Town Board of Education) made by the Board of Education. Five kinds of reading cards are prepared for the Hachijo dialect Karuta, taking into consideration the differences in the dialects of the five areas. Therefore, I decided to prepare five kinds of kamishibai texts.

5.2 About the folklore recorded in the kamishibai

Currently, I am making some kamishibai based on the folk tales passed down to Hachijo Island. Many folk tales have been transmitted to Hachijo-jima, such as “Benezjara-Kakezjara”, “Momotarou”, “Zenkooji meeri”, “Hitosute ana”, “Tanabata-sama” and “Yasoyaegaki-hime.” Among these, I chose some folk tales that were of a suitable length to make a kamishibai, and which had a relatively easily understandable development of the story, a topic for which it was easy to draw pictures.

5.3 How to make a kamishibai, especially about the text

Next, I will explain how I created kamishibai in Hachijo dialects. First, while recording the voice in which the speaker is narrating folk tales, I convert the voice to characters, write and create the text. Next, I show the text to the speaker, listen to the recording, ask the questions, and make corrections, and the text is rewritten into the traditional Hachijo dialects based on the introspection of one’s self as the speaker. However, there are only a few speakers who can narrate folk tales. Therefore, the current, besides using past descriptions (Kaneda 2001, etc.), is created by translating the folk tale written in standard Japanese into the dialect (Asanuma 2016). I paid attention to collecting the natural sounds. My role is to use linguistics knowledge to guide the speaker in order to bring out the speaker’s old Hachijo dialects memories. This collaboration is important. In the course of working on making corrections to the

text, the speaker recalls the old Hachijo dialect and corrects to a more natural form, thus approaching as closely as possible the natural Hachijo dialects according to one's own sense of the dialect. Currently, I am working mainly on the Mitsune and Sueyoshi dialects. I started work on the Mitsune dialect because there is high-quality text written in the Mitsune dialect that can be referred. Additionally, an analysis of Kibe (97–238) revealed that the old dialect continues to exist in Sueyoshi, thus I am proceeding working here as a priority ahead of other locations. Ultimately I aim to align all the texts of the five dialects of Hachijo, and I am conducting surveys and preparations to expand the quality and quantity of contents.

5.4 Format of kamishibai

The kamishibai was created in the following three formats. It was important that the kamishibai should be easy to use for general islanders, and also easy to distribute.

1. Similar to traditional kamishibai, the text is written on the back of the picture.
2. The parts with pictures are in the PPT format. The text is prepared with data. I plan to release it online later.
3. A video recording of a speaker demonstrating a kamishibai.

Needless to say, it is best to see the speaker demonstrating the kamishibai, but if there are visuals, the kamishibai can be used more easily at any time. Merely preparing a kamishibai offers limited opportunities to play it, which subsequently results in even few opportunities for the general public to see.

Additionally by preparing the kamishibai itself as a PPT file data, we made it possible to transport and distribute it. People who are interested can actually perform using this data, and they can also print and utilise them individually. Similar to the oral discourse materials with sound, the aim is to eventually publish it online.

5.5 About subtitles

When making videos demonstrating kamishibai, subtitles were added to the whole storytelling part. The video has Hachijo dialects text and the subtitles offer the common Japanese translation. The subtitles are arranged in two columns; the top row arranges the text transcribed with Hachijo dialects in kana (Japanese phonetic characters), and the common Japanese translation is provided in the lower row.

I split the sentence separately for each morpheme, so that the learner can understand the division of morphemes. In order to contrast Hachijo dialects' texts with those translated into the common language, I tried to translate correctly on a word-by-word basis rather than on the sentence level. Additionally, in refining texts and creating common language translations, as stated above, we collaborated with the speakers.

When the speaker performs a kamishibai, the picture has a big role in it. However, in the case of videos, the role of subtitles is significant. While the speaker can explain dialects and stories as they are performing the plays, in the video it cannot be done. In the video, subtitles supplement the role of performers, and pictures are supplementary to help understand subtitles.

5.6 Possible contributions to inheriting the endangered language

The Hachijo-Jima-Kotoba-Karuta, is useful for acquiring vocabulary as an introduction to learn the dialect, but there is a demerit as that the text is short and it represents speech read from sentences, not natural speech. On the other hand, the narrative of kamishibai is useful for learning the dialect Karuta in that one can hear Hachijo dialects speech of a longer unit and learning by even practising oneself. Thus the learning process can be developed by learning a large sentence with video and practising it using the PPT.

I do not regard dialect Karuta and kamishibai as separate. I am creating it with the assumption that people who study the Hachijo dialects in the Karuta will utilise kamishibai to extend their learning. Furthermore, kamishibai's feature allows you to learn not only by watching images, but also by downloading the PPT file. Learners themselves can play a kamishibai. The learner can perform kamishibai using the PPT file.

The text of a kamishibai is a linguistically guaranteed quality, and by practising it, the learner himself can become a narrator of a folklore of dialect. It is as if the learners themselves are manipulating Hachijo words, but such familiarity is important for expanding the base of language succession activities. The learner can become a storyteller by viewing the video and practising using the PPT file. The vanishing art of telling folk tales is revived with kamishibai. Although it is one limited aspect of the folk tale and language, by passing it down, it is possible to preserve Hachijo dialects with good quality. It is also productive in that it creates new storytellers.

Thus, a new narrator is born who can tell Hachijo's folk tales using Hachijo dialects, thus helping with passing down the language. The story-telling of folk tales, which is

an important part of the culture of Hachijo-jima, is on the verge of extinction, but it can be revived through kamishibai.

In addition, it can be said that kamishibai has a relatively small investment cost. This is important from the research perspective that requires taking economics into account. The cost of a kamishibai production is only the payment to the illustrator and the printing fee. If you save this in the form of a PPT file and distribute it online, you can continue to use it semi-permanently.

5.7 Possible contributions to preserving the endangered language

There are pros and cons when viewing kamishibai as a speech discourse material. The longest story takes only about seven minutes. The amount of text is not large, so the amount of information is somewhat inferior to speech material. On the other hand, it becomes an interesting material in that individual differences and differences in expression methods become visible. Currently, I am engaged in conducting surveys on multiple speakers in each region, and creating multiple texts reflecting differences in expressions by region and speaker using one picture.

Kaneda (2) stated that regional grammatical differences are slight and can be regarded as almost the same. However, if I actually create a text of kamishibai, even though the grammatical structure is the same, there are differences in the manner of its exposure, depending on the region and the speaker. In fact, regional differences in languages are seen in the same area, as the regional difference between the central and south parts of the Osato area within the Okago area. Additionally, there may be differences in expression forms such as degree difference of honorific expressions. By recording the differences in the readings by speakers, we can contribute to the preservation of the diversity of expression amongst different speakers.

When describing languages that are under threat or when reactivating languages, small regional differences and individual differences tend to be ignored. This is because standardisation among new speakers is achieved when a language is restored. In this manner, the regional diversity of the original Hachijo dialects is lost. Creating multiple texts contributes to the preservation of language diversity.

For learners, if there is text reflecting the dialect differences based on the same text, they can undertake a simple comparison for each dialect, and it is beneficially to grasp the differences in the dialect of the whole island by using it. When researchers gather natural discourse, they can control the contents of the story to some extent by setting scenes and themes in advance. However, even if they do it in multiple regions and

create similar texts, they cannot undertake a simple comparison. This is probably not a very important issue for many researchers. Rather, how natural sounds can be picked up is important for them. However, these texts are convenient for learners. By creating a plurality of texts, it is possible not only to learn a single representation but also to grasp variations of expressions and understand the extent to which differences in expressions are permitted.

6. Conclusion

Currently, I translate not only folklore but also literary works into Hachijo. Even long and difficult texts help in comprehension if pictures are involved. A kamishibai has the power to convey the world of language through an image. I would like to utilise the kamishibai so that people who are already unable to speak Hachijo dialects or migrants from outside the island can become interested in Hachijo dialects.

When creating video material, the necessity to record things including gestures when speaking and cultural elements such as traditional songs and dances has been noted. Takubo (7–8) states: “In order to record the true form of the language, it is not enough just to save the language. It is necessary to enrich the metadata, to transcribe, to translate the word and the sentence, and to add the content. In order to really understand, sociological and cultural anthropological commentary will also be necessary.” Additionally, Himmelmann (161–95) asserts the importance of keeping records including language-related social behaviours and gestures. As research progresses, the video of playing the kamishibai may have new value.

Ono and Kobayashi (17–18) talk about the need for developing and creating teaching materials for learning narration by dialects, but they also discuss the necessity of setting a place to utilise such materials. It also touches upon the necessity of communicating the existence of the place to local residents and children. Our future task is to advance such activities.

The kamishibai plays a role in connecting children and people who do not know Hachijo dialects with dialect speakers of higher age.

Additionally, I aim to contribute to the revitalisation of the local community through Hachijo dialects. The attempts are expected to result in the stable inheritance of the Hachijo language.

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Acknowledgements: I would like to thank the speakers in Hachijo-jima and the members of the Board of Education for giving me their valuable time to help write this article, for assisting me with significant effort, and for teaching me. I would also like to thank Professor Akihiro Kaneda of Chiba University for allowing me to use the gathered research data.

This paper is based on an oral presentation given at the International Symposium *The Art of Kamishibai: The Word of the Image and the Image of the Word* (10 to 13 May 2018, Ljubljana, Slovenia). I thank the participants for their valuable feedback.

The research topics covered in this paper used some of the results obtained under the following research grant subsidies.

1. Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Fellows, 15J11988 (JSPS)
2. Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (B), 15K16766 (JSPS)
3. The Mitsubishi Foundation, Research Grants in the Humanities 2017
4. Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (B), 18K12391 (JSPS)

Kamishibai in Dialect

Aiming to Inherit the Endangered Hachijo-jima Dialect

This paper aims to discuss the approach for using an oral discourse database for the preservation and succession activities of an endangered language. The Hachijo dialects were designated as a "language in danger of extinction" by UNESCO in 2009. Only a few people can speak the traditional Hachijo dialects, but the natural conversation recordings collected to preserve the language are insufficient to conserve the former system of the language. Therefore, we created revised texts of the transcripts after consulting about and examining the natural conversation transcripts with native speakers. In the re-recording of the revised texts, in order to eliminate unnaturalness to the extent possible, folk tales were chosen as the subject material, and the style of "storytelling" was adopted. In addition to uploading a video in which the speaker performed a kamishibai online, I created a PowerPoint Presentation (.ppt) Kamishibai, and made it available for downloading and use. Not only can learners watch and learn from the video, but they can also perform a kamishibai in Hachijo dialects by downloading the PPT file. The text in the kamishibai is authentic in the contexts in which it is used and is linguistically accurate. When a new performer talks about it, the language is inherited, albeit partially. A kamishibai can contribute to the preservation and inheritance of Hachijo dialects.

Keywords: endangered dialects, Hachijo dialects, speech discourse material, kamishibai, visualisation

Jeziki kamišibaja

Poskus oživitve jezika z otoka Hachijo, ki mu grozi izumrtje

Prispevek obravnava uporabo podatkovnih zbirk govornih besedil pri ohranjanju in oživljanju ogroženih jezikov. UNESCO je leta 2009 jezik z otoka Hachijo razglasil za »jezik, ki mu grozi izumrtje«. Danes ta tradicionalni jezik govori le še peščica ljudi, posnetki spontano tvorjenih besedil, ki se zbirajo za ohranitev jezika, pa ne zadoščajo za ohranitev predhodnega jezikovnega sistema. Zato smo skupaj z maternimi govorniki obstoječa transkribirana besedila pregledali in analizirali ter pripravili revidirane transkripcije za ponovno snemanje. Da bi jezik ostal čim bolj naraven, smo za temo izbrali ljudske pripovedke in se osredotočili na slog pripovedovanja zgodb. Poleg spletnega videa, ki prikazuje govornika med izvajanjem kamišibaja, sem ustvaril tudi predstavitev v PowerPointu, ki je dostopna na spletu. Govorniki se lahko iz video posnetka učijo, poleg tega pa lahko kamišibaj v jeziku z otoka Hachijo tudi izvedejo. Besedilo kamišibaja je avtentično, jezikovno pravilno in ustrezno kontekstualno umeščeno. Ko nov izvajalec pristopi k besedilu, se jezik ohranja, četudi le delno. Z izvajanjem kamišibaja tako lahko prispevamo k ohranjanju in zaščiti ogroženega jezika z otoka Hachijo.

Ključne besede: ogroženi jeziki, jezik otoka Hachijo, govornika besedila, kamišibaj, vizualizacija

Kamišibaj v znamenju kakovosti in umetnosti

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Jelena Sitar. *Umetnost kamišibaja: Priročnik za ustvarjanje*. Aristej, 2018.

Kamišibaj je umetniška oblika, ki izvira iz Japonske in je v slovenskem prostoru na področju uprizoritvenih umetnosti še dokaj nova in sveža zvrst. Velikokrat se govori o edinstvenem primeru uveljavitve in razširitve te forme pri nas, saj se je prvi poskus izvedbe kamišibaja leta 2013 hitro razrasel v vseslovensko gibanje. Da bi še dodatno spodbudili razumevanje in razvoj te umetniške oblike, je založba Aristej leta 2019 izdala knjigo *Umetnost kamišibaja: Priročnik za ustvarjanje*. Avtorica besedila je Jelena Sitar, dramaturginja, lutkovna režiserka in docentka na Pedagoški fakulteti Univerze na Primorskem v Kopru, avtor skic pa je njen sopotnik Igor Cvetko, etnomuzikolog in lutkar. Skupaj sta ustanovitelja Gledališča Zapik in pionirja kamišibaja na Slovenskem. Priročnik je rezultat večletnih praktičnih izkušenj in preizkusov, temeljitih raziskav doma in v tujini ter sodelovanja s številnimi drugimi ustvarjalci in umetniki. Dotična knjiga je prva svoje vrste, ki kamišibaj s teoretskega vidika obravnava kot umetniško zvrst, hkrati nudi praktična in razumljiva navodila za ustvarjanje ter prepriča s svojo pregledno, jedrnato in privlačno obliko.

Po definiciji *Slovarja slovenskega knjižnega jezika* je priročnik »*publikacija, ki na pregleden način vsebuje podatke [in] navodila o čem*«,¹ v tem primeru o kamišibaju. Vendar strokovni izraz »kamišibaj« zaman iščemo v slovarjih, saj je pojem na Slovenskem novejši od zadnje slovarske izdaje. Posledično ne preseneča, da se priročnik začne z definicijo kamišibaja ter z izrazi, povezanimi z njim, ki izhajajo iz japonske tradicije in so ustrezno prevedeni ter strnjeno in razumljivo obrazloženi. Po Jeleni Sitar je kamišibaj »*umetnost pripovedovanja zgodb ob slikah v malem lesenem odru*« (10). Ta oder se imenuje butaj² in v osnovi ga sestavljajo okvir, vratca in prostor, »v katerega je vložen niz slik, ki prikazujejo zgodbo« (12). Avtorica v svojem priročniku zavestno ne uporablja besedne zveze »kamišibaj gledališče«, ki se v slovenskem prostoru velikokrat pojavlja tudi v drugih publikacijah. V dobesebnem prevodu kamišibaj³ namreč že vključuje besedo gledališče, ki bi se posledično podvajala. Torej opozarja pozornega bralca

1 *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika, druga, dopolnjena in deloma prenovljena izdaja*. Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU, 2014, www.fran.si. Dostop 4. maj 2019.

2 V japonskem jeziku je »butaj« splošni izraz za oder, torej prostor za izvajanje vseh oblik gledaliških predstav.

3 *Kamišibai* (latinični zapis japonske besede) zajema besedi *kami* (papir) in *shibai* (igra, gledališče) ter v dobesebnem prevodu pomeni papirnato gledališče.

tudi na pravilno pojmovanje te zvrsti uprizoritvene umetnosti.

Kamišibaj so na začetku pri nas razumevali kot »posebno mejno obliko gledališča« (37), vendar Jelena Sitar v priročniku poudarja, da gre za vrsto gledališča, kar utemeljuje predvsem s podobnostjo doživetja, ki ga imamo ob ogledu enih in drugih predstav uprizoritvene umetnosti. Kamišibajska predstava je tako kot druge gledališke predstave »sozvočje različnih umetnosti« (6), ki delujejo vsaka posebej in vse skupaj ter v gledalcu sprožijo razmišljanje in *čustvovanje*. Pri kamišibaju skupno doživljanje te umetnosti opisujejo z izrazom *kijokan*, ki je podrobneje obrazložen v priročniku in ki ga izvajalci in gledalci kamišibaja *želijo doseči* med predstavo. Za izvajalca te umetnosti se je na Slovenskem uveljavil naziv kamišibajkar, torej »*pripovedovalec in prikazovalec zgodbe*« (24), ki ga Jelena Sitar za lažje razumevanje primerja s sorodnimi umetniki. Najprej poudari, da kamišibajkar ni igralec, kajti med predstavo mora biti iskren in avtentičen ter izhajati iz sebe, ne iz vloge. To ga povezuje s pripovedovalcem, ki je med nastopom prav tako naraven in zvest sebi, vendar slike riše samo z besedami. Bolj podoben je kamišibajkar lutkarju, saj oba »animirata neživo snov (eden lutko, drugi sosledje slik)«, razlaga avtorica (24). Razlika pa je vendarle v tem, da lutkar svoj objekt z animacijo oživi, da postane junak zgodbe, kamišibajkar pa animira zgodbo v soigri besed in slik ter s svojo celotno prezenco.

Kamišibaj je zelo minimalistična umetnost, a kljub temu zelo kompleksna, poudarja avtorica. Katere specifične jo odlikujejo ter katerim pravilom in zakonitostim sledi, je bralcem predstavljeno v desetih poglavjih. Priročnik je razdeljen v dva vsebinska sklopa, teoretski in praktični, ki sta po obsegu približno enakovredna. Prvi del z naslovom »Kaj je kamišibaj« razloži glavne značilnosti te umetniške zvrsti ter predstavlja njen razvoj na Japonskem in v Sloveniji. Drugi del pa je posvečen dejanskemu ustvarjanju kamišibaja ter vodi bralca skozi celoten proces od prve zamisli do nastopa. Na prvi pogled sosledje poglavij deluje smiselno: uvodnim definicijam in obrazložitvam sledi zgodovinski prerez in nato konkretna navodila. Vendar se je med branjem izkazalo, da bi bilo morda bolje teoretsko obravnavo zgodovine in razvoja kamišibaja postaviti bolj na začetek priročnika, da se miselni tok ne prekine. Kajti vmesna poglavja (»Sestavni deli kamišibaja«, »Zgodbe v slikah in osnove mehanike kamišibaja«, »Kamišibajkar« ter »Kamišibaj kot sozvočje umetnosti«) dajejo že zelo oprijemljive nasvete za konkretno izvedbo ter dober prehod na praktični, drugi del knjige o ustvarjanju kamišibaja.

A preden se bralec popolnoma osredotoči na specifične in zakonitosti ustvarjanja in izvajanja kamišibaja, Jelena Sitar ponudi pregledno obravnavo zgodovinskega razvoja kamišibaja, ki je kljub svoji strnjenosti zastavljena zelo široko ter se dotakne tudi drugih oblik umetnosti, ne samo gledaliških. Izhaja iz pripovedovanja s slikami (npr. vklesane podobe na vaški situli) do pripovedovanja ob slikah (npr. *cantastoria*

v Italiji). Podrobno dokumentira genezo in razvoj japonskega kamišibaja ter v tem kontekstu razloži oblike japonskega gledališča: *kabuki*, *bunraku*, *utsushi-e* in *tachi-e*. Pri slednji, ki se je razvila okoli leta 1900, se je pojavil izraz kamišibaj (papirnato gledališče), kot so skoraj zaničevalno imenovali uprizoritve s ploskimi lutkami iz kartona na paličicah v minimalističnih lutkovnih odrih. Da bi te predstave postale še bolj mobilne in dostopne, so ilustratorji zgodbe risali v slikah, ki so si jih izvajalci lahko izposojali. Ta oblika se imenuje *hira-e* in je postala sinonim za kamišibaj, ki je največji razcvet na Japonskem doživel od konca dvajsetih do poznih petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja.

V zadnjem desetletju kamišibaj pridobiva popularnost in se v različnih oblikah širi po vsem svetu. V Sloveniji in nekaterih drugih državah po svetu kamišibaj razumejo kot posebno in samostojno umetniško obliko, kar pomeni, da gojijo predvsem avtorski kamišibaj, medtem ko na Japonskem večinoma izvajajo predstave z že natisnjenimi zgodbami v slikah. Morda bi se lahko na tej točki v priročniku vsaj omenilo, da postajajo že narejeni, serijski kamišibaji tudi drugod po svetu zmeraj bolj priljubljeni, zlasti v vzgoji in izobraževanju, ker ne zahtevajo tolikšnega umetniškega vložka. Vendar se ta pojav v Sloveniji še ni razširil, saj slovenski ustvarjalci raje preizkušajo nove izrazne možnosti ter zasnujejo, izdelajo in predstavijo svoje avtorske izdelke. Japonski izraz za kamišibaj, ki ga izdelava umetnik v celoti sam, je *tezukuri*, kar lahko prevedemo kot 'ročno narejeni kamišibaj'. Jelena Sitar je v svoji raziskavi našla tudi ustrezne utemeljitve, zakaj se je na Slovenskem razvil in uveljavil prav avtorski kamišibaj. En razlog vidi v naši naravi, saj je Slovincem umetniško in ustvarjalno izražanje ter druženje v kontekstu kulture že od nekdaj zelo blizu, kar dokazuje tudi bogata ljubiteljska kulturna in umetniška dejavnost. Drugi razlogi pa so v naravi razvoja kamišibaja pri nas, saj so ga uveljavili prav lutkarji, ki upoštevajo »nepisano pravilo, da naj bo predstava v celoti plod avtorskih umetniških prizadevanj« (37). Ta pogled so prenesli tudi na ustvarjanje kamišibaja, ki je bil v primerjavi z drugimi umetniškimi deli produkcijsko dokaj nezahteven.

Podobno argumentacijo avtorica uporabi tudi pri obrazložitvi fenomena, zakaj se je kamišibaj v Sloveniji tako hitro širil in razvil. Od prve predstave aprila 2013 do prvega slovenskega festivala je namreč minilo le nekaj mesecev. In že po enem letu so začeli delovati regionalni centri po Sloveniji. V zadnjih šestih letih so se osrednjemu slovenskemu festivalu kamišibaja pridružili še številni regionalni festivali, redni tečaji in strokovna izobraževanja ter mednarodni kamišibajski festival, leta 2018 pa je v Sloveniji potekal tudi že prvi mednarodni simpozij o umetnosti kamišibaja. Razlog, da je ta uprizoritvena forma pri nas tako priljubljena, vidi Jelena Sitar v tem, da kamišibaj v sebi združuje umetnosti, ki so nam že po človeški naravi zelo blizu in jih poznamo že od otroštva: pripovedovanje zgodb ter ustvarjanje in ogledovanje slik. Poleg tega je kamišibaj v svoji analogni obliki »eden uspešnih poskusov, kako zapolniti praznino

Primerjava analogne in digitalne umetniške forme izvira pravzaprav tudi že v japonski tradiciji. Kajti kamišibaj se je na Japonskem začel razvijati v obdobju, ko je tudi film postal zelo priljubljen medij. Umetnost gibajočih se slik na velikem platnu je kamišibaju po mehaniki dejansko zelo blizu. V poznih dvajsetih letih so na kamišibaj gledali kot na pomanjšano filmsko platno, ki s slikami pripoveduje zgodbe. Kot mobilna risanka, minimalistična animacija slik s pripovedjo, je kamišibaj postal zelo priljubljen, dokler se v petdesetih letih ni pojavila televizija, ki »so ji Japonci rekli kar električni [denki] kamišibaj« (31). TV-ekrani v japonskih domovih so nadomestili skupno gledanje papirnatega gledališča. Tudi Jelena Sitar primerja butaj, mali leseni oder za izvedbo kamišibajske predstave, z majhnim televizijskim ekranom. Na začetku priročnika ta primerjava morda rahlo preseneča, ampak ob nadaljnjem branju in s poznavanjem zgodovinskega ozadja postane razumljiva.

Jelena Sitar v priročniku nasploh uporablja veliko prisposodob in slikovitih opisov za lažje razumevanje strokovnih pojmov in specifik kamišibaja. Tako na primer odpiranje butaja (s trokrilnimi vrati) primerja z odpiranjem pisma. Vsekakor vizualna razlaga v priročniku izredno izstopa, kar dokazujejo številne skice in fotografije, ki spremljajo in ponazarjajo opise ter ustvarijo sozvočje besednih in vizualnih sporočil. Vizualna plat knjige potrjuje deloma tudi to, kar avtorica poudari že *uvodoma, namreč da je kamišibaj analogna umetniška forma v digitalnem svetu. Prav tako analogne so ročne skice, opremljene z ročno napisanim besedilom, ki dajo priročniku osebni pečat ter obrazložijo marsikateri model ali postopek. Mehaniko, scenosled, kadriranje, montažo ter druge posebnosti priprave, izdelave in izvedbe kamišibaja lahko bralec veliko bolje razume s pomočjo slik. Hkrati izbrane fotografije v knjigi prikazujejo ustvarjalce pri izvedbi predstav ter njihove avtorske izdelke, ki dajejo bralcu tudi občutek za raznovrstnost umetniškega izražanja te zvrsti.*⁴ Kajti primeri zajemajo številne likovne stile, tudi kolaže, grafike in origami. V priročniku jih avtorica bralcu predstavi v slikarskem ateljeju, ki mu sledi še zadnji korak – nastop, ki ga je treba temeljito pripraviti in pri katerem mora izvajalec marsikaj upoštevati, da bo gledalcem nudil celostno umetniško izkušnjo.

Avtorica torej s teoretskega in praktičnega vidika razjasni celotno ustvarjalno, avtorsko genezo kamišibaja, v čemer se njena knjiga bistveno razlikuje od japonskega priročnika, ki ga je izdala IKAJA, mednarodna kamišibajska zveza Japonske. Slednji je namreč povsem posvečen samo zadnjemu koraku v procesu, izvedbi kamišibaja. Od drugih slovenskih publikacij pa se priročnik razlikuje že po naslovu, v katerem avtorica postavlja umetnost na prvo mesto, saj želi v priročniku poudariti umetniško

⁴ Poleg tega fotografije dokumentirajo tudi razsežnost in razvoj kamišibaja pri nas. Večina slikovnega gradiva v knjigi je namreč slovenskega izvora, tuji slikovni viri se uporabljajo predvsem za dokumentacijo zgodovine in razvoja kamišibaja v tujini.

plat ustvarjanja kamišibaja. Drugi članki in knjige, ki so v minulih letih izšli na Slovenskem, postavljajo kamišibaj večinoma v pedagoško-didaktični kontekst ter predstavljajo pogled vzgojiteljev in učiteljev na uporabo kamišibaja v vrtcih in šolah. Nabor strokovnih člankov in primerov dobrih praks doma in v tujini je leta 2018 nudil zbornik prispevkov z mednarodnega simpozija Umetnost kamišibaja: Beseda podobe in podoba besede.⁵ Vendar tovrstne raziskave in pregledne obravnave kamišibaja v zgoščeni, razumljivi in natančni obliki, kot jo nudi priročnik Jelene Sitar, v Sloveniji še ni bilo.

V primerjavi z razsežnostjo prakticiranja kamišibaja pri nas je torej strokovna obravnava kamišibaja v publikacijah v slovenskem jeziku sorazmerno pomanjkljiva. Posledično avtorica večkrat citira iz pogovorov z drugimi umetniki in ustvarjalci, ki imajo bogate izkušnje s kamišibajem.⁶ *Čeprav* je Jelena Sitar pri pisanju priročnika izbrala zelo osebni pristop ter z bralci deli svoje osebne izkušnje in zamisli, pa *številne teme* obravnava z več zornih kotov: predstavlja raziskave, mnenja in izkušnje drugih strokovnjakov in ustvarjalcev ter še posebej izpostavlja japonski pogled na ključna vprašanja.⁷ Tovrstne primerjave so več kot dobrodošle in pomagajo bralcu pri sledenju in razumevanju razvoja kamišibaja, hkrati pa nudijo možnost kritične refleksije uveljavljenih praks pri nas in po svetu. Objektivni in subjektivni pogledi so torej uravnoteženi in priročnik deluje strokovno, iskreno in pristno.

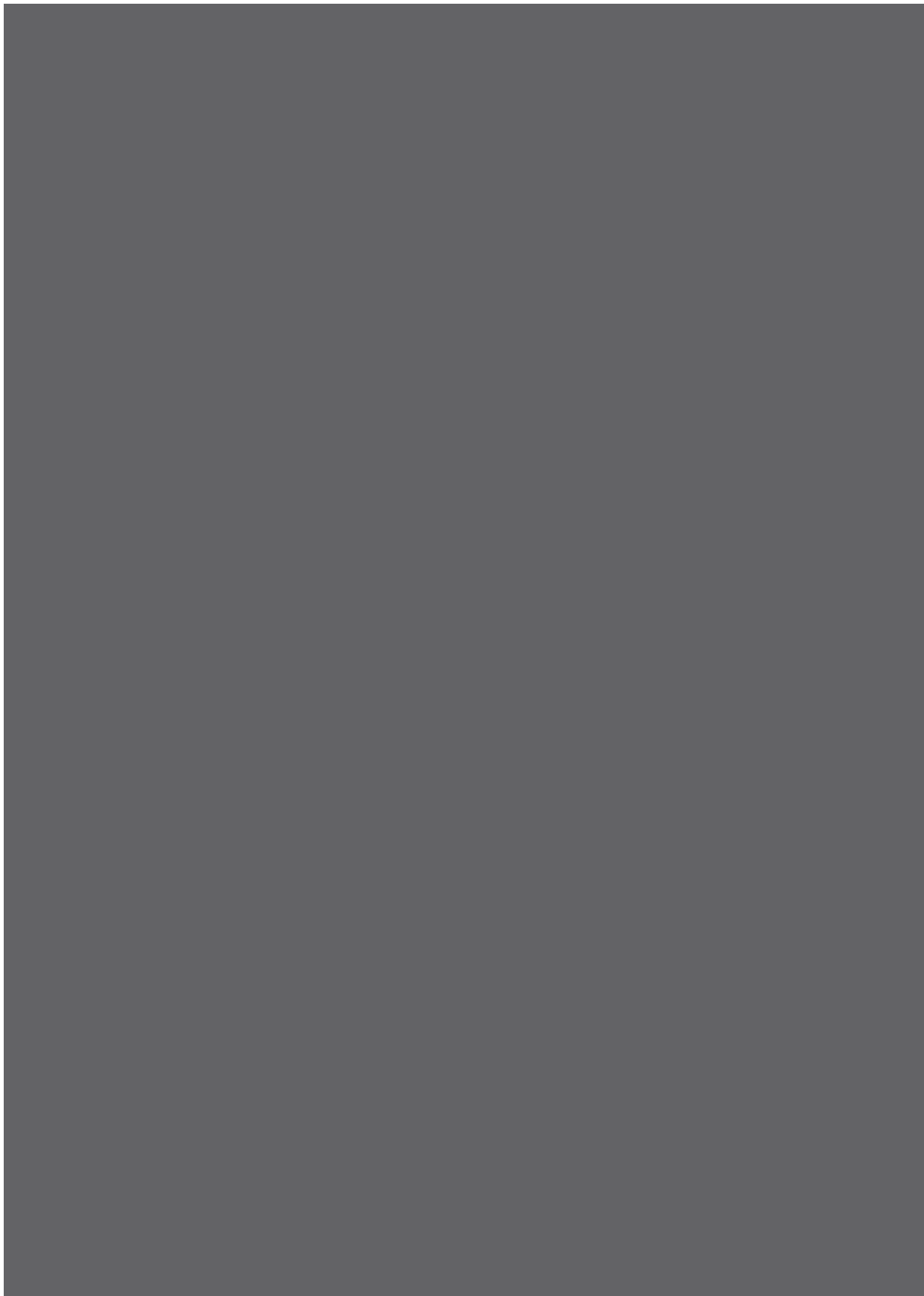
Tako kot obljublja na začetku knjige, avtorica razkriva skrivnosti kamišibaja ter s svojimi nazornimi razlagami in vizualiziranimi navodili daje občutek, da je kamišibaj dostopna umetnost, ki jo lahko preizkusi in osvoji vsak. Nagovarja torej tako kamišibajkarje, ki želijo svoje delo izpopolniti, kot tudi začetnike, ki se prvič srečujejo z umetnostjo kamišibaja. Priročnik odraža, da njegova avtorica razmišlja kot dramaturginja, režiserka, lutkovna ustvarjalka, pedagoginja ter ne nazadnje kot ustvarjalka in raziskovalka kamišibaja. Posledično želi doseči zelo široko ciljno skupino. Knjiga vsekakor nagovarja splošnega bralca, morda ljubiteljskega ustvarjalca, ki si želi поблиže spoznati kamišibaj in se preizkusiti v ustvarjanju. Prav tako je zelo primerna za knjižničarje, terapevte, pedagoge in druge strokovne delavce v vzgojno-izobraževalnih zavodih, ki lahko kamišibaj vključijo v svoje delovno okolje ter predstavljene metode prilagodijo svojim potrebam. Jelena Sitar poudarja, da je kamišibaj več kot le učni pripomoček, ter ga bralcu približa kot umetnost, v kateri lahko uživata tako odjemalec (gledalec) kot ustvarjalec. Dejansko dovoljuje vpogled

5 Izbrani prispevki so objavljeni v spletni izdaji, dostopni na strani Slovenskega gledališkega inštituta: slogi.si/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Umetnost-kamisibaja_The-art-of-Kamishibai.pdf.

6 Zaradi doslednosti bi bilo pri citiranju zaželeno poenoteno oblikovanje, kajti včasih so citati označeni z narekovaji, včasih s kurzivno pisavo. Enako velja za ustrezno navajanje virov.

7 Jelena Sitar bralce razvaja s primerjavo in analizo fenomenov pri nas, na Japonskem in po svetu. Zato še toliko bolj izstopajo poglavja, v katerih tovrstnega širšega pogleda primanjkuje. Na primer pri Suzukijevem modelu oblik kamišibaja na Japonskem bi lahko avtorica potegnila še nekaj vzporednic s kamišibajem pri nas (oziroma po svetu), kot to stori v naslednjem poglavju o žanrih.

v zaodrje butaja in v ustvarjalni proces kamišibaja ter ponuja kriterije in občutek za vrednotenje te umetnosti. Bralec (in gledalec) v priročniku spozna kompleksen jezik kamišibaja in bo v prihodnje lažje razlikoval med dobrimi in slabimi predstavami ter cenil kakovost in estetiko kamišibaja.



Razprave / Articles

The paper deals with a performance with the meaningful title *Drama Observatory Kapital*. It premièred in 1991, in the year of Slovenian independence. Directed by Dragan Živadinov, it was made in the context of the politically subversive art collective NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst). I am analysing the performance by taking a different approach, which enables highlighting the political context and public responses to the performance with an analysis of its introductory rituals (E. Čufer, S. Kardum). In the case of *Kapital*, those took the form of theatralised conferences, consequential media reports and readers' responses, as well as Dragan Živadinov's hunger strike before the performance. These accompanying events to the performances - popular exactly at the turn of the Republic of Slovenia from Yugoslav socialism to parliamentary democracy - enabled the artists, Živadinov in particular, to publicly provoke a discussion about the socio-political role of art and the national cultural policy in the newly established democratic state, thus testing the level of its democratisation. By analysing these introductory rituals to *Kapital*, I am therefore employing a discussion on the wider subject of "today's culture in democracy" (van Maanen) and its specifics in the Slovenian transition, which touches upon crucial issues about understanding democracy, democratisation and politicality in relation to art, especially to its socio-political function. In the end, I emphasise the change in public discourse on art by framing the polemics in the question of today's socio-political role of art, thus offering a broader viewpoint on the current happenings.

Keywords: Dragan Živadinov, performing arts, Republic of Slovenia, *Drama Observatory Kapital*, NSK, the Scipion Nasice Sisters Theatre, socialism, democracy, politicality

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The Socio-Political Function of Performing Arts and the Democratisation of the Republic of Slovenia

The Example of *Drama Observatory Kapital* (1991)

1. Introduction to the socio-political context

When I was completing the current article in 2019, the discourse in the field of performing arts in Slovenia was predominantly subordinated to the influence of the economically-rationalistic logic which had reduced the effect of the arts to measures in profitability and usefulness and in Slovenia has been the ruling general perception of art for some time. In times of neoliberal governmentality (see Foucault) and the rule of competitive relations on the market (see also Berardi – Bifo), the transformation of the socio-political role of art was symbolically marked by the (temporary) abolishment of an independent Ministry of Culture (in 2012), it continued with the reduction of funding in cultural field and the consequential worsening of conditions for professional work, which persisted even after the visible effects of the global economic crisis (2008) were over and after the beginning of the period of real GDP growth rate in Slovenia (after 2014) (Statistical Office RS). Spreading the negative attitude, even hate speech towards the arts could be observed in the public sphere, for example, among web commentaries in published online media articles about art, and is being reproduced with the silent consent of the regulatory procedures of web administrators. As early as 2003, a public debate about subsidies in Slovenian culture was triggered, because of which even the “Ministry of Culture ordered a study about the effects of public investments into culture” (Ručna 2). Consequentially, the problematisation of the (precarious) conditions for production is becoming a regular part of artistic works and their content. Even in the theoretical treatment of art practices, the political contextualisation, referring exactly to these problems, has overshadowed other approaches (Milohnič *Umetnost, Kunst Artist*).

Completely the opposite, in times of socialism in former Yugoslavia, “art and culture represented a privileged part of the social universe”. Erjavec reasons that in the socialist society, the role of art was important because “the positions and opinions which in a different political system would have been expressed in the form of public political discourse were here presented in disguised art form, because the political

discourse was reserved for official ideology and politically sanctioned speakers and writers” (Erjavec 93). Apart from such use of art as public forum, (socio-critical) art played an important role in the “repluralisation of the Slovenian political space”, which enabled a “painless transition to democracy and the beginning of the Slovenian state” (Troha 130). The history of Slovenia also recognises that intellectuals and creators in culture importantly contributed to the process of the transition period (Vodopivec 463).

To trace this shift in attitude towards art and the public perception of its role in society till today, I return the discussion to the moment when Slovenia entered the political system of democracy and the free market in capitalism began to dictate art’s fight for survival. I am using the example of *Drama Observatory Kapital* (1991), produced in the independent scene in the year of Slovenian independence, it was directed by Dragan Živadinov, the nowadays internationally acclaimed theatre director known mostly for his project of culturalisation of space (see Anđelković). In the 1990s, he was one of the foremost users of introductory rituals and also their promotor, as well as a promotor of avant-garde motifs (their re-appropriation in the principle called retro-garde), a promotor of (performative) rituals and grand manifest gestures, all of which remain his recognisable aesthetic to this day.

With his introductory rituals to *Drama Observatory Kapital*, Živadinov provoked the discussion about the national interest in cultural policy of the new democratic country. Analysing these introductory rituals, that is, the accompanying events such as the hunger strike, the theatricalised press conference and responses of the newspaper readers, enables us to contextualise the concurrent socio-political situation. Initially used for provoking the bourgeois audience (for example, in Italian Futurism), introductory rituals, as “various accompanying (post)avant-garde acts” to performances (quot. in Kardum, “Uvodni rituali” 116)¹, did, in the times of decline of socialism and the birth of democracy, provoke the discussion about the re-forming of theatre, its social function, politicality and relation to democratisation, also in terms of its relation to institutions. To further explain the difference in this perception of the role of art between the two political systems, I am using the two-fold model of cultural policy: first, the “democratizing of culture” (Evrard 167), which leans toward elitism (Jung 7), and which, on the example of Slovenia, I am placing under the ideological patronage of socialism, and the other, the “cultural democracy”, which I am placing in the populist “reign of the consumer” (Kershaw 166) and the current time of capitalist consumerism.

1 Performative strategies in introductory rituals were influenced by the historical avant-gardes of the 20th century (Dadaism, Futurism, Surrealism and the conceptualism of Michel Duchamp).

2. *Drama Observatory Kapital*

It was the year of Slovenian independence and the turn from Yugoslav socialism toward democratic parliamentary republic. In January 1991, eight months before the première of his performance *Drama Observatory Kapital*, theatre director Dragan Živadinov went on a hunger strike for eighteen days by shutting himself in the secretariat of the Ministry of Culture (Štefančič 137; Čater 36; Kardum 123). Post festum theoretical analyses reasoned this happened “because the Minister of Culture at the time, Dr Andrej Capuder, was not attentive to the financial needs of this project [namely *Kapital*’s] post-production” (Milohnič, “Politično” 131). Similar reasons can also be read in concurrent reviews of the performance *Kapital* (Fridl 10). Živadinov was removed from the ministry building with the help of the police and continued his strike in a gallery on Gornji trg.

The first public impressions of the hunger strike alongside the birth of the new democratic state in 1991 reveal a surprising focus on democracy in understanding and contextualising the event. The direct public response to Živadinov’s protest as written by the readers of the leading national daily newspaper *Delo* was the following: “Dragan Živadinov’s hunger strike is a form of democratic performance in a democratic society” (Jurinčič 3). Whereas years later, in the more academic sphere, art historians and theorists stated that the event could also be perceived, primarily, as a part of a “multi-layered political and social events, which had for its goal general democratisation of the society”. Or, even more precisely: “[I]nsisting on the right to create conceptual art” along with introductory rituals was, in the existing socio-political circumstances, an aesthetic as well as a “political gesture” (Milohnič, “Politično” 136).

Thus, with his hunger strike, Živadinov opened a vivid debate in cultural circles, in which people were highly aware of the crucial importance of cultural policy (and the relation of the state to the culture) in the times of Slovenian independence in order to secure the existence of (non-commercial) culture in capitalism. In the readers’ responses to Živadinov’s hunger strike before *Kapital* in *Delo* from 11 February, Jožef Školč² made an important establishment and prediction: “That is why the crucial and real question is not, whether this or that stream in culture will prevail, but for what kind of state will we decide, what should the state be like, what the state must be like, so we could normally live in it as citizens and so we could speak about culture at all.” With this, Školc marked an important connection between the level of democracy in society and (the role of) culture, even or also after the ending of democratisation process. From Živadinov’s act to its responses denoting the necessity to define a national interest in the cultural policy of the newborn state.

² Školc was president (1990–1992) of the political party Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), which had been formed in 1990 from the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia (ZSMS). In 1994, the LDS transformed to Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (LDS).

Živadinov's fight for abstract theatre in the new democratic state – especially in the form of the hunger strike as an introductory ritual to *Kapital* – can be perceived as a fight with(in) cultural policy. That can be seen also solely from the titles of readers' responses regarding the event: "Not just about cultural policy, it's about the policy of the state" (Jožef Školč), "Tense cultural policy" (Edelman Jurinčič, Primorska Writers' Association). Jurinčič also prognostically established that: "With the transition to capitalistic relations, culture itself will cope with very painful market and interpersonal relations." Consequentially, by analysing Živadinov's performance *Kapital* and its context, I am employing a discussion on a wider subject that touches mostly upon the affairs in "today's culture of democracy", a phrase that since the 1970s in European countries has so often been juxtaposed to the 'democratization of culture'" (van Maanen 169). A debate that in the special conditions of the Slovenian transition gets a peculiar political connotation.

3. Democratization of culture versus cultural democracy

To demonstrate more clearly the core of the dilemma and the distinction between the role of art in socialism versus democracy, let's return to the two-fold theory as used by Yves Evrard. When using binary "policy theories" that are "used to discuss cultural policy development, analysis, and change", Jung ("Threading and Mapping" 7), who provided a detailed overview of the theories in arts administration published in the *Journal of Arts Management, Law & Society*, apart from Evrard (1997), mentions also Girard (1972), Langsted (1990) and Mulcahy (2006) (for Mulcahy see also Praznik 34).³ The reason why I am framing this vivid debate between the two paradigms, the "democratization of culture" and "cultural democracy", in a political way is to re-think the role of cultural policy in the democratic state, as opposed to socialism, and to re-define the role and function of culture in democracy today.

The democratization of culture deals with the aim of cultural policy "to disseminate major cultural works to an audience that does not have ready access to them, for lack of financial means or knowledge derived from education" (Evrard 167). "Democratization of culture views culture as something that is uniform and 'good for you' and as administered by the government (Langsted 1990; Mulcahy 2006)" (qtd. in Jung 7). Or even differently: "A cultural policy based on democratization of culture is top-down and promotes the elitist idea of arts and culture (Mulcahy 2006)" (Ibid.).

When placing this distinction between the different aims of cultural policy in the timeline from socialism to democracy, one can easily ascribe the type of democratization

³ Kevin Mulcahy talks about two kinds of cultural policy. First is "democratization of culture", which privileges only certain types of culture as public good and is focused at acquiring cultural capital, while "cultural democracy" refers to equal accessibility of culture (qtd. in Praznik 34).

of culture to socialism. Which universal values were to be supported, distributed and subsidised by the socialist state in the paradigm of cultural democratisation were clearly the ones supporting the socialist ideology, which should, consequentially, be distributed to everybody. As Peter Vodopivec in his integral contemporary history of Slovenians sums to the point, in socialism, “the builders of the Yugoslav post-war cultural policy were [...] striving towards three goals: raising the general educational and cultural level of the population, promoting creativity approachable to ‘crowds’ and enabling their lively integration into various cultural activities and cultural fruitfulness, in order to strengthen the socialist ‘consciousness’ and belonging to the new social and political order” (422).

On the other pole of cultural policy: “Cultural democracy is concerned with providing equal opportunities for all to be culturally active in their own terms and interprets arts and culture more broadly, valuing pluralism. When this ‘populist’ approach is applied to cultural policy, the emphasis is shifted from providing one collective cultural experience to pluralistic and participatory experiences” (Jung 7). The polemics between the two viewpoints, the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy can in the most radical derivation be cut down to polemics between elitism in culture on one side, with a policy of dictating the contents and values in art, and, on the other side, populism or, in the language of today’s capitalism, “the tyranny’ of audience ratings” (Evrard 173).

With the entrance to democracy, the Slovenian state’s cultural policy lost its ideological compass. The younger generation of artists at the time, Živadinov in particular, saw this as the right moment to instigate a wider debate on questions of cultural policy, just in time before the neoliberal measurement of profitability and usefulness stepped in the foreground as the only measure. Their striving for professional working conditions in cultural policy was not founded (and interpreted) as much in measures of the equality of conditions, but rather in the democratic opening to freedom of speech, which enabled greater public visibility to the before ideologically restricted and marginalised contents.

As shown by empirical studies, despite the rising social inequalities in Yugoslavia in the beginning of the 1990s as well as in the beginning of the 1980s, their consequential result was not the general attitude of egalitarianism as would be the expected or “dominant reaction” to such social inequalities. In opposition to all the expectations, the empirical studies instead show that, “during the first stages of democratic transition, Slovenes did not expect that democracy would bring social equalities. However, they did expect political freedom” (qtd. in Hafner-Fink, “Values” 138). Thus, cultural democracy and open access to cultural production may be connected to making the ability for everybody to create culture as a basic

democratic right to the freedom of speech and (cultural) articulation as well as the representation of (de)privileged voices in society.

Being aware that the Slovenian market with an estimated total population of 2,076,595 (Statistic office RS, March 2019) in itself is not large enough to enable the survival of (non-commercial) culture, the (younger generation of) artists in the 1990s had to (and still has) to assure its survival in cultural democracy. In his 12 September 1991 article "Our theatres dependent on state's fondness", Slavko Pezdir establishes on the basis of the analyses in the theatre annuals in Yugoslavia and Slovenia: "Because of the relatively small number of spectators, our theatres will long be dependent on the life on momentary fondness of our state or dominant cultural policy" ("Naša" 6). The reason was smallness of the market, which required a higher number of premières per year in Slovenia (46% of all performances), as in, for example, when talking about the entire territory of Yugoslavia (33%). Meaning also, the arts could not sustain themselves on the market (or from ticket sales), because of its apparent troubles with post-production in relation to production.

The topic of democratisation in culture is not exclusive for Slovenia, and has been present in the European sphere since the 1970s on, when, on the one hand, new forms of popular culture came into the foreground and the cultural industries for the masses prevailed, while the so called elite, classical and traditional forms of non-commercial culture suddenly felt threatened by populism, and needed to (re)assure its existence in the free (art) market via a democratic strategy of cultural policy (and subsidies from the state) (van Maanen 169). Van Maanen then critically refers mostly to Richard Shusterman's pejorative treatment on "several forms of popular culture" that have in "contemporary cultural democracy", "apparently attained a position alongside the 'highbrow' culture that was traditionally enjoyed by a well turned-out elite" (Ibid.). Van Maanen is sceptical about the presumed hierarchical distinction between popular and "traditional" culture and positioning them in the relation of low towards high/ elite culture.

While van Maanen treats the topic in the chapter "On values and function of the arts", he poses the question whether the level of democratisation of culture depends on the state's support of "stimulating the perceptual schemata of participants", meaning, is it dependent on "provocative" rather than on "comfortable" forms of art, told in the vocabulary of Sciotoovsky (qtd. in van Maanen 169). He then further states a rather interesting provocation regarding if a culture can be considered democratic: it is not whether the culture enables in equal measurement representation of popular and non-popular forms of art and attributes them the same value, but rather if the culture "regards as equal and encourages all those forms of communication within the various aesthetic disciplines that challenge the perceptual schemata of the

participants, then it can rightfully be called democratic” (170).

Applying van Maanen’s question to the example of Slovenia would therefore be, what kind of art would be considered “provocative” or “stimulating the perceptual schemata of participants”, first, in socialism, and then, in democracy. While the level of democracy or democratisation of society measured would be the inclination of cultural policy to support the non-comfortable forms of art and its variability. However, it is worth noticing that van Maanen is here mostly preoccupied with the aesthetic, moral and even epistemological questions and values of art (later also sociological), while discussing the questions of democratisation and cultural policy in terms of supporting “provocative” rather than “comfortable” forms of art. The interesting part here is that the debate on cultural policy supporting them that became alive in Slovenia with the entrance into democracy, was mostly ideological. In the bottom line it addressed the question of cultural policy and state subsidies from the point of view of politically challenging ideas. It also strived for incorporating the independent performing arts scene into financial institutions. That also means that in this case, the debate about subsidising alternative, marginal or, in fact, non-mass oriented and, most importantly, ideologically provocative performances was publicly opened with the transition from socialist self-management to the capital market economy and in the processes of Slovenian democratisation and independence from the socialist system of Yugoslavia. Even though elite culture does not appear to be quite the same as marginalised culture, they both tend to be non-mass, non-commercially oriented and financially non-autonomous on the market.

Živadinov is hardly a good example for the equal dissemination of culture in accustomed measurements. The production *Kapital* only had a capacity for 18 spectators per performance. As the media reported, initially there were 20 performances planned, which would mean 360 spectators in total (see “Z Živadinovom” in “Zapeljevanje non-stop”). There is no official data about the total number of performances actually performed, but the number (deliberately) remained highly controlled and severely modest. However, when it comes to provoking questions about cultural democracy, with the hunger strike and its reception in the newspaper, the number of the target audience for *Kapital* became much higher, reaching even several thousand.⁴

With the carrying out of introductory rituals, the (elite or marginalised) performance could more easily target the public sphere and trigger the necessary discourses in public. Official reservations towards (political) polemicisations and the seeming absence of strategical national cultural policy,⁵ which is hidden behind the mass global

4 For comparison: the circulation of the largest newspaper, *Delo*, for example, in July 2004 was 89,656 per day for the printed edition (RPN/Revidiranje prodanih naklad). And this is only for the printed editions. The official number for the year 1991 remains undisclosed. Hence, with the introductory rituals such as the hunger strike and its reports, the possibility to reach a larger audience – which is even not exclusively of cultural provenience (!) – is far greater.

5 The first Exercising of the Public Interest in Culture Act / Zakon o uresničevanju javnega interesa na področju kulture (ZUJIPK,

phenomena of the silent “commodification of cultural consumption” (Kershaw 166) and tendencies to let the (independent) art to survive on the market, gets sharper political connotation in the context of Slovenian transition from Yugoslav socialism than, for example, in the West. By that, it highlights the question of the social role of art and reveals our perception of democracy.

Hence, introductory rituals, such as the hunger strike, which were the main ones used, became a means to deliberately direct the focus of the public interest and the audience onto the working conditions of the non-institutional theatre production (the so-called independent theatre production). In the case of the hunger strike, the audience was mostly the readers of the “press” introductory rituals to the performance. With the use of the form of introductory rituals to the performance, *Kapital* opened a vivid debate in cultural circles about the question of cultural policy, the functions of art in new socio-political conditions, as well as redefining the politicality of arts. The public responses at this stage of history of Slovenia prove to be on the side of (alternative) art in defence of democracy and freedom of speech, understanding it as its integral part.

4. Introductory rituals to *Kapital*

The introductory rituals – in Slovenian performing arts firstly mentioned by Eda Čufer – are, tautologically, “rituals of introducing the spectators into performance” (qtd. in Kardum, “Uvodni rituali” 116). *Kapital* was made in the year of independence, on the non-institutional theatre scene, and with the help of introductory rituals producing an autonomous aesthetic sphere. As it is often the case with the theatre of Dragan Živadinov, there were more introductory rituals preceding the actual event, all of which crucially determine its understanding and its context. As already mentioned, half a year before the première of *Kapital*, Živadinov conducted a hunger strike (introductory ritual no. 1). Later, directly before the première, a highly theatricalised press conference was organised (no. 2). Both actions were also mentioned in the reviews of the performance *Kapital* as a means of its interpretation (Kardum, “Kaj” 5; Fridl 10). Additionally, Živadinov’s *Kapital* was not a solo project. At the time Živadinov was part of the SNST,⁶ the theatre section inside NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst) (intro. ritual no. 3). NSK collective mostly became internationally known for their politically subversive art against Yugoslav socialistic regime (for further reading see I. Arns, S. Sasse, A. Monroe, etc.). *Kapital* demanded from NSK to re-define their politicality in art, because it was done at the shift in socio-political system from

later ZUJIK) was released in 1994.

⁶ Dragan Živadinov was mostly involved with NSK between the years 1983–86 in the times of the Scipion Nasice Sisters Theatre (SNST).

socialism to democracy and capitalism. But as the exhibition guide *From Kapital* suggests, mostly to invest their symbolic capital, and this was precisely this particular moment in history (Z. B. 26).

4.1. Introductory ritual to *Kapital*: Hunger Strike

Perhaps the most important introductory ritual to *Kapital* was the already mentioned hunger strike. By that, Živadinov was not only highlighting the impossible conditions for working in the independent art scene, but was also providing a provisional cultural policy strategy. At the beginning of the strike, Živadinov articulated his programme and wrote it on the desk of the Minister of Culture in three demands (Čater, *Ibid.*).⁷ From this, we can observe that the tendencies were not limited to *Kapital* only; he strove for the transnationalisation and democratisation of the Slovenian culture, demanding from the state to articulate its national and public interest in culture and improve the conditions for artistic production – especially non-institutional production. In short, the message of the strike was that the state’s (inter)national interest in the field of culture ought to be reflected in the strategies of its cultural policy by the means of a democratic state.

While it was taking place, the strike had received collective support⁸ from the cultural field in the form of collective performative actions, such as the “running in place” that was happening at the same time-place as the press conference of the hunger striking artist, only a few floors higher in the building of Cankarjev dom. As reported in the media, this “protesting-celebrating action” (Puhar “Crescendo”, 5), as the “runners” claimed, was simultaneously celebrating the fifth anniversary of Živadinov’s avant-garde performance *Baptism under Triglav* (1986) (*Ibid.*). Hence, it was the “generational” support of certain aesthetics, politicality, autonomy, artistic freedom in the fight for establishing the conditions for the continuity of work.

4.2. Introductory ritual to *Kapital*: Press Conference (11 Detonations)

The second introductory ritual to Živadinov’s *Kapital* takes the form of a press conference. The reviews after the première (Milohnič, Čufer, Kardum, Fridl) report that the form of the press conference for *Kapital* was far from usual. This particular

⁷ The exact demands in his hunger strike were the following:

1. That the National Cultural Programme be finally publicly published.
2. That the ratio between institutional and non-institutional production changes from 100:1 to 100:20.
3. That Ljubljana apply for the project European Capital of Culture.

⁸ Živadinov also received support in media from individuals, theatre authorities, Jovan Čirilov from Belgrade, and Dušan Jovanovič, theatre director and playwright, as well as other visible personas.

event/press conference lasted around five hours and was itself an (autonomous) performance. It took place on Thursday, 5 September 1991, beginning at 6:30 p.m. at the Slovenian Theatre and Film Museum⁹ in a form called 11 Detonations. In Detonation No. 3, Živadinov announced the première of *Kapital* 13 days later.

However, the other points of detonation represented the continuation of debate about cultural democracy as started in the hunger strike, only this time the programme was far more thought through, systematised and elaborated. The “detonations” included demands for the financial continuity of work of the younger generation of directors with the help of funds to ensure the proper historicalisation/archivation of theatre, that Ljubljana be the “European Capital of Culture”, to unite three academies (music, fine arts/design and theatre), changes in the spatial conditions in the construction of the stage, to form a postmodern school of dance, the honouring of H. P. Noordung, and last but not least, the point of detonation presented the 50-year-long project *Noordung* (Kardum, “Kaj”).

In short, with his detonations, Živadinov was addressing the issue of improving the production conditions (infrastructure, organisation, education, financing ...) of art with the attempt of directing and systematising the national cultural policy or, in the vocabulary of the two-fold cultural policy, he was setting the basis for a cultural democracy that would also ensure the existence of independent art practices.

4.3. Introductory ritual to *Kapital*: NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst)

The third introductory ritual is connected to the ideological highlighting of the process of transition in the socio-political context and the entrance to capitalism with a joint project of NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst). In 1991, the year of Slovenian independence from socialist Yugoslavia, all three main sections of NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst), namely, the multimedial (musical/performative/video) section with the band Laibach, the visual section with the art collective IRWIN and the theatre section SNST with Dragan Živadinov¹⁰ – each carried out a project under the title *Kapital*.¹¹

Despite the expectations and telling political titles connected to Živadinov’s *Kapital*, the release of the notorious band Laibach’s “*Kapital*” album in 1992 was [...] a great

9 For more data see Kardum, “Uvodni” 121. Because of the limited reports and reviews about Živadinov’s performances and their introductory rituals in general, some data gathering can be limited and difficult, for example, some critics report that the hunger strike was conducted in winter (Fridl), other claim it was in spring (Kardum, “Dragan”). When following the subsequent reports in newspapers, the hunger strike finishes on 12 February after 18 days (J. H. 6).

10 At this point, no longer neither the Scipion Nasice Sisters Theatre (1983–87), nor Red Pilot, but now Cosmokinetic Cabinet Noordung (1990–).

11 Laibach, for example, released the album with telling song titles in 1992. Telling also in relation to Živadinov’s *Kapital*: *Wirtschaft ist tot* (*Economy is dead*) and *Kinderreich*, but also *Decade Null*, *Hymn to the Sun*, *Regime of Coincidence*, *State of Gravity*. The album was produced on three different formats (CD, LP, cassette) and each contained different version of the songs or even different songs. IRWIN starts its series of paintings entitled *Kapital* in 1990 (in 1991 it was exhibited in the USA).

surprise for its withdrawal from bombastic ideological and political content" (*From Kapital* 24). It is IRWIN's part that is more interesting. They found a strategy for coping with the new economic and political system: "On the brink of the collapse of socialism and Yugoslavia, IRWIN was aware that its symbolic capital was precisely this very same historic moment" (Z. B., *NSK: From Kapital* 26).

IRWIN worked on *Kapital* between 1990 and 1992 and based the project on five large paintings from the *Was ist Kunst* series, in *Kapital* these were completed with the nameplates of political organisations. IRWIN incorporated nameplates such as the League of Communists, that were in 1991 being removed from town buildings into the artwork and wrote *Kapital* on them (see Exhibition guide *From Kapital* 36). "Instantly given a new life, the plates stand for the experience of socialism as IRWIN's capital" (Ibid.). It was exactly the change of political context that was emphasised with the project and the new functioning of art as well as its politicality within it.

"Once IRWIN started displaying these paintings together with mounted hunting trophies, the concept of capital became even more multifaceted: now it also referred to the fact that art is always a trophy, no matter what the system, serving both ideology and capital equally well" (Ibid.). This interpretation of IRWIN's *Kapital*, can be understood also as NSK's re-orientation of political subversion in times of socio-political transition from socialism to neoliberal logic. The collective project *Kapital* was precisely "referencing that which NSK had loudly proclaimed in the early 1980s: the collapse of socialism and the dawn of total capitalism," is written in the exhibition guide of the only grand NSK retrospective in Slovenia made in Moderna galerija (2015), symptomatically entitled *From Kapital to Capital*.

Known for political subversions and having learned the painful lesson from art history of art being instrumentalised by the governing structures (in socialism) and thus employing their own auto-immune tactic with the tactic of over-identification or subversive affirmation,¹² the actual switch between socialism and democracy demanded from the NSK to articulate the switch in the politicality of (performing) arts. The NSK continued to make their own distancing from the governing system, even in capitalism. Proving the ideological fight against instrumentalisation by the governing system seems in turn from de-politisation of socialism to "demonetarisatation" of capitalism even harder and the questions of cultural policy and (ideological) financial support for artists unavoidable. How to be more "total than totalitarianism" of capital (see Arns *Avantgarda* 165), proved to be more difficult than to be more "total than totalitarianism" in socialism. In the totality of capital(ism),

12 "Subversive affirmation is an artistic/political tactic that allows artists/activists to take part in certain social, political, or economic discourses and to affirm, appropriate, or consume them while simultaneously undermining them [...] there is always a surplus which destabilises affirmation and turns it into its opposite." (Arns, Sasse, "Subversive")

they resorted to highlighting the processes of privatisation of art by capital (art as a trophy of capitalism). This was the one thing Živadinov was in performing arts, as an immaterial form of art, attempting to avoid by imploring the public discussion on cultural democracy and introductory rituals.

In relation to IRWIN, whose members are fighting for the autonomous marketing of their own socio-political history, the politicality of Živadinov's theatre is to create (a)political autonomy. If we follow Aldo Milohnič's interpretation, this theatre was not exactly apolitical, namely this generation "effected a radical turn in the political optics where the subversive nature of artistic practice [...] originates [...] from uncompromising persistence with the concept of experimental theatre and from the demand for the construction of the new historical and political context on the stage" (Milohnič, "Politično" 135). Hence, in this turn to conceptualism, we could speak more in the sense of politics of form.

When entering his theatre, two things or two statements at least should be considered. Živadinov's statement in "The First Sisters letter" that is found in the founding act of the Scipion Nasice Sisters Theatre (SNST) in 1984, as the initiation and manifesto of the theatrical section of NSK. The first statement: "Theatre is a State," (*From Kapital* 475) and second: "The Scipion Nasice Sisters Theatre is apolitical" (Ibid.), thus, as a state within a state, creating a much needed alternative (u-topian) imaginary and autonomous space of artistic freedom inside the totalitarian (and later democratic) regime.¹³ This was done with the rest of introductory rituals.

4.4. At last, *Drama Observatory Kapital*: the performance itself

Even the performance itself started as an introductory ritual. *Drama Observatory Kapital*¹⁴ premiered outside theatre institutions in the public warehouses in Ljubljana, Hall 13 (nowadays the shopping mall BTC City) on 18 September 1991, supported by the non-institutional theatre production Cosmokinetic Cabinet Noordung (from here on, CC Noordung).

Spectators were taken inside the performance one by one. Each of the spectators was carrying in his hands a "sacral" object that is a module of a satellite of Herman Potočnik Noordung (see Kardum "Dragan Živadinov"). H. P. Noordung, the Slovenian rocket engineer, popularised by Živadinov in the artistic sphere, is known for his pioneer work on space travel *The Problem of Space Travel* (1929) and the idea of long-term

¹³ This act was actually finalised when founding the impossible state, NSK State in Time, a state with no territory and no borders in 1992. But Dragan Živadinov was forced to find his space literally in space (see Postgravity Art).

¹⁴ Also found in different publications under the name *Dramatic Observatory Kapital*.

human inhabitation of space. The spectators were carrying this homage to Noordung inside the performance with their eyes blindfolded, and personally accompanied by Živadinov through this initiation.

“This individualisation [of spectators by blindfolding their eyes at the entrance into performance] was performed as a violent tearing of the spectator out of his former civil context,” (“Gledališče ... I”, 20) explains Eda Čufer for the introductory ritual to *Kapital*. In this sense it was true that the spectators were, with the help of introductory rituals, individualised from a uniform collective subject defined as the audience, as well as from the ideology of the collective political body, but this was done with the sole purpose of de-politisation by purifying and aestheticising the political and historical context (of the previous socialist state) from which spectators were coming with the act of introductory rituals. Thus, creating an autonomous artistic space.

4.5. Introductory ritual to *Kapital*: Initiation at the gates of performance

There is an additional meaning in the text adapted from the libretto by Jole Randelović, which, in the performance, was played out almost as a radio play, released from the sound speakers. *Kapital* was “based on the libretto for the opera *Victory over the Sun*” (*NSK: From Kapital to Capital*, 528). The opera follows the spirit of avant-gardes and is the first Russian Futurist opera.¹⁵ Its world première was in December 1913 in Saint Petersburg (Arns, *Avantgarda* 215). The idea behind the futuristic opera was the idea of the state beyond the state, according to Myroslava M. Mudrak (in Arns). This utopic world or kingdom of Real was called “the Tenth Land”. The first act pictures the end of world, limited by materiality, while the second act introduces land of different dimensions. There is “the cataclysmic downfall of the old cultural order – and announces new organisation of art (and life)” (quot. in Anđelković 53).

I claim that with the help of his performative introduction ritual, Živadinov was actually trying to enact the autonomous aesthetic state. It can be compared to what one year later was realised as the NSK State, a state in time, that is, a state without borders or physical territories. A state that is more a mental state or a state of being and takes place in(side) all of its citizens. This autonomous aesthetic state can be also seen from the second statement of its founding act, which is connected to the previous one: “The Scipion Nasice Sisters Theatre is apolitical” (Ibid.).

“The cultural and political function of the myth about Noordung, celebrating the work

¹⁵ *Victory over the Sun* (*NSK: From Kapital to Capital*, 528) is the first Russian Futurist opera (1913), written by Aleksei Kruchonykh (libretto), Mikhail Matyushin (music), Velimir Khlebnikov (prologue), Kazimir Malevich (stage design). Živadinov’s performance also used a reconstruction, or more accurately, a deconstruction of Malevich’s stage design.

of the Slovenian scientist and inventor of the geostationary satellite Herman Potočnik (who assumed the pseudonym Noordung) was – as Živadinov explained at the press conference before the première of the *Drama Observatory Kapital*, at which he laid out his plan of work through 2045 – to open up the mythological space of a future not shaped by poetry and national identification, but by universal postulates of science and technology” (E. Č., *From Kapital* 71).

The function of the introductory ritual at the entrance to *Kapital* was connected to the initiation of the spectators into a (politically) autonomous, artistic, (post/)utopian sphere of performance. But what can be seen at the birth of democracy with this performing of an autonomous political space and with the tactics of introductory rituals used, is that in the transition from socialism, the fight for the democratisation of the cultural and public sphere – that is, the fight for the autonomy of the independent theatre – has shifted from the ideological questions of artistic content into the field of cultural democracy, that is, cultural policy. Meaning also that in the transition from socialist self-management to the economy of the capitalist free market, aesthetic questions in the public sphere became secondary to those of the financial and productional conditions for making art. The fact that the actual performance *Kapital* itself was introducing into theatre a film-like perception and revolutionary form, where spectators were revolting around the scenery, was not as present in the public discourse as the questions of cultural policy/democracy. See also the passage in which I compare the number of spectators at *Kapital* to the number of possible recipients to its introductory rituals (hunger strike, press conferences ...). Which may altogether lead to the presumption that far more people are concerned with the state’s cultural policy than they are with actual art.

Symptomatic in this case of transition from content/wise questions to a logistic, organisational and bureaucratic logic is that Simon Kardum, theatre theorist and critic as well as the author of the article about introductory rituals, was employed from 1997 at the Ministry of Culture and dealt with bureaucratic and financial regulation and systematisation of the non-governmental, independent (non-commercial) theatre scene (the status of independent cultural workers, regulating funding for non-governmental public institutes ...). In the debates about cultural policy, the aforementioned Jožef Školč became Minister of Culture, etc. The “scene” was more and more preoccupied with questions of cultural policy than with anything else. “Notably, it is not about the need to distinguish between artistic and organisational work, but especially about the production of subjectivity, which is at the core of this model” (Kunst, *Artist* 159, see also *Umetnik* 129). Bojana Kunst in her book *Artist at Work* speaks about the proximity of discourses on art to production processes of capitalism, which she mostly emphasises as a result of the “different forms of temporality and perception”, such as, “projective temporality” and “acceleration of production subjects”, that are at work

here. Both are also mostly the reasons, she says, why we can simultaneously observe the “disappearance of a constitutive place for position of art in society”. As an example, she names “the development of the cultural-political model of independent artists or administrators/managers, which can also be viewed as a result of the political struggle for the support for non-institutional culture.” A transitional result, she adds in the Slovenian edition of the book, using the development of the Slovenian independent production of the last decade as an example. The situation about the neoliberal switch in the perception of arts or the measurement of arts’ value is in fact becoming more and more strained. As also proved, for example, by research done in 2003–2004 at the Peace Institute called “Economics of Culture” and its problematisation of prevailing logic of economists for culture to prove itself on tests of “economic rationality and usefulness of society in general” (Milohnič, “Kultura v primežu” 7). When Katja Praznik in *From Kapital* analyses the hierarchical ratio between institutions and non-institutions and cultural policy, she writes “viewed from the perspective of three decades later” [...] “the conditions of production for the new art forms, have not only remained unchanged, but have also in fact worsened” (365), thus, ironically rounding off the discussion about the effect of democracy on Slovenian culture with the entrance to the independent democratic state.

5. Towards conclusion: Comparison to more current happenings in cultural democracy

Živadinov’s hunger strike thus temporarily meant a victory “for abstract theatre” (Kardum, “Dragan” 7). This “temporality” represents only one chapter in Slovenian performing arts history, since the ongoing fight in the affairs of cultural democracy in cultural policy is still very much vivid and alive to this day.

In 2015, Miha Turšič, acting director and, together with Dragan Živadinov and Dunja Zupančič, co-founder of KSEVT (Cultural Centre of European Space Technologies), went on a seventeen-day hunger strike against the “relentless stance” of the Ministry of Culture.¹⁶ In comparison to Živadinov: the strike lasted seventeen days (not eighteen): from 30 September 2015 to 16 October 2015. The place where the strike took place was again a gallery: this time Museum of Modern Art Ljubljana. The demands posed to the Ministry of Culture were again three.¹⁷ This time they were more concrete, pointed toward concrete people and not representative (bureaucratical) functions

¹⁶ Whereas in 2018 several non-governmental organisations from the field of performing arts filed a lawsuit against the Ministry of Culture and their (unprofessional) tender procedures, because of their financial reductions in the period of 2018–2021. One of the organisations in the lawsuit against the state was also Živadinov’s production house.

¹⁷ “There are three sets of demands: resignation of Biserka Močnik, head of the creativity directorate at the culture ministry, who Turšič believes ruined KSEVT, the Cultural Centre of European Space Technologies, and her removal from all work positions that require an understanding of art; change of KSEVT’s legal status from a municipal to a public instruction [sic]; and increasing the funding of culture from the state budget by two per cent.” (A. J., M. K., “KSEVT co-founder still on hunger strike”).

of the Ministry of Culture in general, the goal was to benefit a concrete cultural institution (KSEVT), but not the least: to increase the funding for culture. Ironically, at least in comparison to the strike in 1991, the strike tended toward the legal, financial, bureaucratic and transparent regulation of Slovenian cultural institution(s) and for improving the working conditions for the entire cultural sector. In 2015, the entire budget for culture in relation to the state's budget was hardly higher than 1.5%, whereas at the birth of new democratic state was 2.5%, reports *Dnevnik*¹⁸ (Pišek, "Proračun").

Turšič had received support from visible intellectuals, artists and cultural workers and organisations in the cultural field. All the demands of the strike, letters of public support were well documented in Turšič's blog: "J'accuse ...!" In comparison to readers' responses in 1991, prominent Slovenian philosopher Dr Mladen Dolar wrote in his letter: "The lack of an ear and understanding in the case of KSEVT is inscribed in a wider pattern, in which the Ministry cannot offer anything else but to continue with reduction and cutting, which are regular features of cultural policy in Slovenia in the last twenty years and to which the left and right governments have collectively contributed. It seems there is nothing as dangerous and harmful to our culture as are our ministries of culture." Published also in the weekly *Mladina* (qtd. in Košir, "Mladen Dolar"). While in web articles about the hunger strike, the anonymous users' comments offered a different picture of the reception of the event. A user with the nickname Morpheus1 on 1 October wrote the generic comment, one of many similar: "If there is something you don't like, go to the labour market and let us see how much you are worth!!" For which he received 75 likes (see K. M. "Miha Turšič"). In readers' responses in *Mladina*, the press representative of the Ministry of Culture published – after the strike was already over – a letter with an official explanation to the public, referring to inconsistencies in the past articles regarding the strike published in *Mladina* by different authors. The letter provides detailed data about the past financing and legal status of KSEVT, claims the transparency and correctness of procedures by referring to the Ministry of Finance, denies the lack of dialogue with the Ministry of Culture and greets the end of the strike. The letter also tells how the Ministry of Culture is also looking forward to the resolved financing problem of KSEVT, now settled under the patronage of three Ministries (Glaner, "Intervju").

Two months after the end of the hunger strike, Turšič resigned from his position of director, since despite the promises made by the authorities, the demands were not realised. KSEVT came under the operation of the state in 2017, the position of acting director was awarded to Nena Dokuzov. On 14 October 2017, two years after the strike, the daily *Dnevnik* published correspondence between Turšič and Dokuzov entitled

¹⁸ The weekly *Mladina* later similarly reported that in 2018 the percentage of the cultural budget in relation to the state's entire budget is 1.6 %, in 2009 it was 2.2% and the highest was in the first decade of the independent state 2.5% (see Pauković, "Čas je"). Turšič demanded that the budget for culture be brought back to the level of at least 2%.

“Primitivism of the new director”, that, so *Dnevnik*, “demonstrates, it is not only about discrepancies on content, but also about fundamental differences in understanding, what is cultural and democratic dialogue.”

Last but not least, the research on the matter of democracy in culture has brought us to the conclusion that the problem is not only about the global neoliberal logic influencing the strategy of cultural policy (so called cultural democracy) but also about the lack of dialogue, communication, which resides in the different languages that both the cultural and economical sector use, as well as their apparent untranslatability.

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Družbenopolitična vloga uprizoritvenih umetnosti in demokratizacija Republike Slovenije

Primer *Dramski observatorij Kapital* (1991)

V razpravi obravnavam predstavo s pomenljivim in zgovornim naslovom *Dramski observatorij Kapital* iz leta slovenske osamosvojitve 1991. Gre za predstavo v režiji Dragana Živadinova, ki si je do danes ustvaril prepoznaven mednarodni opus (tega obširno analizira B. Anđelković v delu *Umetniški ustroj Noordung*). Čeprav sama predstava *Kapital* do te mere celovito še ni bila analizirana, zlasti ne v kontekstu kolektivnega projekta NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst), je namen razprave raziskava in predstavitev javnega dojemanja vloge umetnosti v družbi v času spremenjenih družbenopolitičnih razmer in tranzicije iz socializma v demokracijo, in sicer s pomočjo analize (medijske) recepcije dogodka *Kapital* v najširšem pomenu besede. Kot metodo uporabljam analizo »uvodnih ritualov« (E. Čufer, S. Kardum), tj. spremljevalnih dogodkov k umetniškim praksam, ki so bili posebej značilni za slovenske uprizoritvene prakse v obdobju slovenske osamosvojitve. Ker govorim o začetku devetdesetih, to pomeni fokus na časopisne objave. Zlasti me zanimajo (umetniško izzvane) objave v medijih, ki so jih sprožile tiskovne konference, kontekst kolektivnega projekta NSK in gladovna stavka Dragana Živadinova, ki jih obravnavam kot uvodne rituale k predstavi *Kapital*.

Ključne besede: Dragan Živadinov, uprizoritvene umetnosti, Republika Slovenija, NSK, Gledališče sester Scipion Nasice, socializem, demokracija, političnost

The article presents an example of how the social and political ideology of *Greekness* has determined the way the Greek audience and critics interpret performances of Aristophanes's ancient comedies. Starting from the comparison of the director Nikos Karathanos's performance of Aristophanes's *The Birds* (2016) with Karolos Koun's performance of the same name in 1959, the article argues that Koun's *The Birds* imposed a specific aspect on *Greekness*, functioning as "dominant rule" even today. The article, integrated into a sociological aspect on theatre, suggests that each theatre performance transfers much more extra-theatrical (mostly social and ideological) meaning than we may believe and the interpretation of each specific theatrical action/reaction also passes through the understanding of the society in which it belongs.

Keywords: Greekness, Aristophanes, *The Birds*, comedies, Nikos Karathanos, Karolos Koun, ideology, theatre, society

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Theatre Reception in Greece and the Ideology of Greekness

From Karolos Koun's (1959) to Nikos Karathanos's (2016) Performance of Aristophanes's *The Birds*

Introduction

In 1959, at the Theatre of Herodotus Atticus (on the southwest slope of the Acropolis, in Athens), some furious spectators started to yell “shame” and “stop the performance”; an actor, dressed as an Orthodox Christian priest, was singing a song reminiscent of the psalms of the Greek church and performing the opening ceremony of *Nefelokokkygia* (Cloud Cuckoo Land), the imaginary town built by the Ὀρνιθες/*The Birds* in the eponymous comedy by Aristophanes. It is also the time the director Karolos Koun of The Art Theatre,¹ the composer Manos Hatzidakis and the set designer/painter Giannis Tsarouhis set forth their candidacy to become the legends of the Greek theatre (as they indeed did). The next morning, the (Right) Greek government, using the still-existing censorship laws, banned the repetition of the performance, but the results of this decision were opposite to those expected; the performance was triumphantly repeated in Paris (1965) at the Festival of Nations, and its choreography by Zouzou Nikoloudi would be considered, even today, as the most classical choreography for the ancient Chorus (in Greece and elsewhere). By contrast, the government's act remained a monument of a reactionary and intervening political decision as far as art and theatre are concerned; the “loser” was not the performance and its contributors, but the government's vice-president and the one responsible for this decision, Konstantinos Tsatsos (also the first president of the Greek Republic after the restoration of Democracy after 1975), mocked by (the Left and moderate) critics and intellectuals; for many years, his caricature in newspapers and journals was presented carrying a ... chicken!²

In 2016, innovative director and actor Nikos Karathanos took over the presentation of a new performance of *The Birds* in a production of the Onassis Cultural Centre. The performance premiered in Epidaurus Theatre on 19 August 2016 and was repeated

1 A short biography of Karolos Koun may be found at his theatre's page: <http://www.theatro-technis.gr/greek-art-theatre-karolos-koun/> The Art Theatre (Theatro Technis) was, until his death in 1987, the most innovative theatre in Greece; it is no exaggeration if we say that theatre in Greece after World War II, as far as dramaturgy and forms, was actually a “creation” by this troupe and Karolos Koun (Glytzouris 359 & 542 et seq.).

2 The word: Ὀρνιθες (Ornithes)], meaning *Birds* in ancient Greek is the plural mode both of the masculine ὁ ὄρνις (o ornīs), which means bird and the feminine ἡ ὄρνις (i ornīs), which means chicken – the two words sound the same, even though they have a different meaning. In addition, the word “chicken”, as in many languages, is used in Greek to imply a cowardly person (slang).

in Athens in September 2016 and in New York, USA (at St. Ann's Warehouse) in May 2018. Not only did his innovative performance instantly become a modern reference for the revival of ancient Greek drama, if we take into consideration the attendance (sold out everywhere) and the official reviews by mainstream critics, but it was also subject to the most contradictory feelings and opinions. More importantly, the director seemed always to feel the need to respond to a widespread (especially through social media) critique: in an interview (Kaltaki "Nikos Karathanos"), he openly admits that his performance cannot compete against the one by Karolos Koun, almost 60 years ago!³ The same agony seemed to really bother all the official critics (in newspapers, etc.); everyone started his/her review with an "apology" to Aristophanes's play(s) or a reminder of Karolos Koun's *The Birds* (to, consciously or not, compare it with Karathanos's performance).⁴

So, we have a performance in 1959, which, in its time, did not seem to fit into the official norms on art and theatre, but which after some 60 years, has become the standard for another performance. We will discuss how this peculiarity cannot be explained according to purely theatrical terms (i.e., nowadays, it is widely believed that Karolos Koun's performance is "insuperable"); instead, we have to detect hidden ideological mechanisms under not only the reception (and critique) of ancient comedy in Greece, but also its production and direction. In addition, we will try to support that the disapprovals in both cases, although so far away from each other, actually derive from the same ideological source.

The adventures of Attic Comedy's reception

The reception of Aristophanes's ancient comedies in contemporary Greek (theatrical or not) history is more complex than we may imagine – and, maybe, more passionate than the reception of the ancient Greek tragic plays. Throughout contemporary Greek history (from 1830 to today), the fights between those who insist that they "ought" to preserve the "true meaning" of these ancient classic plays and those who would like to "read" (translate, perform, edit) them in a different way, more close to their era and contemporary needs, compete with the major political and social fights and movements. In 1903, at the Oresteia (named after Aeschylus's trilogy *Oresteia*), a

³ Even the official site of the performance by Onassis Culture Centre mentions Karolos Koun's performance: <http://www.sgt.gr/eng/SPG1672/>

⁴ Some examples: Sarigiannis: the critic titles his article answering all the censures of Karathanos on behalf of Aristophanes and Koun; Ioannidis: a critic and professor at the School of Theatre Studies of the University of Athens starts his review saying: "Since we all think the same thing, let's start from this", meaning the comparison with Koun's performance; Karaoglou, where she also starts saying: "I won't mention *The Birds* by Karolos Koun, because I believe there is no need to make a comparison with it"; Ragkousi, where she judges the division between supporters and critics of Karathanos's performance; Sykka, where she dedicates a whole chapter of her review to Koun; Anesti, where she answers to all these who judge Karathanos based on Koun's performance. The only critic who does not mention Koun is Arkoumanea, who, nevertheless, believes that Karathanos "changed" Aristophanes's play.

group of university students violently protested against the Royal Theatre in Athens (afterwards the National Theatre) and its performance of *Oresteia*; it was the first time that the trilogy by Aeschylus had been officially performed based not on the original ancient Greek text, but on a translation. The protests resulted in one dead and many injured. The irony is that the translation was not in the spoken Greek language, but in the official language of the time, which was a cultivated mix of ancient and modern Greek.⁵

That characteristic episode proves that, apart from scholars and politicians, the public also tends to consider ancient tragic plays (and almost every written monument from ancient Greece) as a sacred inheritance, which should be protected against deformation, disrespect and alteration of the playwright's and the text's spirit. But, Aristophanes's comedies had been in a more disadvantageous position: they were not only treated as evidences of the Greek "tribe's" unchanged language and spirit (as the tragedies), but also with a sense of postponement as far as their scenic performance is concerned, due to their scurrility, their loose structure and their complex correlation with present situations. The first professional performance of an Aristophanes's comedy (*Νεφέλες/The Clouds*) occurred only in 1900, by the satirical writer and intellectual Georgios Souris (Mavrogeni 74),⁶ when the first tragic play (Sophocles's *Antigone*) had been already presented by the University of Athens in 1867 for the celebration of the king's marriage. Even that performance was repeated in 1901, "with mitigated expression", appropriate for ladies [One detail here – that performance was presented during the carnival and ladies should wear masks! Some testimonies speak of only 15 (!) ladies who followed the show]. Since then, most of the performances were addressed exclusively by men; that was the case of the 1905 production of *Πλούτος/Wealth* by Royal Theatre⁷ and the 1904 production of *Εκκλησιάζουσες/The Assemblywomen* by Konstantinos Hristomanos.⁸ Aristophanes's plays slowly found their way to the stage, but always after some kind of adaptation, which tended to "clean" the plays of their more provocative and scandalous elements, and some isolated serious approaches (such as *The Birds* directed by Spyros Melas in 1929, with *Peistheteros* played by the famous actor Vassilis Logothetidis) cannot change the general image, which, for many years, included representations of Aristophanic comedies from troupes on tour in Greek countryside. Throughout the interwar

5 On the Greek language question, the controversy between spoken modern Greek and that "made" language (*katharevousa*, which actually means: "cleaned") see also Beaton 369–449; Mackridge *Language and National Identity* 25–51; Frangoudaki 365–81; Babiniotis 1–16; Mackridge "Korais" 1–26; Horrocks, 438–70; Alexiou 156–92; Browning 49–68.

6 There were also previous performances in 1868: *Πλούτος/Wealth* by the professional troupe of Sofoklis Karydas, based on the edited text by Aimilios Hourmouzios, and a student performance of *Νεφέλες/The Clouds*, translated by Alexandros Rizos Ragkavis and under the exhortation of the king; but those performances met with indifference and bad reviews (Mavrogeni 38–46).

7 Directed by Thomas Oikonomou and translated by Themistoklis Solomos. This is the first attempt of a "state" revival of an Aristophanes play.

8 Konstantinos Hristomanos (1876–1911) is considered one of the most emblematic directors in Greece. For his contribution to modern Greek theatre see Papanikolaou 241–50.

period, Aristophanes, though a “classic”, was considered to be brutish and vulgar, and a typical example of where he was classified is *Λυσιστράτη/Lysistrata*, which was repeatedly portrayed by transgender Marios Rotzairon; a performance only for men (a 1924 promotional poster writes: “It is strictly forbidden for ladies to enter”), exploiting Aristophanes’s “inappropriateness” to present taboo-free spectacles, with daring dances, gestures and costumes (Kaltaki “Is Aristophanes”). Even in 1951, when the National Theatre presented its first performance of Aristophanes with *Νεφέλες/The Clouds*, the director Sokratis Karantinos preferred an aesthetics “resembling” the ancient one, with masks and *kothornoi* (the shoes with thick soles, worn by ancient actors) and in a translation by the poet Kostas Varnalis, where all provocative expressions and scurrility were “blunted”. And, following that spirit, the National Theatre and its main director Alexis Solomos created, as Georgousopoulos and Yoyos (130) say, the “official” form for performances based on Aristophanes’s comedies, a so-called civil, “elegant, polished and ‘European’” tradition, dominant during the 1950s.

Alexis Solomos’s idea of Aristophanes is based on this “cleaning” of the plays of every element which alienates the performance both from the playwright’s spirit and from our era. As he says (14): “The satire of Aristophanes was not written for some people, but for man in general,” so the term he proposed was not “revival” (of the plays) but “survival”. In order to achieve this, he suggested that “we need neither to edit nor to misrepresent the play”, but to use elements that are most closely related to ancient comedy, since all comic forms base their existence there, mainly *epitheorisi*.⁹

Solomos (14–15) mentions that: “*Epitheorisi* is today the only theatrical form of current affairs. It follows public life step by step and, by satirising it, it judges [...]”, adding (395–98) that the Aristophanic comedy, of course, should not be fully identified with the *Epitheorisi*. On the contrary, while in *Epitheorisi*, the spectacle is more akin to the “stacking of comic scenes” (378), in ancient comedy, “despite the loose dramatic economy and the lack of solid plot, the rule seems to be a single dramatic creation” (401). And, he concludes (403) that, in addition to the “inspirational spirit and the blending of disparate elements, the folklore of modern Greek tradition can be a valuable array of information and correspondences to overcome the problem of the various ceremonies, etc., of which Aristophanes’s plays are full.”¹⁰

⁹ *Epitheorisi* (Επιθεώρηση) (meaning: “revue”), was the most popular genre of theatre in Greece between roughly 1894 and the early 1930s. It was based in a sequence of comic scenes on everyday life, most times without any relation amongst them, and scattered with songs and dance. It was a variety show, which “appealed to audiences with its topicality and, initially, with its message of freedom from rules and conventions, both social and artistic”, as Bacopoulou-Halls Aliki (269–71) mentions. See Hatzipantazis & Maraka 7–21.

¹⁰ All quotations taken from Greek sources have been translated by the author into English.

The ideology of *Greekness*

It seems now that we reach the core of our questioning: when Solomos speaks for Greek “folklore”, tradition and origins, he is integrated into the widest and most vigorous ideological pathway, which, since the 1930s or earlier, features the notion of *Greekness* (ελληνικότητα/*hellinikotita* – the ideology of being Greek) as the ultimate rule – or, better, the ultimate quest – for every political, social and cultural action in Greece. The identification of *Greekness* as a constant demand of modernity in Greece has been thoroughly analysed (Tziouvas 19–39), and it is also connected with phases of contemporary political Greek history, even since the independence of the Greek state in 1830. After the catastrophe in Minor Asia (1922) and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship under Ioannis Metaxas (1936), *Greekness* replaces the “Great Idea” as the central political guideline¹¹ – and *Greekness* itself turns to more conservative aspects, identified with the nation-state.¹² But, this conservative turn is not completely reflected in the area of literature and culture: the writers from the so-called “generation of the 1930s” will bring innovation in forms, requiring a review of the past, and they will be responsible for the concept’s new meaning, which includes folklore and popular aspects of everyday life.

Are we in front of a division, as far as the meaning of *Greekness* is concerned? More likely, we are in front of a single source with two conclusions, which energise each other, recycling the notion itself. As Mouzelis mentions: “the open passage from popular to ethnocentrism is more possible than we may believe and it can be traced in many occasions” (321). And, we must not forget that this connection, but not fully integration, of literature and an ideology with political and social aspects was not something peculiar or new in Greece; after all, as Tziouvas explains: “Literature, due to the instability or inadequacy of political institutions, seems to be the most appropriate institution to express and stimulate *Greekness*, with the result that literary texts are proclaimed as national heirlooms and writers are strongly urged to underline their nationality. Literature thus takes on the role of the guardian of tradition, since chaotic political institutions cannot respond to this role” (14).

11 *Megali Idea* [Μεγάλη Ιδέα (“the Great Idea”)], was the central political ideology in Greece since the 19th century: it had as its goal the deliberation of Greek people living at the Ottoman Empire and their integration into one big Greek State, which would restore the Byzantium Empire. The “Great Idea” seemed to have found its completion after the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and World War I (1914–18), when Greece gained territories in Macedonia, Thrace, Crete and part of Minor Asia. But, the euphoria lasted only a few years; in 1922, the Greek army was defeated by the Turkish army, and, in 1923, the Greek population of Minor Asia (almost 1.5 million people, with origins from antiquity) was obliged to become refugees in Greece. It was the first time in history when an agreed exchange of population between two countries happened (almost 800,000 Turks were obliged to leave Greece for Turkey). This “catastrophe” was followed by a decade of political developments, which ended with the enforcement of a fascist regime (1936). See Kitromilides 25–34.

12 This turn is not irrelevant with the refugee issue, in which 1.5 million people of Greek origin were trying to survive and be integrated into a Greek state of less than 5 million people. The inevitable conflicts between locals and refugees ended only with World War II. See Salvanou 120–38.

In the area of Greek theatre history, the period 1940–56 has been characterised by Grammatas (230) as the “period of *Greekness*”, although some scholars disagree; Georgousopoulos argues that: “*Greekness* was an ideology without true meaning in the area of theatre; on the contrary, the theatrical tradition was repeatedly based on the ‘naturalisation’ of loans” (210), but, we have severe doubts if this remark has value in the area of the presentation of ancient (tragic or comic) plays. Tsatsoulis supports that:

The history of directing of ancient drama and art in general during the 20th century is related with the ideology of *Greekness* as it was concretised by the generation of the 1930s. Elements of geopolitics and ethnocentrism shaped the pre-war generations of the directors who were the first, after centuries, to re-approach ancient drama in its natural spaces. With European education and apparently influenced by the German romantic or classical directing school, they simultaneously sought to embellish their stage proposals with elements of *Greekness* coming from the immediate or distant past of Greece, such as Byzantium, thus revealing the inviolable mystical constitutions of historical species and *Greekness* as contained into the ancient texts. (367)

Koun’s Aristophanes

Tsatsoulis (367) continues:

Karolos Koun creates a revolution in this tradition, not denying the ideology of *Greekness*, but looking for it in other paths. More in his theoretical texts and less in his performances, he emerges as a “researcher” of *Greekness* that could break the borders and, perhaps, touch the modern concept of interculturalism. The first texts and performances of Karolos Koun overrule the romantic perception of the direction of ancient drama, but they emphasise the need for a “Greek interpretation, bound with our origins” and the reference to the “popular” element as it is revealed “in life, island, our folk songs and more back, Byzantine hagiographies and ancient vases”.

We are ready to comprehend now why *Greekness* is not only connected with the nation-state, but is also a very resistant notion, apart from classical political and ideological divisions, such as “right” and “left”. It may refer to the nation, but it may as well integrate, and quietly cultivate, a more “left” concept for (Greek) people as creator of its history. And, we may conclude, as Tziovas does, that:

after the war, the representatives of the Left turn again to *Greekness*, as the only reliable ideological and cultural concept. However, the concept is being degraded and adapted to the new facts that are essentially based not on the nation but on the people. In this sense, *Greekness* means “the authentic expression of the oppressed and deliberately degraded potential of the Greek people”. (25)

And that was exactly the difference between Karolos Koun's perception on Aristophanes and Alexis Solomos's (and the National Theatre's) one, which may explain the disapprovals to the 1959 performance; from an Aristophanes appropriate only as a bourgeois spectacle (and in accordance with the country's post-civil conflict right-wing political and ideological situation), Koun seems not to reject the writer's self-evident *Greekness*, but to adopt a more "left" approach for his presentation.

Karolos Koun's performances of Aristophanes's comedies, starting from the element of "popular" and "folk", symbolised exactly this idea of *Greekness* referring to people. The Greek folk tradition and his daily, modern life would be his guide, against the "refined" (but, also, questing for *Greekness*) performance presented and supported by Alexis Solomos; here, we are in front of a "vulgar" and orgiastic spectacle, with memories of the pure Greek countryside and its simple inhabitants. In addition, the mask and its use, together with the emergence of the Chorus as a protagonist of the performance, will directly refer to the festive atmosphere of the ancient Dionysian worship. The grotesque element, comic anachronisms, references to the folk musical tradition, and the transcriptions of ancient rituals into modern Greek reality (as the priest mentioned above) will be Koun's rule, a rule that will create frictions and even scandals.

As for the scandal of *The Birds*, some scholars tried to explain it differently: Gonda Van Steen (160) argues that the scandal (and the ban by Konstantinos Tsatsos) actually came from the Left and anti-Western language of the translation (by Vassilis Rotas, a known left writer) – but, we may now integrate this (and some alike) explanation into the division between two aspects of *Greekness*, and on who will be its most original or modern representative in theatre (especially, as far as the transcriptions of the ancient drama on stage are concerned).¹³ The "victory" in this fight was definitely by the side of Karolos Koun; providing a new theatrical meaning in *Greekness*, and supported by writers and intellectuals (mostly those integrated into the Left ideology), he will be lucky enough to see his aspect becoming the most dominant as far as Aristophanes is concerned and creating a new tradition accepted and recycled not only by scholars, but also by the public itself. Mavromoustakos describes Karolos Koun's quest for a Greek way to interpret Aristophanes's plays (and the domination of this quest's results) as follows: "The search for popular ways will lead Karolos Koun to the systematic exploration of morphological elements that are directly perceived by some specific version of *Greekness*. These elements, combined with the exploration and creation of a Greek hypocritical code, will eventually create the tradition of The Art Theater" (82–83). He continues:

Each of the performances is characterised by an effort to explore an expression that characterises the continuation of the Greek folk tradition. From the *kompoloi* [a kind of

¹³ On Karolos Koun's modernism as far as Aristophanes is concerned, see also Kaggelari 367–73.

rosary, played by “tough” guys in Greece] and the gramophone with the folk melodies of Πλούτος/*Wealth* in search of modern Greek lyricism, Karolos Koun in Βάτραχοι/*Frogs* will turn his reflection into the effort to display a ritual element formed by the connection of the oriental to the western tradition. We must perhaps observe that this performance completes a first circle of reflection of The Art Theatre on Aristophanic comedy. A new circle will open with the very important performance of the Αχαρνής/*Acharnians*: here the creation of a folk festival is combined with the codification of a play enriched with elements from the Greek shadow theatre, the *Karagiozis*. Karolos Koun will follow a similar approach in Λυσιστράτη/*Lysistrata*, shifting the focus of his reflection on the exploration of Greek folk typology, while in Ειρήνη/*Peace* the various approaches that have so far been tested will lead to the promotion of a climate of popular worship, which will characterise, in the consciousness of the modern Greek spectator, the whole of the Aristophanist work.

Karathanos’s perception on Aristophanes

It is now easier to understand not only the various “official” comparisons of Nikos Karathanos’s performance with Karolos Koun’s one, but also the, mostly unofficial, disapprovals, expressed through social media, on his interpretation on *The Birds*; it’s not only that Koun – in the name of *Greekness* – managed to impose a specific perception on Aristophanes, but also that the audience has identified so much with Koun’s perception (especially, after the restoration of democracy in 1975), that it is extremely difficult to watch and accept something different, even after 60 years.

On the contrary, *The Birds* by Karathanos tended to a more chaotic, inter-sex and post-modern expression, with references to European theatre (such as the entrance of the two leading actors under a scenic tree, like in S. Beckett’s *Waiting for Godot*) and with a troupe, integrating the most controversial people, such as a famous Greek singer, a dwarf actress and a Special Olympics champion (playing the god Poseidon). The performance, after its middle, also lost its firm connection with the play itself; a giant lighting sphere was lifted at the Epidaurus’s sky and the performance closed with a party, reminiscent of modern multicultural festivals. According to a discussion with the director, he suggested that these plays “are not meant to be performed, but rather to be celebrated”. But, this celebration no longer has the same form as Koun’s folk festival; the times and the world have changed, affecting Greek society, and Karathanos seems to know it very well when he states that his performance is a reflection of everyone’s quest for utopia, which is always destroyed by him/herself (Kaltaki “Is Aristophanes”).

For this and similar performances of Aristophanes’s plays, Ioannidis (13 August 2018), argues that the modern trend on the revival of Aristophanes’s plays includes “the ‘rip’

of the 'mantle' of *Greekness*, for which great directors had worked in the past, but it had become the 'patchwork' for comedy performances". According to this perception, the Chorus of the birds in Karathanos's performance also does not represent a group with the same characteristics (like the imaginative category of Greek people), but, every one of us in a complex and diverse society. As Antoniou (8) supports, here, (and unlike Koun's performance), every bird had its own identity, since it follows its own kinesiological code. Or, according to Karathanos's words (qtd. in Antoniou 1): "We are all different from each other, we are full of minorities. We are not normal. Nobody. We want with our diversity to talk about something else."

It is obvious that with *The Birds* Karathanos challenged the real core of *Greekness*, as expressed by the tradition of Koun's performance; the perception that everyone living in Greek territory actually belongs to a historically defined group of people with common cultural characteristics. But the acceptance of the Greek society's contemporary diversity (not only in theatre) is as difficult as in all European countries. And how could it be differently, since, in 2018, Hatzipantazis (*Greek Symbolism* 10) mentions: "We have learned in schools to treat religiously the meaning of our national identity [*Greekness*] and not to accept the slightest deviation". Even today, the ideology of *Greekness* survives as reference and is constructed by "the use of self-stereotypes [and] by stereotypical representations attributed to others [...]" and even the contemporary economic crisis "is linked to changes in Greek national identity" and on the division of others into hostiles and friends (Athanasidou & Figgou 2). Or, as Theodoropoulos concludes (13 January 2019): "since the 1980s, when the European flag was raised by the side of the Greek one, discussions on *Greekness* were focused not on what links us with European civilisation but on what differentiates us from it".

Epilogue

Analysing Koun's *The Birds*, Sampatakakis (12) emphasises that: "the audience – which came to the performance with specific cultural expectations, representational concentrations, scenographic desires and acting patterns – verbally expressed its frustration for the director's disrespect, precisely because those things were denied onstage". He continues, arguing that we have to take under consideration the imaginary dependence of the ancient play's attendance with the collective reception of a "sacred" national inheritance. After all, as he has already mentioned, referring to Althusser's analysis on ideology's mechanisms, the collective fantasies, which are produced by ideologies, regulate the "smooth adoption of cultural norms", stimulating reactions against artistic products, which escape from the predominant rule (8).

Greekness for the revival of ancient comedies has truly functioned for more than 60 years as an ideological mechanism of compliance, correction and punishment. With his performance, Koun was able to visualise his contemporary collective fantasy and give this abstract but always present ideology a specific shape and form. But today, his example remains more as a reference for comparison, grumbling and objections. Maybe this is a sign that *Greekness* has lost its essence and has survived only as a visual pattern, an empty sell? Perhaps yes. More certain is that the – sometimes harrowing – adjustment of Greek society to global social and cultural changes necessarily influences theatre and its practices (as it did with Karathanos's *The Birds*). And all that is left to persist is some old ideological patterns disguised as "insuperable performances".

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Gledališka recepcija v Grčiji in ideologija grštva

O uprizoritvah Aristofanovih *Ptičev* v režijah Karolosa Kouna iz leta 1959 in Nikosa Karathanosa iz leta 2016

Namen pričujočega prispevka je pokazati, kako sta družbena in politična ideologija grštva vplivali na interpretativne okvire grškega občinstva in kritike pri recepciji odrskih uprizoritev antičnih Aristofanovih komedij. Prispevek izhaja iz primerjave Aristofanovih *Ptičev* v režiji Nikosa Karathanosa iz leta 2016 z istoimensko uprizoritvijo v režiji Karolosa Kouna iz leta 1959 in zagovarja stališče, da je Koun s svojo režijo *Ptičev* pojmu grštva vtisnil svojevrsten pečat, ki prevladuje še danes. Prispevek se osredotoča na sociološki vidik gledališča in pokaže, da vsaka gledališka uprizoritev posreduje mnogo več zunajgledaliških (večinoma socioloških in ideoloških) pomenov, kot si morda mislimo, ter da interpretacija posameznega gledališkega dogodka oziroma odziva poteka znotraj pojmovnih okvirov družbe, v kateri nastane.

Ključne besede: grštvo, Aristofan, *Ptiči*, komedije, Nikos Karathanos, Karolos Koun, ideologija, gledališče, družba

Slavko Grum je svoje drame označeval za katarzične in hkrati izpovedoval vpliv psihoanalize. Tudi interpreti so povezovali psihoanalizo in katarzičnost v njegovem delu. Toda zgodovina psihoanalize kaže, da gre za različni načeli: psihoanalitična tehnika se je razvila prav s Freudovo zavrnitvijo katarzičnega zdravljenja psihične motnje. Katarzična razrešitev v osrednjih Grumovih dramah *Trudni zastori*, *Upornik* in *Dogodek v mestu Gogi* se na videz uresniči skozi dejanski ali simbolni uboj, ki ga izvrši glavni lik. Vendar razčlemba dram pokaže, da uboj ne prinese razrešitve dramskega konflikta in da se lik skozenj ne osvobodi, temveč le poglobi svojo ujetost v fantazijo (Larsen), otroštvo (Madona) ali preteklo travmo (Hana). Toda drame vsebujejo tudi druge načine reševanja konflikta, ki presežejo katarzično logiko: izpovedovanje (Madona, Hana), predelava (Hana), spopad z realnostjo skozi umetniško ustvarjanje (Klikot). Nekateri liki spreminjajo svojo usodo z majhnimi dogodki, ne da bi čakali na veliki prelomni Dogodek. Ta struktura pa je podobna psihoanalitični terapevtski metodi.

Ključne besede: Slavko Grum, katarza, psihoanaliza, ujetost, uboj, terapevtski dogodek

Miha Marek piše in prevaja s statusom samozaposlenega v kulturi. Diplomiral je iz francoščine, filozofije in biologije na Univerzi v Ljubljani. Prevedel je več temeljnih družboslovnih in humanističnih del (Durkheim, Kofman, Jacob). Kot prevajalec in soavtor je sodeloval pri izdajah klasičnih besedil francoskega razsvetljenstva (Diderot). Je član Društva slovenskih književnih prevajalcev. V letih 2006–14 je deloval v umetniški skupini preglej. V literarni periodiki objavlja prozo in poezijo. Izdal je pesniško zbirko *Homunkulus* (2016).

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Uboj ali terapija

Neuspela katarza in psihoanalitični principi v dramatiki Slavka Gruma

Uvod

Slavko Grum je izrecno izpostavil osrednjo vlogo katarze v svoji dramatiki in to katarzo utemeljil v psihoanalizi. Tudi Grumovi preučevalci katarzo podajajo kot temeljni princip njegove dramske zgradbe in jo pogosto povezujejo z Grumovo »psihoanalitično« naravnostjo v znanosti in literaturi (npr. Koblar, *Dvajset let* 54; Koruza, *Slovenska dramatika* 137 in nasl.). Po Jožetu Koruzi je prva izmed treh konstant Grumove dramatike »iskanje nove oblike katarze v psihoanalitični sprostivki« (*Slovenska* 143). Grum naj bi gradil dramske zgodbe, ustvarjal dramsko napetost in razreševal dramske konflikte s »psihoanalitičnimi principi« (138 in nasl.). V rubriki psihoanalitičnih principov raziskovalci v ospredje postavljajo katarzo. Princip katarze naj bi temeljno zaznamoval Grumovo dramaturgijo. Simbolno pomemben, a nedokazan je podatek, da naj bi Grum leta 1923 celo napisal dramo z naslovom *Katarza* (tako Milan Pritekelj, nav. po Zadavec, *Elementi* 356; o tem dvomi Koruza 138). Kljub očitni pomembnosti tako katarze kakor psihoanalize v Grumovem ustvarjanju pa njuna dramaturška vloga pri Grumu ni bila izrecno in dosledno raziskana.

V tej razpravi bom najprej orisal dva pojma katarze: psihoterapevtskega, iz katerega Grum izhaja, ter dramskogledališkega, kakor ga Grum razume in uresničuje. S pregledom zgodovinskega razvoja psihoanalize bom za začetek pokazal, da princip terapevtske katarze nima veliko opraviti s freudovsko psihoanalizo in ji deloma celo nasprotuje. V nadaljevanju bom na podlagi Grumovih izjav splošno opredelil njegovo razumevanje dramske in gledališke katarze. Nato bom na treh Grumovih dramah, *Trudni zastori*, *Upornik* in *Dogodek v mestu Gogi*, pokazal, kako deluje katarzični dogodek, ki naj bi razrešil dramsko dejanje: ta dogodek je *dejanski ali simbolni uboj*, ki ga izvede glavni lik. Pokazalo se bo, da veliki dogodek v nobenem primeru ne prinese želene razrešitve in je torej zrelativiziran že znotraj dramskega dejanja. Toda vzporedno bom nakazal, da v dramah najdemo tudi elemente, ki nadomeščajo zrelativizirani katarzični princip. Te elemente bom razumel kot resnične sledove psihoanalitičnih principov v Grumovi dramatiki.

»Psihoanalitična katarza«: oksimoron

Grumov teoretični interes za psihoanalizo je nesporen, saj ga izpričujejo številne njegove izjave, predavanja in članki (za seznam gl. Grum, *Goga, čudovito mesto* 230–31, op. 3). V reminiscencah na svoja študijska leta je Grum nedvoumno zapisal: »Na moje psihološko gledanje je mogočno vplivala Freudova psihoanaliza, ki je imela svoje izhodišče na Dunaju in je bila prav v tistih povojnih letih v največjem razmahu. Moja razdvojenost, nad življenjem razočarana duša je bila prav pripravna njiva za sprejem teh nauk« (Grum, *Zbrano delo: druga knjiga* [ZD 2] 420).

Grumovo poznavanje in razumevanje psihoanalize je v širšem okviru obravnaval Miran Božovič (*Slavko Grum in psihoanaliza*), najbolj tehtno in kritično pa je to vprašanje pretresel Lado Kralj (»Kje stoji mesto Goga?« 229–39). Kraljeve ugotovitve osvetljujejo marsikatero nenavadnost ali protislovje v Grumovih omembah psihoanalize in sklicevanjih nanjo ter so neobhodno izhodišče vsake obravnave psihoanalitične tematike pri Grumu. Kralj na podlagi Grumove biografije, materialnih dokazov in Grumovih besedil o psihoanalizi – njihove kronologije in vsebine – zaključí, da Grum psihoanalize nikoli ni spoznal prav poglobljeno ali iz širše palete primarnih virov. Večino informacij naj bi dobil sprva iz druge roke, kasneje pa skoraj samo iz Freudovih *Predavanj za uvod v psihoanalizo* (Kralj, »Kje stoji« 231; toda prim. Božovič, op. 39). Poleg tega naj ne bi imel nobenega praktičnega ali tudi le informativnega poznavanja analitične terapevtske tehnike (Kralj, prav tam).

A vendar, ni mogoče zanikati, da je vrhunec Grumovega ustvarjalnega obdobja sovpadal z vrhuncem njegovega izrekanja za psihoanalizo: leto 1928, denimo, je leto objave *Dogodka v mestu Gogi* in hkrati Grumovega pomembnega predavanja o »seksualni vzgoji mladine« v ljubljanskem Kinu Matica, kjer je razlagal freudovsko teorijo (gl. ZD 2 290–96). Takšna sovpadanja upravičujejo poskus kritične razčlenbe vloge psihoanalize v njegovi dramatik.

Interpreti, ki govorijo o psihoanalizi v Grumovi dramatik, to navadno povezujejo z njegovim izrekanjem za katarzo (npr. Koruza 138 in nasl., Zadavec, »Dramatik Slavko Grum« 60–61). Iz Grumove usvojitve psihoanalitične teorije izpeljujejo njegovo opredeljevanje za katarzično dramatiko. Kakor da (domnevni) terapevtski princip psihoanalize – katarzična razrešitev psihičnega konflikta – preide v Grumovo dramaturško prakso. Tudi Grum sam izrecno govori prav o »*psihoanalitičnem sproščanju*« kot principu razrešitve dramskega dejanja (Grum, *Zbrano delo: prva knjiga* [ZD 1] 426; poudarek moj).

O sproščanju, očiščenju ali katarzi kot dramaturškem principu bom natančneje spregovoril kasneje. Že takoj na začetku pa je treba opozoriti na pomanjkljivost navezave katarzičnega principa na freudovsko psihoanalizo. Takšna navezava je

namreč v neskladju z osnovnimi dejstvi zgodovinskega razvoja psihoanalize. V zreli Freudovi analizi ni govora o katarzi kot principu ozdravljenja od psihične motnje. Pojem katarze res ima mesto v Freudovem razvoju, vendar ne v psihoanalizi.

Pojem terapevtske katarze sodi v predanalitično fazo Freudove psihoterapevtske kariere, v obdobje sodelovanja z Josefom Breuerjem (ca. 1882–95). V tem obdobju je Freud, odkar je leta 1886 odprl zasebno zdravniško prakso, preskušal različne psihoterapevtske tehnike: elektroterapijo, kopeli, masaže, hipnozo, polaganje rok in sugestijo (Bohak, »Psihoanaliza« 156). Z Breuerjem sta delala predvsem na histerični motnji in razvila elegantno shemo etiologije in terapije histeričnih pojavov. Ta teoretski razvoj je temeljil na Breuerjevi predhodni izkušnji zdravljenja pacientke Berthe Pappenheim (Anna O.) v letih 1880–82. Breuer je Anno O. zdravil zaradi vrste histeričnih simptomov (somatizacije ali konverzije), kot so slepota, krči, paraliza, govorne motnje itn. (Breuer in Freud, *Študije o histeriji* 55–81). Breuer je odkril, da posamezen simptom izgine, če Anna O. v hipnotičnem stanju obudi spomin na situacijo ali dogodek, ko se je simptom prvič pojavil. Ob spominjanju travmatičnega dogodka Anna O. čustveno »odreagira« in se tako »očisti« čustvenega naboja (afekta), vezanega na ta spomin. To *odreagiranje afekta* odpravi simptom. Zdravljenje poteka skozi ubeseditev spomina in afekta, zato je Anna O. to vrsto terapije poimenovala »*talking cure*« (govorno zdravljenje).¹ »V govorici človek najde nadomestek za dejanje« (Breuer in Freud 42). Ker je ključni dogodek zdravljenja očiščenje ali *katarza* patogenega afekta, sta Breuer in Freud tehniko poimenovala »katarzična metoda« (303 in nasl.).

Freud je odkritje katarzične tehnike in pobudo za njeno rabo kasneje vedno pripisoval Breuerju (gl. npr. Freud, *Spisi o psihoanalitični tehniki* 34). Po Breuerjevi spodbudi je katarzično tehniko, kombinirano z drugimi zgoraj omenjenimi tehnikami, uporabil pri drugih svojih pacientkah (gl. Breuer in Freud 83–140, 173–220). Vzporedno s terapevtskim delom sta Breuer in Freud izoblikovala nevrološko-psihološko teorijo histerije. Oba vidika, praktičnega in teoretičnega, združujejo njune *Študije o histeriji* (1895).

V »Preliminarnem prikazu« k *Študijam* sta podala teoretično utemeljitev terapevtskih izkustev, torej vzročno razlago nastanka histeričnih motenj, ki jo je mogoče povzeti takole:

[Č]e neko doživetje spremlja močan »afekt«, se ta v normalnih primerih bodisi »sprosti« s celo vrsto samovoljnih refleksov, ali pa na poti asociacije z drugim zavestnim psihičnim gradivom podleže obrambi. V primerih histeričnih pacientov pa se [...] ni zgodilo niti eno niti drugo. Afekt ostane »vklešččen« in spomin na doživetje, na kater[o] je vezan, je odrezan od zavesti. Spomin, ki je zaseden z afektom, se potem manifestira v histeričnih simptomih ... (19)

¹ Anna O. je v amneziji pozabila materni jezik in se je lahko sporazumevala samo v angleščini. Svoje zdravljenje je humorno označevala tudi kot »chimney-sweeping« (ometanje dimnika) (Breuer in Freud 65).

Dva mogoča razloga za patološki iztek sta, da se je sprožilni dogodek pripetil v posebnem stanju omejene zavesti – »hipnoidnem stanju« – ali da je šlo za doživetje, ki ga je jaz spoznal za nezdržljivega s samim seboj in ga je zavrnil (prav tam 19–20). Terapevtski učinek »katarzičnega« postopka torej deluje po principu, da »če lahko sprožilno doživetje, skupaj z afektom, ki ga spremlja, dvignemo v zavest, s tem ravno dosežemo, da se afekt sprosti ali 'odreagira'; sila simptoma preneha delovati in simptom izgine« (prav tam).

Bistven del katarzične metode je *podoživetje* izvornega travmatičnega dogodka, to je čustveno odreagiranje nanj, saj je »golo spominjanje travmatskega dogodka brez ustrezne čustvene spremljave malo učinkovito. Nujno je travmatski dogodek še enkrat v polni meri podoživeti« (Bohak 154). Kakor je Freud dejal kasneje, »nikogar ni mogoče pokončati *in absentia* ali *in effigie*« (*Spisi* 102). Vendar se je zapletlo pri načinu, kako izvor motnje spraviti v zavest, kako se ga spomniti: pogosto namreč vir motnje ni tako preprost, ni en sam dogodek. Freud je kasneje zapisal, da »se je zaradi preproste sheme terapevtski postopek tako rekoč vsakič zapletel, saj se je pokazalo, da pri nastanku simptoma ne sodeluje le en sam ('travmatični') vtis, temveč cel niz večinoma težko preglednih vtisov« (*Spisi* 34–35).

Nekaterih kliničnih pojavov z Breuer-Freudovo razlago ni bilo mogoče zajeti. Odločilno je bilo zlasti Freudovo odkritje odpora kot glavnega nasprotnika terapije. *Odpor* je psihični dejavnik, »s katerim se bolniki oklepajo svoje bolezni, s katerim se torej upirajo tudi lastnemu okrevanju« (Freud, *Spisi* 46). Hipnoza, ki sta jo Breuer in Freud uporabljala pri katarzični metodi, odpor obide, ne da bi ga obravnavala, in torej onemogoča vpogled vanj. In ker je Freud ugotovil, da je prav analiza odporov bistvena za uspešno analizo motenj, je začel opuščati hipnozo. Odpovedal se je tudi polaganju rok in očesnemu stiku. V obdobju 1892–96 je tako prešel od »hipnokatarzične« metode, ki sta jo uporabljala z Breuerjem, k metodi prostih asociacij (Bohak 153–54, 156).²

Vzporedno s temi spremembami v klinični obravnavi je Freudov koncept nevrotičnih motenj in njihovih vzrokov postal kompleksnejši. Freud je sčasoma zavrnil Breuerjeva »hipnoidna stanja«, poudaril seksualno etiologijo nevroz ter razširil terapijo na druge nevroze (prim. Uredniški uvod, Breuer in Freud 29; Freudov predgovor, prav tam 33; gl. tudi Freud, »Pet predavanj« 119 in nasl. ter Freud, »K zgodovini psihoanalitičnega gibanja«). Vsi ti premiki so ga vodili v reformulacijo terapevtske naloge: »[N]i šlo več za odkrivanje vkljenjenih afektov, marveč za odkrivanje potlačitev. V skladu s spremenjenim ciljem svojega novega postopka zdravljenja ni imenoval več katarza, marveč psihoanaliza« (Bohak 157).

Freud je med metodama včasih izrecno razlikoval, saj je govoril o »razvoju katarze

² Pomenljivo je, da je hipnozo pri svoji zdravniški praksi morda uporabljal Grum. Med njegovimi ohranjenimi gradivi so tudi navodila za tehniko hipnotiziranja (gl. *ZD* 2 414). Pri Grumu torej najdemo kar dva pojma iz Freudovega predanalitičnega obdobja: hipnozo in katarzo.

v psihoanalizo« (Breuer in Freud 33) in si prizadeval pokazati na razlike med njima (npr. *Spisi* 34). Toda spet drugič ju je družil v kontinuiteto in opozarjal na identičnost njunega pristopa: »Katarzična metoda je neposredna predhodnica psihoanalize, in kljub vsem razširitvam izkustva ter modifikacijam teorije je v njej še vedno ohranjena kot njeno jedro« (Freud, 1924, nav. po Uredniški uvod, Breuer in Freud 30; prim. tudi Freud, *Spisi* 45). Kljub spremembi terapevtske naloge naj bi metodi celo ohranili isti splošni cilj. V katarzični metodi je poglobitveno odreagiranje, v psihoanalizi pa delo analiziranca/-ke ob premagovanju kritičnosti do asociacij. Toda cilj obravnave je isti: zapolnitev vrzeli v spominu in premostitev odporov (Freud, *Spisi* 140).

Ne glede na Freudovo nihanje med bližino in distanco do »Breuerjeve« katarze je treba opozoriti na bistveno razliko v samem jedru metod, kar zadeva terapevtsko učinkovanje. Po katarzični metodi je terapevtski princip odreagiranje afekta. To se zgodi v trenutku, ko je dosežen problematični spomin. Ko je afekt enkrat in edinkrat odreagiran, je simptom dokončno odstranjen. V psihoanalizi pa se pokaže, da odstranitev vira motnje ni izvedljiva v eni potezi. Sam uvid v motnjo ni dovolj; potrebna je *predelava*. Predelava je »miselno delo, ki ga mora opraviti analizand, da bi integriral izkušnjo analize v svoje ravnanje in se osvobodil prisile ponavljanja« (Lešnik, *Temelji psihoanalize* 165). Predelava je po Freudu potrebna zaradi »odpora nezavednega« ali »odpora onega«, ki vztraja pri utečenem (*Inhibicija, simptom in tesnoba* 78–79). Zgolj uvid v simptom pacientu/-ki še ne prinese moči za predrugečanje psihičnega delovanja. Uvid je treba ustaliti: se k njemu vedno znova vračati v terapiji in zunaj nje.

Kakor med katarzo in analizo je Freud tudi med odreagiranjem in predelavo včasih videl kontinuiteto. Leta 1914 ju v tehničnem članku še vzporeja:

[I]z samega imenovanja odpora ne more slediti njegovo takojšnje prenehanje. Bolniku moramo dati čas, da se poglobi v odpor, ki ga sedaj pozna, mu dati čas, da ga *predela* in da ga s tem, ko njemu navkljub nadaljuje delo po temeljnem analitičnem pravilu, tudi premaga. [...] Ta predelava odporov utegne v praksi postati naporna naloga za analiziranca in preizkus potrpežljivosti za zdravnika. Vendar je to tisti segment dela, ki pri pacientu povzroči največje spremembe in po katerem se analitična obravnava razlikuje od sleherne metode, ki uporablja sugestivni vpliv. Teoretsko ga lahko izenačimo z »odreagiranjem« določene količine afektov, ki je bila ukleščena zaradi potlačitve; brez tega odreagiranja hipnotična obravnava ne bi imela vpliva (*Spisi* 148–49).

Leta 1926 pa v spisu *Inhibicija, simptom in tesnoba* nedvoumno zavrne odreagiranje in s tem tudi katarzično metodo: »Ne vemo prav dobro, kaj je mišljeno z odreagiranjem travme. Če to razumemo dobesedno, pridemo do nevzdržnega sklepa, da je nevrotik toliko bližje ozdravitvi, kolikor pogosteje in intenzivneje reproducira afekt tesnobe. Zaradi tega razhajanja z resničnostjo sem svoj čas opustil teorijo odreagiranja, ki je igrala tako veliko vlogo v katarzi« (71; gl. tudi Lešnik 138–39).

Z zgodovinskega vidika je torej razvidno, da je katarza kot terapevtski princip z razvojem zrele psihoanalize, vsaj pri Freudu, zatonila. Grumovo samoumevno povezovanje katarze in psihoanalitične metode zato priča o njegovem zmotnem razumevanju freudovske psihoanalize. Govor o »psihoanalitični katarzi« daje vtis, da psihoanaliza pomeni iskanje in čiščenje travmatičnega momenta, od koder vre patološki učinek. Toda Freuda je k *psihoanalizi* vodilo prav odkritje, da tak moment pogosto ni razviden ali dosegljiv in da posledično etiologija in terapija nevroz nista tako enoznačni. Ker nevroza raste iz številnih nezavednih virov in temelji na nekaterih nujnih potlačitvah, ni premočrtno odpravljiva (prim. Lešnik, geslo »Travma«, 229–32).

Toda kako »psihoanalitično sproščanje« deluje v Grumovih dramah? Ali Grumove razrešitve dramskega dejanja res lahko interpretiramo kot katarzične? Kako je Grum razumel katarzo v dramatiki?

Pomen in oblika dramske katarze pri Grumu

V dramski umetnosti katarzični učinek opredeli Aristotel, ko v *Poetiki* govori o tragediji. Tragična katarza pomeni, da se gledalec/-ka (morda pa tudi igralec/-ka) skozi dramsko dejanje, ki prikazuje dogodke, ki vzbujajo grozo in sočutje, očisti teh čustev (Aristotel, *Poetika* 81; Pavis, *Gledališki slovar* 371). Pogoj za katarzo gledalca/-ke je identifikacija s tragičnim likom (Pavis 371). Katarzo so skozi zgodovino razumeli z različnih vidikov: z moralno-didaktičnega, medicinskega pa tudi intelektualnega. Po moralni razlagi gledalec/-ka z doživljanjem sočutja in groze ob trpljenju lika dobi moč za prenašanje lastnih življenjskih tegob, kot zapiše Kajetan Gantar (Aristoteles, »Uvod« 44). Po medicinski razlagi naj bi imel Aristotel v mislih analogijo s čiščenjem telesa po hipokratski medicini: kakor zdravnik izloči škodljive snovi iz telesa, tako tragik izloči škodljiva (socialno moteča) čustva iz gledalca/-ke, s čimer ga/jo ozdravi življenjske potrnosti, ki po Josipu Stritarju »v posebnih okolnostih lahko naraste do nevarne višine, do prave duševne bolezni« (nav. po Aristoteles 46). Katarzo so interpretirali tudi v intelektualnem smislu, kot osveščanje gledalca/-ke, njegov/njen prehod iz nevednosti v vednost (prav tam).

V Grumovem razumevanju dramskogledališke katarze je prisoten predvsem medicinski, morda pa tudi moralni in spoznavni vidik, apliciran na posameznika/-co (gledalca/-ko) in posledično na družbo. Gledališko delo mora po Grumu spet postati »očiščenje, kopel, v kateri se človek skoplje. Drama brez tega očiščenja, katarze je slaba, kar sledi že iz njenega razvoja iz verskih obredov ...« (»Človeštvo oropano iluzij in božanstva«, *ZD 1* 426). »In samo tista drama je dobra, od katere gre človek tako dobrohoten in sproščen[,] kot hodi veren človek iz cerkve, kjer je prisostvoval darovanju Jezusovega telesa« (*ZD 2* 435). Vendar moderne drame težko vključijo ta očiščujoči moment, ker

ni več transcendentne instance, od katere bi prihajal: »Danes pisati dobro dramo je res težko, ker nimamo božanstva, ker smo izgubili boga, ki je v starih dramah razreševal življenjske konflikte in bil nekak odrešujoči princip, ki je poplačeval dobro in zlo kaznoval in se je drama tako lepo izšla ter zadovoljila in odrešila ter očistila tudi gledalca. Moderne drame končujejo z nerešenimi konflikti, puste gledalca z dvomom in trpljenjem v srcu, ga ne odrešijo« (426).

Po Zdravcu Grum v navedenem intervjuju izrazi svoje nasprotovanje dramatiki, ki končuje dramske zgodbe brez zaključka, z zevom ali »hiatom« (Zdravec, *Elementi* 363). Takšna drama gledalca/-ke ne zadovolji in ga/jo pusti z občutjem nesmisla. Torej ravno nasprotno od aristotelске čustvene zadovoljitve ob očiščenju strasti.

Za takšno dramatiko »odprtega« tipa po Grumu obstajajo zgodovinski in družbeni razlogi. Ni brez razloga to, da takšne drame nastajajo ravno v modernem času. Modernost je za Gruma opredeljena z izgubljanjem iluzij, kot izpostavlja že naslov navedenega intervjuja (*ZD 1 423* in nasl.). Znanost, ki simbolizira moderno naravnost k podiranju iluzij, je po Grumu psihoanaliza. Psihoanaliza kot moderna znanost naj bi bila »izraz miselnosti celokupne družbe, miselnosti, ki leži tako rekoč v zraku in je našla v nadarjenem poedincu le svoje utelešenje« (*ZD 2 309*). »Oznaka našega vsezanikujočega duha je: smrt poslednji človekovi iluziji. Tega se globoko zaveda Freud sam [...] Kopernik, Darwin, Freud – trojica največjih žaljivcev človeštva« (prav tam). Toda kot opozori Kralj (»Kje stoji« 238–89), je med Freudovo in Grumovo perspektivo bistvena razlika. Medtem ko je Freud v naštetih »žalivah« videl triumf znanosti (prim. Freud, *Predavanja za uvod* 273–74), jih Grum predstavlja kot tragično metafizično izgubo: »Sodobni človek se je znašel iznenada brez Boga, groza ga je in pobega v onkraj« (*ZD 2 309*; gl. tudi *ZD 1 425* in *ZD 2 420*).

Moderni dramatiki so po Grumu »zavrgli aristotelovsko katarzo, v zameno zanjo pa niso našli nove« (Zdravec, *Elementi* 363). Medtem ko Grum uvidi razloge za moderno »nekatarzično dramatiko«, ji po Zdravčevem mnenju nasprotuje. Smisel gledališča je zanj drugje: v ponovnem osmišljenju izkustva modernega človeka, celo v oblikovanju nove transcendence. Po številnih preučevalcih Grum vir novega smisla išče v psihoanalitičnem pojmovanju človeka. Kakor pravi Zdravec, je po Grumu »treba božanstvo znova iskati in najti, četudi najti v okvirih teorije podzavesti. [...] Iskati red brez iluzij, pa vendar nov etični red« (364).

Grum v dramski gradnji išče formulo, s katero bi v modernosti nadomestil izgubljeni transcendentni odrešujoči princip, ki je omogočil razrešitve konfliktov in zaprte konce v »starih dramah«. Grumov ideal, splošno rečeno, bi bil konec, ki »po neki nujnosti ali udomačeni zakonitosti nastane iz nečesa, čemur pa nič več ne sledi« (Aristoteles 85, poudarek moj). S stališča razvoja lika bi bil to zaključek dejanja, s katerim lik doseže končno točko svojega razvoja in razreši svoje konflikte. A moderna razrešitev se, po

zgledu Ibsena ali Tolstoja, lahko zgodi le »z naravnimi zakoni, s fizikalno formulo« (ZD 1 426). Tak princip razrešitve Grum vidi v psihoanalizi. O *Dogodku v mestu Gogi* reče: »V moji drami je odrešujoči princip *nadomestitev božanstva s psihoanalitičnim sproščanjem*. Ljudi sem pokazal kot lutke podzavestnih sil, katerih se rešijo z izživetjem, kakor se nevrotik ozdravi z izpovedjo zdravniku in se potolaži in uteši grešnik pri izpovedi v cerkvi« (prav tam). Po Grumu bi psihoanaliza morala »nujno iskati nov etični red brez spolnih in drugih iluzij« (ZD 2 309). Načelo psihičnega in moralnega očiščenja človeka in družbe je odprava individualne in družbene patologije s psihoanalitično katarzo. Zadravec je prepričan, da je Grum »za 'očiščevalno kopel' in katarzično načelo končno res izbral psihoanalitično sproščanje« (*Elementi* 364).

Individualna in družbena katarza se lahko dogajata tudi skozi gledališče kot socialni dogodek. Vendar »današnji človek nima svojega teatra« (ZD 1 425–26). Da bi moderni ljudje hodili v gledališče, se mora to prilagoditi modernosti. »Današnji človek je že toliko kultiviran, da se za vse zanima. Zato bi bilo paradokсно, da bi ne šel v teater, ki bi ga zanimal« (426). Grum se zavzema za moderno gledališče, ki bo delovalo kot družbeni ali religiozni obred z globokimi individualnimi in socialnimi učinki, podobno kot »religijozni plesi primitivistov, srednjeveški pasijoni« (prav tam).

Čeprav Grum tega izrecno ne omenja, lahko predpostavimo, da katarzo v gledališču razume kot katarzo gledalca/-ke, ki jo ta doživi skozi identifikacijo z dramskim likom (za več o identifikaciji gl. Pavis 331–33 in Šeligo, *Identifikacija in katarza* 19 in nasl.). Lik zaključi svoj dramski lok s prelomnim, očiščujočim dogodkom, onkraj katerega ni ničesar več. Dramsko dejanje se razreši z velikim sproščanjem dramske napetosti: napetosti lika, napetosti gledalca/-ke.

Po Herbertu Grünu takšna logika opredeljuje slog kar vseh Grumovih dram od *Trudnih zastorov* do *Dogodka v mestu Gogi* (Grün, »Čarodej brez moči« 41). Kot izpostavi Koruza, katarza kot princip sprostitev dramatične napetosti za Gruma postane osrednji problem (Koruza 138). To v zametku kaže njegov nedokončani »dramatični finale«, »Neusmiljeni odrešenik« (1924), ki naj bi predstavljal »začetek [Grumovih] prizadevanj za psihoanalitično gradnjo dramskega teksta«, zlasti pa vsi trije poznejši dramski teksti (prav tam).

Če dopustimo, da je Grum svojstveno razumljeno načelo katarze uporabljal kot dramaturški princip pri gradnji dram, se moramo vprašati, kakšen je mehanizem katarze v dramah, kako se lahko katarza realizira, kakšni so njeni viri, in predvsem, kakšen je učinek katarzičnega dogodka. Grum v vseh svojih dokončanih dramskih besedilih uporabi *uboj* kot tisto dejanje, ki naj bi privedlo k razrešitvi dramskega dejanja ali usode osrednjega lika.³ Kot pravi Zadravec, Grumove »osebe za 'očiščevalno

³ Dramskega torza »Neusmiljeni odrešenik« (ZD 1 392–96) ne štejem v ta niz, čeprav je profil lika jetnice podoben: tudi njena zgodba se zaključuje z ubojem, ki jo pahne v psihozo. Vendar je ta nedokončani prizor drugačen od ostalih Grumovih dram, saj je zgodba v celoti analitično pripovedovana. Zato besedilo zahteva drugačen pristop (npr. skozi razčlenbo potrebe po odrešitvi skozi

kopel' najraje izberejo nasilno likvidacijo preganjalskega motiva in človeka, tj. umor. Kadar pa ne zmorejo likvidatorskega dejanja, se ali zakrknejo ali zakrnijo, ali pa zblaznijo« (*Elementi* 400). Zgodnjo dramo *Pierrot in Pierrette* (1921) bom pustil ob strani, ker je katarzična struktura v njej specifična in drugačna od preostalih treh dram.⁴ Obravnaval bom tri Grumova besedila, ki vključujejo katarzični uboj: *Trudni zastori* (1924), kjer Larsen simbolno ubije Amaro; *Upornik* (1927), kjer slikar Madona ubije naključno mater z otrokom, torej simbolno mater; *Dogodek v mestu Gogi* (1928), kjer Hana simbolno ubije Preliha.

Uboj kot vrhunec mizoginije: *Trudni zastori*

Grumova druga drama *Trudni zastori* (1924, prvotni naslov *Amara*) je bogat amalgam elementov simbolizma, ekspresionizma, fin de siècle in dekadence, s strindbergovskimi motivi boja med spoloma, hkrati pa ponuja možnosti konkretnejše psihološke interpretacije, torej analize psihološke geneze likov in njihovih konfliktov. Sinkretistični značaj drame povzame France Koblar, ko jo opredeli kot plod novoromantičnega nazora, »spoj skrajno pretanjenih maeterlinckovskih občutij s strindbergovsko zagrenjenostjo zaradi ženske in pa freudovsko teženje po odrešitvi bolezenskega stanja posameznih oseb« (*Slovenska dramatika* 183).

Osrednji lik drame je slikar Knut Larsen, ki ga obseda njegov model Amara. Larsen obsesivno slika podobo Amare kot poosebljene čistosti in nedolžnosti, z belimi rokami (*ZD* 1 337–39). Ta dejavnost mu služi za odrivanje realnosti Amarine življenjske in seksualne izkušnosti. Svojo sliko hoče oživiti in z njo nadomestiti realnost (336–37). Larsen ne more sprejeti Amare kot realne ljubimke, ki je imela druge moške, saj bi to zanj pomenilo, da je onečaščena, kot je bila njegova mati, ali kot pravi njegov tovariš Garelli: »Opljuvanega telesa te je strah, zato si hotel oživiti sliko. Skrivljenih prstov te je groza, ki grabijo za njo iz preteklosti« (339). Vendar Larsenu s slikarsko iluzijo ne uspe nadomestiti realnosti. Zato je njegovo upanje v rešitev notranjega konflikta z umetnostjo jalovo, čeprav prav s tem bodri prijatelja Madono (342).

Trudni zastori že pred *Dogodkom v mestu Gogi* prikazujejo kolektivno miselnost, ki hrepeni po prekinitvi statusa quo, po velikem Dogodku. Kolektiv so tu moški boemski umetniki. Skozi njihove izjave in dejanja se izkristalizira miselnost, ki temelji na predstavi o prelomu med neznosno sedanjostjo in utopično prihodnostjo. Sedanjost je mreža, v katero so vsi zapleteni: »Pajek, pajek, ostuden rižasti pajek! [...] Pregibal

izpoved, vloge poslušalca-terapevta-odrešitelja, ki se hkrati kaže kot »neusmiljen« sodnik ipd.).

⁴ Glavna razlika v drami *Pierrot in Pierrette* je dvojnost katarze, ki je podana v tragičnem načinu: stari Umetnik spozna svojo tragično zaslepljenost, se žrtvuje in se pomiri z usodo; na drugi strani pa Pierrot zavrne spoznanje svoje zmote, ki ga je vodila do uboja Pierrette, in se potopi v absurd. Pierrot torej zavrne tragično katarzo. Larsen v *Trudnih zastorih* je zgrajen po Pierrotovem vzoru, le da je bolj psihološko izdelan.

se je, naporno zaposljeval z nečem. Niti je predel, debele, nabrekle niti, razpenjal jih med stene. Že je zamrežil vso sobo, vrvi so mi vezala prsi, rezala vrat« (336). »Ali se vam ne zdi, da smo zaprejeni v pajčevino? Ne vidite niti? Glejte jih, iz kota v kot, krog rok in nog in glav, vratov« (342). Larsenova vizija pajka predstavlja zlohотно transcendenco, zaslužnjučega Boga.

V prihodnosti pa je »novo življenje«, ki ga simbolizirajo beli pavi. To »novo življenje« ob koncu prvega dejanja mesijansko razglasi Larsenov tovariš, slikar Louis Bachelin ali Žalostna Madona, ki se bori z lastno preteklostjo: »[K]malu vstane dan! Kmalu! Jutri! Jutri začnemo novo življenje, jutri! Jutri, jutri, jutri, jutri« (339). Madona, ki si zaradi notranjih inhibicij ni ustvaril družine, kar obžaluje vse življenje, polaga v Larsena upanje, da bo s svojo umetniško vizijo Amare raztrgal usodno mrežo in odpravil oblast zlohотnega Boga-pajka: »Razbremeniti hoče pleča izvirnega greha, izbrisati prokletstvo Kajna s čela, vstvariti nov človeški par. Knut in Amara, novi Adam in Eva! Bratje, paradiz se vrača zopet na zemljo! Med njima ne bo ne prokletstva mesa, ne laži in ne ljubosumja. Drevo sredi vrta – vpepelila ga bosta, zažgala v kres, Njemu v posmeh. Samo pavi, beli pavi bodo krog« (343).

Madonovo utopično vizijo o Larsenu ponazarjajo »beli pavi nove bodočnosti, ki bodo spremljali njegovo kraljično Amaro, iz bodočnosti očiščeni nagon in pomirjenje obremenjene človekove narave« (Koblar, *Slovenska* 185). Tu je na delu fantazija povrnitve čistosti, telesne in duševne nedolžnosti, moralne brezgrajnosti, ki naj bi šele omogočila harmonično razmerje med moškim in žensko. Larsen hoče biti z Amaro v razmerju popolne brezmadežnosti: drugačnega razmerja z žensko si ne more zamisliti. Ta podoba pa je tudi ironizirana, saj so moški v svojem fantaziranju upodobljeni kot Maeterlinckovi »okameneli slepci« (*ZD 1* 346) – ker gledajo samo fantazijske predstave in mitizirajo svoje izkustvo z ženskami (346–47).

V drugem dejanju v beznici zbrana moška družba vse svoje življenjsko razočaranje in frustracije pripisuje odnosom z ženskami: »Zakaj vsakega ženske?« (341). Njihova frustracija je predvsem v nesprejemanju ženske seksualnosti kot avtonomne stvarnosti, ki je ne morejo nadzorovati ali si je prisvojiti (gl. npr. razgovor na 345). To neznosno stvarnost hočejo presekat:

GARELLI: [...] Ali nekaj je treba storiti, nekaj je treba že sedaj storiti.

OGGETTI: Nekaj je treba storiti!

VSI DRUGI – *odmev*: Nekaj je treba storiti!

LARSEN: Nekaj je treba storiti; iti preko vsega ter nekaj storiti! (342)

Kaj je treba storiti? Storiti je treba nasilno dejanje: ponižati in ubiti žensko, vir njihove frustracije (344–45; prim. Koblar, *Slovenska* 183). O uboju ženske odkrito

fantazirajo Garelli (ZD 1 344), Madona (352) in Larsen (353). Madona prav to dejanje postavi za svojo utopično prihodnost in željno pričakuje dan, ko ga bo sposoben storiti: »Jutri, jutri, jutri« (356). Ena od spremljevalk slikarjev, Jeannine, vpraša Garellija: »Kdaj te bo vendar minilo to sovrašтво do žensk?« (358). V Grumovem strindbergovskem univerzumu je odgovor: nikoli. Edini iztek sovražnosti je lahko zločin (gl. tudi dialog študentov in mladega para 348–49, kjer odmeva Madonova strindbergovska dilema).

Ob koncu drugega dejanja se v Larsenu prelomi in tovarišem izkriči vprašanje, ali je Amara »kurba« (347). To je trenutek, ko začne izgublјati stik z realnostjo in živeti v neobvladanih fantazijah. Od takrat ga Amara obseda v obliki »kurbe« (353). V tretjem dejanju z Madono čakata Amaro v parku in Larsen prizna, da jo je postavil v vlogo prostitutke, ki naj gre k stranki in mu prinese denar (354). S to fatalistično odločenostjo hoče zapečatiti svojo usodo: ker Amare ni mogel uresničiti kot utelešene čistosti, jo mora videti kot »kurbo«. Amara se ne podredi njegovi fantaziji: »Ubij me! Nisem mogla« (355). Larsen se zato vrne k svojemu prejšnjemu morilskemu nagibu.

Larsenovo nasilno dejanje je manj drastično, kot se napoveduje. Ko družba v četrtem dejanju v usodnem simbolističnem vzdušju čaka Larsena, da ga pozdravi v slovo, ta naposled prispe pijan in razrvan. Amara mu hoče pokazati naklonjenost z odvezovanjem čevljev, Larsen pa jo z nogo sune po tleh. Larsen je razpet med zavračanjem in navezanostjo: potem ko jo sune, leže k njej in v zadnjem poskusu od nje zahteva resnico o njej sami: »Ne morem več – ne morem – povej! Povej!« (362). Ko mu Amara ne da te resnice in se umakne, Larsen »zblazni« (Koruza 140) in ugleda halucinatorične figure, ki simbolizirajo psihično pohabo njega samega in njegovega miljeja.

Konec drame izzveni grenko in brezizhodno. Ujetost ostaja. Kot reče Zaccone v zadnjem dejanju: »Nikdar ga ne bo konec. Pajčevina iz sob se je razmrežila v svetovje« (ZD 1 361). Konec ne odzvanja nekje med tragično spravo in brezizhodnostjo, kot Grumov dramski prvenec *Pierrot in Pierrette*, še manj pa očiščujoče ali pomirjajoče, čeprav se je Larsenu zgodila nekakšna katarza: razkritje resnice o Amari. Ta resnica, ki je nikoli ni res hotel, ga je pogubila. Ob zaključku do katatoničnega Larsena prihiti njegov prijatelj Madona z zmagoslavno novico, da je tudi njemu uspelo »dejanje«, ki naj bi vse spremenilo: ubil je naključno mater z otrokom. Je ta Madonov poskus katarzičnega dejanja bolj uspel?

Uboj kot pobeg iz večnega otroštva: *Upornik*

Lik slikarja Žalostne Madone, ki je obseden z risanjem mladih mater, je v *Trudnih zastorih* v ozadju, Grum pa ga postavi v ospredje v prizoru *Upornik* (1927), kjer lik nastopa samostojno. Po Koblarju (*Slovenska* 186) je *Upornik* »psihološka drama slikarja Žalostne Madone«. Po Zadravcu (*Elementi* 380) gre za »priljubljeni motiv nemške ekspresionistične dramatike na freudistični osnovi, namreč sinovsko materinski kompleks«. Ker je Madonova usoda v *Uporniku* bolj izčiščena kot v *Trudnih zastorih*, so elementi, povezani z njegovim katarzičnim dejanjem, jasnejše prikazani. In ker je Madonova zgodba v obeh realizacijah ista, bom obe verziji lika obravnaval skupaj v tem razdelku.

V *Uporniku* se čudaški slikar v krčmi izpoveduje naključnemu študentu. Slikarjeva navada je iskati »žrtve«, da jim pove svojo življenjsko zgodbo in demonstrira svojo prisilo risanja enega in istega motiva: mlade gospe z otrokom (*ZD* 1 164). Za razliko do Madone v *Trudnih zastorih*, ki se izpoveduje predvsem Larsenu, slikar v *Uporniku* išče naključnega/-o sogovornika/-co. Zdi se, da je tu prikazan en (toda samo en) vidik strukture analitične psihoterapije, kjer terapevt/-ka zastopa prazno mesto, ki ga napolni analiziranec/-ka s svojimi vsebinami: mesto molčeče/-ga, ki ga analiziranec/-ka potrebuje za govorjenje.

Medtem ko slikarjevo prisilo risanja lahko vidimo – s psihoanalitičnega vidika – kot »prisilo ponavljanja« travme, pa njegovo izpovedovanje naključnim sogovornikom, nekakšnim ad hoc terapevtom, lahko interpretiramo kot konstruktivno dejanje. To mu omogoča živeti z nepredelano travmo, z nesrečo preteklosti. In to tudi pomeni, da drugim vsaj deloma zaupa in stremi k temu, da bi ga postavili pred preizkušnjo realnosti. Po Zadravcu slikar s pripovedovanjem skuša odložiti breme obsesije (»Ekspresionizem v dramatiki« 192). V *Uporniku* ta »terapevtski« pogovor tvori glavno dramsko dejanje – analitično razkritje slikarjeve preteklosti.

Medtem ko Larsen slika Amaro kot fantazijo čistosti, s katero iz zavesti odvrta realnost Amare kot spolnega bitja, Madona z risanjem mater obnavlja travmo izgube neveste in matere (več o Madonovi zgodbi: *ZD* 1 345, 353, 165–66; prim. odmev pri Garelliju, ki kritizira Amaro, ker je zapeljala Larsena, prav tam 360). Oba dojemata svoje ustvarjanje kot izganjanje nečesa iz sebe. Larsen o Amarinih rokah pravi: »Mislite, da jih ljubim? Znebiti sem se jih hotel, zato sem jih slikal« (326). Madona pa o motivu matere z otrokom reče: »Risati ga moram, moram, prisiljen sem« (164). V obeh primerih je prisila ustvarjanja zanj psihična ujetost, ki jima ne dopušča svobode za spremembo življenja. (Čisto drugačna od te prisile je Klikotova ustvarjalnost v *Dogodku v mestu Gogi*, kot bom pokazal spodaj.)

Hrepenenje po osvoboditvi iz ujetosti v preteklost Madona izraža s skoraj religioznim

upanjem. V *Trudnih zastorih* ekstatično vpije: »Kmalu vstane dan! Kmalu! Jutri! Jutri začnemo novo življenje, jutri! Jutri jutri, jutri, jutri« (339). V *Uporniku* je že malo bolj samoironičen: »Tovariši pravijo, da začenjam vsak dan novo življenje, toda jutri ga začnem zares. Novo, popolnoma novo! [...] popolnoma izpremenjeno, svetlo novo življenje. Jutri, jutri!« (163). Novo življenje se mu kaže kot osvoboditev od prisile. »Tedaj jim pokažem, da znam slikati še kaj lepšega od Žalostnih Madon« (335). Fantazira o zločinu kot prelomnem dejanju: »[R]ecimo da bi storil kakršenkoli grd, ogaben zločin. Kakega otroka da bi umoril – ne, ne, kaj otroka! Bodimo naravnost! Nekoč sediš v sončnem parku, tebi nasproti gospa ... Tako sediš in gledaš. ... Naenkrat vstaneš, potegneš revolver in – vstreliš. Gospa krikne in se zgrudi. Otrok v pesku ...« (352). To dejanje naj bi ga očistilo neznosne ujetosti v obsesivni mehanizem obžalovanja. Čeprav bodo zločin in njegove posledice strašni, bodo vendar osvobodilni. »Venomer mi je, da se mora vsak hip nekaj zgoditi, da bo tisto zelo grozno, ali potem – potem bo že slednjič konec« (353). Iz prisilnega obnavljanja travme se bo izvil z izbrisom vira travme oziroma njegovega simbola. Ta zločin bo katarzična osvoboditev od travme, od spone preteklosti.

Zločin Madoni naposled uspe: v *Trudnih zastorih* se zgodi izza odra, v *Uporniku* je prikazan. Dejanje nima vidnega povoda: videti je čisto naključno, kot posledica le ene kaplje napetosti preveč. Kakor da je k dejanju težilo vse Madonovo bitje. Ob zaključku *Trudnih zastorov* Madona prihiti k Larsenu, kot k sotrpinu, z novico o svojem katarzičnem dejanju: »Bratec, Knut, prišlo je, danes je prišlo, glej! *Iztegne okrvavljeno roko*« (364). Dogodek uboja je Madoni le »prišel«: ni ga svobodno storil. Uboj ni bil njegova odločitev, temveč avtomatizem. Že tu težko govorimo o katarzičnem dejanju, če »dejanja« sploh ni bilo. Tudi rezultat ni spodbuden. Madonov konflikt se ne razreši, ampak se ohrani, le da v še skrajnejši obliki: iz nevrotične prisile Madona preide v psihotični razpad osebnosti. To je v *Trudnih zastorih* manj vidno, očitno pa je v *Uporniku*, kjer slikar onemi, se sprosti v blaženosti: »Človek – mora – zadihati – slednjič že nekoč zadihati!« nato pa pade v katatonično stanje (169). Napetost sicer popusti, vendar ne pride do pomiritve. Pokaže se, da odstranitev vira travme (tu simbolna) ni zadostna za osvoboditev od njene moči. Ni pomiritve v zločinu, ni odprave konflikta: le izguba stika z realnostjo, »norost«, torej še večja oddaljitev od možnosti rešitve. Sprostitev nevrotične napetosti z dejanjem pripelje v psihozo (prim. Koruza 140–41).

Če na *Upornika* s Koblarjem gledamo kot na »psihoanalitično dramo«, lahko terapevtski neuspeh slikarjevega dejanja razlagamo s tem, da je to dejanje le drastično udejanjenje enega pola njegove ambivalentnosti do materinske figure, še zdaleč pa ne korak iz nje. Razlog za padeč v psihozo bi bila lahko razcepitev med njegovo vestjo, ki se zaveda moralne pošastnosti dejanja, in prisilnim kosom njegove osebnosti, ki je bil v dejanje notranje primoran.

Kljub temu da slikar na koncu podleže prisili k destruktivnemu dejanju, to ne vzame vrednosti njegovemu govoru, izpovedovanju naključnim sogovornikom, s katerim si hoče narediti življenje znosno. Njegov poskus je častivreden, vendar spodleti. Videti je, da slikar ne najde pravega sogovornika, ustreznega »terapevta«, in da le zato na koncu podleže in sprejme izbris meje med psihično in zunanjo realnostjo. Toda ta izbris, kot rečeno, ne reši njegove težave. Medtem ko slikar v realnosti postane morilec, v svoji psihični strukturi ni spremenil ničesar. Madonova »katarza« drastično pokaže na nesmiselnost katarzičnega dejanja. Ni mogoče nobeno *zunanje dejanje*, ki bi prelomilo ujetost v psihični determinizem. Vsako tako dejanje je le udejanjanje konflikta, ne pa njegova razrešitev. V tem razkritju je *Upornik*, kot pravi Malina Schmidt Snaj, »freudistično absurden« (*Tokovi* 284). Slikar ni dosegel ozdravitve, svobode od preteklosti; še slabše, iz nevrotika je postal psihotik in zločinec. Zaključek *Upornika* izzveni absurdno, hkrati pa tragikomično. Tak je pravzaprav ton celotnega prizora, ki je v primerjavi s patetiko *Trudnih zastorov* tudi ironičen in humoren. Kaže, da je Grum med predelavo lika Madone iz *Trudnih zastorov* do *Upornika* našel ironično distanco in humor, ki že kažeta na *Dogodek v mestu Gogi*.

Uboj kot izbris travme: *Dogodek v mestu Gogi*

Medtem ko je v *Trudnih zastorih* v paralizo ujeta moška družba umetnikov, je v *Dogodku v mestu Gogi* takšni ujetosti prepuščen velik del likov, moškega in ženskega spola. Obe drami sta si podobni po kolektivnem prikazu psihične ujetosti in kolektivni viziji izhoda iz nje. Gogovska skupnost deluje kot en sam organizem: prebivalci so med seboj »v nekem čudnem podzavestnem kontaktu, vsakdo pravzaprav vse ve, in tako se izoblikuje to malo, provincialno mestece [...] v živ, svojevrsten organizem, poln notranjih napetosti, groze in 'strašnih stvari', ki se gode med štirimi stenami« (Bartol, »Slavko Grum: Dogodek« 180–81).

Nekateri Gogovci (ne pa vsi) živijo v »osebnem peklu« (Golc, »Devet krogov« 14). Ujeti so v patološke vzorce, ki jih življenjsko omejujejo. Ta ekstremni življenjski zastoj ali duševno paralizo lahko razumemo kot Grumov slikoviti prikaz nevroze kot ujetosti v preteklost. Takšne ujetosti se kažejo bodisi pri posameznih likih bodisi globalno, v Gogi kot celoti. Če gledamo Gogovce posamezno, imajo različne usode. Gapit je v psihozi sploh odrezan od realnosti. Hana prehaja med različnimi depersonaliziranimi stanji (več o tem spodaj). Klikot niti ni nevrotik, ampak le sanjav romantik, ki se težko spopada z realnostjo. Teobald je le globoko nesrečen. Nekateri meščani so neobremenjeni: Juta, Kvirin, Kaps, Konrad (prim. Zdravec, *Elementi* 390). V splošnem pa je cela atmosfera Goge prikazana kot ujetost, iz katere nemara ni izhoda. Po Tarasu Kermaunerju Goga »kaže nemoč in nemožnost, nesmiselnost in zamanskost tudi sleherne svobode, življenjskosti, akcije, prihodnosti, ustvarjalnosti«

(Kermauner, »Nerazločljivost in omrtvelost« 187). Vladimir Kralj v svoji recenziji krstne mariborske uprizoritve (1931) pravi: »Kaj je prav za prav mesto Goga? Ono je naše zatrto, zadušeno življenje, ki mu ni in ni dano, da bi se bočilo prosto pod nebes, ki se zadržano v svobodnem razmahu habi v malomestnem okolju« (nav. po *ZD 1 443*).

Velika želja Goge je osvoboditev od te ujetosti. Preskok v življenje brez omejitev. Novo življenje, celostna sprememba, ki bo vse postavila na glavo, ki bo mesto iz pekla postavila v nebo. Ta mesijanska želja se kristalizira v pričakovanju Dogodka, katerega možnost meščani vidijo povsod, čeprav je skozi dramo to upanje velikokrat razočarano.⁵

Po nekaterih razlagalcih naj bi v drami doživel bistveno spremembo – lahko bi rekli: svoj lastni Dogodek – en sam lik: Hana, ki naj bi edina prekinila gogovsko eksistenco. »Biološka sila deluje v Gogi kot mistični bog in ljudje so njena igrača. Samo Hana preraste tega biološko mističnega boga« (Zadavec, *Elementi* 392). Hanin položaj se od začetka do konca drame res spremeni. Hana na začetku izrazi močan odpor do spolnosti, ki je posledica travmatičnega dogodka v najstniških letih. Njeno zgodbo Grum povzame takole: »Neka ženska je postala frigidna zaradi dogodka v zgodnji mladosti. Neki moški jo je kot deklico spolno zlorabil. Posledica je bila, da se je tej ženi pozneje moški gnusil. Gre v svet in se vrne zopet v domači kraj, kjer jo začne nadlegovati moški, ki je nad njo izvršil zločin. Žena ubije tega moškega in se tako zavestno oprusti in reši« (*ZD 1 426*). Ob vrnitvi v Gogo ima Hana dovolj moči, da se zaupa Terezi, ki jo opogumi, ko z njo deli lastni odpor do spolnosti. Podobno kot slikar v *Uporniku* se tudi Hana izpove: pove svojo zgodbo in prikaže vir svoje inhibicije – le da s Terezo, ki jo pozna, in z govorom v tretji osebi, s čimer se distancira od boleče vsebine. Toda videti je, da poskus »*talking cure*«, upovedovanja travme, tudi tu spodleti, saj Hani ne uspe izhod iz ujetosti. To se pokaže v njenih prizorih s Prelihom.

Hano je v zgodnjih najstniških letih posilil hlapec Prelih. Tega ni nikomur povedala, ker se je bala in sramovala. Če bi o posilstvu govorila, bi postalo nekaj realnega (prim. Schmidt Snoj 279). Dokler pa sta zanj vedela samo ona in Prelih, si je lahko neznosno realnost dogodka tajila: »Imel je tako zabrekle oči, tako vse gnusno je bilo, da ni smelo biti res, to ni moglo biti res! In – in – snival jo je brezsmiselno, lahko se reče naravnost blazen up, da se nekega jutra prebudi in ne bo res, ne bo več grozotnega v njenem spominu. Vidite – in če bi komu povedala – če bi že vedeli drugi ljudje – potem – potem ne bi bilo več možno, da bi se nekega jutra zbudila – potem bi bilo za vedno res!« (186).

Ker je travmo prikripla, je ta obdržala vso oblast nad njo. Ker je dogodek izrinila iz zavesti, se ni mogla spopasti z bolečino, tako pa tudi ne s Prelihom, ki je obdržal oblast nad njo. Ko se Hana iz velemesta vrne v Gogo, je njeno srečanje s Prelihom takšno, kot

⁵ To pričakovanje pogubnega dogodka Kralj prepričljivo interpretira kot odmev simbolističnega fatalizma, kjer liki pričakujejo udarec zle usode, kot pri zgodnjem Maeterlincku. Gl. Kralj, *Literatura Slavka Gruma* 28.

da ne bi nikoli odšla: v trenutku, ko se Prelih prikaže, se Hana vrne v vlogo nemočne žrtve (ZD 1 187–89). Prelih ji zapove novo spolno občevanje in jo ponoči pričaka. Hana kot »zasvojenka« (208) sledi njegovim ukazom. Vendar nastopi trenutek, ko smešna pojava Preliha med sezuvanjem prekine njegovo hipnotično moč: Hana ga zvabi k sebi in ga pobije s svečnikom (208–209). To dejanje napolni Gogo z zloveščimi znaki in prebudi pozornost meščanov: »Kaj se je zgodilo? [...] Nekaj se je zgodilo. [...] Nekaj se je moralo zgoditi v mestu« (209–10). V Gogi Hanin udarec odzvanja kot Dogodek. In ko Afra ob koncu drame obžaluje, da v Gogi ni dogodka, ji Hana resnobno oporeka: »Pač, pač, in vendar se je zgodilo: *umorjen je bil nekdo to noč!*« (234).

Po številnih interpretih Hanina zgodba uteleša zadnjo stopnjo Grumovega pojmovanja in dramskega udejanjanja katarze. Hanina situacija ujetosti v preteklost in inhibicija v sedanjosti sta podobni kot pri Larsenu in Madoni. Njena preteklost omejuje njeno sedanjost. Iz te preteklosti se z lastnimi močmi ne more izviti, zato ima potrebo po izpovedovanju Terezi. Toda Grumova dramaturgija terja dejanje. Skrajna situacija terja skrajno rešitev, kakor že v *Trudnih zastorih* in *Uporniku*. »Med Grumovimi umetniki v prejšnjih dramah in med Hano je le ta razloček, da nje preganja motiv neizpolnjene spolnosti oz. hrepenenje po nedoživetem, Hano pa preganja motiv prezgodaj doživete, prenačljene spolnosti. In še druga sorodnost: Hani dodeli Grum za katarzo 'umor' kakor ga oddeljuje umetnikom« (Zadravec, *Slovenska* 188). Kot Hana pozneje reče Terezi, je bila to edina rešitev: »Treba se ga je bilo vendar osvoboditi, za vedno je bila njegova! Če jo je že nekoč imel – prvega ženska nikdar ne pozabi! Ubiti ga je treba!« (ZD 1 216).

Hanino dejanje in njegov učinek interpreti pogosto vidijo v svetli luči (najizraziteje Moravec, *Pomenki* 54–55). Številni, na primer Vladimir Bartol, so Hanin udarec dojeli kot njen »trenutek duševne osvoboditve« (Bartol 181). Hanin primer naj bi bil edini pri Grumu, ko katarzi sledi ozdravitev, ne umik v blaznost (prim. Koruza 141). Njen udarec naj bi bil vpad svobodne volje v gogovski psihični determinizem in tako znak osvoboditve od te determiniranosti: »Njen udarec je osvobodilno dejanje, je 'sproščanje' ali katarza, kot jo je izbral Grum, ko ni več maral pisati brezizhodne dramatike« (Zadravec, *Satira in groteska* 104). Udarec naj bi predstavljal upor proti določujoči sili preteklosti, znamenje prebujenja iz gogovskega blodnjaka. To dejanje naj bi kazalo, da Goga ni nepremagljiva.

V tem, da Grum pokaže na možnost preseganja Goge s svobodnim dejanjem, naj bi se kazala njegova etična resnoba. Prav etični naboj je v svoji kritiki *Dogodka* pogršel Koblar, po katerem Grumovi drami »manjka prave odrske resnobe in prodirnosti do etičnih zakonov« (nav. po ZD 1 453). Četudi Koblar v drami vidi »precej posrečeno prizadevanje, kako bi se pesniška intuicija spojila z analitičnim eksperimentom« (nav. po prav tam 452), po njegovem umetniška intuicija tu ne zmaga, zato končna

katarza ni etično prepričljiva, temveč pusti vtis intelektualnega eksperimenta, utemeljenega na Grumovem »materialistično mehanističnem pojmovanju življenja« (prav tam). Nasprotno pa Zadavec etično naravnost drame vidi nadvse jasno: »Niti iz podzavesti niti iz zadušne Goge Grum ni naredil absolutnega, nepremagljivega božanstva. Hanin udarec je pomembna etična ideja drame« (*Elementi* 392).

Ker ima Hanina »katarza« po splošni sodbi največ znakov uspelega terapevtskega dejanja, je bistveno vprašanje, ali je Hanino dejanje res delovalo katarzično in jo ozdravilo njenega odpora pred spolnostjo, jo osvobodilo, kot to predstavi Zadavec: »Hanin udarec je signal človekove svobodne volje, dostojanstva, etosa – pa četudi se potrdijo le za en sam hip. Hana se z udarcem, se v očiščevalnem hipu osvobodi, je svobodni subjekt, preneha begati« (*Slovenska* 191). Se je Hana s svojim dejanjem res rešila svoje inhibicije? Od tega odgovora je pravzaprav odvisno vse, kajti če je dvomljiva Hanina katarza, ki je med vsemi predstavljena najbolj spodbudno, potem je pri Grumu dvomljiva sploh vsaka katarza.

Hanina usoda omogoča različne interpretacije, saj so dokazi na obeh straneh: tako v podporo Hanini osvoboditvi kakor proti njej. Prva in najočitnejša podpora uspešnosti Hanine katarze je Grumovo lastno razumevanje. V svojem izvodu *Dogodka* je Grum ob prizoru Haninega udarca ob robu komentiral: »Hana edina od vseh prebivalcev mesta Goge se aktivno sprosti. Bistven moment: preobrat od njene zasužnjenosti k aktivnosti, ker jenja biti Prelih – velik, silen. Poudarjena igra Preliha od gospoda do sužnja strasti: nori, trese se, se slini – postane gnusen in smešen in to da Hani moč do aktivnosti sprostivte!« (*ZD* 1 470–71). Torej se Hana, ko iz pasivne poslušnosti Prelihu preide k aktivnemu uporju proti njemu, »zavestno oprusti in reši« (426).

Za Hanino osvoboditev govori še dejstvo, da se je Hana, se zdi, v Gogo vrnila prostovoljno, da bi obračunala s preteklostjo. Ko Terezi govori o svoji »prijateljici«, pravi: »Boji se domov, z grozo pričakuje vsakih počitnic, vedno mora iskati novih pretvez, da ostane zdoma« (217). Torej se je Hana od mladosti vedno bala vrniti v Gogo, tudi tokrat. In vendar je videti, da se je tokrat vrnila kljub strahu: nemara prav zato, da se s svojo travmo sooči, saj je spoznala, da brez tega soočenja ne bo mogla zaživeti. Hana ni vedela, kaj se bo zgodilo, ko se vrne v Gogo. Pričakovala je najhujše in to najhujše se je tudi zgodilo: njen posiljevalec je ni pozabil, hotel jo je nazaj. In vendar se mu je postavila po robu in ga pobila.

Hana šele polagoma dojame svoj spremenjeni položaj. Najprej poskuša pripraviti Terezo, da bi odstranila Prelihovo »truplo«, tako da nadaljuje prejšnjo tretjeosebno izpoved (214–16). Toda Tereza Hano razočara: Hanino dejanje v njej vzbudi srh in odklanjanje; nazadnje jo zavrne. Hano torej njena edina terapevtska poslušalka pusti samo. Hana nato izkoristi Klikotovo naklonjenost; pritegne njegovo pozornost, mu razloži položaj in mu obljubi spolnost v zameno za odstranitev trupla (218–20).

Klikot z velikim samozatajevanjem in razočaranjem odnese truplo. Ko je Prelih odstranjen, Hana potone v spanec. Ko se prebudi, se vede kot osvobodjena: hlastno začne pakirati, da bi zapustila Gogo: »Moje jutro! Moje jutro! *Nič več ni res, nikdar ni bilo ničesar!*« (230). Za trenutek se prestraši, ko od Tereze sliši, da Prelih ni mrtev. Toda Prelihova simbolna smrt, prekinitev njegove moči nad njo, je enako učinkovita kot prava, pravzaprav še boljša, saj Hana za razliko od slikarja Madone ni obremenjena z zločinom: »Naj živi, naj živi – *samo da je mrtev!*« (232).

Po uboju in preden se znebi trupla, Hana Terezi še pesimistično govori, da se k zaročencu ne bo več vrnila: »Nikdar ne morem poročiti Franka! [...] Pobegnila sem od njega, da sem mu prihranila razočaranje. [...] Hudo je bilo, hudo, rekla sem mu, da za nekaj dni – z nasmehom je stal ob vlaku – vedela sem, da ga ne bom videla nikdar več« (217). Kakor da se je vrnila v Gogo za vedno – umret med svojimi. A ko Klikot zanjo odstrani dokaz zločina, jo doseže spoznanje, da se je vendar zgodil premik, na kakršnega je upala, in se jadrno odloči za vrnitev v velemesto: »Odpotovati nameravam [...] tri dni že ne ve ničesar o meni, niti črkice mu nisem sporočila še. Skrbel bo. Moram nekoliko pogledat k njemu! [...] Veš, možiti se nameravam!« (230–31). Iz pasivnosti se požene v frenetično aktivnost; nenadoma se povzpne, da bi obvladala svoje življenje. Prepričana je, da je njena preteklost – mesto Goga – na poti v uničenje. Hana odhaja sočasno z novico o požaru, nad katerim je navdušena: »Že od nekdanj sem si želela videti goreti Gogo!« (231). Ob koncu drame je sproščena, vesela, norčava. Skupaj z drugimi meščani se neobremenjeno norčuje iz zmedenega Preliha. Razsnova drame je trpka, toda vedra.

Do tu navedeni razlogi podpirajo tezo, da je Hanino dejanje resnično osvobodilno. Dejstvo, da se Hana iz »zasvojenosti« s Prelihom, torej ujetosti v preteklo travmo, osvobaja po korakih, je mogoče interpretirati tudi kot metaforo za potrebo po predelavi terapevtskega uvida, na katero je opozoril Freud. Hana Preliha najprej ugleda kot smešnega in nemočnega, zato ga lahko simbolno ubije. Nato v več korakih predela svoje dejanje in njegov pomen ter se na koncu, kot je videti, res osvobodi iz spon preteklosti. Podoben proces, pri katerem si sledijo uvid znotraj terapije, spremenjeno delovanje v življenju in postopna predelava obojega, je potreben tudi v psihoanalitični terapiji. »Predelava dopolnjuje interpretacijo; brez nje je interpretacija neučinkovita in ostane neintegrirana v mišljenje, tudi če jo analizand 'razumsko' sprejme« (Lešnik 165).

Vendar drugi, morda tehtnejši znaki kažejo, da simbolni uboj Preliha Hani v resnici ne prinese spremembe in je ne reši njene patologije. Prvič, njeno dejanje ni izvršeno pri jasni zavesti, temveč v nekakšni depersonalizaciji. Na prvi pogled se zdi, da Hana med Prelihovim sezuvanjem doživi prebujenje, ki jo iztrga iz podrejenosti: »V *poslednjem revnem odporu se obotavlja okrene: ugleda starega hotneža, ki s smešno*

tresočo se roko trga čevelj z noge. V hipu jo mine vsa zasvojenost, čez ustnice prezirljiv nasmeh« (ZD 1 208–9). Ob Prelihovi bedni pojavi Hano nenadoma »mine« strah pred njim. Toda to še ne pomeni, da se je izvila iz hipnotičnega stanja: Hana le preide v drugačen, a enako omračen modus zavesti, v nekakšno manipulativno izzivalnost, ki ni nič bolj podobna njeni budni osebnosti kakor njena prejšnja podredljivost. V tej novi naravnosti zvabi Preliha k sebi in ga s privošljivo ihto udari po glavi. Ko ga vidi mrtvega, pade v šok, ki se ohrani do srečanja s Terezo. Ko ta Hano zavrne in odide, se Hani povrne manipulativnost in za svoj namen hoče pridobiti Klikota. V vseh teh premenah Hana nikoli ni pri jasni zavesti; vse od prvega trenutka, ko stopi v sobo s čakajočim Prelihom (208), prehaja iz ene omračenosti – depersonalizacije – v drugo.

Torej ne drži, da se Hana »zavestno oprusti in reši«, kot to razlaga Grum. Njeno dejanje nasilnega upora ni »zavestno«, ni njena odločitev, ampak dogodek pod podobno hipnotično nujnostjo, s katero se je trenutek prej podrejela in s katero kasneje vabi Klikota. Ta depersonalizirana stanja pa nikakor niso rešitev iz nevrotične podreditve; so kvečjemu alternativni patološki načini bega. Koblarjeva kritika etične praznosti dramskega dejanja je v psihološkem smislu torej umestna: tudi Hanino domnevno svobodno dejanje je le del psihičnega determinizma Goge, v katerem »postane ves oder kakor avtomat s skrito godbo« (Koblar, nav. po ZD 1 453).

Drugič, Hanina nova manipulativna osebnost, ki se dvigne po uboju, kaže, da se je njena travmatično determinirana osebnostna struktura ohranila, le da je prevzela drugo dinamiko. Ko Hana dobi zamisel, da bi izkoristila Klikota, se do njega začne vesti natanko tako, kot se je do Preliha po svojem »prebujenju«: vabi ga, se mu ponuja, manipulira z njim, da bi ji ustregel: »Ljubite me, oprostite, da moram zlorabiti vašo ljubezen. [...] Vdam se vam. Popolnoma hočem biti vaša. Po storjenem opraviilu se vrnite, ljubiti me smete, kakor se vam zahoče« (218). Hana, ki je v prvem dejanju Terezi govorila, kako se ji gnusi »tisto«, se zdaj ponuja neznanemu moškemu. Nanj se pripravlja kot na težko pričakovanega ljubimca: »[P]reobleče se zopet v jutranjko in stopi pred ogledalo, da se olepoti. Se liči sedaj skrbno in z radostno vnemo. Gre nato k postelji, široma odgrne zastor in uredi blazine. Pripravlja kot za sprejem ženina. Ko konča opravilo, si še enkrat uredi lase pred ogledalom, potem primakne stol k oknu in čaka ljubimca« (220–21).

Ko Klikota ni od nikoder, ga začne provokativno vabiti, in ne samo njega: »Pridi, pridi, kaj se mudiš, plahi ljubimec? Se bojiš? Boj se, boj, moje roke so gole, moja usta ti bodo storila hudo! [...] Ne kasni, ne kasni, ljubimec, veliko se imava ljubiti! – Kaj je? Ne izzivaj žene, ki poželi, ne pusti je čakati željne! Kdorkoli prideš po cesti, pridi gor, žena čaka službe! Pridi, pridi« (221).

Vabi ga z isto besedico »Pridi«, s katero je prej zvabila k sebi Preliha. Njen grozeči ton (»Boj se«) pa namiguje, da je njeno vabilo ponovitev vabila Prelihu, ki je bilo zanj usodno.

Hana iz nekdanje »frigidnosti« preide v zapeljevanje, kar je psihološko prav neverjeten preobrat, ki bi ga težko razumeli kot »ozdravljenje« od travme spolne zlorabe. Fantazijsko se Hana celo postavi v vlogo prostitutke, kar je še jasneje razvidno iz črtanega dela replike iz Grumovega rokopisa: »Novce, novce hočem imeti, zveneči denar, hranila jih bom v šatulji! [...] Vse, vse moram imeti, in plačati morajo zveneči denar. Pijanemu delavcu se dam za tedensko mezdo, bančnemu uradniku za vsoto, ki jo bo moral ukrasti« (466). Klikotu Hana ne ponudi le spolne usluge, ampak tudi možnost, da z njo dela, »kakor se [mu] zahoče«. Kakor da se zdaj, ko je ubila Preliha, prostovoljno postavi v položaj pasivnosti in nemoči, v katerega jo je prej silil Prelih. Zdaj ko nima več Preliha, da bi jo podredil, se podredi drugemu moškemu. Od Klikota izrecno zahteva, da se vrne (219), saj jo notranja nujnost sili k ponovitvi travmatičnega izkustva, v slogu »prisile ponavljanja« (Freud, *Spisi* 144). Ta prisila ponavljanja kaže, da Prelih, četudi »mrtev«, nič manj ne živi v njej kakor prej.

Tretji, najodločilnejši znak terapevtske ničnosti Haninega dejanja pa je njena prva misel, ko se po nočnih dogodkih prebudi: »Moje jutro! Moje jutro! Nič več ni res, nikdar ni bilo ničesar!« (230). Ta misel natanko uresničuje njen »blazni up« iz prvega pogovora s Terezo, »da se nekega jutra prebudi in ne bo res, ne bo več grozotnega v njenem spominu« (186). Hani je uspelo izbrisati preteklost, storiti, da ta ni več realna. Pretekle travme torej ni sprejela, ni je premagala, ampak jo je izbrisala. Hanina inhibicija ni razrešena, ampak le predrugačena. Njena rešitev pride v obliki nove obrambe: izbrisa bolečega delčka realnosti. A to ne more biti rešitev nevrotične inhibicije. Prav nič ne zagotavlja, da bo Hana odslej spolno neobremenjena, kot ustrezno ugotavlja Krištof Dovjak: »Njen umor Preliha se izkaže za prazno simulacijo, za nikakršno osvoboditev ne gre. Z vero, da ga je pobila do smrti, Hana resnici (nikakor) ne pride do dna. S podzavestnimi posledicami izkušnje posiljenega dekleta, ki jo odvrčajo od poroke s Frankom, ne more opraviti tako na hitro. S stavkom: 'Naj živi, naj živi – samo da je mrtev!' prav ničesar ne razreši ne v sebi, ne v svetu« (»Dogodek pred mestom Goga?« 198). Grum v *Dogodku* torej vseskozi ironizira Hanino »rešitev« in napeljuje na misel, da ta ne more biti tako preprosta, kot se površno kaže. S tem le nadaljuje distanciranje od »katarze«, o kateri je podvomil že v *Trudnih zastorih* in se iz nje grenko ponorčeval v *Uporniku*: v Haninem primeru jo postavi na najkočljivejšo preizkušnjo.

Za kontrast si oglejmo usodo lika, ki je tangencialen Hanini zgodbi: gre za pisarja Klikota. Klikot je najprej brezupno, od daleč zaljubljen v Hano in ji pisari pretanjena pisma, ki jih ne odpošilja (*ZD 1* 193–94). Strašno je osramočen, ko Kvirin in Kaps obesita njegovo ljubezen na veliki zvon (196). Ko ga Hana pokliče na pomoč, ne

more verjeti, da je v njegovo fantazijo vstopila realnost (218). Ko to realnost spozna – vulgarno zapeljujočo Hano – se mu podre fantazija. Hana »ubije v njem ideal, o katerem je sanjal dneve in noči« (Koblar, *Dvajset let* 56). Klikotova »idealna ljubezen« je hipoma uničena (Koblar, *Slovenska* 188). Ker ne prenese te nove realnosti, se hoče obesiti, kar mu ne uspe (*ZD 1* 221–22). Zdrami ga ironični klic slikarja, njegovega »brata v umetnostih«: »Ustvarjaj, ustvarjaj, domovina smrči in čaka!« (225). Ta klic mu zlagoma postavi stvari na pravo mesto: »Obide ga neka misel, ves oživi. Z živahnostjo si pripravi papir za pisanje, sede za mizo nasproti zanke in začne hlastno pisati, dvigajoč od časa do časa pogled k mrtvaški vrvi. Dobil je snov za novelo« (226).

Ko se Klikotu poruši fantazija, si zna pomagati. Ima namreč terapevtsko sredstvo, ki mu je služilo že prej, le da v drugačen namen: pisanje. Prej je v pisanju gojil fantazijski »paradiž«, kjer je bil varen pred realnostjo: »Privid je edini paradiž, iz katerega ne moremo biti pregnani« (194). Ko je realnost, razočaranje s Hano, posegla v njegovo življenje, ga je travmatizirala, toda ne onesposobila. Po trenutku obupa si opomore in se loti dela. Svojo bolečino bo prekrasil v novelo (prim. Zadavec, *Elementi* 387). Urok fantazije, vsaj te ene, je prelomljen. Klikot s pisanjem ne bo več gradil fantazije, temveč realnost: pisanje mu bo pomagalo preboleti razočaranje porušene predstave o Hani. Morda bo v tej pretvorbi bolečega izkustva v umetniško obliko celo užival, saj poln življenja sede za mizo (*ZD 1* 226). Tu ni prišlo do nobenega katarzičnega uvida: zgodil se je le klavrn umik iluzije, travmatično spoznanje o nesmislu fantaziranja. In ta nesmisel in umanjkanje bo Klikot lahko ubesedil, torej predelal. Hanin negativni izid je torej tangencialno Klikotova rešitev: Klikotov iztek je pozitiven (prim. Legiša, *Zgodovina* 242). Če upoštevamo njegovo začetno in končno situacijo, lahko rečemo, da Klikotu uspe izhod iz gogovske ujetosti: naredi korak iz življenja skozi fantazije do izražanja teh fantazij, torej distance do njih. Klikot ponazarja uspešno zdravljenje skozi umetnost, kot si ga je idealno zamišljal Grum.

Zadnje vprašanje pri *Dogodku v mestu Gogi* je dodatek, t. i. »epilog«, ki sledi spustu zastora, »če poziva občinstvo igralce pred rampo« (*ZD 1* 235). Ta dodatni prizorček sledi klicu slikarja po novem življenju in na videz postavi na laž upe, da se je v Gogi karkoli spremenilo. V fragmentarni obliki obudi ključne momente štirih likov: Klikota, Afre, Gapita in Hane. Hana je tu prikazana v stanju hipnotične podreditve Prelihu, v trenutku, ko ta spregovori svojo krilatico: »Prvega ženska ne pozabi nikoli« (236). Številni interpreti so prav ta prizorček navajali kot kronski dokaz, da se Hanina stiska ne razreši: tu se Hanin »kompleks« prikaže kot nedotaknjen, kljub domnevni katarzi, ki se je zgodila na odru. Tudi Klikotov dosežek je morda v epilogu razvrednoten.

O zaključku drame ni bil prepričan že sam Grum, saj je kolebal med vključitvijo ali izključitvijo dodatka (*ZD 1* 450). Prav tako so se nekateri režiserji odločili za vključitev prizorčka, drugi pa so ga izpustili. Osip Šest, na primer, je pri ljubljanski krstni

uprizoritvi (1931) epilog črtal (ZD 1 446). Da je epilog idejno pomemben element drame, je očitno menil tudi Grum, saj po Kralju na podlagi rokopisnih virov »ni nobenega dvoma o tem, da se je Grum še ob zadnjem pregledovanju rokopisa ukvarjal z mislijo, da bi [...] izločil epilog« (ZD 1 467). Tudi večina Grumovih interpretov ima dodatni prizor za idejno pomenljiv. Pritekelj ga komentira z mislijo, da »v drami *mora* biti podčrtana brezizhodnost v Gogi [...] Goga se *ne more* spremeniti« (Grum, *Goga* 449). Po Kralju Grum v tem prizoru »poudarja načelno nemožnost sprostitev v mestu Gogi« (ZD 1 467). Kralj tudi meni, da naj bi režiser Šest s črtanjem epiloga »bistveno spremenil idejo drame, saj Grum prav v epilogu pokaže nespremenljivost dramskih usod v Gogi, tudi Hanine« (ZD 1 446; gl. tudi Kralj, *Literatura* 28). Tudi M. Schmidt Snaj meni, da Grumova varianta konca kaže, da »[k]atarze ni, vsi so še vedno ujetniki Goge« (*Tokovi* 281). Po Igorju Grdini pogojna in konvencionalna narava dodatnega prizora ne ukine njegove idejne teže: »Gogovci nimajo kam uiti. Prav tako ne gledalci« (»Grumov Dogodek« 195).

Koruza je tako rekoč edini, ki prizorčku odreka idejni pomen. Po Koruzi ni smiselno, da bi dodatek imenovali »epilog« in mu s tem dajati posebno težo, ker je kot dostavek pogojno formuliran in ker je Grum drugje izrecno poudarjal, da v drami pride do razrešitve (*Slovenska* 142–43). A vendar, na Grumove izjave o sporočilu drame se ni mogoče preveč zanašati, saj si pogosto nasprotujejo. V že navedeni izjavi v intervjuju za *Slovenski narod* leta 1929, po prejemu beograjske nagrade, je Grum dejal: »Ljudi sem pokazal kot lutke podzavestnih sil, katerih se rešijo z izživetjem, kakor se nevrotik ozdravi z izpovedjo zdravniku« (ZD 1 426). Torej se (nekateri) gogovci rešijo svoje ujetosti. Dve leti kasneje (1931), tik pred ljubljansko uprizoritvijo *Dogodka*, pa v intervjuju za *Jutro* odobrava recenzijo drame izpod peresa Ludvika Mrzela, v kateri ta pravi, da »tu ne more nihče več nikomur pomagati«, torej da so usode gogovcev nespremenljive (ZD 1 449). Se je Grumovo dožemanje *Dogodka* v dveh letih iz optimizma prevesilo v fatalizem ali pa Grum nikoli ni bil res prepričan o možnosti rešitve iz Goge?

A vendar, na podlagi zgornje analize Hanine in Klikotove usode menim, da je že v samem dramskem dejanju dovolj dokazov za utemeljeno sodbo. Tudi če epilog čisto zanemarimo, če se na odru ne izvede, je že v drami dovolj znakov, da se Hanino stanje ni razrešilo, medtem ko je Klikot naredil korak k realnosti. V idejnem smislu, kar zadeva Hanino in Klikotovo zgodbo, epilog ni ključnega pomena.

Na koncu se lahko vrnemo h globalnemu upanju Goge kot skupnosti: k pričakovanju *Dogodka*, ki bo spremenil celotno skupnost in jo ponesel v sfero »svetlega novega življenja«. To upanje je na koncu drame razočarano, saj celo slikar, ki na vse pretege navija za dogodek, povese glavo v vdaji (ZD 1 235). Veliki Dogodek se ne zgodi: to je sporočilo drame kot celote. Skupnost Goge se ni spremenila, ni vse postalo novo.

Isto lahko rečemo, če vzamemo Hanino zgodbo kot osrednjo. Pokazal sem, da Hana ni doživela svojega odrešilnega Dogodka. A vendar, namesto velikega Dogodka se v drami zgodi več manjših dogodkov, zlasti Hani in Klikotu. Hana se izpove Terezi, se sooči s Prelihom, ki pooseblja njeno travmo, in to poskuša odpraviti (četudi ji, kot sem pokazal, to ne uspe). Klikot je prisiljen v preizkušnjo realnosti najprej s podoknico Kvirina in Kapsa, nato s Haninim zapeljevanjem. Tem preizkušnjam ne podleže, ampak pride iz njih zrelejši.⁶

Lado Kralj v svoji zgodnji interpretaciji, kjer Gruma bere skozi simbolizem, položaj Gogovcev vidi v še temnejši luči kot Maeterlinckove like, predane zli usodi. Kakor slednji tudi Gogovci pričakujejo očiščujočo katastrofo, le da ta nikoli ne pride, ampak izzveni v smešne bagatele: »Grum je torej svojim literarnim junakom odvzel zadnjo milost, milost tiste pomiritve, olajšanja ali sprostivte, ki bi jim bila dana v trenutku dokončne pogube. Po tej milosti implicitno ali eksplicitno hlepijo vse žrtve grozljive usode, ta pa jim jo spet in spet odreka, jih posmehljivo navdaja z lažnim upanjem in jih goljufa zanj« (Kralj, *Literatura* 28).

Gogovcem je vzeto celó tragično dostojanstvo pasivnih žrtev usode, kar bi jim vsaj prineslo neko moralno zadoščenje in pomirjenje. »[K]atastrofa jim ni dana,« reče Kralj (prav tam). Toda če zgornje analize držijo, lahko to sodbo beremo kot ugodno. Usodo Gogovcev lahko dojamemo ne kot Grumov fatalistični pesimizem, absurdnejši od maeterlinckovskega, temveč kot premik iz simbolistične paradigme: proč od pričakovanja katarzične katastrofe, velikega Dogodka, k uresničevanju manjših dogodkov z negotovim izidom, ki utegnejo počasi kaj spremeniti. Od katastrofe se Grum premakne k procesu.

Tu se lahko spomnimo začetnega oksimorona, besedne zveze »psihoanalitična katarza« in dejstva, da je Freud katarzično zdravljenje zavrnil, ko je začel odkrivati kompleksnost analitične metode. Perspektiva odsotnosti ali celo nemožnosti velikega Dogodka, ki vse ozdravi, s psihoanalitičnega vidika ni nič strašnega, temveč je del freudovskega terapevtskega realizma. V freudovski perspektivi ozdravljenje ni trenutni dogodek, ki bi z eno potezo ukinit središče patologije, ampak je potrebna postopna predelava uvidov o celi mreži duševnih pojavov in mehanizmov. Ta predelava nikoli ni dokončna in njena učinkovitost ni zagotovljena. Mesijanski Dogodek, ki bi vse spremenil, ki bi uvedel »popolnoma izpremenjeno, svetlo novo življenje«, se ne zgodi niti v Gogi niti v psihoanalitični terapiji. Vsak dogodek, ki se tako predstavlja, je lažno upanje. V tem smislu ima Vladimir Bartol prav, ko *Dogodek v mestu Gogi* imenuje »psihoanalitična drama« (180; prim. *ZD* 1 429).

⁶ Omembe vredna je tudi Kraljeva zgodnja interpretacija, po kateri je pričakovani Dogodek pohod šepavca skozi mesto. »[P]rav s to demonstracijo zlih moči, nerazumljivih, neizrekljivih in vsemogočnih, je dal Grum čutno dojemljivo, pa vendar nedoločeno in dvomiselnost [sic] podobo tistemu osrednjemu zlemu principu, ki uravnava usode dramskih oseb« (Kralj, *Literatura* 25–26; gl. tudi 28). Šepavčev korak naj bi bil sicer Grumov začetni motiv za Gogo (gl. *ZD* 1 448–49).

Sklep

Razčlemba treh primerov domnevne katarzične razrešitve v Grumovih dramah je pokazala, da je katarza v vseh primerih dvomljive vrednosti, saj ne vodi v pomiritev lika ali razrešitev dramskega dejanja. Larsen ob zavrnitvi Amare pade v katatonično psihozo. Tudi slikar Madona po uboju »matere« izgubi stik z realnostjo. Niti Hanin »uboj« Preliha, ki obljublja največ, se ne izkaže za odrešitvenega. Te usode likov gledalca/-ko gotovo pustijo »z dvomom in trpljenjem v srcu« (ZD 1 426). Grumove drame so prav takšne »moderne drame« z nerešenimi konflikti, kakršne sicer kritizira.

Grum torej ne uveljavi katarze kot dramaturškega principa. Katarzičnost, ki bi lik v trenutku odrešila nevrotične aporije, je v vseh njegovih dramah ironizirana. Liki si za takšno rešitev prizadevajo, vendar jo iztek dramskega dejanja razvrednoti. Grumove drame torej vsebujejo dvom o učinkovitosti katarzične razrešitve, podoben Freudovemu dvomu o katarzi kot terapevtskem principu. Na drugi strani pa pri istih ali drugih Grumovih likih najdemo elemente drugačnega reševanja konfliktov. Od *Trudnih zastorov* prek *Upornika* do *Dogodka v mestu Gogi* se prizadevanje po katarzični gradnji dejanja rahlja, načini reševanja konfliktov postajajo gibkejši. Pri Slikarju in Hani se morda kaže sled »nevrotikove izpovedi zdravniku«, stremljenje k terapevtskemu pogovoru (prim. Grumovo vzporednico, prav tam). Hana kaže tudi potrebo po predelovanju uvidov in dejanj. Klikot opusti fantazijo in travmatično izkustvo pretvori v umetnost, ki ni več zgolj »privid« kot beg iz realnosti, kot je pri Larsenu in Madoni, temveč privid kot spopad z realnostjo. Ti Grumovi dramaturški elementi ustrezajo Freudovemu prehodu iz katarzične v psihoanalitično psihoterapijo. Seveda bi bilo treba te katarzi nasprotujoče elemente Grumove dramatike podrobneje obdelati v luči principov psihoanalitične terapije in teorije. Vključiti bi bilo mogoče tudi nova razumevanja dramske in gledališke katarze, ki so se razvila po Grumovem času (gl. npr. Pavis 373).

Prav nedosegljivost katarze torej Gruma šele približa psihoanalitičnemu pristopu. Grumove drame je mogoče interpretirati v psihoanalitičnem duhu prav zato, ker v njih, kot sem skušal pokazati, ni resnično katarzičnega dogodka. Grumova dramatika se torej dotakne ene temeljnih tehničnih potez psihoanalize: nemožnosti terapevtskega Dogodka – z velikim D. Toda Grum nasproti hrepenenju Goge kot skupnosti po velikem Dogodku, ki bo spremenil vse, v dramsko dejanje vtihotapi vrsto majhnih, omejenih, nekatarzičnih, a resnično terapevtskih dogodkov, ki lahko Gogovce kot posameznike popeljejo korak iz njihove ujetosti.

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Murder or Therapy

Failed Catharsis and Psychoanalytic Principles in Slavko Grum's Dramatic Work

Keywords: Slavko Grum, catharsis, psychoanalysis, entrapment, murder, therapeutic event

This article begins by outlining two notions of catharsis: the psychotherapeutic one, from which Grum draws, and the dramatic-theatrical one, as it is understood and realised by Grum in his writing. By looking at the historical development of psychoanalysis, the article first shows that the principle of therapeutic catharsis has little to do with Freudian psychoanalysis and that it even partially negates it. Based on Grum's statements, it continues to give a general definition of the author's understanding of the dramatic and theatrical catharsis. Drawing on three plays by Grum, *Weary Curtains*, *The Rebel*, and *An Event in the Town of Goga*, it further sheds light on the inner workings of a cathartic event which is supposed to unravel the dramatic plot: this event is an *actual or symbolic murder* performed by the protagonist. The article goes on to argue that this great event invariably fails to bring the desired resolution and is thus relativised already within the dramatic action. At the same time, however, it also points to the elements in these plays that substitute for the relativised cathartic principle. These elements are understood as genuine traces of psychoanalytic principles in Grum's dramatic work.

Grum understands dramatic-theatrical catharsis primarily from a medical, perhaps even moral and epistemological point of view, which he applies to an individual (spectator) and, consequently, to society. According to Grum, a theatre play must again become "a *purging*, a bath one takes to cleanse. A play that lacks this purging, this catharsis is bad, which ensues from its origins in religious rituals ..." ("Človeštvo", *ZD 1 426*) ["Mankind", *CW 1 426*]. "A good play is the one that leaves the spectator as kind-hearted and relaxed as a religious person leaving church after witnessing the communion of the Body of Christ" (*ZD 2 435*) [*CW 2 435*]. However, it is difficult for modern plays to integrate this purging moment, because the transcendent authority bringing it about is gone: "Writing a good play is genuinely difficult nowadays,

because there is no deity, because we have lost god as the one who was resolving existential conflicts in the old plays and represented a redeeming principle of sorts, who repaid the good and punished the evil and made everything turn out nicely in the play, leaving the spectator satisfied, redeemed and cleansed. Modern plays conclude with unresolved conflicts that leave the spectator doubting and heart-broken, they do not redeem him" (426).

Acknowledging that Grum employed his uniquely understood principle of catharsis as a dramaturgical principle in constructing his dramatic works, we may do well to ask ourselves about the mechanism of catharsis in dramatic works, about how catharsis is realised, about its sources, and especially about the effects of the cathartic event. In all his finished dramatic texts, Grum uses *murder* as an act aimed precisely at resolving the dramatic plot or the destiny of the protagonist. As argued by Zadavec, Grum's "characters opt for a violent liquidation of the paranoid motif and the person as their 'purging bath', that is, they choose murder. But when they fail to enact this act of liquidation, they either harden or shrivel up, or they go mad" (*Elementi* 400) [*Elements* 400]. The article takes a closer look at three of Grum's texts which include a cathartic murder: *Weary Curtains* (1924), in which Larsen symbolically kills Amara; *The Rebel* (1927), in which the painter Madonna kills a random mother with a child, that is, the symbolic mother; and *An Event in the Town of Goga* (1928), in which Hana symbolically kills Prelih.

Grum's *An Event in the Town of Goga* is considered one of the most original Slovenian dramatic texts and belongs to the canon of modern Slovenian playwriting at the break from early modernism and symbolism to the avant-garde and modernist forms. The play describes the communal life in the town of Goga with all its pathologies and the collective hope for a ground-breaking change. The hope of the town of Goga is oriented toward the expectation of the big Event that will transform the community and propel it into the sphere of "the bright new life". At the end of the play, this hope is disappointed, as even the painter, who has been rooting vigorously for the event, lowers his head in surrender (*ZD* 1 235) [*CW* 1 235]. The great Event does not take place – that is the message of the play. The community of Goga has not changed, not everything has become new. The same can be argued if we look at Hana's story as the central one. As has been shown, Hana did not experience her own redeeming Event. However, instead of one great Event, several smaller events happen in the play, especially to Hana and Klikot. Hana confesses to Tereza, confronts Prelih, who is the personification of her trauma, and tries to recover (but, as is shown, fails to do so). Klikot is forced into a reality check, first with Kvirin's and Kaps' serenade, and later, with Hana's seduction. He does not succumb to the ordeal, but instead emerges more mature.

Here, we can recall the initial oxymoron, the phrase “psychoanalytic catharsis”, and the fact that Freud rejected cathartic therapy as soon as he discovered the complexity of the analytical method. From a psychoanalytic point of view, the perspective of absence or even of the impossibility of the great Event that would heal everything is of no grave concern; on the contrary, it is an integral part of Freudian therapeutic realism. In the Freudian perspective, healing is not a momentary event that would cancel out the core of a pathology in a single stroke, but entails a gradual working-through of one’s insights into an elaborate network of psychological phenomena and mechanisms. This working-through is never final and its efficacy is not guaranteed. A messianic Event that would change everything, that would bring “a wholly altered, bright new life” happens neither in Goga nor in psychoanalytic therapy. Every event promising to do so is a false hope. In this sense, Vladimir Bartol is right to call *An Event in the Town of Goga* a “psychoanalytic play”.

Translated by Katja Kosi



Recenzije / Book Reviews

Koža kot meja med ontološko in civilizacijsko skonstruiranim Jazom

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Tina Kolenik. *Koža kot kostum: Oblačenje in slačenje v vsakdanjem življenju in umetniškem ustvarjanju.*

Mestno gledališče ljubljansko, Knjižnica MGL, 2017.

Tina Kolenik, nekaj časa (posvečeni, umetniški, strokovni) javnosti najbolj znana kot performerska polovica umetniškega tandema Eclipse (skupaj s Semiro Kentrić), pozneje tudi kot samostojna performerka z zajetnim številom realiziranih projektov, kostumografinja ter asistentka za področje kostumografije na Akademiji za glasbo, radio, film in televizijo (UL AGRFT), v svoji knjigi ponuja zanimiv, na trenutke tudi fragmentaren preplet zgodovinskega, kulturološkega in fenomenološkega pogleda na človeško kožo z različnimi implikacijami in odvodi, ki jih ta pogled lahko nudi. Temeljna ideja knjige (slednja je predelava njene magistrske naloge, ki jo je prav tako na UL AGRFT zagovarjala leta 2012), raziskati, »kako funkcionira človeška koža kot oblačilo in kostum v vsakdanjih življenjskih praksah (v uprizarjanju samega sebe in različnih družbenih vlog na realnih in virtualnih 'odrih sveta') in v umetniški produkciji, predvsem v filmu, gledališču in performansu« (*Koža kot kostum* 9), je strukturirana v treh poglavjih: »Koža in kultura«, »Koža, obleka in kostum« ter »Koža in telo«. Osnovna argumentacijska nit, ki bolj ali manj jasno artikulirano in teoretično utemeljeno ali pa le na ravni podanih primerov pokuka v diskurz knjige, temelji na latentni dihotomiji med prepričanjem, da »obleka naredi človeka«, kar je še posebej veljalo v preteklosti, ter prepričanjem, da človeka naredi »skrb zase«, to je skrb za lastno kožo, kar je postal imperativ sodobnega časa. Ta pomembna dihotomija med prepričanjem, da lepo telo naredi lepo zunanje pokrivalo, in prepričanjem, da lepo telo naredi trdo delo na samem telesu, odpira zanimive implikacije, predvsem pa se v procesu nenehne napetosti med ohranjanjem zunanosti (zdravo, lepo in mladostno telo) ter ohranjanjem notranosti (vitalnosti, dolgotrajnosti, zbranosti) odpira prostor za premislek o procesu strukturiranja subjekta, to je individualizacije oz. subjektivizacije.

Koža v funkciji konstruiranja identitete

Prvo poglavje je namenjeno premišljevanju kože kot pomembnega »pripomočka« za ohranjanje posameznikove kulturno skonstruirane identitete. Kot zapiše avtorica, koža »ni le gola površina telesa, ampak je tudi meja, čeravno dokaj prepustna in luknjičava, med meseno notranjostjo ter naravno in družbeno zunanostjo« (19). Ideal lepega, mladega, zdravega telesa postane v kapitalizmu pomembna zahteva in posledično je za sovražnika številka ena razglašena: staranje. Zato je premagovanje staranja postala ena najpomembnejših skrbi sodobnega posameznika, v pomoč pa so mu vedno novi produkti, preparati, posegi. Na drugi strani različni posegi v kožo, kot so tatuiji, pirsingi, beljenje kože (po navadi črne v belo), prav tako pripomorejo pri utrjevanju določene (tudi subkulturne) identitete.

Avtorica nas nato popelje na področje golote ter odpre vprašanje, kako se ta pojavlja v pornografskih filmih in umetniški produkciji. V pornografiji je koža razkrita do skrajnosti, vidimo vse in še več, tudi notranjost telesa. In če glede pornografije večina ljudi (vsaj javno) izraža moralne dileme, nas avtorica spomni na nekaj primerov iz »resne« filmske produkcije, ki uporabljajo elemente pornografije: *Antikrist* (Lars von Trier, 2009), *W. R. – Misterij organizma* (Dušan Makavejev, 1971), *Zadnji tango v Parizu* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1972), *Emmanuelle* (Just Jaeckin, 1974), *Cesarstvo čutil* (Nagisa Oshima, 1976), *Prvinski nagon* (Paul Verhoeven, 1992), *Romanca* (Catherine Breillat, 1999), *Intimnost* (Patrice Chéreau, 2001). Nato nam avtorica predstavi še nekatera umetniška dela, ki v veliki meri uporabljajo razgaljeno kožo, a brez porno momentov: film *Utelesene knjige* (Peter Greenaway, 2006), performansi francoskega umetnika Yvesa Kleina (1928–1962) z naslovom *Antropometrije* ter delo ameriškega (body art) performerja Rona Atheyja (roj. 1961).

Koža, spol in sram

Oblačenje, prekrivanje, zakrivanje naravne kože je torej nekaj, po čemer se človek razlikuje od preostalih živali. Tudi sram je nekaj, kar občuti le človek, in sicer kot posledico lastne emancipacije, ki jo avtorica razloži s svetopisemsko zgodbo izгона Eve in Adama iz raja, ker sta ugriznila v jabolko spoznanja. Nato poda zgodovinski pregled pripomočkov, ki jih je človek izumil, da bi pokril spol/sram: modrček, spodnjice, deviški pas, nogavice ... pri čemer se seveda obregne ob viktorijansko moralno (kjer je bila skrb za lepoto del privilegirane življenja), ki pa neizpodbitno vodi v moderno kapitalistično družbo, v kateri skrb za lepoto postane ne le dostopna, temveč tudi vsem zapovedana, seksualizacija telesa pa ena glavnih metod za pospeševanje prodaje oziroma ohranjanje »prostega trga«. Ob tem se avtorica

dotakne tudi vprašanja odkritosti in zakritosti med t. i. Vzhodom in t. i. Zahodom, kar dobi civilizacijske/kulturne/politične razsežnosti. In tako kot na t. i. Zahodu nastajajo oblačila, ki želijo poudariti odkrito kožo, t. i. Vzhod ponuja oblačila (hidžab, burka, nikab, jilbab oz. feredža), ki kožo zakrivajo, s podobnimi nameni, cilji in posledicami.

Ob tem se avtorica obregne tudi ob vprašanje izkoriščanja živali (in njihove kože) za potrebe oblačenja, zakrivanja oz. olepševanja človeške kože. Četudi eksplicitno ne izraža aktivističnega duha, ki bi nedvoumno obsodil tovrstno početje, omeni skupine, ki proti temu kontinuirano protestirajo, ter v premislek ponudi idejo umetno vzgojene kože, ki bi človeško željo po olepševanju lahko potešila brez dodatnega prelivanja krvi. Kar je, ob poznavanju avtoričinega siceršnjega delovanja, skozi celotno knjigo jasno razvidno, je njena strast ustvarjalke, ki na kožo gleda kot na blago: »[K]oža ima domala vse karakteristike blaga, tako da jo je mogoče dojemati in obravnavati kot svojevrstni tekstilni material« (132), in da tako obleko kot kostum nujno misli skupaj s kožo: »Obleka je nekakšna membrana, ki dopolnjuje funkcijo kože« (133). V tem smislu so avtoričini opisi lastnih projektov na koncu vsakega poglavja ne le ilustracija osnovne ideje knjige, temveč tudi svojevrstna avtopoetika, ki govori ne le skozi besede in koncepte, temveč tudi skozi prakso in lasten umetniški angažma, ki v primeru Tine Kolenik seveda vključuje brezkompromisno rabo lastne kože, telesa in njegove notranjosti.

Nekje na polovici knjige se avtorica dotakne vprašanja kože kot kostuma v strogem pomenu te besede. Sklicujoč se predvsem na Hans-Thiesa Lehmana, ki v svoji koncepciji postdramskega opozarja, da je ravno v gledališču človeško telo postavljeno v ospredje, avtorica v knjigo vstopi z opisom lastnega projekta *Korzet in pas iz odvečne človeške kože*, v katerem je želela odvečno kožo operiranega moškega in ženske dejansko uporabiti kot blago, iz katerega bi sešila korzet in pas, a je poskus uporabe človeške kože v umetniške namene leta 2010 prepovedala Komisija RS za medicinsko etiko.

Koža v službi idealnega telesa

Zadnje poglavje knjige skozi teoretični okvir psihoanalize razpre fenomen kože kot ločnice med zunanostjo in notranostjo. »Prav zato je koža platno, na katero projiciramo svoje fantazije in strahove, ki se nanašajo na našo telesno zunanost, po drugi strani pa tudi objekt (ali material), ki ga dekodiramo (že vsaj 5000 let), modificiramo, brijemo (da bi ohranili njegovo otroško gladkost), obnavljamo, pomlajujemo, popravljamo, kamufliramo in nenazadnje čistimo« (166). Ta ločnica se v psihoanalitičnem besednjaku lahko poimenuje tudi ločnica med »imeti telo« in »biti telo« (Jacques-Alain Miller) oz. »telo-jaz« in »telo-užitek« (Mladen Dolar), a avtorica trdi, da je koža v funkciji obeh teles, ki ju razloči freudovska in lacanovska psihoanaliza,

in sicer na področju dotika (ki ga tematizira skozi teorijo Mauricea Merleau-Pontyja in Erike Fischer-Lichte, ko gre za vlogo dotikanja v gledališču).

Nato nam z nizanjem primerov znanih umetniških aktov nakaže, kako so se ideali (ženskega) telesa spreminjali skozi čas: Willendorfska Venera, Nefretete, Knidska Afrodita, Miloška Venera, Nike Samotračka, Michelangelov *Padec Adama* in *Apolon Belvederski*, Botticellijevo *Rojstvo Venere*, Giorgionejeva *Speča Venera*, Maneteva *Olimpija* in *Zajtrk na travi* ... potem pa nekoliko prehitro preskoči v Hollywood in prvo polovico 20. stoletja ter trende, ki jih je postavljala za ženska telesa, ter kako so se le-ti razvijali do danes. Na kratko omeni tudi trende preoblikovanja teles zavoljo doseganja lepotnih ali seksualnih idealov skozi zgodovino, ki vključujejo trpinčenje sebe ali drugih (npr. podaljševanje vratu z dodajanjem medeninastih obročev, genitalno pohabljanje zavoljo zatiranja spolne sle), a žal tega dela, ki vsebuje plodna izhodišča, ne razdela.

V oddelku »Koža in performans« v tretjem poglavju avtorica opredeli performans po Janezu Strehovcu, Hans-Thiesu Lehmannu, Maji Murnik in Katji Legin, a se, strogo gledano, v analizi usmeri predvsem v dela body arta, in sicer: *Tretje uho* avstralskega umetnika Stelarca, *Thomasove ustnice* jugoslovanske »babice performansa« Marine Abramović, več body art performansov francoske radikalne eksperimentatorke z lastno kožo Orlan ter italijanskega radikalnega performerja Franca B.

Koža kot meja

V zaključku knjige avtorica poskuša na kratko odgovoriti na svoje ključno izhodiščno vprašanje: kakšna je vloga človeške kože v postmoderni kulturi? »Odgovor hitro skoči na iztegnjeno dlan. Kulturna (in s potrošniško mentaliteto omrežena) vrednost kože je že lep čas izredno visoka, saj je iz nje še najlažje razbrati, kako uspešen je posameznik v boju zoper staranje in koliko je njegovo primarno oblačilo oddaljeno od sicer nedosegljivega ideala 'brezmadežne' (ali 'brezgrešne'), estetsko in medicinsko neoporečne kože« (237).

Nato ponovno poda nekaj primerov rabe kože/telesa (ki ju, kot nakaže tudi knjiga, ni mogoče ločiti) iz sodobne umetniške produkcije: film *Koža, v kateri živim* (Pedro Almodovar, 2011), predstava *Pomarančna koža* (po besedilu Maje Pelević, v režiji Ivane Djilas, MGL, 2010), performans v trajanju *Terezijas* ameriške performerke Heather Cassils, (Festival Mesto žensk, Galerija Kapelica, 2011), film *Meje razuma* (Jim Jarmush, 2009) in predstava *Preklet naj bo izdajalec svoje domovine!* (režiser Oliver Frljić, SMG, 2010).

Kot že omenjeno, avtorica vsako poglavje sklene z opisom lastnih projektov (omenimo le nekatere: *Ceci es tun costume*, 2012; *Kri-nolina*, 2012; *Zlati dež*, 2013; *Leda z labodom*, 2014; *Intimnost na vpogled*, 2017). Na koncu podrobneje predstavi še dva najaktualnejša. *Ukrojeno telo*, fotografija, ki je bila razstavljena leta 2017 v Moderni galeriji v okviru skupinske razstave *Telesnost*, kožo dojema kot kostum, poudarja podobnost med človeško kožo in blagom ter tematizira preoblikovanje, ali natančneje, prekrajanje telesa za potrebe doseganja normativnih idealov. Serija fotografij *Pokrivala iz odpadne rastlinske kože*, ki je bila postavljena leta 2018 v galeriji Kresija, pa predstavlja kostumsko poigravanje z lupino lubenice.

Kljub pogosti fragmentarnosti, skakanju iz visokega teoretičnega besednjaka v esejizem in »cosmo kramljanje« je knjiga Tine Kolenik izjemno zanimivo in izvirno branje, saj fenomen človeške kože razdela zgodovinsko pregledno in z različnih teoretičnih zornih kotov (psihoanaliza, fenomenologija, kulturologija) ter tudi resno premisli uporabo človeške kože kot materiala v umetniškem ustvarjanju, sklicujoč se na relevantne vire in primere. Obenem ponudi precej zajeten historični pregled oblačenja in slačenja, to je zakrivanja in/ali olepševanja kože, kar napeljuje tudi na možnost preišljevanja tega fenomena kot razrednega vprašanja. Ne nazadnje, kot zapiše Blaž Lukan v spremni besedi, je to »ena prvih, če ne celo prva celovita obravnava gledališke kostumografije v našem prostoru izpod peresa slovenske avtorice, ki je tudi sama kostumografinja; čeprav je ob tem še marsikaj drugega« (281).

Ugledališčena nomadskost kot plastenje pogleda, raznolikih umetniških kreacij in energij

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Tomaž Toporišič. *Medmedijsko in medkulturno nomadstvo: O vezljivosti medijev in kultur v sodobnih uprizoritvenih praksah.*

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Tomaž Toporišič v znanstveni monografiji *Medmedijsko in medkulturno nomadstvo: O vezljivosti medijev in kultur v sodobnih uprizoritvenih praksah*, kot naslednici njegovih predhodnih teatroloških raziskav o soočanju (dinamičnih) razmerij med tekstocentrizmom in scenocentrizmom in nanosov ugotovitev o smrti literarnega gledališča, krizi avtorja in iskanju gledaliških taktik v okviru kriz, ostaja zavezan kontinuiranemu notranjemu dialogu med umetniško in teoretsko prakso. Skozi proces tematizacij medmedijskega nomadstva, kreolizacije, altermodernizma (ki ga pojmuje po Bourriaudu kot »ponovno določitev modernosti v dobi globalizacije«), dekonstrukcije dramskih in gledaliških pisav na podlagi izbranih primerov iz sodobnih uprizoritvenih praks sestavlja logiko živega gledališča, ki temelji na plastičnem oplajanju raznolikih umetniških energij in se spočenja v badioujevski razi med končati staro in začeti novo.

Gledališče zadnjih nekaj desetletij vse bolj uresničuje badioujevsko strast do realnega – uvida v stvar samo. Je prostor brez središča, mej in omejitev – krogotok, ki se upira in protipostavlja vsakršnemu avtomatizmu, logiki in zmehaniziranemu pogledu na svet in človeka. Je govorica, ki ima »izvor globoko v naši osebnosti, kot neka drugost počiva na dnu, globlje od nas« in čaka, da se lahko razpre in zasije (Novarina, *Govorjeno telo* 25). Zveni posameznih tekstov in uprizoritev kot enakovredni elementi vstopajo v dialoška razmerja, s svojo kreativno vlogo sodelujejo pri osmišljanju novega tekstovnega in uprizoritvenega, s tem ko od-krivajo, raz-krivajo pomene ali pa jih v spajanju z drugimi zveni in pomeni ustvarjajo povsem na novo. Premene tekstovnega in scenskega se pre-livajo, iz-livajo ali pri-zvenevajo, od-zvenevajo ena v drugo in

vodijo v celovitost, v izpo(po)lnjenost, ki je tišina sama. V trenutku zamolka pomena se izreče, zasije, zažari neizrečeno in imenuje neimenljivo – se zgodi badioujevsko uzrtje bistva oziroma resnice ali vsa *realnost gledališča* (Novarina). Gledališče kot govornica z univerzalno razsežnostjo in globalno dimenzijo, a hkrati z izrazito individualnim (lokalnim) značajem, ki ne imenuje, pač pa kliče in nagovarja (Novarina 25), vsebuje časovni mehanizem; ob linearnem odtekanju, odzvenevanju govora, glasov v molk in preteklost – skozi dekonstrukcijo, repozicioniranje se dogodeva nenehno vračanje elementov, uzrtje smisla, opomenjanje in ne nazadnje spoznanje vsega tega, kar smo. Uvid v bistvo – v badioujevsko realno, ki je vselej prisotno na odsoten način, se »nenehno izpoveduje na nezaznavnem s fantastično hitrostjo premikajočem se robu med nevidnostjo izrečene besede in neslišnostjo slike« (Vitez, »Teater« 90).

Avtor skozi tovrstno optiko »teoretizacije gledališča« (Šuvaković) in izhajanja iz Badioujevega razmišljanja na prizorišču polj uprizoritvenih teorij in praks zadnjih desetletij po horizontali in vertikali pretrese petnajst na videz heterogenih, a enorodnih obravnav dramskih pisav. Panoramski prelet režijskih interpretacij in podrobnejši raziskovalni vpogled v teoretično-kreativna ukvarjanja sopostavlja ob raznolike misli teoretičnih in umetniških/praktičnih interpretov. Na ta način izrisuje novo strukturo in podobo gledališča, ki se spočenja v preteklosti in hkrati gleda že v prihodnost.

Izhaja iz raznovrstnih teoretizacij gledališča: semiotične teorije (Ubersfeld, Eco, Fischer-Lichte), teorij performativnega obrata – kulture performativnosti (Fischer-Lichte). Znotraj posebnih oblik uprizarjanja, ne več dramskega, postdramskega (Lehmann, Auslander, Fischer-Lichte, Pavis, Sarrazac, Shevtsova, Bourdieu, Badiou), poststrukturalistične ali postsemiotične logike (Pavis, Fischer-Lichte) vstopa v dialog s širokim diapazonom tekstovnih korpusov in avtorjev dramskih pisav. Izolirane otoke slovenske teoretske misli o (slovenskem) gledališču, kot ga koncipirajo ustvarjalci (Šeligo, Janša, Jovanović, Frljić, Semenič idr.), postavlja v širši, evropski in zunajevropski kontekst. Blizu mu je metodološko prečenje raznolikih ved (metodološki pluralizem) – primerjalne književnosti, sociologije gledališča, kulturnih študij, literarne teatrologije in teorije, filozofije. S pretresom omenjenih teoretizacij opozori na nujnost vzpostavitve eklektičnih povezav in izhajanja iz raziskav eklektičnega metodološkega aparata.

Toporišičev poskus tematizacije in teoretizacije gledališča nove dobe temelji na preverjanju naslednje teze:

Del sodobnih uprizoritvenih praks se je v zadnjih sto letih zavestno vračal k hibridnosti, k vezljivosti različnih medijev, k (utopičnim?) poskusom, ki so od začetka 20. stoletja in zgodovinskih avantgard, predvsem pa od hepeningov in Fluxusa skušali združevati tradicionalno ločene umetnosti oziroma, povedano z besedami Allana Kaprowa,

premešati umetnost in življenje. Tako so nastajali vedno novi hibridni prostori umetnosti, različne oblike hibridnih odskih praks, ki so na novo artikulirale nekatere bistvene postulate neoavantgardnega performansa ter vizualne umetnosti nasploh. (Toporišič 11)

Izhodiščno tezo preverja na izbranih primerih sodobnih gledaliških in uprizoritvenih praks, ki jih medsebojno sooča v petnajstih poglavjih in jih umešča v večdelno, na prvi pogled tridelno strukturo: meddisciplinarnosti, medbesedilnosti oziroma medmedijskosti ter reaktualizacije avantgarde (in performativnosti). V prvem delu avtor na konkretnih primerih besedilnih korpusov (od dramskih in ne več dramskih do neliterarnih) preiskuje potrebo temeljnih generatorjev slovenske dramatike in gledališča po meddisciplinarnih pristopih in intenzivnem dialogu literature z drugimi mediji. V izbranih delih in na treh intermedialnih repozicijah tekstovnega (*Butnskala* Marka Derganca in Emila Filipčiča, *Slovensko narodno gledališče* Janeza Janše ter *zgodba o nekem slastnem truplu in 5 fantkov.si* Simone Semenič) prepoznavna ključne skupne koordinate avtorjev dramskih tekstov: preiskovanje (funkcije) tekstovnega skozi prestopanje meja literarne pisave, dialoški odnos med zvrstmi in taktikami ter razumevanje funkcije teksta kot barthesovskega interteksta oziroma Deleuze-Guattarijevega rizoma:

Tudi pisava za gledališče je zato danes priča kopernikovskega obrata pogleda na vse tri paradigme: avtorja, tekst in bralca. Tekst rizom, ki ga Barthes poimenuje intertekst, je že zdavnaj postal nekaj, kar je v nasprotju z lepoto organskosti pomenjanja. Je medbesedilno in medmedijsko izjemno vezljiv. Je nekaj, v čemer se katerikoli del rizoma lahko poveže s katerimkoli drugim delom. Besedilo v gledališču je postalo nekaj, kar ni ukoreninjeno in osrediščeno, ampak daje videz arbitrarnosti, prehodnosti. (Toporišič 57)

Vseskozi evidentno navzoče stališče o vezljivosti teksta – tekstu kot *medbesedilnem in medmedijskem tkanju* avtor preizprašuje na konkretnih primerih (*Razodetjih* Dušana Jovanovića, *Hodniku* Matjaža Zupančiča, *Za naše mlade dame* Dragice Potočnjak ...) ter pri tem ugotavlja, da medbesedilni in medmedijski dialog pridobiva razsežnosti procesa semioze, multikulturalizem in identiteto pa je nadomestila kreolizacija – umetniki izhajajo iz globalnega stanja kulture, gledališče pa postaja prostor medmedijskih, medkulturnih prehodov in razlik.

Dialog obrobnega in središčnega oživlja v drugem delu monografije, ki prinaša razmislek o sodobni postdramski uprizoritveni sceni, ki po avtorjevi oceni razmišlja univerzalno (globalno), deluje pa izrazito partikularno (lokalno). Avtor analizira specifične postavantgardnih in postsocialističnih retorik prostora in teoretiziranja sodobnih različic ritualov (Ristić, Erjavec, Berger), ki uveljavljajo retroavantgardo ter lacanovsko *Realno*. V poglavjih, ki se prevešajo v zadnji del monografije, se vrača k avantgardni uprizoritveni sceni, premisleku o performativnem preizpraševanju

odra ter k ponovnemu umeščanju, reaktualizaciji avantgardnih pisav in sodobnemu dekonstrukcijskemu, a hkrati mestoma reinkarnirajočemu branju avantgard postavantgardnih umetnikov (Berger, Živadinov, Pandur, Pograjc, Frljić). Ukvarjanje z zgodovinsko avantgardo in neoavantgardo (futuristi, konstruktivisti), postavantgardami, z avantgardnimi oziroma neoavantgardnimi sledmi v slovenskem sodobnem gledališču je tudi avtorjeva stalnica teoretsko-praktičnega raziskovanja zadnjih let. Premislek o avantgardi (nakakšne načine neoavantgarde in retroavantgarde vstopajo v dialog s svojimi predhodniki in sodobnostjo) badioujevsko premešča v sedanjost – v čas po avantgardi in ga koncipira kot težnjo po zamenjavi reprezentacije s prezentacijo.

Z jasnimi tematskimi poudarki in s teoretsko-praktične perspektive avtor vzpostavlja svoje gledališče, po katerem gledališče govori jezik dramatičnih kontrastov, njegova besedilnost pa je hibridne narave, ki razmahne koncept alinearnega strukturiranja (ne več) dramskih ploskev raznolikih, velikokrat mediatiziranih diskurzov. Toporišč izhaja iz teoretskih dispozitivov postdramskega in skozi teoretski diskurz slovenskih uprizoritvenih praks pravzaprav prikaže, kako je gledališče zadnjih desetletij postalo tranzitni prostor za vzpostavljanje najrazličnejših tekstovno-uprizoritvenih prijemov. Gledališče intonira na hibridnih in mešanih formah, vedno bolj postaja govorjeno gledališče – spregovarja iz vsakokrat novih in drugačnih perspektiv in položajev – je svobodno, osvobojeno, večpotezno ali *realno gledališče* (Novarina). Skozi nove dimenzije retorike gledališkega prostora in transformacije uprizarjanja, ki temeljijo na zavračanju binarnih opozicij, gledaliških konvencij igralca in lika, igralca in gledalca ipd., se v gledališču vzpostavlja posebna dialektika, temelječa na intermedialnosti – prepletu glasbenih in vizualnih dramaturgij, ali novarinajevsko rečeno, gledališče je postalo »točka, od koder je mogoče opazovati ne le človeški svet, temveč ves univerzum« (Novarina 138). Prezentne dimenzije teksta, tkanega kot vezenina, kot vsakič nova kulisa sprožajo vitalizem sodobne dramatike v transformiranih oblikah in vzpostavljajo nomadstvo kot posebno vrednoto, ki uokvirja umetnost uprizarjanja.

Skozi intenzivno korespondenco žanrsko in tematsko raznolikih besedilnih in uprizoritvenih korpusov, s pomočjo katerih avtor preverja repozicioniranje dramske teorije in prakse v času medmedijske in medkulturne hibridnosti, se izrisujejo nastavki o specifikah današnje dramske pisave in gledališča, ki temelji na de(kon)strukciji, razsrediščenju, alinearnosti, navidezni alogiki, ukinjanju binarnih razmerij igralca – gledalec, semiotično – fenomenalno, resničnost – fikcija, zasebno – javno, singularnost – množstvo, metafora – metonimija. Vseskozi v monografiji je evidentno navzoča pravzaprav ključna avtorjeva misel in ugotovitev, da sta drama ali tekst v *dramatizirani družbi* (R. Williams) postala prizorišče dinamičnih prehodov in prekrivanj epistemologij različnih diskurzov ter literarnih in uprizoritvenih taktik.

Znanstvena monografija prinaša svež plet analiz žanrsko in tematsko raznolikih besedilnih in uprizoritvenih korpusov slovenskih umetniških praks v kontekstu medmedijske in medkulturne hibridnosti ter v (retro)avantgardnih umetniških kontekstih. Predstavlja produktivno sintezo poglobljenih teatrološko-praktičnih analiz, ki so plod avtorjevega večletnega sistematičnega in vseskozi jasno fokusiranega ukvarjanja z zgodovino in teorijo gledališča – od levitev drame in gledališča, (dinamičnih) soočanj tekstovnega in scenskega, ki se izteče v danes medmedijskih, medkulturnih, intertekstualnih hibridnih prostorih umetnosti. Zaradi analitičnosti, interdisciplinarne interpretativne naravnosti, spajanja teoretske in praktične misli v različnih kontekstih (zgodovinskih, socioloških, kulturoloških ...) bo delo zadovoljilo širok razpon bralcev ter bo dobrodošlo študijsko gradivo, obenem in predvsem pa prijetno ter inspirativno branje.

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Premeščanje užitka zaradi uživanja

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**Robert Pfaller. *Interpasivnost: Radosti delegiranega uživanja*.
Spremna beseda Tadej Troha, Maska, 2019. Mediakcije, 17.**

Interpasivnost – pojem, ali bolje, pojav, ki bi ga lahko postavili v protipolno pozicijo interaktivnosti, je v filozofski diskurz vpeljal avstrijski filozof Robert Pfaller (1962), ki se v slovenskem prostoru tokrat predstavlja s knjigo *Interpasivnost: Radosti delegiranega uživanja*. V slovenskem jeziku smo že prebirali njegovo *Umazano sveto in čisti um* (2009) in poslušali več člankov ter prispevkov v okviru predavanj, z našim prostorom pa ostaja tesno povezan tudi zaradi sodelovanja z lacanovskim krogom. Sam večkrat omenja Slavoj Žižka, ki je nekako oplajal njegov nadaljnji razmislek o *delegiranem uživanju*, čeprav branje Pfallerjevih del ni pogojeno s poznavanjem Žižkovih. Pfaller ostaja docela samosvoj avtor, ki mu ne smemo pripisovati le zasluga za vpeljavo besedne skovanke *interpasivnost*, pač pa v polju filozofije ostaja pomemben zaradi premišljanja pojava, ki se zdi kot nekakšen nov produkt postmodernizma. Radosti delegiranega užitka, če si izposodimo kar njegov dodatek k naslovu, premisli tako v umetniški, politični kot tudi v zasebni sferi, kar sicer od bralke zahteva znaten delež pozornega branja, pa vendar zaradi bogatega nabora primerov tudi znaten delež (*nedelegiranega*, ali pač) užitka.

Knjiga, ki se nam z udarno naslovnico ponuja v nakup, morda pa tudi v branje (*Kupi zdaj! Preberi pozneje. Ali pa ne.*) je po strukturi podobna nekakšnemu zborniku. Sestoji iz osmih poglavij ali točneje iz osmih samostojnih prispevkov Roberta Pfallerja, ki se mestoma sicer vsebinsko ponovijo, a se ne glede na to nadgrajujejo preko smiselne kronološkega zaporedja. Avtor, ki je za svojo angleško različico *Umazano sveto in čisti um* (2014) dobil nagrado za najboljšo knjigo po izboru Ameriškega odbora za poklicno psihologijo, je tako v knjigi, ki je pred nami, predstavljen preko prispevkov, ki jih je, kot pojasni v predgovoru, pisal vse od leta 1995. Izbor je napravil avtor sam, za naš trg pa je knjigo prevedel Alfred Leskovec (naslov izvirnika *Interpassivität: die Freuden des delegierten Genießens*) in uredil Gregor Moder. V zborniku tako sledimo različnim vsebinskim sklopom, segajočim od umetniških in običajnih pa vse do političnih premislekov, ki pa zaradi smiselne kronološke ureditve omogočajo jasen uvid v postopoma nadgrajevano avtorjevo raziskovalno premiso.

Zdi se, da se je potrebno, še preden se lotimo pregleda knjige, ustaviti pri njenem predgovoru k slovenski izdaji. Tam namreč Robert Pfaller omenja vse pomembnejše mejnike, ki so pripomogli k nastanku knjige, in že uvodoma odgovarja na vprašanje, ki bi se nemara lahko zastavljalo bralcu, in sicer: *zakaj premislek o interpasivnosti?* In za tem tudi takojšni odgovor: zaradi potencirane interaktivnosti, ki je bila, kot pojasni Pfaller, v devetdesetih letih močno propagirana.¹ Njen protipojav, ali bolje, njen izrastek, torej interpasivnost, se je v tem oziru zdel zabavnejši, celo potrebnejši premišljevanja, saj je izražal iz obdobja, ki se drugega kot interaktivnosti ni želelo ali ni hotelo zavedati. Podobna vprašanja, povezana s pojavom interpasivnosti, je Pfaller naslavljal že mnogo pred izidom knjige, denimo leta 1996, ko je skupaj z Dolarjem, Žižkom, Draxlerjem in drugimi sodeloval na simpoziju *Die Dinge lachen an unserer Stelle. Interpassive Medien – die Schattenseite der Interaktivität* (Stvari se smejiyo namesto nas. Interpasivni mediji – senčna plat interaktivnosti) v okviru mednarodne konference AIAS v Linzu, pa leto kasneje še na simpoziju v Nürnbergu in leta 1998 v okviru konference v Berlin-Weißenseeju. Ko je ob prelomu stoletja na temo interpasivnosti izšel zbornik in ko so leta 2006 v Oxfordu zastavili konferenco o Slavoju Žižku, se je delo Roberta Pfallerja šele zares začelo. Tudi sam se je lotil študije Žižkovih primerov, ki so mu služili kot nekakšen okvir, katerega mejniki so bili kmalu razrahljani in zastavljeni širše. Skupaj z zanimanjem za interpasivnost je rastlo tudi njegovo zanimanje za komedijo, kar ga je, kot pojasni sam, spet pripeljalo v stik s slovenskim filozofskim triom Žižek-Dolar-Zupančič, kasneje pa celo do »lubitschevske družčine«, ki sta jo povezovali Jela Krečič in Ivana Novak. Knjiga, ki nam je ponujena v branje, ali pa vsaj v nakup (preberemo jo lahko kasneje ali nemara nikoli), tako predstavlja nekakšen sežetek Pfallerjevih premislekov in prispevkov s konferenc, hkrati pa jo je mogoče označiti kot vrnjen dolg, ali kot zapiše dolžnik sam: »[Z] upanjem, da bom lahko s to knjigo, srečno zadolžen, če naj parafraziram Louisa Althusserja, slovenski filozofiji vrnil nekaj, kar je bilo v mnogo pogledih že vselej skupna lastnina ali skupno deljena posest« (10).

Omenjati vpliv Slavuja Žižka na premisleke Roberta Pfallerja bi se zdelo zaman, ne da bi, podobno kot stori Pfaller sam, opozorili na primere, ki so služili za uvodno motivacijo. Z omenjanjem Žižkovih primerov, ki sovpadajo s Pfallerjevimi dognanji, se nam med branjem namreč postopoma odgrinja moderni pojav pasivnega delegiranja, ki mu je filozofija dodala še predpono inter-. Žižek omenja primer konzerviranega smeha v televizijskih serijah in primer molilnega mlinčka, ki moli, medtem ko se lahko mi predajamo obscenim mislim. Še pred njim Lacan, ki ga Pfaller šteje za »resničnega odkritelja interpasivne strukture«, omeni pojav interpasivnosti ob primeru

¹ Pfaller tukaj misli predvsem na interaktivno umetnost, ki je težila k vključevanju, celo k soavtorstvu gledalcev: »Na tem pravilu slonijo tudi interaktivne instalacije na področju umetnosti, kjer umetnik ali umetnica poskuša del umetniškega dela delegirati na gledalca« (21).

antičnega zbora: medtem ko skupina ljudi na odru gleda tragedijo, žaluje, sočustvuje in se posledično katarzično očišča, lahko gledalec dogajanje pasivno spremlja iz avditorija in tako svoje udejstvovanje izpolnjuje preko zbora. Podobno se zgodi pri konzerviranem smehu iz serij, saj se slednja smeji namesto gledalca, ki se zleknen na kavču bodisi smeje slišnemu smehu ali pa se videnemu niti enkrat ne nasmeje, čeprav se po ogledani vsebini kljub temu počuti potešenega. Pfaller v drugem poglavju z naslovom »Umetniško delo, ki gleda samo sebe, užitek in odsotnost. Elementi estetike interpasivnosti« celo nastavi anekdotično zgodbo o gospodu, ki vstopi v lokal in enega izmed prisotnih prosi, naj popije nedotaknjeno pivo, ki si ga je prišlek ravno naročil. V kasnejših poglavjih izvemo, da je bil izzivalec sam Kafka, ki naj bi zaradi tuberkuloze in posledično prepovedi pitja alkohola užival ob gledanju drugih, ki so alkohol smeli uživati. V tem in ostalih omenjenih primerih Pfaller predstavi idejo *delegiranega užitka*, ki naj bi bil sicer v družbi precej razraščten in udomačen pojav (sploh če ga mislimo v negativnem oziru, ki nas pripelje do delegiranja/premeščanja dela ali drugih neprijetnosti na drugega), novost, ki jo uvaja interpasivnost, pa je, da se v zgodbah ne delegira več neljubo delo, pač pa konzumiranje, užitek: »Uživanje v nečem se deloma ali v celoti preda, prepusti drugi osebi ali stroju« (2). Ampak zakaj?

Pfaller najprej ponudi odgovor, izhajajoč iz primera konzerviranega smeha iz serij. S pomočjo Sigmunda Freuda vzpostavi prvo tezo, ki pravi, da se gledalci nalezejo občutja, ki ga proizvaja konzerviran smeh, s tem pa se zgodi neke vrste identifikacija s smejalci, ki gledalce opraviči aktivnosti: »Radost, ki ob tem nastane, izhaja ravno iz tega preseganja, iz združevanja in ne nazadnje soglašanja z drugimi, ujemanja z njimi – in se preliva v evforično doživljani občutek pripadnosti« (33). Nadalje Pfaller omenja še nek drug smeh, ki pa je delegiran iz drugačnega razloga. To je smeh, izvirajoč iz slabe šale, ki se zdi smešna samo radijskemu voditelju, ki jo je ravno ponudil v eter. Njegov smeh se bolj kot šala sama zdi smešen ostalim poslušalcem, kar nas pripelje do nove vrste delegiranja. Pojav voditelja, ki se sam smeje zastavljeni šali, Pfaller imenuje »operiranje z navideznim idiotom«, smeh, ki se razbohota med poslušalci pa prav njim predstavlja malone katarzično olajšanje, češ da obstaja nekdo tako neumen, da mu je *to* smešno (34). Smeh tokrat ne pripelje do identifikacije z neumnim voditeljem (tako mislijo poslušalci), pač pa se poslušalci počutijo boljši od *idiot*a za mikrofonom. Podoben premislek zastavi tudi Kant v *Kritiki razsodne moči*, ko se na primeru moči gore, vulkana ali oceana, v nevarnostih katerih bi se lahko znašel, počuti olajšanega, ker »bi zgolj lahko bil to, medtem ko v resnici tiči na varnem«, ali še bolje: »[T]ako dopadljivo je, ker nisem jaz tisti, ki mu je to všeč ali bi bil žrtev tega« (35). To pa je tudi glavna premisa Pfallerjeve knjige.

Pfaller že tukaj zastavi dva tipa uživanja, in sicer: a) s pomočjo identifikacije ali uživanja z drugimi in b) s pomočjo projekcije ali uživanja zaradi drugih. Tretji tip delegiranja, ki ga Pfaller doda preko Žižkovega primera, razloži s pasivnim buljenjem

v televizijo, kjer gledalec uživa, ne da bi se enkrat samkrat zares nasmehnil. Takšen tip delegiranja razloži še na primeru žalovalke, ki namesto svojcev objokujejo umrlega, ti pa medtem ne potočijo niti ene same solze – svojo dolžnost so namreč izpolnili že preko najetih objokanih ženic. Zgodi se lahko, kot opozarjata tako Pfaller kot Žižek, da se oseba, ki dopusti bodisi smejanje bodisi objokovanje neki drugi osebi, delegiranja, ki ga je pravkar izvedla, sploh ne zaveda. Ob gledanju televizijske serije lahko namreč z zadovoljstvom potešen gledalec povsem pasivno spremlja dogajanje, čeprav bi mu lahko drug gledalec zagotovil, da je v ekran zgolj pasivno buljil in da je zatorej njegovo končno zadovoljstvo odveč: »Občutenje sem zmotno, na podlagi nenavadnega prezrtja, lokaliziral vase« (39).

Tako med branjem knjige zelo kmalu postane jasno, da teorija interpasivnosti in interpasivneža sloni na vmesnem mediju, ali bolje, na transferju. Do tu smo govorili o živih transferjih ali vsaj o posnetkih živih glasov (televizijski smeh), Pfaller pa poleg Žižkovega molilnega mlinčka omenja še druge, sodobnejše tehnološke transferje, preko katerih je prav tako mogoče delegirati občutja. Eden takšnih je videorekorder, ki interpasivni osebi omogoča posneti oddajo, katere ogled bo zaradi nekkih drugih obveznosti zamudila. Posnetka z oddajo morda interpasivnež nikoli sploh ne bo pogledal, mu bo pa neko posebno ugodje prineslo že vedenje, da oddajo *ima*, in ker jo ima, jo je tako rekoč že pogledal preko uživanja, ki ga je namesto njega opravil videorekorder (podoben primer je tudi skeniranje in kopiranje knjige, ki je interpasivnež nikoli ne bo prebral, bo pa ob kopiranju vseeno občutil ugodje). Takšni transferji predstavljajo, kot pojasnjuje Pfaller, neke vrste človekove podaljške, celo proteze, preko katerih se zgodi »posredno uživanje« (51). Iz opisanih primerov lahko izluščimo bistvo teorije interpasivnosti, ki ga Pfaller spretno formulira takole: »Ko pa se, nasprotno, konzumpcija ali užitek delegirata na namestnika (denimo videorekorder), gre v ekonomskem smislu za prenašanje lastne pasivnosti na druge.« In kot še zaključí: »Interpasivno vedenje je torej delegiranje pasivnosti« (70).

Od tod se ponuja še eno Pfallerjevo vprašanje, na katero odgovarja zajeten del knjige, in sicer: *zakaj interpasivneži ne želijo užitka zase?* V užitku se, kot to zastavi že psihoanaliza s Freudom na čelu, vselej skriva nekaj nečistega, nedobrega, celo pohujšljivega, čemur se zaradi moralnosti človek raje odpove, tako da užitek prepusti drugemu: »[L]judje nenadoma hočejo biti raje dobri kot pa srečni; in raje hočejo biti boljši od drugih kot pa se (skupaj z njimi) imeti dobro« (122). Mimogrede, vprašanje morale Pfaller dobro razčleni v poglavju »Ne pustite se zavesti! O paternalistični politiki in ritualih prekinjanja«. Kljub vsemu pri takšni paranoično moralni osebi obstaja želja po užitku, ki pa jo interpasivno poteši tako, da opazuje uživajočega drugega. Navezavo na Freuda Pfaller pojasni podrobneje z razlago, da je Freud v razpravi *Onstran načela ugodja* s sabo prinesel neke vrste revolucionarno odkritje, ki pravi, »da nimamo le misli, ki se jih ne zavedamo, temveč še zlasti občutke ugodja, ki v nas ne vzbujajo ugodja« (102).

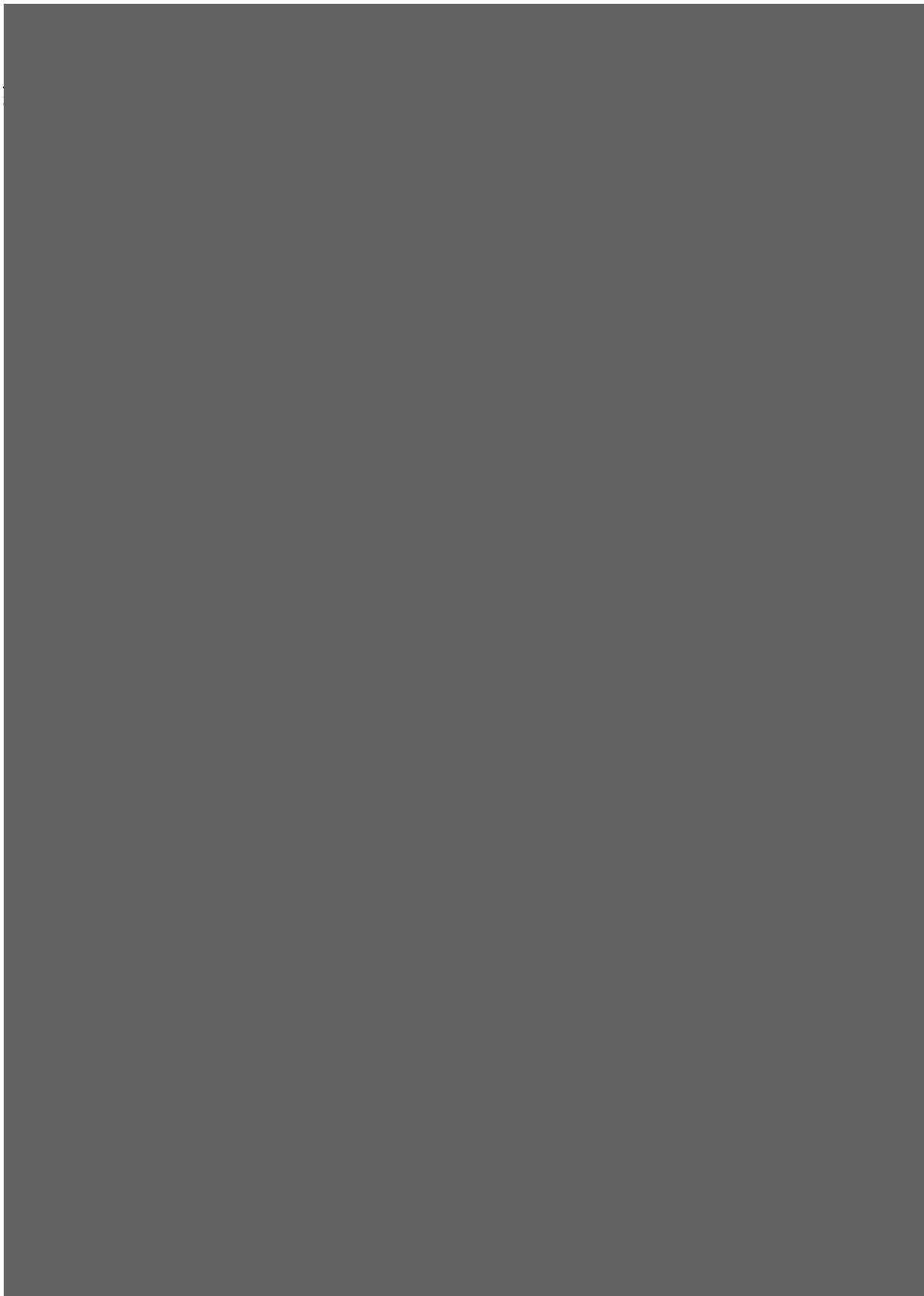
Avtor tako pojasni, da je delegiranje možno na resničnega drugega ali pa se lahko prenos užitka zgodi na nedoločnega, virtualnega tretjega. Z omembo nevidnega drugega Pfaller prehaja v del, ki premišljuje slehernikovo vpetost in delovanje znotraj družbenih in politično začrtanih koordinat. Tukaj omenja »vljudnostne prakse« (110), ki se zdijo dober primer prisotnosti nevidnega tretjega, na tem mestu pa se vnovič referira na Kanta, ki v svojem delu *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* razmišlja o slepilu, ki nikogar zares več ne slepi.

V drugem delu poglavja »O nedobrem v užitku. Zakaj sami nočemo imeti užitka, a se mu vendarle ne moremo povsem odreči«, Pfaller prehaja v del, ki premisli idejo nenehnega nadzora pa tudi politiko v najširšem smislu besede, pri čemer avtor opozarja na kulturne razlike, ki pogojujejo vrsto delegiranja in posledično vzgajajo posameznike v določen tip družbe. Tu Pfaller nastavi izraz »rituali prekinjanja«, ki jih nekatere kulture ukinjajo, druge pa spodbujajo in gojijo (113). Med takšne rituale avtor šteje kajenje cigaret, pitje kave, skupinsko gledanje tekme itd., kar posameznike spodbuja, da za hipni trenutek ustavijo svoje koristno početje in se prepustijo brezciljnemu ritualu: »To so bržkone trenutki največje sreče v življenju – ti so seveda povezani tudi z nekoliko bolečim spoznanjem, da je naše življenje končno, pogoji naše sreče pa tudi pregledni« (120). Pfaller označi politiko, ki teži k ukinjanju tovrstnih ritualov, za *pseudopolitiko*, saj slednja s propagiranjem zdravja svojim podanikom zagotavlja več škode kot koristi. Namesto hipnih (nezdravih) užitkov takšna politika nevede (ali še kako vede!) producira (še bolj nezdrave) zasvojenosti, med katerimi Pfaller omenja hiperaktivnost, deloholizem, hiperpovezljivost, nespečnost in celo potrebo po skupinah za samopomoč (121).

Zadnji sklop iz polja politike zavije v polje umetnosti, ki ga je Pfaller že načel v začetnih poglavjih. Predzadnje, sedmo poglavje tako nosi naslov »Laž, resnica, umetnost« in je docela posvečeno premisleku o vprašanih fikcije, resnice, laži, identifikacije in ugodja (zadnjega preko široko zastavljenega okvirja Lacana, Freuda in Althusserja). Pfaller tukaj začne s premislekom bistva umetnosti, katere poglavitni element je že od nekdanje fikcije, torej laž, čeprav se v zadnjem času vse pogosteje pojavlja enačenje umetnosti z resnico. Na tem mestu Pfaller spet uvede dva termina, ki se zdita sicer diametralno nasprotna, pa vendar v svoji umeščenosti v polje umetnosti v mnogočem stična. Govori o na eni strani *beli laži* in na drugi o črni resnici, ki ju razloži na dveh primerih umetnikov, in sicer prvo na primeru Omerja Fasta in njegovih razlagalnih intervencij v katalogu *In Memory: Omer Fast*, drugo pa na primeru instalacije Christopha Schlingensiefela z naslovom *Prosim, ljubite Avstrijo*. Fast denimo v svojih razlagalnih odstavkih niza laž za lažjo, na katere pa naj bi nasedal zgolj naivni drugi in ne bralec ali avtor, ki v svojem zavedanju in prepoznavanju laži sklepa neke vrste medsebojno zavezništvo (Fast idejo bele laži še prej razloži na primeru babice, ki vnučku podari neljubo božično darilo, a se otrok podarjenega vseeno razveseli, saj

s tem ne želi užaliti babice – iz laži torej vznikne resnica o ljubezni, ki jo vnuček goji do babice). Na drugi strani je Schilingensief do resnice prišel s pomočjo napisov na zabojniku, ki so mimoidoče vabili, naj izglasujejo, kdo od prosilcev za azil naj zapusti zabojnik, v katerem živijo potencialni azilanti. Pri tem se je izkazalo, da so bili do instalacije najnestrpnejši pripadniki političnih strank, ki so prav tako najnestrpnejše do migrantov. Fiktivna resnica se je torej skladala z realno, udeleženci pa so tako z delovanjem znotraj umetniškega dela prišli do užitka, do katerega bi se želeli dokopati tudi v realnosti. S temi primeri Pfaller preizpraša idejo resnice, povezano z idejo ugodja, ki ga recipient doživi ob umetniškem delu, bodisi zaradi identifikacije z njim bodisi ker ob delu samem spozna, da presega fikcijo: »Zato je nujno, da se jim v umetnosti ne ponujajo le razsvetljujoče resnice, temveč še zlasti tudi mamljive možnosti, da si v teh razmerjih sami sebe predstavljajo drugače« (137).

Strnimo lahko, da se zdi knjiga najaktualnejša v premišljevanju pojava enaindvajsetega stoletja, četudi ponekod idejo interpasivnosti razlaga na primerih, ki se sodobnosti že izmikajo (videorekorder). Kljub temu preko široko zastavljenega filozofskega polja preizprašuje moderno ideologijo, ki namesto aktivnih posameznikov kot po tekočem traku proizvaja pasivne slehernike, zamejene z okvirjem vprašanj, povezanih z moralno. Užitke na tak način programirana družba zato raje delegira kot koristi, saj je posamezniku zgolj preko interpasivnosti omogočan pravi užitek, užitek, ki hkrati pomeni tudi odklop od vselej skrajno resne države utečenega reda moderne družbe. Pfaller tako preko premisleka *interpasivnosti* osvetli problematiko novega, modernega človeka, ki se bolj kot smrti boji slabega in užitkov polnega življenja.



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- *Za knjigo:*
Reinelt, Janelle. *Javno uprizorjanje. Eseji o gledališču našega časa*. Mestno gledališče ljubljansko, 2006. Knjižnica MGL, 143.
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- *Za ustne vire oz. intervju:*
Korda, Neven. »Intervju.« Intervjuvala Tereza Gregorič. Ljubljana, 28. apr. 2011. Zvočni zapis pri T. Gregorič.

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When quoting an author and related work within the text, state only the page numbers in brackets, e.g., (161–66). When the author of the quoted work is not mentioned in the sentence, state the author's name and the page numbers in brackets without punctuation between them, e.g., (Reinelt 161–66). For different bibliographical entries by the same author, include a shortened title of the work, e.g., (Reinelt, *Javno* 161–66).

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Acknowledgements and Funding

The acknowledgements section is where you may wish to thank people indirectly involved with the research (e.g., technical support; loans of material; comments or suggestions during the creation of the manuscript). However, it is important that anyone listed here knows in advance of your acknowledgement of their contribution. Do not include dedications.

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ISSN 1855-4539



9 771855 453006

Cena: 10 €