

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF LITHUANIAN LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

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**FEMALE IDENTITY PROBLEM IN LITHUANIAN WOMEN'S CREATIVE
WRITING IN THE LATE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURY**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation

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FEMALE IDENTITY PROBLEM IN LITHUANIAN WOMEN'S CREATIVE WRITING IN THE LATE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Summary

The Problem Under Analysis

In the following thesis, the problem of female identity in the late 19th – early 20th century is directly related to the socio-cultural changes during that period. The dissertation analyses identity as a result of an interaction between a person and his/her socio-cultural context. Therefore, the main issue is the way in which the development of modern Lithuanian society influenced the forms of female identity. One of the consolidating tasks of this analysis is to determine how and why the self-perception of society members has changed, because the self-perception gives opportunity for changes in women's behavior and way of thinking, which results in a rise of women's social and cultural activity.

In the late 19th century and the early 20th century, national community and modern society were still under formation – a process that marks the establishment of public space and gives opportunity for both public consideration of common issues and for discussing, anticipating and inventing new models of public speaking. The fact of establishing a public space makes an assumption that at the same time, new forms of sociability arise, so that one can also anticipate identity modifications taking place. There is also a striking change in the women's social situation in the end of the 19th century, which is partly due to a shift in the community thinking. One could consider a two-way process: on one hand, the liberalizing society found a place for women in its public space; on the other hand, it was the women who looked for a place for themselves in the establishing community, defined that place and consolidated it. Thus the analysis of shift in female identity, caused by interdependence between a person and the socium, involves the concepts of publicity/privacy, relating personal identity to the way society (community) divides life into public space and private space. Then, the demarcation

between different spheres of social life means determination of the identity structures of those that belong to those spaces. An anthropological and historical observation of the concepts of public/private reveals how this dichotomy is related to gender by associating women and their lives with private space and family life, while men belong to public space and social activity. A theoretical provision stating that the oppositional principle of public/private organizes the lives, tendencies, experiences, mutual evaluation and finally, self-perception of the people in the system, allows to explain women's growing social activity and their entering into public life by a transformation in women's self-perception, as well as in their identity pattern.

The end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century gave women a unique opportunity to start analyzing, interpreting and transforming the steady social norms, as well as the rules determining their possible, suitable and proper modes of behavior. This opportunity became especially available due to a particular aspect of women's coming to public life: namely, that it was a more or less organized collective work of many women rather than one. At that transformation moment, when Lithuanian modern society was still being shaped, this work also involved women who had always been out (marginalized), so the goal was the same: to give an authentic basis for the values, so that they would both include the experience of new community members and become valid and functioning for the new members of the community still under formation or expansion.

Before women entered the public space as legitimate participants in social life, the process of creating social norms, based on a common agreement between members of society (which was generally inseparable from society development process), was going on without women. In other words, women had but extremely little opportunity to participate in creating the notional structures giving ground for individual modes of feeling and behavior, which gained significance only as realized life stories.

On that account, women were just passive successors to the valid forms of ethos (moral norms). There was one essential opportunity that they lacked for any conscious identity formation: an opportunity for public polemics with the existing norms of ethos that defined their situation, i.e. a chance to make active influence on them and transform

them according to their experience and modes of feeling. It was the women keeping silence (the deadly silence) that one could interpret as the sign of them approving the dominant moral tradition.

Before the end of the 19th century, women had extremely little opportunity for disposition of public speech, so the reflection of their own experience could not become a part of community self-knowledge. One may read the creative works of women going over the 20th century aperture as an attempt to look for their own speech – the forms of expression that could provide an adequate reflection and description of women's experience. On the other hand, an outbreak in women's prose (but not poetry!) might result from the fact that women, in their seeking to validate their modes of feeling and behavior as a particular and unique way of living, began to tell life stories that could motivate and explain that specific female experience. Women's life stories build a notional structure that allows seeing separate women's lines of action as significant, i.e. gaining their significance from a whole whose part they constitute. Before these life stories start functioning in public – before the socium approves them by accepting them as comprehensible – they cannot become fundamental modes of public behavior. Thus, individual participation in public life is of crucial importance – one might see it as cooperation in considering and defining social norms, making agreements and collective decisions, and taking on responsibility for their implementation.

Another direction in the analysis of interdependence between female identity and the socio-cultural context, which this dissertation follows, is formulating the question of how the women entering the public space, the creating and establishment of their identity influenced the self-perception of public space participants. The paper examines whether women, by reinterpreting the essential aspects of their identity, have initiated structural changes in the public space. The work tries to realize what kind of values in private (home, family) life and the specific characteristics of persons' coexistence women included into the scope of self-perception of the forming society.

The observation of women's creative writing as a form of public speaking is aimed to examine how the writing women bring up and establish themselves as a speaking public subject. The paper studies the speaking strategies that women choose for

establishing new forms of female subjectivity. A thorough analysis of women's writing, their diaries, letters, and memoirs reveals the ways in which the writing women experience their sociability, and emphasizes the impact that socio-cultural definitions of an individual/woman made on women's self-perception.

The study of women's creative writing is based on an assumption that the life stories that women were telling were, first of all, the stories that they were living through. The paper considers the women's creative works as a part of their experience. It raises a question how the life stories that the female writers created influenced the stories that they were writing, and vice a versa – what kind of impact the stories that women were telling had on the lives of the writing women.

The dissertation analysis embraces the period from 1883 (when *Aušra*, the first Lithuanian newspaper, came out) as the start of public space formation, up to 1914 when World War I began. This period is distinctive as a very intensive phase of national community establishment that paved the way for a national state of Lithuania.

The Goal of the Study is to explore the transformations in female identity in the late 19th – early 20th century related to emergence of a woman as a publicity subject in the developing modern national society.

The Tasks of the Study: a full-scale presentation of the journalistic and fiction texts circulating in public space (first of all, in the following Lithuanian press: *Aušra*, *Varpas*, *Vilniaus Žinios*, *Viltis*, *Aušrinė* and *Ateitis*) written by both men and women that formulate the issue of women's significance to public life by analyzing what kind of arguments they use for shaping the dimensions for new women's activity, both focusing on the supposed forms of women's coming into public and observing the public jobs that they are being estranged from, by analyzing the motivation of this dissociation;

to restore the view of public space, as much condensed as possible, filled with particular texts, especially by female authors, with a view of demonstrating that the identity transformations embodied in women's lives did not occur in an empty space, therefore the paper also presents and analyzes the texts by less known (or nearly unknown) authors;

to analyze literary works of the late 19th and early 20th century, mostly early creative writing by women and its initial variants, the first publications, in seeking to reveal the strategies of women coming into public space and making their place there as a speaking public subject, demonstrating the female identity transformations that accompany the process;

to present male authors' texts that influenced the women's self-perception and introduced new models into circulation of cultural notions – the new models of female identity serving the needs of the Lithuanian society still undergoing its creation, by focusing mostly on the poem „Terp skausmu į Garbę“ (*Thro' Pains to Honour*) by Lithuanian poet Maironis, one of the most significant literary works in Lithuanian in the late 19th century;

to reconstruct the view of a complex, multidirectional and heterogeneous process of women coming to public space and making their place inside it by emphasizing its directions and tendencies and at the same time, by discovering the connections and finding contact points between all kinds of journalistic and fiction texts that came in sight of society and circulated in public space in the period under analysis.

Methodical Principles of Analysis. The search for theoretical fundamental principles of the dissertation were meant to set a methodological framework for exploring personal identity as the main socio-culturally determined world subject. One of the theoretical directions was cultural anthropology whose methodic provisions integrate into a wider field of social disciplines, among them political theory, and allow an analysis of female identity as a part of socio-cultural context organized by the principle of the public/private.

By distinguishing the fundamental meanings attached to that opposition from a wide, polysemic and historically old field of using the concepts of public/private, we may see that public life is directly related to humanity that emerges from and shapes from belonging to a community of free people that establishes, creates and maintains public life (Hannah Arendt). Therefore, a socially capable identity, as a form of humanity determined by culture and social medium, is available only by participation in public space. Public realm is seen as a space for personal self-realization, a guarantee of

continuity in time, a legal way of passing the created and fostered forms of living to the other generations and to participating in history together. Public life is also a field of using responsible language that determines the forms of sociability and constitutes intersubjective world, and is therefore meaningful. The approach to public realm offered by social history considers the public life forms a mediator that guarantees circulation of meanings between a private individual and institutionalized social life. (Jane Jacobs). Public space as created by and maintained by a community of strangers and near-strangers relying on confidence, carries out a constructive socialization of a person by transferring and accepting social norms. Public space is also a place to disseminate and store social groups (as minimal organizational units).

Feminist theories see the distinction between the public and the private mostly as a distinction between family and a larger economical and political order. Most branches of feminist scholarship use the public/private alternately with the public/domestic. Private sphere equals to the domestic space and intimate family life. They suggest that different socialization processes that men and women undergo, orienting their activities to different spheres – private domestic family life and public institutional social life – determine their different forms of identity. According to anthropological research, women are traditionally attached to domestic/private sphere or an uninstitutionalized minimal mother-child groups, while the groups that men establish are subject to ever-changing, ever-developing, artificial standards detached from “natural” family life – they are characterized by institutional principle of organization that is, generally, typical for the public life. In this methodic perspective, publicity arises as an institutional, autonomically self-regulated framework that sets up its own limits and is clearly articulated. The “natural” community of women and children remains beyond the limits of the social structure of public space. It is the dichotomy of public/private, recognized as the organizing principle for both “primitive” and modern communities, that acts as a power mechanism eliminating women, depriving them of authority and subordinating them (Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo).

A theoretical relation between women socialization process and orientation of their activities to private domestic/family life gives a theoretic perspective that allows

analyzing the specific female identity forms and their alternation at women crossing the domestic and family borders that belong “naturally” to them.

The approach to women’s creative works is based on an assumption that the life stories that women told were, first of all, the stories that they lived through. Narrative branches of phenomenology, namely the works of David Carr, give a basis for the theoretic provision that a subject of life-story, a self-representation constituted by the means of self-reflection, is directly related to everyday actions and experience. Personal experience is considered to be the place where the roots of the narrative actions lie, so that personal life stories being told may be interpreted as correlating with the stories lived through. This theoretical perspective enables to perceive female identity as a local, contextual life-story that embodies or is being embodied by a woman’s experience, or originates from that experience.

The contextualization of a new-established identity as a life-story that is possible to realize means its localization in a particular wider field of meanings – one could not understand life without it. Identity is seen as a single and meaningful life-story making the separate aspects of the self come into a meaningful whole. It is a result of person’s individual development and successful socialization, showing that a person may articulate his/her concept of the self in a larger socio-cultural structure that gives a life-story its meaning and sufficient oneness.

The cultural branch of social psychology relates a personal identity to the conception of the self, as well as to socially acceptable behavior and the feelings experienced. It explains emotional states and feelings as referents of the self, reflecting the person’s unique structure of experience, and making these experience forms belong to a socio-cultural context. Emotions connect individuals to their social world, for the external cultural system is embodied in the inner emotional experience. Cultural psychology claims an interconnection between the attitude to the self, emotional experience, its expressive forms and the culturally motivated models of thinking, acting and interacting with others.

Theses defended in the dissertation:

1. Female identity forms depend on the socio-cultural context organized by a *public/private* principle;
2. Female identity is a local and contextual life story that the female experience embodies. It originates from her female experience, therefore the life stories told by women are the stories that they live through;
3. In the late 19th – early 20th century, the identity transformations embodied in women's lives were a part of the modern national community creation process that appeared as a network of texts and social practices connected by interrelations and links;
4. In the late 19th century, structural changes in female identity came from a rise of woman as a public subject;
5. The formation of new type of Lithuanian identity in the late 19th – early 20th century was simultaneous with a reinterpretation of one's way of feeling and one's senses.

Relevance And Originality. The doctoral thesis *Female Identity Problem in Lithuanian Women's Creative Writing in the Late 19th – Early 20th Century* relies on a heterogeneous methodological perspective to present a shift in female identity as an inseparable part of the process of women becoming public individuals. It shapes the image of changes in women's self-perception based on a thorough and in-depth analysis of literary works, mostly their first versions, as well as the reconstruction of their editing history. Structural changes in female identity undergo analysis in a "condensed" socio-cultural context with a review and a presentation of many texts by female authors that were circulating in public space, which gives a view of the multiple nature and complexity of the process. The study presents a lot of journalistic and fiction texts that were written in the late 19th – early 20th century, but were not in the scope of analysis up to the present moment. The last part of the dissertation includes a detailed bibliography of those texts. The use of new interdisciplinary methodological principles gives a new interpretation of classical literary works, which makes the old texts highly relevant. A critical overview of the earlier investigations in the biographies or creative works of the women presented in the study display the cultural stereotypes that have been produced

during the long period of writing this study: those stereotypes have always narrowed analysis and eliminated any other way of thinking. The dissertation relates a story of a socio-culturally defined and ever-changing female identity, which provides the conditions for analyzing the current characteristics of women's self-perception in a historical perspective.

Synopsis of the Study

Dissertation Structure. The dissertation starts with an Introduction that expands the object of the study, identifies the problem under analysis, gives a short introduction to the earlier analysis of the problem, explains the relevance and originality of the dissertation, defines the goals and tasks of the study, and makes a short presentation of the methodological basis for the dissertation. The theoretical part embraces a further discussion of the theoretical perspectives that have consolidated the dissertation analysis: cultural anthropology, the narrative branch of phenomenology, and the cultural branch of social psychology.

The First Part of the Dissertation aims at reconstructing a full-scale “condensed” view of public space by starting the analysis with the Lithuanian first newspaper *Aušra* that came out at the start of the nation becoming an ethno-social and ethno-cultural unit. The end of the 19th century witnessed an increase in national revival activities that established new forms of community and belonging, and formulated the main principles for organizing the public space. The national revival also discussed and offered national self-establishment/renovation projects that included the idea of starting a national Lithuanian family. Consequently, the public discussions centering on the issues of family starting, arranging one's private life, husband and wife relationships, child-raising or parents' influence on their children, crossed the border between public and private life of an individual, so that a family's private life became a public concern. It was the time of social debate on a nation's public (political and cultural) life as very much dependent on one's private life: hence, one of the primary tasks for a national revival was to cultivate a national family. The discovery of a great interdependence between public sphere and private sphere resulted in women coming into sight of society. A critique of their weak

involvement into national activity culminated in forming essential elements for an ideal image of a Lithuanian woman: the principle of selecting those elements shows that in the late 19th century, the place for a woman was meant to be in family.

Then, women received public criticism as being unprepared to perform the role of virtuous Lithuanian wives and mothers, so women's education became a matter of public concern. Particularly in *Aušra* newspaper, one may witness a debate on the problems of starting a national family (an educated husband and his absolutely appreciative wife) bringing up the question of the nation's future, as well as of its survival opportunities. One of the first women involved in this discussion was Liudvika Malinauskaitė-Šliūpienė, who had a clear understanding of the women's complicated position and gave a public account of the obstacles for a new national family program to be implemented. It was *Aušra* that was the first to give publicity to the open sores of women's private life: people told women's specific life-stories that they witnessed with their own eyes.

Meanwhile, another newspaper, *Varpas*, that first crystallized the concept of a newspaper or a daily, made a sharper distinction between public and private space. It started discussions and arguments on the necessity of better education for women, and spoke of ways of completing that task. Gradually, there was a vision of a possibility for women to enter public space: however, it was meant just for a better understanding of their husbands' aspirations, making their family life more Lithuanian and raising their children as patriots. The newspaper was active in modeling education projects for women, but at the same time, it feared that the women's liberation might go too far. Therefore, next to the portraits of ideal women, who devoted their lives to realization of their natural tendency of being good wives and mothers, there were also images of vicious, fearful women. Such women were prudes who even organized their own communities, or half-Polish women who had enormous power for winning over Lithuanian men, or noblewomen who had never belonged to the village community, were more educated than Lithuanian patriots and spoiled with wealth and intellectual training, or finally, women who left their villages and went to the city because of their specific addiction to "promiscuity".

Varpas was the first to establish and repeat in its many articles the image of an old good countrywoman who raised her son with a tendency for everything that was Lithuanian. This image counterbalanced a huge wave of criticism towards women and gave women at least a partial rehabilitation. The adoration of femininity as motherhood enabled the socially active Lithuanians to find other ways to validate their identity of a person who has come to reason and was engaged in goal-seeking activity. The motivation of an alternative model for *Lithuaniaphile* identity did not use rational arguments: on the contrary, it emphasized the feelings connecting an individual to his/her nation or other people by intrinsic relations. That experience of a particular kinship and affinity to the other/others was to be learned in a private space, from one's mother. In those texts, feelings become as if the most substantial evidence of the self-perception of a person committed to his/her nation.

Varpas displayed the following increasing tendency: with a proportional growth in the number of texts written by women or such female writers as Žemaitė, Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė, or Šatrijos Ragana, there was less and less texts written by men, where they attacked, humiliated or depreciated women. Thus, women's artistic creativity is to be seen as a reaction to the public polemic that drew the outlines of organizing a national society, but also started to define the possible place for women in the process.

Vilniaus Žinios demonstrated a more liberal attitude to women's education: its argument supporting the necessity for women education was equal membership for everyone in a national community with political goals. The means of stimulation and encouragement to engage into national activity for women became similar to the ones for men. The vision of the nation's future saw women as both wives and mothers, but also as partners for social enterprise. The newspaper published declarations on human and civil rights, and addressed women with legal or political arguments, claiming equal rights for women and men to participate in public life. The story of Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė, the first official female journalist at *Vilniaus Žinios* (who received salary for her work, just like men) is an illustration of how a woman made her way into public space by resolving both external and inner difficulties.

The early 20th century Lithuanian newspapers *Viltis*, *Ateitis* and *Aušrinė* were concerned with both a conscious individual commitment to the community and an evolution of individual life (R. Bytautas). There were discussions on how it was possible to combine those two directions of human existence. Many publications display the women's growing self-awareness, their self-confidence, effective and overt expression of their opinions, and a strong defense of their own position. Those women do not avoid heated confrontations, polemics or critics to their opponents, and suggest a possibility for a separate, independent life of a woman – a living just for herself. These newspapers used a powerful argument for a woman's position as an equal member of society: woman's status as an adult, grown-up personality who is obliged to and has a possibility for expressing her will and is responsible for what she says. Being in the newspaper is considered as being before society's eyes, i.e. as a unique opportunity to be seen by many people. Meanwhile, in the 20th century women's texts, sometimes their desire to be seen is of radical scale, when being seen coincides with being, in general.

The fiction texts by female writers published at the beginning of the 20th century provide models for exemplary behavior that give rise to a particular way of living and manifest themselves by a particular mode of feeling. While women of the early 20th century consider the issues of children-raising, educating children, and provide their own alternatives of pedagogic development, they also formulate a definition of ethical attitude rising from woman's experience. The main components of this ethical attitude are as follows: respect for a person, a responsible position in everyday relationships, a concern about the weak and the disadvantaged, and a harmonious coexistence where the other person's singularity is not disregarded or repressed.

The Second Part of the Dissertation describes variations in personal/female identity recorded in the creative works and established in the cultural attitude of several Lithuanian writers of the late 19th century: Maironis, Žemaitė and Gabrielė Petkevičaitė Bitė.

Maironis belongs to the new generation of the Lithuanian intelligentsia, so his poem *Thro' Pains to Honour* contains an obvious attempt to use individual life-stories in order to justify a different variation of identity – as satisfying the expectations of

society that is still being built. The poem shapes the tendencies in national activity, creates a new type of personality – an educated young person whose identity structure has the following main characteristics:

- a personal involvement with national revival issues that become a part of the individual self-perception and a life-story planned ahead;
- the relationship with the familiar environment of one's home is complicated and full of tension: on one hand, the home, as well as the values fostered in the family – especially those that the mother encouraged – serve as the basis for a new personal identity; on the other hand, moving forwards, or new horizons for activity, make a person cut the home ties, and leave home, because a personal individualization starts with crossing the borders that the home (the mother) has marked;
- a typical feature is the experience of new feelings in a group of contemporaries with similar aspirations, the establishment of a new and different affinity, as well as of a group identity created beyond the private sphere;
- the initiation to that group or community involves confusion, doubt, challenge with a love affair or suffering, which is similar to a male socialization process as described by Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo;
- the experience of strong feelings that one can hardly suppress break the old identity structures and serve as an impulse for a personal transformation or a move towards a stronger individuality and consciousness;

In his creative writing, Maironis establishes an identity model for a *Lithuaniophile* (male or female), presented as a complete life-story. This life-story becomes a horizon for self-perception for many female writers in the late 19th – early 20th century, and a platform for telling stories about a woman becoming a Lithuanian who came to reason (socialization). For instance, the story of two women, Marinė and Anusė, becoming involved into public social life, suggests two patterns for alternative female subjectivity. Marinė is a noblewoman by birth (the daughter of a nobleman), whose image is more individualized: Maironis describes her feelings, dreams, and thoughts. Her experience comes from her father's estate, which allows her to have complex feelings: it is her who

develops a vision of a man and a woman working together for the sake of their homeland. Maironis allows Marinė – as well as the men in the poem – to speak with her own voice, move from one place to another, thus her identity crosses the borders of a female as the “daughter of the earth”. Meanwhile, the image of Anusė Vilaitučė is more generalized: her mode of feeling and self-perception comes, first of all, from community experience (typical for girls in the rural area). Anusė’s space has very clear borders – her native village community, so her heart does not long for crossing those borders. Maironis shows this girl as a person who gains her consciousness without much suffering – she sings the Lithuanian national anthem as easily and naturally as she sings folk songs.

The dissertation analyses early works by another author, Žemaitė, from a quite different perspective: a quest for the images of a female self that a private (domestic) experience develops and structures. Žemaitė is a representative of the rural tradition and identifies with it clearly. The topics of her short stories hardly go beyond the limits of private life, focusing on the personal family relations. She displays a personal identity model that is involved into the whole of the systems of nature and community. The main characteristics of this identity model are as follows:

- a harmonious relation to one’s environment, home, and nature, which gives the person a feeling of fullness and completeness;
- a friendly, other-oriented mode of being whose main manifestation is a capability to feel the other/sympathize with the other and shape one’s life in accordance with this “inner indicator”;
- a capability to feel inner actions – love, desire for affinity, pangs of conscience, guilt, suffering, etc.;
- the feelings that a person experiences are a part of inborn human nature or the natural order;
- the rudiments of morality as a common emotional being with others – people, nature or other objects;

In Žemaitė’s stories, women are, first of all, the owners of feelings: their senses are the most familiar things to them, so that they initiate relationships based on feelings, even though feelings make them vulnerable too. The senses and the capability to recognize which of them are true and which are only simulated (mostly in case of the

men in the estate, who are mostly windbags) is also a kind of female initiation device. Here, it is important to remember the image of woman most typical for the male authors' (for instance, Vincas Kudirka's) texts in the late 19th – early 20th century. In those texts, woman is illiterate, incapable of coherent and connected speech, and has a very vague conception of things beyond her life and her scope of vision, which coincides with her private domestic space. This image helps to have a better understanding of what Žemaitė actually does in her creative writing. Her purpose is to present and describe a woman as an individual who lives through feelings, articulates her wishes and desires, experiences herself in the wholeness of the world, and undergoes the dramas of life. However, Žemaitė could only do it because of her different life experience (as a noblewoman), which prevented her from full identification with rural life: in those conditions, she could see her creative stories from an omniscient author perspective.

Thus, the model of identity – involved into a larger whole and explained through it – in Žemaitė's stories is similar to the definition of interdependent self as described in social psychology. A person cannot be perceived apart from others, for his/her experience is centered around his/her interaction with others, as well as with his/her environment, so a person's goal is to become a part of interpersonal relations rather than to detach and distinguish him/herself from them. On the contrary, Maironis' poem *Thro' Pains to Honour* displays an opposite tendency: the individual identity structure creates itself by detaching from the community, projecting an individual as the main judge of his/her life, which is, essentially, similar to the Western concept of the independent self. However, in Žemaitė's stories, a woman is a part of the structures that determine her life: family and community that she experiences as inevitable and therefore universally effective. Still, the subject of Maironis' poems estranges him/herself from the natural belonging to a primary source of identity – the family – in seeking to build a community where his/her newly created life-story would be accepted, approved and taken as an instructive example or sample.

Finally, Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė represents the third paradigm of female identity: educated women of noble origin who have been raised in a family of the intelligentsia guided by democratic principles. The analysis of Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė's life and creative work aims to reveal the identity complications of a woman entering a public

space, trying to build her life according to the living and behavior principles that had been discovered and established at that historical period. It may seem that Bitė must have had a natural transition from a life philosophy shaped by nobility tradition – which included an education opportunity for a noblewoman, as well as an experience of cultural and social life in a noble family circle – to a new way of living, based on democratic worldview typical for the *Lithuaniaphile* generation. Her life-story, presumably, would be an example of how the forms of culture shaped by nobility tradition were integrated (or not integrated) into the identity structures of a new partisan Lithuanian intellectual. However, a detailed analysis of Bitė's creative writing, journalistic texts, letters and memoirs – mostly concentrated on what had strangely slipped past the eyes of her life and work researchers, and thus have remained unnoticed, or on what lies behind the common phrases traveling from one text to another for more than a century – is an opportunity to see the life-story of this woman from a different angle. Namely, this kind of research reveals a woman's drama unfolded under the democratic life position that she declared and defended officially. The fragments of her diary that she kept as a young girl, as well as her later remarks in memoirs and letters, display an especially intimate experience of Bitė. They show how a woman, whom, on one hand, her family and father kept at home, a centre for development of noble and democratic culture, and who, on the other hand, had always had higher aspirations, whose achievement required her to leave home and start an independent life on her own – finally ends up stuck in the middle.

Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė's life-story, similar to Marinė's identity model created by Maironis, serves as an example of how a noblewoman started to model her own way of living, as well as the forms of activity realizing her personal aspirations – but in the absence of supporting cultural structures favourable for women, or any established and instructive examples, was unable to proceed and reach the goals that she had set for her life.

The partisan life of a woman, purposeful and conscious – and what is the most significant, demonstrated in public – has a dark side, too. Its shadow consists of repressed desires, a dissatisfaction with the limited life opportunities for women, and anger towards those who fail to understand or support her aspirations, and prevent her

from following the path of greater independence. Thus, Bitė went through a conflict typical for many of her female contemporaries: the pressure of a traditional ideal of a woman as a submissive, obedient, and pure creature – and at the same time, the imperatives of a changing society, encouraging women to go about, leave their homes, and become an active participant in society. Double and self-contradictory requirements for women were not just impossible to fulfill. They were hardly possible to articulate, so the only legal way of rebellion was an illness: a nervous disease, commonly known as *nerves*. A physical disability became a distinctive mark of Bitė as a public person, even though it was just one of the many pains that this woman suffered all her life. A research of her diary, her stories, memoirs and letters shows that the *nerves* came out in “unconscious” fits of anger, blackouts, a sense of her body fading, all kinds of unidentified pains and pangs – which was an expression of the complicated personal identity, linking Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė to many West European and American women of the same fate and historical period.

The position of a woman as a public figure broke the structure of the traditional female identity and eliminated the familiar, well-known landmarks, meant for helping a woman orientate herself in the world (which, in most cases, coincided with her home). This position developed at the same time as the *Lithuaniophile* status. Both of these identity models built in the late 19th century – early 20th century indicate a radical change in personality, and were often perceived as going beyond the limits of consciousness, which was similar to insanity: when, according to Maironis, a person “seems to be flooding one’s banks” („Krantus rodos savo pames“). Therefore, “a mind distraction” or insanity was an integral part of Lithuanian national revival.

The Third Part of the Dissertation is a research of early creative writing in the beginning of the 20th century by Marija Pečkauskaitė (Šatrijos Ragana), Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė Vaidilutė and Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė. Even though Marija Pečkauskaitė (Šatrijos Ragana), Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė Vaidilutė and Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė wrote their most significant works in another century, still these women belong to the same tradition that an impulse from the times of *Aušra* gave them. Their

goal was to create, cherish and extend Lithuanian national culture that was still closely related to the public concerns of the national revival.

The story “Viktutė”, one of the first large pieces of creative writing by Šatrijos Ragana, demonstrates how social problems become a part of the woman’s inner reality, or how a woman’s conscious determination to become a participant in society influences her image of her self. The story, written in the form of a diary, reflects a crucial turning-point in the woman’s consciousness, when a literary work starts to tell a woman’s inner story. One may consider Šatrijos Ragana’s „Viktutė“ a threshold that Lithuanian women’s writing had crossed to pay more and more attention and speak on what is considered to be female subjectivity: one’s personal experience, feelings and thoughts.

The story of a woman’s socialization takes place at home – at an estate, a seedbed for nobility culture. However, it was not women’s community or the mother (as its representative) that prepare the speaker for her new social role. It is a man who has completed his initiation successfully. The woman, going towards being a true Lithuanian, does not really come out of her house (in the wider sense) – it is there that she meets her ideal partner, a *Lithuaniophile*, it is there that she matures and makes up her mind on who she is. But after her revival for becoming a true Lithuanian, she is preparing for her wedding, i.e. for the role of a wife and a mother, which means her staying at home. The story describes a situation of ideal communication: the author finds (or invents) for the speaker a conversation partner that is identical to her (with the same feelings and way of thinking), which shows that a woman of the early 20th century demands complete understanding – at least in her imagination – to be able to reveal herself and pour her heart out to someone. An experience of the relationship with the significant other is the speaker Viktutė’s way towards her individual identity. Another important companion for a writing girl is her diary: due to the diary, the contents of her consciousness can appear as another, “mediated” experience.

The dissertation also contains a comparison of the first version of „Viktutė“ (1903) and its edited version that the author completed after more than 20 years since the original story. The comparison gives an excellent opportunity to trace the writer’s consciousness’ lingual dependence on time. It is the language and a language shift that

reveal the change in time, which the writer's consciousness undergoes. They also reveal the woman's mode of being, determined by this interrelation, the tendencies and forms of her self-perception, and finally, her definitions of identity.

Meanwhile, the personal story of Ona Pleirytė – Puidienė Vaidilutė is just another prove of the fact that in a very general view of the late 19th century – early 20th century social cultural situation, where one is only looking for the brightest and the most famous personalities, one can fail to notice or miss the other individuals who were living and working at that period. It must be acknowledged that in most cases, those left in the margins are women. Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė was the first and only woman who dared to give a public account of the life built in accordance with the national family program (involving a man and woman as active participants of society working together), but was luckless and failed. Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė's early writing and diaries continue the tradition of a person/woman's way to independence, as well as of interpreting one's life as a separate individual path with its own destiny – the tradition traced back to Šatrijos Ragana's creative writing. The subject of her *impressions* (that is how she called her genre of writing) has an existence that, even though very much abstracted, establishes an identity model of an active, mobile, conscious woman, who is looking for a meaning in life and sees the light. Here, a woman's liberation from the roles of mother and wife, determining the traditional female self, is only achieved because the speaker in the *impressions* leads a merely *soul* life. Vaidilutė separates her speaker from the traditional (bodily) female experience, thus giving her an opportunity to make an untraditional woman's journey – to go through a male vagrancy of searching for and finding the truth and the basic principles of one's "I" structure.

Next to this female speaker, the author places a figure of the other – a soul mate, a companion, a man. The other – a partner for the *impressions* speaker in her creative work and spiritual quest – may be just a male friend or a brother, but it may also be her own feeling: a longing. Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė's *impressions* were first published in *Vilniaus Žinios* newspaper and later in a separate book „Kada rauda siela“ (*When The Soul Is Weeping*). A comparison between those writings and the story of the author meeting the Lithuanian famous artist Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis provide a basis for a discussion on the correlation between the stories that a woman creates and the stories

that she tells about herself (first of all, to herself). In contrast to Šatrijos Ragana's „Viktutė“, a story of becoming a woman that Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė Vaidilutė tells in her *impressions* is very abstract, and takes place at the level of ideas. The meeting of a woman and a man (the other) is rather symbolical and is treated as an essential element of the individualization process for every woman. Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė Vaidilutė's creative writing carries on the way of portraying a person/woman that Maironis had started and Šatrijos Ragana continued: a woman starts going her way, when she meets a significant man. He is the transmitter of social and cultural values and norms, so he gives the woman an impulse for shaping her self-perception, and choosing her living tendencies or activities. A prove for this idea is in Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė's diaries, where she tells (reconstructs) an actual story of her relationship with Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, as the diary relies on the same logics. The diaries display a transformation of the relationship model built in the *impressions*: the speaker gradually starts to perceive the man – her soul mate, her nearly identical twin, and the partner for her spiritual quest – as a leader.

Finally, the last woman presented in the dissertation is Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė, whose creative writings and first *impressions* were published in the *Gabija* almanac. The dissertation analyses these texts, along with her essay „Dailės prasmė gyvenime“ (*The Meaning of Art in Life*) and socio-cultural critical essay „Lietuvoje“ (*In Lithuania*) as a realization of the female identity as a public figure, established in the late 19th century – early 20th century society. This authors' creative writing marks the modernizing culture of the early 20th century with its modern aestheticism and its cultivation of personal self-perception that recognizes itself in folk art and professional art, as well as in a unique experience of the natural environment and national language.

Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė came into public by publishing her first texts in *Gabija* almanac along with a group of “writing sons” (“sūnūs-rašėjai”), who offered a poetic national renovation program based on romanticist traditions. The quest for a new sociality, inspired by romanticist tradition, was an imperative for all Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė's public activities. In the impressions published in *Gabija* almanac, she described a female version of genius as a basis enabling a woman to go further in an independent attempt to use philosophical categories for outlining a person/woman's

fundamental dependence on culture, i.e. perceive culture as a basis for a personality and a newly established sociality.

Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė's fiction and journalistic texts may serve as a continuation and a summary of Maironis' question of (and answer to) how a person can experience sociality and in how the social concerns of public life become a part of individual person's history. In Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė's impression „Klaidžiojau po didžią žalią girę...“ (*I Was Wandering In Great Green Woods*) a woman hears from underground the voice of Krivis (Pagan Baltic high priest), symbolizing the spirit of the world. She finds herself in the same situation as the subject of Maironis' *Thro' Pains to Honor*: she has to decide on her reaction to a waking historical consciousness, and to find out how one can use his/her life and a consciously shaped cultural position in order to re/construct the course of history. The speakers in Maironis' poem felt the affinity of young people educated in science, so they used separation from a natural rural environment to set up and establish the new identity forms. Still, Sofija Čiurlionienė goes even further: in her cultural philosophy, identity appears as a part of the history of Western culture, imprinted in the experience of everyone belonging to that tradition. A person feels a natural tendency to experience him/herself through the forms of culture: without this experience, i.e. without meeting the great works of art and their authors, the perception of one's self is impossible. However, the *impression* speaker's special intimate relationship with her environment suggests Sofija Čiurlionienė's particular closeness to Žemaitė and her concept of person. Even though the younger generation of Lithuanian female writers was mostly under the influence of Maironis' interpretation of a person – when the individual identity structure is born in a separation from one's family and primal community – Sofija Čiurlionienė, in her attempt to see an individual person as a part of the Western culture, displays a reiteration of Žemaitė's typical worldview.

For the Lithuanian women of the early 20th century, with their goal to establish themselves in the public space and defend the status of a grown-up equal member of society, Žemaitė's way of thinking and story-telling was too limited and insufficient. Sofija Čiurlionienė's creative writing and life position lead a woman out of her private space to a universal world of culture with historical past: here she is looking for her self,

here she undergoes socialization. Still, the universalization of woman's life loses the resources that Žemaitė used in order to convey a woman's experience developing in the private domestic space. Therefore, the part of a woman's life related to private family sphere goes beyond the limits of the woman's self-perception, created in the universal language. Abstract language and allegorical way of speaking in Sofija Kymantaitė's writing enables her to show female experience as all-inclusive, characteristic of all humans. Her attempts to grasp the "absolute truths" in real world – in a landscape or history – turn the objects of consciousness into abstractions, or into references to something else beyond a woman's specific everyday experience.

Conclusions

1. The creation of Lithuanian modern national identity that started in the late 19th century had a direct relation to the beginning of public space formation. The structures of public space, as well as the formulation of activity tendencies, also supposed new configurations for individual social activities. At that time, structural changes in female identity were due to the rise of woman as a public subject – woman gained an opportunity to analyze, interpret and gradually transform the social norms organizing community life, including the paradigms justifying the possible modes of behavior. The development of woman as a public subject and an equal member of society was based on woman's status as an independent grown-up personality who is seeking to express her individuality, is obliged to and has a possibility for expressing her will, is responsible for what she says, and capable of reasonable accountable speech. The women who had been beyond society, but then became involved in public process, with their experience – first of all, related to the private domestic sphere – entered the sight of society and became a part of community self-knowledge. The essential moment when women shifted from just an object for public discourse into a speaking subject, gave them an opportunity for consolidating the principles of coexistence, shaped in society, with self/reflection of female experience. Women's texts and social practices provided models for exemplary behavior that gave rise to a particular way of living and manifested themselves by a particular mode of feeling. The women of the late 19th – early 20th century formulated a

definition of ethical attitude rising from woman's experience. The main components of this ethical attitude are as follows: respect for a person, a responsible position in everyday relationships, a concern about the weak and the disadvantaged, and a harmonious coexistence where the other person's singularity is not disregarded or repressed.

2. The poem „Terp skausmu į Garbę“ (*Thro' Pains to Honour*) that Maironis wrote in the late 19th century, as well as Žemaitė's early writings, established two personal/female identity models: social psychology defines them as an independent “I” and an interdependent “I”. The Lithuanian sociologist Vytautas Kavolis describes them as male and female subjectivity forms, similar to the two different personality structures born from male and female socialization, as distinguished by Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo. The theory of Mc. Adams sees those two models of identity as a life-story as agent position and communion position. In Žemaitė's stories, a typical feature of the model of identity involved into a larger whole and explained through it, is that a person cannot be perceived apart from others, for his/her experience is centered around his/her interaction with others, as well as with his/her environment – so that a person's goal is to become a part of interpersonal relations, rather than to detach and distinguish him/herself from them. In Žemaitė's stories, a woman is a part of structures that determine her life, family and community. Maironis' poem *Thro' Pain to Honour* displays an opposite tendency: the individual identity structure creates itself by detaching from the community, projecting an individual as the main judge of his/her life. The subject of Maironis' poems estranges him/herself from the natural belonging to a primary source of identity – the family – in seeking to build a community where his/her newly created life-story would be accepted, approved and taken as an instructive example or sample. Žemaitė's stories reveal the images of a female self that a private (domestic) experience develops. In Maironis' poem, the forms of male independent self subjectivity achieves a complete structure only in a group of contemporaries existing beyond one's private life. Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė's life-story similar to Marinė's identity model created by Maironis, serves as an example of how a noblewoman started to model her own way of living, as well as the forms of activity realizing her personal aspirations – but in the absence of supporting cultural structures favourable for women, ends up stuck

in the middle. The position of a woman as a public figure, breaking the structure of the traditional female identity and eliminating the familiar, well-known landmarks, meant for helping a woman orientate herself in the world (which, in most cases, coincided with her home), was often perceived as going beyond the limits of consciousness, which was similar to insanity.

3. In the stories of women becoming individuals (as laid out in the creative writing of Šatrijos Ragana and Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė Vaidilutė) a participation of like-minded people of the same age, necessary for gaining a socially capable identity, is replaced by a woman's singular and crucial relationship with the Other (a lover, a brother, or a friend) that directs her development tendencies. This kind of woman socialization scheme Maironis has programmed in his poem *Thro' Pain to Honour*. It is not women's community or the mother (as its representative) that prepare the speaker for her new social role: it is a man who has completed his initiation successfully. He is the transmitter of social and cultural values and norms, so he gives the woman an impulse for shaping her self-perception, and choosing her living tendencies or activities. The Other (a man, a diary, or a longing) that appears in the creative writing of Lithuanian women in the early 20th century, as well as the ideal communication with a conversation partner who is identical to the woman (with the same feelings and way of thinking) in their texts, show that a woman of the early 20th century builds a relationship that guarantees complete understanding and approves her identity. If there was no belief in a possibility of absolute understanding, free of distortion, misinterpretation and even free of words, i.e. a belief in a projection of ideal communication situation, the subjectivity supported by female experience or the stories of creating a woman's self would have never come into public. Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė's creative writing and life position display woman's liberation from an indispensable relationship with the Other, who mediates the woman's relation to her own experience and the world. In her stories of woman's transformation and individualization, the role of the Other decreases with the woman's increasing self-confidence (her consolidating self) for her own confrontation with the world, her determination for a place for herself in the world, her independent interpretation of her experience and a creation of a life-story satisfying her individual tendencies. Sofija Čiurlionienė's creative writing, especially her cultural

philosophy texts, lead a woman out of her private space to a universal world of culture with historical past: here she is looking for her self, here she undergoes socialization. She makes an independent attempt to use philosophical categories for outlining a person/woman's fundamental dependence on culture, in a belief that identity is shaped by the history of Western culture, imprinted in the experience of everyone belonging to that tradition. By leading the woman out of her private space to a universal public world of culture based on a historical past, Sofija Čiurlionienė treats a female life-story as an all-human and all-embracing, losing the resources that Žemaitė employs to tell about a female experience developing in a private domestic space. Therefore, the part of a woman's life related to private family sphere goes beyond the limits of the woman's self-perception, created in the universal language.

4. The building of a new type of Lithuanian identity in the late 19th century was going on in parallel with reinterpretation of the human senses: the emphasis moved to the feelings connecting an individual to his/her nation or other people by intrinsic relations. A statement that a particular kinship and affinity to the other/others was to be learned in a private space, from one's mother, shifted the qualities characteristic of private persons' relationships and attributed them to public relations between individuals. Therefore, in those texts, feelings become as if the most substantial evidence of the self-perception of a person committed to his/her nation. In Maironis' poems, strong feelings became a distinctive feature of the new generation's identity, and a way to oneself. In Žemaitė's writings, a capability to feel the other/sympathize with the other the principle for people's harmonious coexistence, supporting a friendly, other-oriented mode of being. Bitė voiced, even though not in much detail, ambiguous feelings: the ones that were fit for public sphere and the ones that were not. Her texts contain references to feelings not appropriate for public space, or not in accord with the image of a person resolved for the national work – those senses were hard for her to articulate and thus manifested themselves in bodily dysfunctions and pains. Meanwhile, in Šatrijos Ragana's texts, a capability to feel is a specific feature of a truly existing person. A feeling as a excitability and sensibleness, a susceptibility to signals from one's environment, a sensitiveness towards people around, and a capability to respond or feel compassion were for her a beginning of high ideas and great works. In her opinion,

writing serves for saving and preserving the very significant feelings that tend to fade with time. For Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė Vaidilutė, the basis for identity of the ideal *soul* creatures was their capability for *true* feelings; she expressed her requirements for an individual experience that could tell true feelings from false ones. While in Šatrijos Ragana's „Viktutė“ longing encourages two people to meet and open their hearts to each other, in Ona Pleirytė-Puidienė's *impressions*, and later, in her diaries, longing becomes a main symptom of deficiency of the earthly life impossible to remedy – a feature of existential inadequacy. Finally, in Sofija Čiurlionienė's cultural philosophy, the longing that an individual experiences is a major assumption for a different kind of connection with the world, culture, and even one's self.

5. The core of Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo's theory, stating that the male sociability form provides a basis for an identity of active participant in public life, explains why the generation of women after Maironis, in establishing their forms of female subjectivity, take an example of an individual (first of all, male individual) identity scheme that Maironis, rather than Žemaitė, proposed. The younger generation of women use Maironis' interpretation of an individual by completing the definition of female identity with features that used to belong to male subjectivity: active participation in history, a separation from one's inborn environment as an action necessary for establishing one's individuality, and feelings that destroy the previous identity structures – the feelings providing an impulse for change, and for moving towards greater individualism and consciousness, which in most cases are love feelings. A modern female identity under formation could not avoid some losses. Women's goal to establish themselves as active public subject made the formation process of female self-consciousness highly dependable on the definitions of a personality that the modernizing society articulated. The basis for those definitions lied in the modern Western model of the independent self. An independent individual establishes himself/herself and sets his/her limits by separating himself/herself from the others. The meaning of his/her existence lies in expressing and realizing his/her self by distinguishing himself/herself from the context. A modern interpretation of a personality sees the dependence on community or family sets certain limits to the subject, by closing him/her in. It sees a harmonious conjunction with one's living environment as adaptation by learning to live in a restricted private

sphere. In this perspective, being oneself and belonging to family structures are incompatible. Personal independence is an axiological guide that is used to evaluate other possible forms of the subject's relations to his/her tradition, environment and finally, to his/her self. Therefore, at this moment, the subject position oriented to affinity started to recede to periphery. This affinity-oriented position of the subject, which is, first of all, characteristic of women, rests on the relation between individual and his/her environment – a union that inclines individuality to a larger whole. In the creative works of Lithuanian women in the late 19th – early 20th century, their close symbiotic relation with their surroundings found its expression in the motives of affinity, love, conciliation, care and convergence, appears at the beginning of an identity quest as a starting position to push off from and go further.

Moters tapatybės problema XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios moterų kūryboje

Reziumė

Disertacijoje XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios moterų tapatybės problema tiesiogiai siejama su tuo metu vykusiomis sociokultūrinėmis permainomis. Kadangi tapatumas nagrinėjamas kaip abipusės asmens ir sociokultūrinio konteksto sąveikos rezultatas, klausiama, kaip modernios lietuviškos visuomenės kūrimasis veikė moters tapatumo formas. Vienas iš tyrimą konsoliduojančių uždavinių – išsiaiškinti, kaip ir kodėl kinta visuomenės narių savivoka, atverianti galimybę moterų elgsenos, mąstysenos pasikeitimams, kurių rezultatas – vis didesnis moterų visuomeninis ir kultūrinis aktyvumas.

XIX a. pabaigoje–XX a. pradžioje vykęs tautinės bendruomenės, modernios visuomenės, formavimosi procesas žymi viešosios erdvės steigimąsi. Viešosios erdvės kūrimosi faktas leidžia iškelti prielaidą, kad tuo pat metu randasi ir naujos socialumo formos. Analizuojant moters tapatybės kismą, kurio priežasčių ieškoma asmens ir sociumo tarpusavio priklausomybėje, pasitelkiami konceptai *vieša / privatu*, leidžiantys asmens tapatumą susieti su visuomenės (bendruomenės) gyvenimo padalijimu į viešą ir privačią erdves, kai atribojant skirtingas socialinio gyvenimo sritis sykiu apibrėžiamos šioms erdvėms priklausančiųjų tapatumo struktūros. Antropologinė bei istorinė konceptų *vieša / privatu* analizė atskleidžia šios dichotomijos sąsajas su lytimi, t.y. moterys ir jų gyvenimai siejami su privačia erdve ir šeimos gyvenimu, o vyrai – su vieša erdve ir visuomenine veikla. Teorinė nuostata, kad opozicinis principas *vieša / privatu* organizuoja šiai sistemai priklausančių žmonių gyvenimus, jų veiklos kryptis, patirtį, vieni kitų vertinimus ir galiausiai savęs suvokimą, leidžia moterų visuomeninį aktyvumą, atėjimą į viešąjį gyvenimą aiškinti kintančia moterų savivoka, tapatumo sanklodos transformacija.

Kita moterų tapatybės ir sociokultūrinio konteksto abipusės priklausomybės nagrinėjimo kryptis, telkusi disertacijos tyrimą – klausimas, kaip moterų atėjimas į

viešąją erdvę, jų, kaip viešų asmenų, tapatybės atsiradimas, jos pagrindimas, veikė viešosios erdvės dalyvių savivoką. Aiškinamasi, ar moterys, reinterpretuodamos savojo tapatumo kertinius aspektus, inicijuoja viešosios erdvės struktūrines permainas. Siekiama atpažinti, kokios privataus (namų, šeimos) gyvenimo vertybės, asmenų sambūvio ypatybės moterų įtraukiamos į besikuriančios visuomenės savivokos akiratį.

Moterų kūrybos, suvokiamos kaip viena iš viešo kalbėjimo atmainų, analizė kreipiamą išsiaiškinti, kaip rašydamos moterys įsteigia ir įtvirtina save kaip kalbantįjį viešumos subjektą. Tiriama, kokios pasakojimo strategijos pasirenkamos naujiems moterų subjektyvumo pavidalams pagrįsti. Nuodugniai nagrinėjant moterų kūrinius, dienoraščius, laiškus, atsiminimus, stebima, kaip rašančiosios patyrė savąjį socialumą, ryškinama, kaip moterų savivoka buvo veikiamą sociokultūrinių asmens / moters apibrėžčių.

Moterų kūrybos studijavimas paremtas prielaida, kad moterų pasakojamos gyvenimo istorijos pirmiausia turėjo būti gyvenamos istorijos. Į parašytus kūrinius žiūrima kaip į moterų patirties dalį. Keliamas klausimas, kaip moterų rašytojų gyvenimu kuriamos istorijos veikė jų rašomas istorijas arba atvirkščiai – kokią įtaką pasakojamos moterų istorijos darė rašančiųjų moterų gyvenimams.

Naujai kuriamo tapatumo, kaip galimos realizuoti gyvenimo istorijos, kontekstualizacija reiškia jo lokalizavimą tam tikrame platesniame reikšmių lauke, be kurio šis gyvenimas nebūtų suprantamas. Tapatumas regimas kaip vientisas ir prasmingas gyvenimo pasakojimas, atskirus savojo „Aš“ aspektus susiejantis į prasmingą visumą. Jis yra asmens individualios raidos ir pavykusios socializacijos rezultatas, rodantis, kad asmuo gali savojo „Aš“ koncepciją artikuliuoti platesnėje, gyvenimo istorijai prasme ir pakankamą vieningumą suteikiančioje sociokultūrinėje struktūroje.

Kultūrinė socialinės psichologijos kryptis asmens tapatumą susieja su savojo „Aš“ samprata, socialiai priimtinu elgesiu bei patiriamais jausmais. Emocinės būsenos ir jausmai aiškinami kaip savojo „Aš“ referentai, atspindintys unikalią asmens patirties struktūrą ir pagrindžiantys šios patirties formų priklausymą sociokultūriniam kontekstui. Emocijos susieja individą su socialiniu pasauliu, nes išoriška kultūrinė sistema yra

įsikūnijusi vidinėje emocinėje patirtyje. Kultūrinė psichologija teigia esant tarpusavio ryšį tarp požiūrio į savąjį „Aš“, emocinės patirties, jos raiškos formų ir kultūriškai pagrįstų galvojimo, veikimo bei sąveikos su kitais modelių.

Disertacijos tyrimo apimamas laikotarpis yra nuo 1883 m. (pirmojo lietuviško laikraščio „Aušra“ pasirodymo), viešosios erdvės kūrimosi pradžios, iki 1914 m., Pirmojo pasaulinio karo pradžios. Šis laikotarpis išskiriamas kaip labai intensyvus tautinės visuomenės kūrimosi etapas, parengęs dirvą tautinei valstybei.

Darbo tikslas: ištirti moters tapatybės transformacijas, vykusias XIX a. pabaigoje–XX a. pradžioje, siejamas su moters kaip viešumos subjekto iškilimu besikuriančioje modernioje tautinėje visuomenėje.

Darbo uždaviniai: kuo išsamiau pristatyti viešojoje erdvėje (pirmiausia lietuviškoje spaudoje – „Aušroje“, „Varpe“, „Vilniaus žiniuose“, „Viltyje“, „Aušrinėje“ ir „Ateityje“) cirkuliuojančius vyrų ir moterų tekstus, publicistikos ir grožinės kūrybos, kuriuose formuluojamas moterų reikšmės viešajam gyvenimui klausimas, tiriant, kokie argumentai pasitelkiami naujos moterų veiklos metmenis, ne tik telkiant dėmesį į tai, kokios moters pasirodymo viešumoje formos numatomos, bet ir sekant, nuo kokių visuomeninių darbų jos atribojamos, analizuojant, kaip šis nušalinimas motyvuojamas;

atkurti kiek įmanoma sutankintą, konkrečiais tekštais, ypač moterų, užpildytą viešosios erdvės vaizdą, siekiant parodyti, kad moterų gyvenimais įkūnijamos tapatumo transformacijos nevyko tuštumoje, todėl pristatomi ir analizuojami ir mažiau žinomų (ar beveik nežinomų) autorių tekstai;

analizuoti XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios literatūros kūrinius, daugiausia ankstyvąją moterų kūrybą, pirminius jos variantus – pirmąsias publikacijas, siekiant atskleisti strategijas, kaip moterys ateidamos į viešąją erdvę įsitvirtina kaip kalbantis viešumos subjektas, parodant šį procesą lydinčias moterų tapatumo transformacijas;

pristatyti moterų savivoką veikusių vyrų tekstus, kurie į kultūros reikšmių apyvartą įvedė naujus, besikuriančios lietuviškos visuomenės poreikius atitinkančius, moteriško tapatumo modelius, daugiausia dėmesio sutelkiant į vieną reikšmingiausių XIX a. pabaigos kūrinių – Maironio poemą „Terp skausmu į Garbę“;

atkurti sudėtingo, daugiakrypčio, nevienalyčio proceso – moterų ėjimo ir įsitvirtinimo viešojoje erdvėje – vaizdą, ryškinant jo kryptis ir tendencijas, sykiu nustatant sąsajas, ieškant sąlyčio taškų tarp kuo įvairiausių tiriamuoju laikotarpiu visuomenės akiratin patekusių, viešojoje erdvėje cirkuliavusių publicistikos ir grožinės kūrybos tekstų.

Ginami teiginiai:

1. Moters tapatumo formos yra priklausomos nuo sociokultūrinio konteksto, organizuoto pagal principą *vieša / privatu*;

2. Moters tapatybė yra lokali, kontekstuali gyvenimo istorija, įsikūnijusi moters patirtyje, iš šios patirties kildinama, todėl moterų pasakojamos gyvenimo istorijos yra gyvenamos istorijos;

3. Moterų gyvenimais įkūnijamos tapatumo transformacijos buvo XIX a. pabaigoje–XX a. pradžioje vykusio modernios tautinės visuomenės kūrimosi proceso, pasirodančio kaip abipusiais ryšiais ir sąveikomis susietų tekstų ir socialinių praktikų tinklo, dalis;

4. XIX a. pabaigoje–XX a. pradžioje moterų tapatumo struktūrinius pokyčius lėmė moters kaip viešumos subjekto iškilimas;

5. XIX a. pabaigoje prasidėjęs naujo lietuvių tipo tapatumo formavimasis vyko sykiu su jautimosi būdo, jausmų reinterpretacija.

Aktualumas ir naujumas. Disertacijoje „Moters tapatybės problema XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios moterų kūryboje“, remiantis keleriopa metodologine perspektyva, moterų tapatybės kaita pristatoma kaip neatsiejama moterų tapimo viešais asmenimis proceso dalis. Formuojamas moterų savivokos kismo vaizdas remiasi nuodugnia ir išsamia literatūros kūrinių, dauguma atvejų – pirminių jų variantų, analize. Moters tapatybės kaita tyrinėjama sutankintame sociokultūriniame kontekste, apžvelgiant ir pristatant daugybę viešojoje erdvėje cirkuliavusių moterų tekstų, padedančių įsivaizduoti vykusio proceso daugialypiškumą ir kompleksiskumą. Disertacijoje pristatoma nemaža XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios publicistikos ir

grožinės kūrybos tekstų, kurie iki šiol nebuvo patekę į tyrinėtojų akiratį. Disertacijos pabaigoje skelbiama išsami šių tekstų bibliografija. Pasitelkiant naujus tarpdalykinius metodologinius principus pateikiama nauja praeities tekstus aktualizuojanti interpretacija. Kitiškai peržiūrimi ankstesni disertacijoje pristatomų moterų biografiniai ir kūrybos tyrimai, aikštėn keliami per netrumpą tyrinėjimo laikotarpį nusistovėję analizę susiaurinantys, kitokią požiūrį eliminuojantys mąstymo stereotipai. Kuriama sociokultūriškai apibrėžto, nuolat kintančio moters „Aš“ istorija sudaro prielaidas dabartinius moterų savivaizdžio ypatumus tyrinėti istorinėje perspektyvoje.

Trumpas darbo turinys

Pirmoji disertacijos dalis skirta rekonstruoti kuo išsamesnį „sutankintą“ viešosios erdvės vaizdą, tyrimą pradėdant nuo pirmojo lietuviško laikraščio „Aušra“, kurio pasirodymas žymi tautos kaip etnosocialinio ir etnokultūrinio darinio kūrimosi pradžią. XIX a. pabaigoje išibėgėjus tautinio atgimimo veiklai, steigiasi kitokio bendrumo formos, formuluojami pamatiniai viešosios erdvės organizavimo principai. Diskutuojami, siūlomi tautos savikūros / renovacijos projektai įtraukia ir tautinės, lietuviškos šeimos kūrimo idėją. Tuo metu sprendžiama, kad viešasis (politinis ir kultūrinis) tautos gyvenimas yra labai priklausomas nuo privataus, todėl vienas svarbiausių tautinio atgimimo keliamų uždavinių – ugdyti tautinę šeimą. Įžvelgus pamatinę viešosios ir privačiosios sferų tarpusavio priklausomybę, į visuomenės akiratį patenka moterys. Kritikuojant jų silpną angažuotumą tautinei veiklai, apmetami lietuviškos moters idealaus vaizdinio pamatiniai elementai, kurių atrankos principas rodo, kad XIX a. pabaigoje moteriai numatoma vieta yra šeimoje.

„Varpe“ toliau diskutuojant, dėstant argumentus, kodėl būtinas didesnis moterų išsilavinimas, aptariant būdus šiam tikslui įgyvendinti, pamažu pradėdama įsivaizduoti, kad moterys galėtų ateiti į viešąją erdvę, bet tik tam, kad geriau suprastų savo vyrų aspiracijas, sulietuvintų kasdienį šeimos gyvenimą ir auklėtų patriotus vaikus. „Varpe“ iškyla ir daugelyje straipsnių kartojasi senos, geros, išugdžiusios sūnaus palinkimą prie lietuviybės kaimo motinos vaizdinys. Ji atsveria didžiulį pliūpsnį moterims išsakomos kritikos ir bent iš dalies reabilituoja moteris. Moteriškumo kaip motiniškumo adoracija

įgalina visuomeniškai aktyvius lietuvius kitais būdais pagrįsti savąjį susipratusių, kryptingai veikiančio asmens tapatumą. „Varpe“ ryškėja tendencija – proporcingai daugėjant pačių moterų (Žemaitės, Gabrielės Petkevičaitės-Bitės, Šatrijos Raganos) rašytų kūrinių, vis mažiau pasirodo vyrų tekstų, užsipuolančių, menkinančių moteris. Moterų grožinė kūryba traktuotina kaip atsakas į viešumoje vykusią polemiką, kurioje, brėžiant tautinės visuomenės kontūrus, imamasi nusakyti ir galimą moterų vietą ir vaidmenį šiame procese.

„Vilniaus žiniuose“ iškyla modernesnis požiūris į moterų švietimą: argumentu, pagrindžiančiu moterų išsilavinimo būtinybę, nurodoma lygiavertė visų žmonių narystė politinių tikslų turinčioje tautinėje bendruomenėje. Moterų ir vyrų skatinimo priemonės įsitraukti į tautinę veiklą supanašėja. Moterų tautos ateities vizijoje matomos ne tik kaip žmonos ir motinos, bet ir kaip visuomeninės veiklos partnerės. Laikraštyje skelbiamose deklaracijose apie žmogaus ir piliečio teises, kreipimuose į moteris teisiniais bei politiniais argumentais grindžiama vienoda moterų ir vyrų teisė dalyvauti viešajame gyvenime. Onos Pleirytės-Puidienės, pirmos moters „Vilniaus žinių“ oficialios bendradarbės (ji už savo darbą kaip ir vyrai gavo atlyginimą), istorija iliustruoja, kaip, kokius sunkumus (ne tik išorinius, bet ir vidinius) įveikdama, moteris skynėsi kelią į viešąją erdvę.

XX a. pradžios laikraščiuose „Viltyje“, „Ateityje“ ir „Aušrinėje“ greta sąmoningo asmens įsipareigojimo bendrijai randasi rūpestis dėl individualaus gyvenimo plėtojimo (R. Bytautas). Svarstoma, kaip šios dvi žmogaus egzistencijos kryptys galėtų būti derinamos. Stiprėjanti moterų savimonė, pasitikėjimas savimi atpažįstami daugybėje moterų publikacijų, kai tvirtai reiškiamas asmeninė nuomonė, drąsiai ginama savoji pozicija, nevengiama aštrių konfrontacijų, polemikos ir kritikos oponentams, numatoma moters atskiro, savarankiško, tik sau buvimo galimybė. Moters kaip lygiavertės visuomenės narės pozicija argumentuojama moters – suaugusio žmogaus, turinčio ir galinčio pareikšti savo valią bei atsakingai kalbančio, statusu.

Amžiaus pradžioje spausdinami moterų rašytojų beletristiniai tekstai ir socialinės praktikos kuria pavyzdinio elgesio, formuojančio tam tikrą gyvenimo būdą ir pasireiškiančio atitinkama jausena, modelius. Svarstydamos vaikų auklėjimo, ugdymo

klausimus ir pateikdamos savas pedagogikos vystymosi alternatyvas, XX a. pradžios moterys formuluoja iš moterų patirties kylančią etinės laikysenos apibrėžtį, kurios svarbiausieji sandai būtų: pagarba žmogui, atsakingas požiūris į kasdienes tarpusavio santykius, rūpestis silpnaisiais, nuskriaustaisiais, darnus, kito savotiškumo nepažeidžiantis ir neužgožiantis, sambūvis.

Antroji disertacijos dalis skirta XIX amžiaus pabaigos autoriams – Maironiui, Žemaitėi ir Gabrielei Petkevičaitėi-Bitei. Čia analizuojami šių autorių kūryba bei kultūrine laikysena įtvirtinami asmens / moters tapatumo variantai. Maironio „mūsų laikų“ poemoje „Terp skausmu į Garbę“ akivaizdi pastanga per pasakojamas atskirų žmonių gyvenimo istorijas pagrįsti kitoki, besikuriančios visuomenės lūkesčius atitinkanti, asmens tapatumo variantą. Poemoje modeliuojant tautinės veiklos kryptis, kuriamas naujo žmogaus tipas, moksliskai apšviesta jaunuomenė. Maironio kūryboje įsteigiamas *litvomano* (ne tik vyro, bet ir moters) tapatybės modelis, pasirodantis kaip gana išbaigta gyvenimo istorija, laikoma XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios rašančių moterų savivokos horizontu, pasakojamų istorijų apie moters tapimą susipratusia lietuve (socializacijos) proforma.

Disertacijoje Žemaitės ankstyvieji apsakymai tiriami kitoje perspektyvoje, ieškant moters savojo „Aš“ vaizdinių, išsiskleidžiančių ir struktūruojamų privataus (namų) gyvenimo patirties. Jos apsakymų problematika, beveik neperžengianti privataus gyvenimo rėmų, sutelkia dėmesį šeimyninius žmonių santykius. Čia iškyla į visumą, gamtos ir bendruomenės sistemas, įtraukto ir per juos paaiškinamo asmens tapatumo modelis.

Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė atstovauja trečiajai, moterų, kilusių iš bajorų, išsilavinusių, sykiu ugdytų demokratiniiais principais besivadovujančių inteligentų šeimoje, tapatumo paradigmą. Gabrielės Petkevičaitės-Bitės gyvenimo ir kūrybos analizė siekia atskleisti moters, išeinančios į viešąją erdvę ir savo gyvenimą mėginančios tvarkyti pagal tuo metu atrandamus ir įtvirtinamus naujos gyvensenos, elgsenos principus, tapatybės komplikacijas. Detali Bitės kūrinių, publicistikos tekstų, laiškų ir atsiminimų analizė, dažniausiai dėmesį kreipiant į tai, kas yra keistai prasprūdę jos gyvenimo ir kūrybos tyrinėtojų pro akis ir likę nepastebėta arba palikta po bendromis

daugiau nei šimtą metų iš vienu tekstų į kitus pereinančiomis frazėmis, suteikia progą pamatyti šios moters istoriją kiek kitu rakursu, t. y. po deklaruota ir viešai ginta demokratine gyvenimo pozicija išvysti glūdint moters dramą Kūno negalia, tapusi Bitės viešo asmens skiriamuoju ženklu, buvo ne vienintelis šią moterį visą gyvenimą kamavęs sopulys. Tekstų analizė įrodo, kad *nervai*, pasireikšdavę „netyčiais“ pykčio priepuoliais, trumpais sąmonės praradimo epizodais, kūno nykimo jausmu, įvairiausiais neaiškios kilmės skausmais, buvo šios asmenybės komplikuoto tapatumo išraiška, susiejanti ją su panašaus likimo šio laikmečio Vakarų Europos, Amerikos moterimis.

Trečioji disertacijos dalis skirta XX a. pradžios Marijos Pečkauskaitės (Šatrijos Raganos), Onos Pleirytės-Puidienės Vaidilutės ir Sofijos Kymantaitės-Čiurlionienės ankstyvajai kūrybai analizuoti.

Šatrijos Raganos vienas pirmųjų didesnės apimties kūrinių *novelios* „Viktutė“ skaitymas pasitelkiamas parodyti, kaip visuomenės problemos tampa moters vidinės realybės dalimi, kaip sąmoningas apsisprendimas tapti visuomenės dalyve veikia moters savojo „Aš“ vaizdą. Parašyta dienoraščio forma *novelia* žymi moters sąmonėje įvykusį didžiulį lūžį, kai literatūros kūrinyje pradedama pasakoti moters vidinė istorija. Šatrijos Raganos „Viktutė“ laikytina tuo slenksčiu, kurią peržengusi moterų kūryba, ėmė vis labiau atsižvelgti ir kalbėti apie moters subjektyvumui priskirtinus dalykus: nuosavą patirtį, jausmus, mintis.

Onos Pleirytės-Puidienės Vaidilutės ankstyvoji kūryba, dienoraščiai tęsia Šatrijos Raganos kūrybos pradėtą moters vaizdavimo tradiciją. Impresijų subjektės egzistencija, nors ir labai abstrahuota, įtvirtina aktyvios, mobilios, sąmoningos, gyvenimo prasmės ieškančios, prareginčios moters tapatumo modelį. Moters išsilaisvinimas iš tradicinių moters „Aš“ apibrėžiančių motinos, žmonos vaidmenų įvyksta tik todėl, kad impresijų herojė gyvena grynai *sielos* gyvenimą. Atskirdama veikėją nuo tradicinės (kūniškos) moters patirties, Vaidilutė suteikia jai galimybę nukeliauti netradicinę moters kelionę, patirti vyriškas tiesas, pamatinių savojo „aš“ struktūros principų ieškojimo ir atradimo klajones. Onos Pleirytės-Puidienės Vaidilutės impresijų, pirmą sykį pasirodžiusių „Vilniaus žiniose“, vėliau publikuotą atskira knyga „Kada rauda siela“, palyginimas su dienoraščiuose pasakojama autorės ir Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio pažinties

istorija, tampa pagrindu kalbėti apie moters kuriamų istorijų ir pasakojamų istorijų apie save (pirmiausia sau) koreliaciją.

Galiausiai disertacijoje pristatoma moteris – Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė, kurios kūryba, pirmosios impresijos almanache „Gabija“, esė „Dailės prasmė gyvenime“, tyrinėjama kaip XIX a. pabaigoje–XX a. pradžioje susiformavusio moters, viešo asmens, tapatumo realizacija. Kymantaitės-Čiurlionienės kūryba, publicistikos tekstus galima laikyti Maironio užduoto klausimo, kaip asmuo gali patirti bendruomeniškumą, kaip visuomeniniai viešo gyvenimo rūpesčiai tampa atskiro asmens gyvenimo istorijos dalimi, ir duoto atsakymo tąsa bei apibendrinimu. Maironio poemos herojai patirdami mokslų išlavintos jaunuomenės bendrumą, atsiskirdami nuo natūralios kaimiškos aplinkos, steigė ir įtvirtino naujojo tapatumo formas, Čiurlionienė žengia dar toliau – asmens tapatumas jos kultūros filosofijoje rodosi kaip priklausantis visai Vakarų kultūros istorijai, išspaudusiai kiekvieno šiai tradicijai priklausančiojo patirtyje. Čiurlionienės pastangos atskirą asmenį matyti kaip priklausantį Vakarų kultūros visumai, rodytų Žemaitėi būdingos pasaulėvokos atsikartojimą. Nors Čiurlionienės kūryba bei gyvenimiška laikysena išveda moterį iš privačios erdvės į istorinę praeitį turintį bendražmogišką kultūros pasaulį, čia vyksta jos savojo „Aš“ paieškos, socializacijos procesas, sykiu moters gyvenimo universalizacija praranda tuos resursus, kuriais naudojosi Žemaitė, pasakodama apie moterišką, besiskleidžiančią privačioje namų erdvėje patirtį. Čiurlionienės kūryboje su privačia šeimos sfera susijusi moters gyvenimo dalis atsiduria už bendražmogišką kalbą kuriamos moters savipratos ribų.

Išvados

1. XIX a. pabaigoje prasidėjęs modernios lietuvių tautinės visuomenės kūrimosi procesas buvo tiesiogiai susijęs su viešosios erdvės formavimosi pradžia. Apsibrėžiant viešosios erdvės struktūras ir veiklos kryptis buvo numatytos ir naujos asmenų socialinės veiklos formos. Moterų tapatumo struktūrinius pokyčius lėmė moters kaip viešumos subjekto iškilimas – atsivėrusi galimybė analizuoti, interpretuoti ir pamažu transformuoti bendruomenės gyvenimą organizuojančias socialines normas, galimus elgsenos būdus pagrindžiančias mąstymo paradigmas. Į visuomeninį darbą įsitraukus iki šiol užribyje

buvusioms moterims, jų patirtis, pirmiausia susijusi su privačia namų sfera, pateko į visuomenės akiratį ir tapo bendruomenės savižinos dalimi. Moterims tapus ne tik viešojo diskurso objektu, bet ir – svarbiausia – kalbančiu subjektu, atsivėrė galimybė visuomenės kuriamus bendrabūvio principus pagrįsti moterų patirties (savi)refleksija. Moters, kaip viešumos subjekto, lygiavertės visuomenės narės, susiformavimas buvo paremtas moters kaip suaugusio, savarankiško, siekiančio realizuoti savo individualumą, turinčio ir galinčio pareikšti savo valią, prisiimti atsakomybę už savo veiksmus, prasmingai ir atsakingai kalbančio asmens, įtvirtintu statusu. Moterų tekstai ir socialinės praktikos kūrė pavyzdinio elgesio, formuojančio tam tikrą gyvenimo būdą ir pasireiškiančio atitinkama jausena, modelius. XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios moterys pateikė iš moterų patirties kylančios etinės laikysenos apibrėžtį, kurios svarbiausi sandai būtų: pagarba žmogui, jo individualumui, atsakingas požiūris į kasdienius tarpusavio santykius, rūpinimasis silpnaisiais, nuskriaustaisiais, darnus, kito savotiškumo nepažeidžiantis ir neužgožiantis sambūvis.

2. XIX a. pabaigoje Maironio poema „Terp skausmu į Garbę“ ir Žemaitės ankstyvieji apsakymai įtvirtino du asmens / moters tapatumo modelius, Kavolio įvardytus kaip vyriško ir moteriško subjektyvumo formas, socialinėje psichologijoje apibrėžiamus kaip nepriklausomas „Aš“ ir abipusiai priklausomas „Aš“, artimus Rosaldo aprašytoms, skirtingos vyrų ir moterų socializacijos suformuotoms, dvejopoms asmenybės struktūroms. Šie du asmens tapatumo modeliai McAdamso tapatybės, kaip gyvenimo istorijos, teorijoje nusakomi kaip agento pozicija ir į bendrumą orientuota subjekto pozicija. Žemaitės apsakymuose pasirodžiusiam į visumą įtrauktam ir per ją paaiškinamam tapatumui buvo būdinga tai, kad asmuo negalėjo būti suvokiamas atskirai nuo kitų, jo / jos patirtis buvo centruojama sąsajos su kitais žmonėmis ir santykio su supančia aplinka, jo / jos gyvenimo tikslas – ne atsiskirti / išsiskirti, bet tapti tarpasmeninių ryšių dalimi. Moteris Žemaitės apsakymuose priklausė jos gyvenimo istoriją nulemiančioms struktūroms, šeimai, bendruomenei. Maironio poemoje „Terp skausmu į Garbę“ aptinkame priešingą tendenciją: individualaus tapatumo struktūra kūrėsi atsiribodama nuo bendruomenės ir projektavo individą – pasaulio ir savojo gyvenimo vertintoją. Poemoje subjektas, atsiribodamas nuo natūralaus priklausymo pirminiam tapatumo šaltiniui, šeimai, siekė sukurti bendraamžių, bendraminčių grupę,

kurioje jo naujai kuriama gyvenimo istorija būtų priimta, patvirtinta ir taptų sektinu pavyzdžiu, šablonu. Žemaitės apsakymuose pasirodantys moters „Aš“ pavidalai buvo suformuoti privataus (namų) gyvenimo patirties. Maironio poemoje išsiskleidžiančios vyriškos nepriklausomo „Aš“ subjektyvumo formos užbaigtą tapatumo struktūrą įgavo tik anapus privataus gyvenimo egzistuojančioje bendraminčių grupėje. Gabrielės Petkevičaitės-Bitės gyvenimo istorija, artima Maironio kurtam Marinės tapatumo modeliui, yra pavyzdys, kaip bajoriškos kilmės moteris, ėmusi modeliuoti savojo gyvenimo kryptis, asmenines aspiracijas realizuojančias viešas veiklos formas, be palaikančių, moteriai palankių viešojo elgesio modelių, įforminančių naują moters patirtį ir jauseną, įstrigo kažkur „tarp“. Tradicinę moters tapatumo struktūrą išardanti, įprastas, todėl aiškias orientavimosi pasaulyje (dažniausiai telpančio privačioje erdvėje) gaires atimanti moters – viešo asmens – laikysena XIX a. pabaigoje–XX a. pradžioje buvo patiriama ir kaip sąmonės ribų peržengimas, artimas beprotybės išgyvenimui.

3. Moterų tapsmo asmeniu istorijose (atsiskleidžiančiose Šatrijos Raganos, Onos Pleirytės-Puidienės Vaidilutės kūryboje) būtina dalyvavimą bendraamžių, bendraminčių grupėje, kad būtų įgytas socialiai veiksnus tapatumas, pakeitė ypatingas, lemiamą reikšmę turintis, moters vystymosi kryptį nulemiantis santykis su Kitu (mylimuoju, broliu, draugu). Tokia moters socializacijos schema buvo užprogramuota Maironio poemoje „Terp skausmu į Garbę“. Naujam socialiniam vaidmeniui moteris imtos ruošti nebe moterų bendruomenės ar jos atstovės motinos, bet iniciaciją sėkmingai perėjusio vyro. Jis vaizduojamas kaip visuomenės ir kultūros vertybių, normų nešėjas, duodantis impulsą moters savivokos formavimuisi, gyvenimo krypties, veiklos formų pasirinkimui. XX a. pradžios moterų kūryboje pasirodantis Kitas (vyras, dienoraštis, ilgesys), modeliuojama idealios komunikacijos situacija su taip pat jaučiančiu, taip pat mėstančiu pokalbio partneriu rodo, kad XX a. pradžios moteris susikūrė visišką supratimą garantuojantį, jos tapatumą patvirtinantį, santykį. Be tikėjimo, kad galimas absoliutus susikalbėjimas be jokių iškraipymų, netgi nesant žodžių, t. y. be projektuojamos idealios komunikacijos situacijos, moterų patirtimi paremtas subjektyvumas, moterų individualaus „Aš“ formavimosi istorijos nebūtų pasirodę viešumoje. Kymantaitės-Čiurlionienės kūryba ir kultūrinė laikysena atskleidė moters vadavimąsi nuo privalomo, moters santykį su sava patirtimi ir pasauliu medijuojančio ryšio su Kitu. Pasakojamose

moters virsmo, individuacijos istorijose Kito vaidmuo mažėjo, nes moteris vis labiau ėmė pasitikėti savo jėgomis (tvirtėjančio „Aš“ galiomis) ir galėjo pati susidurti su pasauliu, apsibrėžti vietą jame, savarankiškai interpretuoti savą patirtį, kurti individualius polinkius atitinkančią gyvenimo istoriją.

4. XIX a. pabaigoje prasidėjęs naujo lietuvių tipo tapatumo formavimasis vyko sykiu su jausenų, jausmų reinterpretacija, imti akcentuoti jausmai, vidiniais saitais sujungiantys asmenį su tauta, kitais žmonėmis. Teigiant, kad ypatingo artimumo su kitu / kitais išmokstama privačioje erdvėje, labiausiai iš motinos, privatiems žmonių santykiams būdingos savybės buvo perkeltos, priskirtos viešiesiems žmonių ryšiams. Jausmai tapo bene svarbiausiu tautai išsipareigojusio viešo asmens savimonės ženklu. Maironio poemoje asmens išgyvenami stiprūs meilės, sumaišties, nežinios jausmai tapo naujosios kartos išskirtiniu tapatumo ženklu. Žemaitės kūryboje gebėjimas (at)jausti buvo iškeltas kaip darnaus žmonių sambūvio principas, įtvirtinantis palankią, į kitą orientuotą žmogaus laikyseną. Jausmai, mokymasis juos (at)pažinti, kurie iš jų yra tikri, o kurie tik simuliuojami, buvo vaizduojama ir kaip tam tikra moterų iniciacijos priemonė. Bitė prabilo, nors ir nedetalizuodama, apie dvejopus jausmus: tinkančius ir netinkančius viešumai. Jos tekstuose galima rasti užuominų apie viešumoje nederančius, prie apsisprendusio tautinį darbą dirbti žmogaus įvaizdžio netinkančius, sunkiai artikuluojamus jausmus, labiausiai prasiveržiančius kūno disfunkcijomis ir skausmu. Šatrijos Raganos kūrinuose gebėjimas jausti – tikrai būnančio asmens ypatybė. Jausmai – jaudrumas, imlumas iš aplinkos gaunamiems signalams, jautrumas aplink esantiems žmonėms ir gebėjimas atsiliepti, (at)jausti buvo interpretuojami kaip aukštų minčių ir didelių darbų pradžia. Rašymas buvo pasitelkiamas tam, kad būtų išsaugoti, laike nykstantys, tačiau labai svarbūs jausmai. Pleirytės-Puidienės Vaidilutės kuriamo idealaus „sielos“ būtybių tapatumo pamatas – gebėjimas tikrai jausti; jautimo būdo kokybė buvo traktuojama kaip atskirianti tikrą buvimą nuo netikro. Vaidilutės impresijose, vėliau ir dienoraščiuose, ilgesys tapo pamatinio niekuo neužpildomo žemiško moters gyvenimo nepakankamumo, egzistencinės stokos ženklu. Kymantaitės-Čiurlionienės kultūros filosofijoje žmogaus patiriamas jausmas, ilgesys – kitokio, autentiško santykio su pasauliu, kultūra, netgi pačiu savimi esmine prielaida.

5. Rosaldo teorijos pamatine nuostata, kad vyriška socialumo forma pagrindžia aktyvaus viešojo gyvenimo dalyvio tapatumą, galima paaiškinti, kodėl pomaironinės kartos moterys įtvirtindamos moteriško subjektyvumo formas kaip pavyzdį ėmė Maironio, o ne Žemaitės įvestą asmens, pirmiausia vyro, tapatumo schemą. Jaunesniosios kartos rašytojos, remdamosi Maironio įtvirtinta asmens interpretacija, į moteriškojo tapatumo apibrėžtį įtraukė iki šiol vyriškam subjektyvumui priskirtus bruožus: aktyvų dalyvavimą istorijoje, atsiskyrimą nuo gimtosios aplinkos kaip veiksmą, būtiną savajam individualumui įtvirtinti, stiprius, senas tapatumo struktūras išardančius, impulsą keistis, judėti didesnio individualumo ir sąmoningumo link duodančius dažniausiai meilės jausmus. Modernaus moteriško tapatumo formavimasis vyko neišvengiant tam tikrų praradimų. Siekis įtvirtinti save kaip aktyvų viešumos subjektą moterų savivokos formavimasi darė priklausomą nuo modernėjančios visuomenės artikuliuojamų asmens apibrėžčių, kurių pamatas – modernus vakarietiškas, nepriklausomo „Aš“ modelis. Nepriklausomas individas įsitvirtina ir savo ribas apsibrėžia atskirdamas save nuo kitų, jo egzistencijos prasmė – išreikšti, realizuoti savąjį „Aš“, išskiriant save iš konteksto. Todėl šiuo metu į periferiją ėmė trauktis moteriška į bendrystę orientuota subjekto pozicija, palaikoma individo ir aplinkos sąryšio, santaikos, kai individualumas palenkiamas už jį didesnei visybei. XX a. pradžios moterų kūryboje glaudus (simbiotinis) ryšys su aplinka, išreiškiamas artimumo, meilės, susitaikymo, rūpesčio ir susilieimo motyvais, pasirodo tapatumo paieškų istorijos pradžioje kaip išėities pozicija, nuo kurios atsispiriama ir einama toliau, didesnio savarankiškumo, atskirumo link.

Publications on the Subject of the Dissertation /

Mokslo straipsniai disertacijos tema:

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