

**EMBODIED SUBJECTIVITY
IN THE DIARIES OF VIRGINIA WOOLF,
AINO KALLAS AND ANAÏS NIN**

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LIST OF ARTICLES INCLUDED IN THE DISSERTATION

- I. **Kurvet-Käosaar, Leena.** ““Teemandid tolmuhunnikus” ehk kuidas vaadelda naiste päevikuid.” (““The Diamonds of the Dustheap”: or How to Define Women’s Diaries”). *Keel ja Kirjandus* 3 (2003): 178–191. (Translation into English provided).
- II. **Kurvet-Käosaar, Leena.** “Representations of Woman Writer’s Identity in *A Writer’s Diary* of Virginia Woolf and the Diaries of Aino Kallas.” *Interlitteraria* 6, (2001): 284–300.
- III. **Kurvet-Käosaar, Leena.** “Anaïs With(in) Henry and June: in Search of a Self in *The Diary of Anaïs Nin Volume I* and *Henry and June*.” *Points of Convergence: Selected Papers of the 5th International Tartu Conference on North-American Studies*. Ed. Raili Põldsaar and Krista Vogelberg. Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2003. 64–78.
- IV. **Kurvet-Käosaar, Leena.** “Claiming and Disclaiming the Body in the Early Diaries of Virginia Woolf, Anaïs Nin and Aino Kallas.” *Feminismo/s* 4 (2004): 69–84.
- V. **Kurvet-Käosaar, Leena.** “Tracing Desire in the Diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin.” *Fiction and Autobiography: Modes and Models of Interaction*. Ed. Sabine Coelsch-Foisner and Wolfgang Görtschacher. Salzburg Studies in English Literature and Culture (SEL&C). Vol. 3. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006. 27–40.
- VI. **Kurvet-Käosaar, Leena.** “Maternal Spaces in the Diaries of Aino Kallas, Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin.” *Interlitteraria* 10 (2005): 260–279.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Structure and objectives of the study

Autobiography studies emerged as a field in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet only recently scholars have begun to ask the questions pertaining to the role of the body in the textual formation of the autobiographical self. Originally, it was taken for granted that the self is a unified, coherent and individuated entity. There was no recognition that such an entity was created by repressing or transcending the corporeal. Only when the notion of the autobiographical self gave way to the more flexible notion of subjectivity, one produced by dynamic networks of power situated at the axes of social, historical, cultural and linguistic discourses, it became possible to perceive the subject as embodied and gendered. Grounded in poststructuralist thought, such a notion of subjectivity has opened up possibilities for reading women's autobiographies as palimpsests where the body emerges as an important locus of meaning and a shaper of female subjectivity.

Taking as my starting point the notion of subjectivity rather than the autobiographical self, my dissertation focuses on the representation of the female body in the diaries of three women writers of the first half of the twentieth century – Virginia Woolf (1882–1941), Aino Kallas (1878–1956), and Anaïs Nin (1903–1977).

Grounding my research on the centrality of sexuality and corporeality in the socio-cultural, artistic and intellectual frames of reference of Europe and America at the end of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, the more specific objective of my dissertation is to explore the role of the textual presence and absence of the body in the diaries of the three authors. First of all, I shall analyze the traces of the politics of the body: what modes of being in the body are considered appropriate for a woman and how does she make strategic choices in relation to this propriety? Other related issues include the polarization of thought and feeling within the body versus mind dichotomy, and the representation of female desire. Underlying my investigation is the question of the interrelationship of embodied situating strategies available for Woolf, Nin and Kallas as privileged women in their specific socio-cultural and ideological frameworks and the relationship between female creativity and embodied subjectivity in their (modernist) poetics.

All three authors relate to the modernist enterprise in literature. Virginia Woolf is widely regarded as a central author in the canons of modernism¹ and “women's modernism.”² Anaïs Nin and Aino Kallas are prominent in more

¹ See, e.g., Barrett 1997: 3; Nicholls 1995: 253–254; Podnieks 2000: 9; Silver 1999: 48, 51; Whitworth 2000: 146–147.

² See, e.g., Benstock 1986: 11; Elliott and Wallace 1994: 1; Scott 1990:1; Wexler 1996: 572.

specific modernist literary traditions: while Nin can be seen as a writer inhabiting the margins of Anglo-American modernism,³ Kallas is central in the reconceptualizations of Finnish and Estonian modernism and the literary heritage of *fin de siècle*.⁴ My discussion of the diaries, however, takes as its starting point women's experience of modernity as a heterogeneous configuration of socio-cultural, textual, and political currents characteristic of late 19th and early 20th century European and American society.

The choice of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas, and Anaïs Nin derives first from the existence of a substantial corpus of diaristic writing for all three. In addition, all three authors have been positioned with respect to literary modernism in their respective cultural milieu and the relation of all three writers to literary canons is both a feminist-critical and a national issue. As a recognized canonical writer of high modernism, Virginia Woolf has been a testing ground for feminist reinterpretations from the perspective of biographical research; substantial reinterpretations of her life by Louise DeSalvo, Hermione Lee, and others have shed new light on her problematic relationship with her body and sexuality. Aino Kallas is a canonical, even iconic writer in Finland. Her relation as a woman writer to Estonia and to Estonian letters has been less explored, and it was this that initially drew me to study her diaries intensively. Anaïs Nin may be a para-canonical writer as far as her literary writings are concerned, but her diaries have a central place in a putative canon of Western diaries, notable in particular for her bold treatment of female sexuality. As I pursued the study of these writers, several comparative dimensions emerged that revealed closer affinities between Woolf and Kallas, with Nin providing a useful and energizing foil.

Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin kept a diary more or less throughout their lives. Embarking on the diaristic oeuvre at a relatively young age, partially as a point of entry into the literary profession, the three writers continued to keep the diary on a regular basis also after starting to exercise their literary talent in many different genres and building a reputation as writers. Virginia Woolf started to keep the diary at the age of fifteen and continued, with a few intervals, until her death in 1941. The early diaries of Virginia Woolf were edited by Mitchell A. Leaska and published in a volume titled *Passionate Apprentice: The Early Journals (1897–1909)* in 1990.⁵ The main body of her diary covering the years 1915–1941 was edited by Anne O. Bell and published posthumously in five volumes from 1979 to 1985.⁶ The diary of Anaïs Nin can be considered a major work within her literary heritage; she kept

³ See, e.g., Podnieks 2000: 8; Richard-Allerduce 1998: 4; Tookey 2003: 2.

⁴ See, e.g., Melkas 2006: 23–24; Olesk 1999: 324–326; Rojola 1994: 59–68.

⁵ New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990.

⁶ *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, Volume I, 1915–1919* (HBJ, 1977), *The Diary of Virginia Woolf Volume II, 1920–1924* (HBJ, 1978), *The Diary of Virginia Woolf Volume III, 1925–1930* (HBJ, 1980), *The Diary of Virginia Woolf Volume IV, 1931–1935* (HBJ, 1982), *The Diary of Virginia Woolf Volume V, 1936–1941* (HBJ, 1985).

her diary with utter dedication since the age of eleven until her death in 1975. Her diary has been published selectively in three different series, all of them heavily edited either by the author herself or by the editors. *The Diary of Anais Nin*,⁷ covering in seven volumes the years 1931–1974 was prepared for publication by the author herself. Edited by Nin's second husband Rupert Pole, *The Early Diary of Anais Nin (1914–1931)*⁸ and *The Unexpurgated Diary of Anais Nin (1931–1939)*⁹ consisting mainly of the previously unpublished sections of Anais Nin's manuscript diary with a focus on intimate relationships, was published posthumously. The earliest diaries of Aino Kallas have not been preserved as the author herself later destroyed the volumes covering her school years. Her diaries from the years 1931–1943 were lost during the Second World War and have never been recovered. Aino Kallas edited her diaries covering the years 1897–1931 for publication toward the end of her life.¹⁰ The last volume of her diary, titled *Vaeltava vieraskirja vuosilta 1946–1956 (A Wondering Guestbook from the years 1946–1956)*, was published posthumously in 1957.¹¹

The dissertation consists of an introductory chapter and six published articles (see list of articles). The six articles included in the thesis were written and published over the years 2001–2006 and reflect the gradual shifts in my research interests. My initial focus was the diaries of women writers and the

⁷ *The Diary of Anais Nin Volume I, 1931–1934* (HBJ, 1966); *The Diary of Anais Nin Volume II, 1934–1939* (HBJ, 1967); *The Diary of Anais Nin Volume III, 1939–1944* (HBJ, 1969); *The Diary of Anais Nin Volume IV, 1944–1947* (HBJ, 1971); *The Diary of Anais Nin Volume V, 1947–1955* (HBJ, 1974); *The Diary of Anais Nin Volume VI, 1955–1966* (HBJ, 1976); *The Diary of Anais Nin Volume VII, 1966–1974* (HBJ, 1980).

⁸ *Linotte: the Early Diary of Anais Nin, 1914–1920* (HBJ, 1978); *The Early Diary of Anais Nin, Volume 2: 1920–1923* (HBJ, 1982); *The Early Diary of Anais Nin, Volume 3: 1923–1927. Journal of a Wife* (HBJ, 1983); *The Early Diary of Anais Nin, Volume 4: 1927–1931* (HBJ, 1985).

⁹ *Henry and June: From the Unexpurgated Diary of Anais Nin* (HBJ, 1986); *Incest: From "A Journal of Love": The Unexpurgated Diary of Anais Nin, 1932–1934* (HBJ, 1992); *Fire: From "A Journal of Love": The Unexpurgated Diary, 1934–37* (HBJ, 1996); *Nearer to the Moon: From "A Journal of Love" The Unexpurgated Diary of Anais Nin 1937–1939* (HBJ, 1996).

¹⁰ *Päiväkirja vuosilta 1897–1906* (Helsinki: Otava, 1953); *Päiväkirja vuosilta 1907–1915* (Helsinki: Otava, 1952); *Päiväkirja vuosilta 1916–1921* (Helsinki: Otava, 1953); *Päiväkirja vuosilta 1922–1926* (Helsinki: Otava, 1955); *Päiväkirja vuosilta 1927–1931* (Helsinki: Otava, 1956); *Vaeltava päiväkirja vuosilta 1946–1956* (Helsinki: Otava, 1957). In my dissertation, I refer to the Estonian translations of the above mentioned diary volumes of Aino Kallas, titled in Estonian as *Pärjapunuja: päevaraamat aastaist 1897–1906* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1994); *Jäätunud šampanja: päevaraamat aastaist 1907–1915* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1994); *Hingesild: päevikulehti aastaist 1916–1921* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1993); *Suurlinnade udus ja säras: päevaraamat aastaist 1922–1926* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1996); *Pööripäevad: päevaraamat aastaist 1927–1931* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1996).

¹¹ Helsinki: Otava, 1957.

limits and possibilities of the conceptualizations of the diary genre. Questions of the representations of the body and embodied subjectivity gradually emerged and gained more importance as I was working with the diary texts. I began my research by focusing on the readings of the body within specific socio-cultural frameworks of women's modernity. Such a method required the identification and subsequent analysis of separate occasions when the body was taken up in the diaries as being subject (either via internalization or resistance) to various normative practices characteristic of the specific cultural contexts inhabited by the authors of the diaries. I began to realize, however, that the body is not only an obstacle to the artistic and intellectual development of the three women writers but its inspiring and energizing potential also animates their literary creativity. A methodology focusing on normative structures and practices was not adequate for tackling this paradox. Rather, corporeality had to be read and analyzed from the position of the subject's lived experience and its psychic constitution. Such theoretical framework accommodated well a discussion of the embodied basis of the poetics of writing of the three writers, extending beyond normative frameworks as well as the confining body versus mind binary.

The introductory chapter opens with an overview of the more immediate cultural contexts of modernity of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anais Nin, in particular with regard to the discourses relating to the female body and sexuality. Looking at the cultural climate of Europe at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century from a gendered perspective, I relate Woolf, Kallas and Nin to the normative frameworks of femininity of the 19th century via their family contexts and also consider the implications of the new horizons of self-realization of women and the intellectual and literary revisionings of woman's position in the society to the three writers.

In a separate section of the introductory chapter I will provide an outline of theoretical conceptualizations of the body that have informed my investigation of embodied subjectivity in the diaries of Woolf, Nin and Kallas. I will use the categorization of Elizabeth Grosz who distinguishes between the contemporary conceptualizations of the body as "a surface of social inscription" and the body as "the locus of lived experience" (Grosz 1993: 188). This distinction is echoed in the consideration of the body's role in autobiographical writings by Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, who view the body as "a site of autobiographical knowledge, as well as a textual surface upon which a person's life is inscribed" (Smith and Watson 2002: 37). I have limited my overview of the 'inscribed body' tradition to a discussion of Michel Foucault's ideas on the relationship of power, knowledge and the body elaborated in his *Discipline and Punish*, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", and *History of sexuality, Volume I* and their feminist appropriations and contestations. Initiating and supporting various historically specific cultural readings of the body, Foucault's ideas have been crucial in antiessentialist feminist reconsiderations of the body. Although I have found Foucault's perspective on the body useful for my research in general, I

use him cautiously and selectively as far as his notion of subjectivity is concerned. It risks erasing individual agency and intentionality, which I consider crucial in analyzing women diaries.

If the Foucauldian view of corporeality centers on the body as a “socio-cultural artifact” (Grosz 1993: 115), the feminist phenomenological and psychoanalytically informed perspectives of the body (Simone de Beauvoir, Iris Marion Young, Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray and Hélène Cixous) focus on the subject’s lived embodied experience and “the psychical structuring of the corporeal exterior” (Grosz 1993: 115). Of special interest for me is Beauvoir’s perception of the body as a situation, Kristeva’s concept of *chora* and Cixous’ notion of *écriture féminine*. These have direct pertinence in my analysis of the diaries of Woolf, Kallas and Nin and the ways embodiedness emerges and thus will be discussed in the introductory chapter as well.

In the last section of the introductory chapter, I present the conclusion of my thesis, focusing on the strategies and practices of the representation of the body in the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Anaïs Nin and Aino Kallas as women writers of the period of modernity and the relation between embodied subjectivity and their female poetics of writing.

In article I, “‘The Diamonds of the Dustheap’: or how to define women’s diaries” I focus on a critical consideration of the diary format, a textual practice too simplistically thought to correspond to women’s pattern of life and way of thinking, and frequently regarded as ‘the feminine mode of writing’ by feminist critics of autobiography.¹² The possibilities and limitations offered by such a view of women’s diaries relate importantly to the discussion of the textual construction of embodied subjectivity that I take up in articles III, IV, V and VI via issues concerning the typical structure of (women’s) diaries, the nature of textual space that the diary has historically offered women and the potential of the diaristic discourse for disrupting the normative hierarchies of the public sphere.

In article II, “Representations of the Woman Writer’s Identity in *A Writer’s Diary* of Virginia Woolf and the Diaries of Aino Kallas” I explore the specificity of the diaries of women writers, in particular their positioning in terms of the public and the private sphere, also drawing attention to the privileged position of Virginia Woolf and Aino Kallas in their respective cultural contexts, and the conflicts between being a woman and being a writer. Although the article does not include a discussion of the diaries of Anaïs Nin, the features outlined in the diaries of Virginia Woolf and Aino Kallas as characteristic of the writers’ diaries, can also be applied to the diaries of Anaïs Nin. Contrary to Virginia Woolf and Aino Kallas, who were prolific in many genres, and considered prominent prose writers in their respective cultural contexts, the diary of Anaïs Nin has been the central text of her oeuvre for shaping her reputation (and notoriety) as writer and public figure. I have

¹² See, e.g., Bunkers and Huff 1996: 5; Hogan 1991: 100; Moffat and Painter 1974: 5.

addressed these issues in article III, “Anaïs With(in) Henry and June: in Search of a Self in *The Diary of Anaïs Nin Volume I* and *Henry and June*.”

Articles III, IV (“Claiming and Disclaiming the Body in the Early Diaries of Virginia Woolf, Anaïs Nin and Aino Kallas”), V (“Tracing Desire in the Diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin”) and VI (“Maternal Spaces in the Diaries of Aino Kallas, Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin”) focus more closely on specific themes relating to the representation of the body and writing the body in the diaries of the three women writers. On the one hand, I look at the processes of the creation of subjectivity where the body emerges as a surface inscribed by various culturally specific discourses and a locus of social control. Underlying this line of investigation are feminist appropriations of Foucault’s thought focusing on the relationship of power, knowledge and the body. The docile and regulated body, subjected to the norms and regulations of society, emerges in the early diaries of Virginia Woolf, Anaïs Nin and Aino Kallas through the presentation in society upon coming of age, illness and medical treatment, the body as an obstacle for intellectual and spiritual development, and manifestations of physical desire against the norm of female propriety (article IV). Those entries in the diaries of Woolf, Nin and Kallas that manifest physical desire and erotic feelings (article V) and the entries of Nin’s diary that offer a series of excessively corporeal and sensual portraits of June Miller, reflecting Nin’s struggle to come to terms with her own body (article III) can usefully be examined through Foucault’s idea of the dynamic interrelationship of power and resistance.

When refracting the diaries through the lens of phenomenological-psychoanalytically informed theory, I seek to identify and to discuss those occasions and instances where the body gains ‘lived reality’, where Woolf, Nin and Kallas textually explore the ways they “live their embodied situation in the world” (Moi 1999: 72). In the last article included in the thesis (article VI), I have concentrated on the experience and representation of maternity, both from the position of child and mother. I conclude that these theories of subjectivity not only permit more flexible and incisive readings of the diaries, but also more closely match the poetics of these three women authors, both as manifested in their diaries as well as in their works of fiction and journalistic writings.

1.2. Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas, Anaïs Nin and the cultural climate of Europe at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

1.2.1. Modernism and modernity: a feminist reconceptualization

“On or about December 1910 human nature changed” writes Virginia Woolf in her well-known essay “Character in Fiction” (1924) and continues: “all human relations shifted – those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change, there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics and literature” (1988: 502–503). “I am becoming more and more imbued with the spirit of modernism. /.../ I am moving toward becoming a modern individual,” notes Aino Kallas in a diary entry from January 1910, “but I will always be an old-fashioned woman who adores her children like any petty bourgeois woman” (Kallas 1994a: 148). “I feel like a well-appointed laboratory of the soul – myself, my home, my life – in which none of the vitally fecund or destructive, explosive experiments has yet begun,” writes Nin in the opening section of her first published diary volume (1966: 8). Positioned differently on the early 20th century European and American cultural scene, Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin manifested, both in their diaries, works of fiction and critical writings, an awareness of living at a period of noticeable cultural and social change where shifts in gender relations played an important part.

The need to define female subjectivity that would facilitate in a satisfying manner their creative self-realization as writers is a central aspect of their work emerging in confrontation of varying degree with the patriarchal social expectations of women in the 19th century and finding support in the debates over the redefinition of women’s role in society in relation to marriage, motherhood, education, professional self-realization and women’s political and legal rights at the beginning of the 20th century. One of the defining features that characterize the female subjectivity that came to function as the basis of the (modernist) poetics of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin is the process of reclaiming the female body, in particular in terms of an autonomous definition of female sexuality that is an important component of their poetics of writing. In the following section of this chapter, I will discuss the experience of modernity of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin in relation to the discourses of female subjectivity of wider cultural contexts of their time as well as their immediate familial surroundings, focusing in particular on the reconceptualizations of the female body.

My discussion of embodied subjectivity in the diaries of the three women writers focuses, on the one hand, on the ways the female body emerges in the diaries in relation to the regulatory norms defining it. On the other hand, I also discuss the poetics of Woolf, Kallas and Nin as having its origin in their

embodied life experience as women inhabiting certain socio-cultural contexts. This raises the question of the genderedness of modernist poetics and its basis for women in the revision and reconceptualization of social norms. The traditional (dominantly male) use of the paradigm of literary Modernism has foregrounded, more or less exclusively, aesthetic and formal concerns. In the Anglo-American conceptualizations of modernism, influenced by the New Critics and T. S. Eliot's "doctrines of impersonality and of the objective correlative" (Hanson 1998: 203), literary works were carefully isolated from their wider cultural contexts. It thus appeared "blunt, banal, even gauche to discuss modernist writing as a critique of twentieth-century culture" (DeKoven 1992: 12). Taking as my starting point the feminist perspectives on modernism that expose the male-centered and masculinist essence of the concept, visible in the timing of modernism, its leading formal and thematic markers as well as the resulting canon of modernist literature,¹³ my thesis has been informed by those feminist critics¹⁴ who have grounded their discussions of modernism on the central importance of the socio-cultural contexts of the era.

Challenging the view of transcendent art, feminist critics have made visible the extent to which modernist literature was "always embedded in particular social and ideological systems in which gender was a key element" (Hanson 1998: 204). Several feminist critics of modernism have highlighted the need to look for the implications of the modernist motto of "making it new" not only in women's texts but also in the ways they managed their lives and conceived themselves, placing emphasis on the defiance of normative configurations of gender roles.¹⁵

Approaching the question of modernism and gender from the perspective of a cultural critic, Rita Felski calls into doubt the very usefulness of the concept as such. She presents it as a set of dominantly formal markers that makes it possible to view some literary texts as "embodying the truth of the modern *Zeitgeist* in a uniquely representative way" (1995: 26) and proposes, instead, to use the more flexible concept of modernity. Aiming at a wider gendered perspective of the modern period, Felski as well as Ann Ardis argue for the need to take into consideration not only a few "exemplary canonical [literary] texts" by women writers but also the impact of mass political movements¹⁶ as well as various aspects of popular culture such as fashion, consumer culture, journalism

¹³ See, for example, Elliott and Wallace 1994; Friedman and Fuchs 1989; Hanson 1998: 203–234; Harrison and Peterson 1997; Scott 1990.

¹⁴ See, e.g., DeKoven 1999: 174–193; Hanson 1998: 203–234; Gilbert and Gubar 1987, 1989, 1994; Felski 1995.

¹⁵ See Benstock 1986: 3; Hanscombe and Smyers 1987: 11; Podnieks 2000: 74.

¹⁶ Several feminist critics of modernism have argued that modernism's formal innovations (manifesting itself both in the works of male and female writers) can be, to an important extent, attributed specifically to the influence of the radical implications of the turn-of-the-century feminism and the erosion of the 19th Victorian concepts of femininity (see DeKoven 1999: 174–175; Gilbert and Gubar 1988: xii).

and radical constructions of feminine sexuality (Felski 1995: 27–28, Ardis 2003: 1). Felski also highlights the necessity to include in the analysis of women's experience of modernity women belonging to different strata of society and a concern for the everyday and the mundane, the areas of women's lives usually dismissed as insignificant (1995: 28).

Although the three women my thesis focuses on fall into the category that Felski rejects as limited in its representativeness,¹⁷ I find Felski's claim that modernism is only one aspect of women's modernity (1995: 25) useful for my research on embodied subjectivity in the diaries of Woolf, Kallas and Nin. It is certainly true that their female poetics that emerges from their work as a result of their life experience as women inhabiting a certain socio-cultural context challenges the male-centered aesthetic framework of modernism in interesting ways. More importantly, however, it is the representation of that life experience itself in their diaries as well as other personal writings that makes visible their gendered experience of modernity. To a large extent, my analysis of the diaries has focused on the representation of the body in relation to the everyday life of the three writers. I have taken particular interest in the interrelationship of the domestic aspects of their lives (household duties, maternity, social events, personal relations) and their self-perception as women of letters, so as to make visible the crucial role their bodily experience has played in the formation of their female aesthetics.

In section 1.2.2. I will concentrate on the experience of modernity of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin via their family background, relating them to the normative frameworks of femininity of the 19th century, in order to make visible the varying configurations these frameworks assumed in their immediate familial surroundings. In section 1.2.3. I will explore the relation of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin to the repositionings of woman's position at the beginning of the 20th century brought about by the women's emancipation movement. At the end of the section I will briefly look at the influence of the discourses of sexuality, emerging as an important nexus of public debates in Europe at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, on Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin.

¹⁷ Felski criticizes in particular the focus on many feminist scholars on Virginia Woolf and Gertrude Stein as typical representatives of women's modernism that, in her opinion, fails to sufficiently take into account their privileged and exceptional position within modernity.

1.2.2. 19th century origins: the family background of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin

Virginia Woolf (b. in 1882) and Aino Kallas (b. in 1878) were born into prominent families with an awareness of lineage that could be traced back for many generations. This played an important role for both of them. Virginia Woolf and Aino Kallas spent their childhood and adolescence in a distinctively 19th century milieu that, however, had relatively different implications for them. In the Anglo-American culture in particular, the second half of the 19th century has been characterized by a widening split between the public and private sphere and the association of women with the latter (Culley 1985: 3). The prime (upper-middle-class) feminine virtues of the period were patience, self-sacrifice, sweetness of temperament, virginal innocence, asexuality, dedication to maternal duties and to the husband's well-being and efficient household management (Peterson 1984: 677, Marsh 2001: 100). The figure who came to symbolize those virtues was the Angel of the House, named after a popular poem by a Victorian poet Coventry Patmore. Men, on the other hand, were featured as outstanding male individuals corresponding to the ideology of the 'great men' and/or as industrious breadwinners for their family, characterized by activeness, progressiveness, and their creative and inventive abilities (March 2001: 100). As Finnish researches of family history have demonstrated, the typical gender roles of the Finnish educated middle class (in Finnish *sivistyneistö*) of the second half of the 19th century were quite similar; the man's role was his public self-realization and acting as a breadwinner for his family and that of a woman was her dedication to her husband and the upbringing of children (Häggman 1994: 249–252, Räisänen 1995: 261–274).

* * * *

In her memoirs, Virginia Woolf discusses her family inheritance as corresponding in full to the Victorian social order even at times when it was already becoming outdated. She describes her father Leslie Stephen as "the most typical of Victorians," a jealous, possessive, bad-tempered domestic tyrant, looking upon woman as his slave (Woolf 1985b: 125). Together with Virginia's half-brothers George and Gerald Duckworth, he created an atmosphere that was "at least fifty years behind the times" (Woolf 1985b: 127). The figure of the Victorian patriarch who can be seen as an obstacle to the advancement of women is also prominent in Woolf's feminist piece of writing *Three Guineas*, where, in an undoubtedly autobiographical move, she speaks on behalf of and to "the daughters of educated men" (see Woolf 1998: 151–414). In a diary entry from November 28, 1928, his father's 96th birthday, Virginia Woolf is thankful for her father for having passed away many years ago for "his life would have entirely ended [hers]" by making it "inconceivable" for her to become a writer (Woolf 1980: 208). Such gloomy and negative portraits of Leslie Stephen, however, do only half-justice to her father who, although

considering it either unimportant or impossible (given her fragile mental condition) to give Virginia a formal education, nevertheless supported and encouraged her interest in reading during her childhood and saw her already at the age of eleven as his possible “literary successor and intellectual heir” (Leaska 1998: 75). Virginia Woolf may not have been familiar with his thoughts on this matter (he discussed Virginia’s future in several letters to his wife) but, as her early diary demonstrates, she certainly appreciated the books her father gave her as presents and selected from his library for her to read (see Woolf 1990: 10, 22, 38, 49, 57, 59, 69, 105, 108–109).

The Victorianism of Virginia Woolf’s childhood and adolescence was, however, not upheld or embodied solely via her father. Although Leslie Stephen stood at its center and, especially during his later years, greatly contributed to it, her two half-brothers from her mother’s side, her mother Julia Stephen and her half-sister Stella Duckworth as well as an extended family circle of relatives played a significant role in it. In her essay “Professions for Women,” Woolf describes at length and in quite vivid language the killing of a phantom figure, the Angel in the House whom she viewed as a dangerous obstacle to pursuing the profession of letters. In a similar manner to the diary entry where Woolf formulates her existence as a writer and that of her father in mutually exclusive manner, in “Professions for Women” it is either the Angel in the House or she herself as a writer who must die. As Woolf makes clear, the Angel in the House is a generic figure, “[i]n those days—the last of Queen Victoria—every house had its Angel” (Woolf 1942: 236).

When Virginia Woolf drew a portrait of the Angel in the House in her essay, her mother Julia Stephen must have functioned effectively as one of her models. After her mother’s death, Woolf’s half-sister Stella Duckworth took over the duties of the Angel at home and after Stella’s death, Leslie Stephen attempted, as Woolf remorsefully notes in “A Sketch of the Past,” to impose such role on Virginia’s sister Vanessa. If Virginia Woolf does only half-justice to her father in creating a gloomy and spiteful portrait of him in her memoirs, her depiction of her mother is much more ambivalent. In some sense she is portrayed as the perfect Victorian lady, for example with reference to her upbringing, her choice of her first husband, her dedication to helping those less fortunate than herself that she often undertook at the expense of spending time with her own children. However, despite the range of limitations that following the stereotypical female role had imposed on her life, Virginia Woolf remembers her mother lovingly and her haunted presence that she only felt escaping after finishing *To the Lighthouse* (1927) suggests a deeper and sought-after influence of Julia Stephen on Virginia Woolf than the metaphor of killing the Angel in the House allows to assume.

Creating a portrait of her mother in her memoir is not an easy task for Virginia Woolf as Julia Stephen seems to keep slipping out of the socio-cultural settings Woolf tries to place her into, at the same time refusing a different reminiscence of her. As I have argued in article VI (see pp. 270–272), the two

first memories that Virginia Woolf describes in “A Sketch of the Past” that focus on the intimate semi-conscious physical bond of Virginia Woolf with her mother, are closely related to Woolf’s poetics. Similar kind of bond emerges in Woolf’s early diary in the entries describing the illness and death of her half-sister Stella (see article IV, pp. 76–77) who assumed a maternal role in the family after Julia Stephen’s death. She also sought maternal affection in her relationships with other women, such as, for example, Violet Dickinson, her sister Vanessa, even Vita Sackville-West and Ethel Smyth and formulated as a basis for woman’s writing an intimate bond between two women, Chloe and Olivia in *A Room of One’s Own*. It seems that despite the ‘battle-cry’ against the Angel in the House in “Professions for Women,” rather than killing her, Virginia Woolf, throughout her work, sought to give her a personality beyond the narrow patriarchal framework of gender roles in Victorian society, weaving her into a variety of roles where the past and the present meet in illuminating and creative manner.

It is interesting that both women are also described in “A Sketch of the Past” in relation to their deep love for their husbands (in the case of Julia Stephen, her love for her first husband Herbert Duckworth) that suggests also physical intimacy in addition to spiritual dedication, a feature that is not compatible with the image of the Angel in the House. Referring to the love between Jack Hills and Stella Duckworth, Virginia Woolf sees it as “a ruby /.../ glowing, red, clear, intense” as an “incandescence [that] was in Stella’s whole body” (Woolf 1985b: 105). It is not unlikely that Virginia Woolf may have had that “standard of love (Woolf 1985b: 105) in mind when in a letter to Leonard Woolf written after he had proposed to her, she wrote “I want everything – love, children, adventure, intimacy, work,” admitting, however, that she felt no physical attraction to him and it could be “the sexual side of it” that could make their marriage problematic (Woolf 1975: 469).

The reason why thirty-year-old Virginia Woolf was struggling with her lack of physical attraction to Leonard Woolf, can however, (at least hypothetically) be attributed to reasons other than the partial failure of the relationship to live up to the standard of love embodied by Virginia Woolf’s half-sister and her fiancé. Both in “A Sketch of the Past” and in “Old Bloomsbury” Virginia Woolf characterizes her relationship with her two half-brothers George and Gerald Duckworth in at least semi-abusive terms. One of her first memories is being “ashamed of or afraid of her own body” and relates to an episode in her childhood when Gerald, lifting her onto a slab outside the dining-room for standing dishes upon, began to explore her body, including her “private parts” (Woolf 1985b: 68–69). In “22 Hyde Park Gate” and again in “Old Bloomsbury,” she describes the unwelcome intimacy with George who would come into her room at night, fling himself on the bed and take her into his arms (Woolf 1985b: 155, 160). The interpretation of Woolf’s biographers of her accounts of these incidents and the possible effect of them varies. Assuming a more radical view, Louise DeSalvo sees Virginia Woolf as “a sexually abused

child /.../ an incest survivor” (1989: 1) and relates this experience directly to her suicide attempts and her death (DeSalvo 1989: 104–115) as well as her lifelong dislike or even a terror of heterosexual sexuality (DeSalvo 1989: 119). Quentin Bell, although admitting that George “ha[d] left Virginia with a deep aversion to lust” attributes what he calls Virginia’s disposition “to shrink from the crudities of sex” to “some profound and perhaps congenital inhibition” (1972: 234) rather than her relationship with her half-brother and restrains from relating it to her mental illness (Bell, Q. 1972: 46). Offering a thorough and in-depth analysis of all textual evidence (including Virginia Woolf’s letters and the manuscript versions of her memoirs) of the offensive behavior of her half-brothers, Hermione Lee considers them to be “distressing and disturbing memories” the damage of which to her sense of herself should not be ignored or belittled but does not see this as exhaustively explaining her “fear of admitting sexual feelings in autobiographical writing” (1997: 126, 127).

The portrait of the Victorian family that Virginia Woolf creates in her autobiographical writings highlights not only its distinctive gender hierarchies but also the hypocritical nature of the ideal family values that created a sinister and gloomy atmosphere in her childhood home and left a long lasting traumatizing effect on her life. Looking back at her childhood home at 22 Hyde Park Gate, “a place tangled and matted with emotion, the house of a family /.../ thrown together by /.../ so many traditions” (1985b: 161) Virginia Woolf feels “suffocated by the recollection” and is only thankful that with the move of the Stephen children to Bloomsbury after their father’s death in 1904, the life that she was afraid she had to “endure for ever” (Woolf 1985b: 161) had come to an end.

* * * *

Aino Kallas (née Krohn) always traced her family heritage back paternally, perceiving herself as the inheritor of the character traits of her father’s family. She explored their significance in the autobiographical novel *Katinka Rabe* (1920) as well as in numerous diary entries. *Katinka Rabe* was written as a commemoration of her father who died during a boating trip in 1888 when Aino Krohn was 10 years old. At the end of the novel, the death of the protagonist’s father marks the end of her childhood. Yet in the novel, alongside her father, several female characters, such as her grandmother Mummuli (Julia Dorothea Krohn), her aunt Dela Delvigk (Emilie Hackman-Schreck, aunt Emmy), her two nieces Lenzy (Eugenie de Pelissky) and Mirka (Mary von Bock), and her wet-nurse and nanny Anni also gain prominence. Katinka’s character emerges to an important extent in relation to her grandmother who is described as a strong-willed matriarch, who is in charge of the Hovi (Kiiskilä) household. Katinka often finds Mummuli’s attempts to control her life (triggered by her wish to ensure that she gets the upbringing suitable for a girl of her social background) confining. The novel includes several episodes where Katinka resourcefully bypasses these attempts, realizing her own little plans involving a transgression

of the normative behavior prescribed by her grandmother. The danger inherent in the confirmation to the social code of femininity of the 19th century as well as a female family tradition of standing up to these codes is made visible by Katinka's aunt Dela Delvigk who voices the fear that Katinka's passionate temperament, like the bushes in the garden of Hovi, will be under her grandparents' care overly "cleared up and pruned" (Kallas 1930: 170). When Dela's conversation partner, Katinka's nephew Alphonse Rabe defends the old social order by maintaining that such manner of upbringing may be necessary in order to secure Katinka's compatibility with the destiny determined by her social status, Dela argues that the Rabe women have through ages had problems with "fitting into their destinies" that have always been too small for them, "like narrow corsets or tight shoes" (Kallas 1930: 170).

In the first volume of her diary, the young Aino Krohn records a conversation with her aunt Emmy (the prototype for Dela Delvigk), who recognizes Aino as "one of the women of [their] family," created for love, not for marriage, and destined to suffer for their passions (Kallas 1994b: 136). In a later diary volume, Aino Kallas describes her niece Lilly von Düring (the daughter of aunt Emmy) as a "the priestess of free love /.../ immensely sensual, /.../ a born lover, devoid of any wifely or maternal qualities" and views her "endless gift for enjoyment" as one form of manifestation of the Krohn temperament (1994a: 117). The figure of a woman characterized by her resistance to the norms of femininity of the 19th century by way of her passionate temper that keeps seeking for the experience in love throughout her life and cannot be contained by the boundaries of marriage was, for Aino Kallas, one of the defining features of the Krohn family inheritance that keeps surfacing in her diary as well as in her fictional work. In many ways, this figure bears strong resemblance to the well-known Decadent woman's ideal, *femme fatale*, simultaneously "beautiful and mortifying, seducing and killing" (Lyytikäinen 2003: 16).

Aino Kallas is at once drawn to this subversive ideal of femininity and terrified by it. As a young woman, after her aunt has confided her about the passionate and unruly nature of the women of her family, she admits to harboring a "demon in her soul, a black, dismal force" that makes her shiver, being at the same time determined to overcome the power of the black demon and love with "the force of life not with that of death" (Kallas 1994b: 138). In her description of Lilly, Aino Kallas points out that her sensual nature finds expression "in kind and sunny manner," there is in her, "not a trace of a bloodsucker, a vampire" (Kallas 1994a: 117). Although Aino Kallas then hastens to distance herself from Lilly, I would argue that by the time when she comes to view herself as a 'red ruby' (see also section 1.3.3. of the current chapter),¹⁸ she is also seeking in a way to live up to her family's heritage of passionate women "created for love but not for marriage" (Kallas 1994b: 136).

¹⁸ I find it extremely interesting that Virginia Woolf and Aino Kallas use an identical metaphor for referring to the erotic dimension of love.

At the same time, she also relates the ‘demonic’ qualities of her character to her self-perception as an artist. Referring to her will to create, she writes on August 8, 1928: “I love my slavery, love the shackles, [love] my Demon.” (Kallas 1996a: 100). This aspect of the role of passion is also visible in the ‘red ruby’ entries of her diary (see Kallas 1993:10–11): although the fire burning inside her signals her yearning for love, she also perceives it as a force that can be applied for completing her “life’s work” (Kallas 1993: 11).

Katinka Rabe centers mostly on scenes of childhood taking place in her paternal grandparents’ mansion Hovi (Kiiskilä) but it also offers glimpses of her life with her parents in Helsinki. Katinka’s mother emerges in the novel as a woman with a weak will for life, inclined to be overwhelmed by household and financial problems and failing health who has no power over Katinka. The description of Katinka’s father conforms rather well to the Victorian ideal of the ‘great men’: “there existed a category of men who did not belong only to themselves or to their family but for whom that wide and very vague conglomeration of people called the nation had undebatable claims. He [Katinka’s father] also belonged to this category” (Kallas 1930: 57).¹⁹ Despite his dedication to serving his people, Katinka’s father is described as still having enough time to dedicate to his daughter, time that, unlike the time spent with her mother, Katinka cherished very much. Although Julius Krohn, the father of Aino Kallas died when Aino Kallas was only 10 years old and she could only learn to know him as a man of letters indirectly via reading his published work as well as his letters and diaristic notes, her father certainly had his share in her determination to become a writer.²⁰ Father’s intellectual heritage can also be felt in the diary entry from August 1899, when she resolves the conflict arising from “the change of nation” she feels she needs to undergo upon marrying Oskar Kallas by assuring herself that as a writer, she will remain true to her homeland (Kallas 1994b: 160, see also article II, pp. 295–296). The children of

¹⁹ The cultural context in Finland at the end of the 19th century was certainly very different from that of Great Britain. The Finnish national culture started to develop only in the 19th century and established itself as a force to be reckoned with by the end of the century against the influence of both the Swedish culture that had dominated Finland for many centuries and, even more markedly, against the Russian Empire. Finland became an Autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in 1809. In 1899 the so-called February Manifesto, calling into doubt the status of the Finnish Constitution was issued by Emperor Nicholas II, starting a period of resistance that lasted until independence was attained in 1917. The father of Aino Kallas, Julius Krohn (1835–1888), was a devout supporter and advancer of Finnish-speaking culture in Finland, a poet and folklorist and a Professor of Finnish Literature at the University of Helsinki.

²⁰ Kai Laitinen analyzes in autobiographical vein a passage in Aino Kallas’ first novel *Kirsti* (1902) where the protagonist tries to bring back the memory of her father by collecting all the memories of him from her childhood as well as trying to familiarize herself with his personal writings and published works (Laitinen 1997: 32–33).

Julius Krohn from his first marriage were all outstanding Finnish intellectuals, whose influence on Aino Kallas is even more perceivable.²¹

In a diary entry from March 1901, Aino Kallas admits that her mother has never had any significant influence on her life, although she was always in the centre of her thoughts (1994b: 198). In the same entry, she also highlights the aesthetic qualities of her character, as well as her linguistic talents (Kallas 1994b: 199) that offer a fleeting glimpse of the woman Maria Wilhelmina Lindroos (1841–1917), the mother of Aino Kallas, may have been during her days as the first headmistress of the Finnish Gymnasium for Girls in Helsinki, a contributor to various children's papers and the author of a storybook for children. Both in *Katinka Rabe* and in her diary Aino Kallas resists any identification with her mother, picturing herself as radically different from her, in particular with regard to passion for life that she finds utterly missing in her mother.

The maternal heritage, however, emerges in the diary through her maternal aunt Ida Godenhjelm.²² It is aunt Ida, who in 1898, when Aino Krohn's life revolves around social events and her first loves, reminds her of a different woman's ideal, more compatible, in her opinion, both with the times and with the personality of Aino Krohn. During a conversation recorded in Aino Kallas' diary she humorously scolds her for being like "some old fashioned lady not like a modern girl," reminding Aino of issues of women's rights she used to be interested in as well as her possible entrance to Helsinki University (Kallas 1994b: 44). In Virginia Woolf's memoir, her transfer from the 19th to the 20th century is foreshadowed by the rebellious countenance of herself and her sister Vanessa toward their father and their creation of a free and bohemian atmosphere in Bloomsbury after their father's death. In the diary of Aino Kallas, the reminder about a shift in gender roles that she is expected to go along with interestingly comes from a woman a generation older than herself, testifying to the extent to which the family of Aino Kallas encouraged and supported her professional self-realization. Aunt Ida is also a powerful maternal figure whose support and tender care Aino Kallas comes to feel especially strongly when in late 1908 she has lung problems and the doctors consider the possibility of her developing tuberculosis. Although in her search for the experience of all encompassing love, Aino Kallas seems to trace her tempera-

²¹ Kaarle Krohn (1863–1933) was an internationally renowned folklorist and a professor of Helsinki University; Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960) was a religious composer and also a professor at Helsinki University. The half-sister of Aino Kallas, Helmi Krohn-Setälä was a writer and the editor of the children's journal *Pääskynen* who published both fiction and biographies. Aino Kallas corresponded with her half-brothers and sister regularly throughout her life as she did with her sister Aune Krohn (1881–1967) who was strongly religious, never married and dedicated 17 years of her life to taking care of their mother who suffered from mental problems.

²² Ida Godenhjelm (1837–1913) was a teacher in the Finnish Gymnasium for Girls in Helsinki and in 1870s editor of the children's magazine *Pääskynen*.

ment back through the women of her father's family, it is also possible that the relationship of aunt Ida and her husband Frederik also functions as a different model for her, one highlighting not flaming passion but close and intimate friendship lasting through life. In a diary entry from April 1909 (1994a: 124) she compares their life to two characters of Greek mythology, Philemon and Baucis who, because of their great love for each other and generosity toward other people, were turned by the gods into a tree with intertwining boughs so that they would not be separated from each other in death. In the diary entries focusing on her (frequently problematic) relationship with her husband, Aino Kallas often uses figures of being tied to Oskar via the bonds of love (see, e.g., Kallas 1994a: 183, 193, 205, Kallas 1995: 105), manifested not via (physical) passion but via a feeling of close friendship and a sense of security.²³

* * * *

In the self-perception of Anaïs Nin (b. in 1903), family lineage does not play a role compatible in its importance to that of Virginia Woolf and Aino Kallas. The first volume of her diary opens with the description of her home in Louveciennes for which she creates an outstanding literary genealogy, relating to Flaubert, Balzac, Maupassant and Proust (see Nin 1966: 3). As I have argued in Article III (see pp. 72–73), not only does such opening section of her diary function to convince the reader of Nin's essence as an artist whose main characteristic feature is her capacity to transcend the daily, but it also positions her as the heiress of the French literary tradition, that she views as more sophisticated and also more exotic as American literary culture. Both her insistence on her utterly artistic nature and her preference of French culture can be traced back to the influence of Nin's father. In a diary entry from the fall of 1953 Nin discusses her relation to her parents. "I have been more identified with my father than with my mother," she writes, "because he was an artist, and my mother's human qualities (generosity, motherliness, devotion, sacrifice) seemed to me then to be a submission to the *condition humaine* rather than a

²³ The harmonious love of Philemon and Baucis is in the legend related to the harmony of nature. In her diary, Aino Kallas often highlights the closeness to nature both of herself (see, e.g., Kallas 1994a: 64, 65) and her husband Oskar Kallas (see, e.g., Kallas 1994a: 116–177, 158). Oskar's healthy frame of mind that Aino Kallas considers to be one of his most valuable qualities, helps her to attain a wholeness of being (see, e.g., Kallas 1994a: 98, 100, 112) that she often views as a necessary basis of her existence. At the same time, the 'natural unity' that she feels with Oskar does not cater for the needs of the more cultured and sophisticated side of her personality that she relates to the spirit of the modern times (see Kallas 1909: 6). In one diary entry she describes the perfect relationship between husband and wife as the unison of woman's instinctual closeness to nature and man's reflective and generative masculine talent, granting him an access to objectivity while remaining related to nature via the woman. Aino Kallas finds her own relationship with Oskar inadequate because of the reversal of these roles (see Kallas 1994a: 116–117).

recreation of it. For every day I rile at the human condition, which means domestic life, chores, nursing the sick, marketing, mothering of others, and I have a secret inner religion of art, a wish to transcend the human" (Nin 1974: 130).

As far as the portrayal of Nin's mother is concerned, she corresponds to a great extent with the stereotypical 19th century woman's ideal of domesticity and submissiveness. An earlier entry, however, portrays her 'human qualities' in much more negative light: "she became all Mother, sexless, all maternity, a devouring maternity enveloping us" (Nin 1966: 243). It is significant how much this image of motherhood reflects Beauvoir's description of the possibilities of motherhood going astray in *The Second Sex*: "Mother in our culture," she writes, "is almost always a discontented woman: sexually she is frigid or unsatisfied; socially she feels herself inferior to man; she has no independent grasp on the world or on the future. She will seek to compensate all these frustrations through her child" (1993: 540). The situation of Nin's mother was, however, rather different from that of a wife in a traditional bourgeois (middle-class) marriage that Beauvoir bases her analysis of motherhood on. Coming from a wealthy and eminent Danish-French family in Cuba, Nin's mother Rosa Culmell y Vaurigaud in 1902 married a "penniless musician of minor Spanish nobility," Joaquín Nin y Castellanos (Bair 1995: 3) and was, after the birth of three children and a period of temporary abode in many different cities (Paris, Havana, Berlin, Brussels, Arcachon), abandoned by his husband in 1913. Their marriage was guided by Joaquín Nin's capricious demands for his well-being, the dedication of Rosa to promoting her husband's career as musician, constant financial troubles, frequent quarrels between Rosa and Joaquín, and his general dislike for his children that took a monstrous shape in his frequent beatings of them as well as his wife. He also took to the habit of following his children with his photo camera, especially set on taking pictures of them naked. According to Suzette Henke, "Nin's only physical and emotional intimacy with her father took place under the guise of ritual punishment or pornographic photo sessions (1998: 59, see also Bair 1995:16–18, Nin 1992: 105, 1996b: 207).

After unsuccessfully attempting to make both ends meet in Europe, in 1914 Rosa left with children for New York, where she supported her family by pursuing different business initiatives with varying success. Anaïs Nin has interpreted the move to New York as her mother's effort to estrange the family from their father, "not only by distance, but by immersing [them] in a contrasting culture" the value of which she saw in bourgeois virtues of idealism, purity, honesty, sense of duty and self-sacrifice (1966: 243–244). Perhaps because of Nin's traumatic childhood experience with her father, in America, she did not escape from his influence, but rather sought after his presence in her life even more desperately, claiming to have launched her life-long diaristic oeuvre during the trip to New York as a letter to her absent father (Bair 1995: 29).

The quest for her father came to dominate all her life, developing into a psychological obsession, expressing itself in a pervasive emotional insecurity

characterized by intensive self-identification with him as an artist(ic personality) and as a female Don Juan, and by a life-long commitment to the search of a perfect lover (see Henke 1998: 59–60). The categorical body versus mind split in the early diary, the preference of the transcendence of the artistic realm versus the immanence of daily life visible in the early diary of Anaïs Nin (see Article IV, pp. 78–80) can also be interpreted as a symbolic juxtaposition of the maternal and the paternal forces in her life. The opposition of the bourgeois institution of marriage that Nin seeks to confront as an impediment to her artistic development can be viewed within the same framework, revealing, however, in a paradoxical manner, an undoubtedly significant influence of her mother's scale of values on Nin's life as she never openly challenged the premises of the institution of marriage but instead, made an ongoing effort to keep up the appearance of a proper wife via an elaborate web of lies and deceptions. In Nin's self-perception via the conflict of maternal and paternal sphere of influence, her lifelong interest in and engagement with psychoanalysis certainly played a vital role that I will look into in the following section of the current chapter.

1.2.3. Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin and the shifting terrain of gender relations in the early 20th century

In “Old Bloomsbury”, Virginia Woolf marks as the symbolic moment of her entrance into a new era the move of the Stephen children to 46 Gordon Square where “[e]verything was going to be new; everything was going to be different. Everything was on trial” (Woolf 1985b: 163). Decorating the house in more modern and creative style and reorganizing their daily life in order to provide sufficient time for Vanessa's painting and Virginia's writing was part of an extensive remaking of the life of the Stephen sisters, a literal creation of ‘a room of their own’. A defining feature of their new life was an abrupt break with the Victorian manner of socializing with the opposite sex that according to Virginia Woolf, was “carried on as relations between countries are now – with ambassadors and treaties” (Woolf 1985b: 99). With their brother Thoby's Cambridge friends, Clive Bell, Lytton Strachey, Leonard Woolf, and Sydney Saxon-Turner, the group of friends forming, together with the Stephen sisters the nucleus of the Bloomsbury Group, all etiquette concerning attire and proper conversation topics could be dropped and their heated discussions ranged from issues of the nature of truth and beauty and atmosphere in literature to sex. As an example of the freedom of spirit at 46 Gordon Square, Virginia Woolf tells the oft-quoted story of Lytton Strachey pointing at a stain on Vanessa's white dress and asking “Semen?” (Woolf 1985b: 173). “With that one word,” Woolf continues, “all barriers of reticence and reserve went down” (1985b: 173). Woolf admits to seeing the limit of such freedom of spirit as far as sexual

matters are concerned (see Woolf 1985b: 172), just as she is forced to rethink her position on marriage as a “very low down affair” (Woolf 1985b: 169), they all, as she assumed, wished to avoid or at least postpone as long as possible when Vanessa married Clive Bell in 1907. However, it was still within the context of the Bloomsbury group, where the process of revising “many customs and beliefs” (Woolf 1985b: 174) about gender roles and sexuality in her life was initiated.

For Aino Kallas, the process of revising gender roles starts during her engagement to Oskar Kallas when she stands up against the moral code, which excluded the recognition or manifestation of female desire in conjugal relationship. A few years later, taking a critical look at the stereotypical gender roles within marriage at the beginning of the 20th century, she notes that the modern wife is no longer satisfied with an assurance that she has taken good care of her husband. Instead, she is expecting from him to be her intellectual companion and her lover, to offer his contribution to issues “from all fields of life circling in her head” as well as to her need for change and adventure (Kallas 1994b: 256). More than a decade later, feeling that the desperate search for a way to make her role as a wife compatible with her creative, intellectual and sensual needs has failed, she voices a much more radical claim for personal freedom: “Am I not justified to do with myself, with my soul and my body, what I want?” (Kallas 1993: 90).

Problematizing the foundations of the traditional institution of marriage, seeking alternative models to it and envisioning woman’s social role beyond her domestic and wifely duties were among the central concerns of the first wave of feminism. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, leaving behind the 19th century ideal of femininity viewing woman’s role in domesticity, her dedication to her husband and the upbringing of children, women increasingly began claiming a foothold in the public sphere, fighting for the right for higher education and entrance into the professional world formerly reserved only for men, as well as for political and legal rights. The period from 1880 to 1920 can be considered the heyday of the first wave of feminism with the woman suffrage movement as its most visible political agenda and the public image of the “independent, educated, (relatively) sexually liberated” New Woman, “oriented more toward productive life in the public sphere than toward reproductive life in the home” (DeKoven 1999: 174, see also Ledger and Luckhurst 2000: xvii, Offen 2000: 188–189). Viewed as a challenge to male supremacy in the arts as well as in the professions and a danger to the integrity of the family, the New Woman, well known throughout Europe, USA and Scandinavia, provoked a great deal of hostility and fear (Showalter 1992: 38).

Becoming part of “the journalistic vernacular of the day” the New Woman also made frequent appearance in fiction both in the works of the British feminist writers such as, for example, Sarah Grand, Mona Caird, Menie Muriel Dowe and Ella Depworth Dixon as well as (often via a critical and negative

portrayal) in novels by male writers (e.g., Thomas Hardy, George Gissing, Henry James, Bram Stoker) (Ledger and Luckhurst 2000: 75). In the USA, writers such as Kate Chopin, Ellen Glasgow, Edith Wharton, Willa Cather and Charlotte Perkins Gilman were associated with creating “the literary New Woman” (see Rudnick 1991: 74). In Finland, the concept of the New Woman became more widely known at the beginning of the 20th century. On the one hand, the figure was related to freedom, change and the new worldview. On the other, the New Woman was often portrayed as someone possessing criminal, demonic and beastly qualities, therefore posing an especially severe threat to the society, in addition to the dangers inherent in her striving for independence and freedom outside the framework of marriage (Rojola 1999: 156).

Criticism of the institution of (bourgeois) marriage was one of the defining features of the New Woman. In Great Britain, Mona Caird and Ella Hepworth Dixon, among others, problematized the foundations of marriage, finding them both outdated and unrealizable in contemporary society (see Caird 1888/2000: 77–80, Dixon 1899/2000: 83–88). As Dixon argues, the compulsory mid-Victorian attitude of “the wifely pose [as] one of blind adoration,” has given way, due to “the enormous strides which have been made in the feminine education during the last twenty years,” to a more critical attitude of young women toward marriage (Dixon 2000: 84). As the widening social horizon of self-realization for women has opened up other alternatives for managing their lives outside the bonds of matrimony, the contemporary woman, argues Dixon, if she chooses to marry, does so as a result of her own deliberate choice, not as a result of social pressure. Dixon views as the ideal of contemporary marriage the union of equals, an arrangement from which, in her opinion, men should also greatly contribute. If the Angel in the House (often in reality taking the shape of the shrew, the nagging woman, and the jealous wife) is replaced by “an agreeable companion, a gracious mistress and a loyal friend /.../ the standard of human felicity will be steadily raised” (Dixon 2000: 88).

Henrik Ibsen’s play *A Doll’s House* (1879) that Dixon mentions as one of the models for contemporary woman about the ideas on marriage (Dixon 2000: 86) also influenced the literary depiction of marriage in Finland at the end of the 19th century (Lappalainen 1999: 53). Lappalainen sees the criticism of the institution of marriage (in realistic fiction at the end of the 19th century) mainly targeted against the so-called arranged marriages and economic considerations regarding marriage, while bourgeois marriages based on love, were, according to her, viewed as providing a more progressive potential (Lappalainen 1999: 53). Some critics however, view love and marriage in solely antithetic relationship and as “an example par excellence of the master-slave relationship,” manifested, for example, in the work of L. Onerva (Parente-Čapková 2003: 70–71). The criticism of the institution of marriage (in particular in the work of women authors) in Finnish literature often also found expression in the theme of adultery in novels such as, for example, *Salakari* (1887) by Minna

Canth, *Onnen Etsimassa* (1898) by Aino Kallas' half-sister Helmi Setälä, and *Kaksi rakkautta* (1898) by Maila Talvio (Lappalainen 1999: 53–54).

Even though Virginia Woolf has not been viewed as participating in the debates over the New Woman (see Marcus, L. 2000: 214–215), I would argue that her description of settling down in 46 Gordon Square with her sister can be related to the pursuits of freedom of the New Women. Freed from the limiting Victorian etiquette of socialization previously imposed on the Stephen sisters by the Duckworth brothers, she now found herself in a household arrangement leaving ample time for her and Vanessa for creative self-realization. Her view of marriage as a “very low down affair” (1985b: 169) also seems in alignment with New Woman views though it was called into doubt upon her sister's marriage to Clive Bell in 1907. It is interesting, however, that Virginia Woolf's ideas on marriage are at least in partial discord with those of the New Women who considered it possible to save the institution of marriage if the stereotypical roles of the husband and wife would be redefined in terms of equal partnership involving intellectual, erotic and financial aspects of the marital relationship.

Critical about marriage in general, Virginia Woolf nevertheless felt that “if one practiced it, one practiced it /.../ with young men who had been in Eton Eleven and dressed for dinner” (Woolf 1985b: 169). Although the main reason why Virginia resented the idea of Vanessa's marriage was her fear of losing her primary position in her sister's life right after the death of their brother Thoby, she also felt that Clive Bell, who came from a wealthy but not intellectual family was not a good enough match for Vanessa. In a series of letters written to Violet Dickinson she tries to come to terms with her sister's marriage, expressing her dislike toward the obvious physical closeness of Clive to Vanessa (see Woolf 1975: 273) yet admitting, in a powerfully sensual portrait of Vanessa, the positive influence on her sexual awakening to her personality (see Woolf 1975: 275).

As far as her own marriage to Leonard Woolf is concerned, their unequal social status posed not a small problem for Virginia Woolf. In several letters as well as in her later diary entries she makes quite clear that she had hard times putting up with his Jewishness as well as his meager financial resources (Woolf 1975: 501, 503). As I have argued earlier, despite these reservations she was looking forward to her marriage with very high expectations, at the same time being conscious of the lack of sexual attraction between them (Woolf 1975: 496–497). Yet now her idea of marriage as “a tremendous living thing, always alive, always hot, not dead and easy in parts as most marriages are” (Woolf 1975: 497) that she describes in a letter to Leonard Woolf, certainly does not take as its model the traditional Victorian marriage. Rather, she envisions a more demanding and progressive model bearing not a small likeness to the ideal of marriage proposed by the New Women. In my view, their marriage would, over the years, live up to this ideal in many respects.

Like Virginia Woolf, young Aino Krohn had rather high expectations of marriage during her engagement. If in her descriptions of Leonard Woolf,

Virginia Woolf capitalized on their intellectual compatibility and possible temperamental affinities, for Aino Krohn, the dominating aspect of their relationship was their physical passion for each other (see Kallas 1994b: 157–187, also article IV, pp. 82–83, article V, p. 33). As Aino Krohn came from a family of outstanding Finnish intellectuals devoted to promoting Finnish national culture, the status of Oskar Kallas as an Estonian man of letters, at the time working on his doctoral dissertation on Estonian folk poetry²⁴ and wholeheartedly dedicated to the advancement of Estonian national culture, certainly seemed very favorable to her. As Oskar Kallas was also a friend of her brother Kaarle Krohn, her family accepted their engagement rather willingly.²⁵ Although Aino Krohn emphasizes her determination to become a writer also during the period of engagement, she envisions the ideal marital relationship mainly according to the traditional gender roles: the husband's dedication to serving his country and the wife's dedication to the well-being of her husband (see Kallas 1994b: 178–179).²⁶ At the same time, she is also aware that her marriage entails a considerable change in her life both in terms of the standard of living she is used to as well as the possibly more prosaic nature of her daily life limiting her existence as an artist (see Kallas 1994b: 168). Later diary entries demonstrate that she was able to evaluate the risk factors of her marriage quite accurately.

²⁴ Oskar Kallas defended his doctoral thesis titled “Die Wiederholungslieder der estnischen Volkspoesie” at Helsinki University in 1901.

²⁵ Aino Kallas also records a conversation with her brother-in-law Emil Setälä, who accused her of deserting her nation and joining the ranks of what he views as a “dying nation” with no culture of its own that unleashes in her a wave of doubt regarding her future identity (Kallas 1994b: 166–167).

²⁶ The correspondence of Aino Krohn and Oskar Kallas from the period of engagement demonstrates a possible disagreement on the distribution of gender roles in marriage. In one letter, Oskar Kallas points out that marriage certainly has different implications for men and women. “The working day of a man,” he claims, “remains the same; for women a whole new working day emerges created by marriage: the household, children, family, etc.” (Kallas, O., Oct 03, 1899; SKS 438: 1: 16). While those very things, “are of importance also for the husband”, they are “often the only things in the world for the woman, while man's work leads him beyond his home (Kallas, O., Oct 03, 1899; SKS 438: 1: 16). I was unable to locate the response to Aino Krohn to this letter but judging by the next letter of Oskar Kallas it is likely that she protested to such view to marriage rather passionately. In his response, Oskar Kallas emphasizes that he was only describing “how things usually are” (Kallas, O. Oct 10, 1899; SKS 438: 1: 17) and confirms that he supports the idea of the husband and wife both having their freedom, cautioning his fiancée, however, to be careful that in “steering her ship of happiness she would not hastily abandon her already acquired positions and embark on new destinations” (Kallas, O. Oct 10, 1899; SKS 438: 1: 17). It is possible that the apparently more conservative view on marriage of Oskar Kallas also influenced the thoughts of Aino Krohn in this matter.

Quite soon after her wedding, Aino Kallas realizes that sticking to the wifely role that she outlined in her diary during her engagement is, firstly, much more difficult than she expected and, secondly, in deep discord with her own needs for intellectual and artistic development. She gradually starts to rethink the position of woman in contemporary society as well as the roles of husband and wife, coming to view a spousal relation that would correspond to the demands of modern life in terms of intellectual, emotional and sensual equality (see Kallas 1994b: 256).²⁷ An influential factor in her initial disillusionment with marriage was the replacement of the intense physical and emotional closeness with her husband during the engagement period with the routine of daily life where Aino Kallas had to balance the task of coming to terms with motherhood during three consecutive pregnancies in four years and cater for the needs of her husband.

The entries of Anaïs Nin's diary, focusing on her engagement with Hugh Guiler foreground relatively strong family pressure that has influenced her decision to marry Hugh (see Nin 1982: 515–516). As her family's economic situation was far from outstanding, the contribution of Hugh's income certainly meant a positive change in this area. Although the rest of her diary²⁸ highlights her love for and dedication to Hugo in many different ways and through various relationships with other men, during the period of engagement she is rather unsure of her feelings for him. More than Hugh, it is her cousin Eduardo Sánchez, who is at the centre of her thoughts as her ideal of love at the moment and in a prophetic observation she remarks, "through love, through friendship, a heart lives more than one life" (Nin 1982: 517). At that time still excessively shy and modest in sensual matters, she also finds the perspective of her upcoming sexual initiation unwelcome, viewing it as a step away from her spiritual dimension of existence that she cherishes above everything else (see Nin 1982: 473, 517, also article IV, p.80). When married, she finds her

²⁷ In numerous diary entries Aino Kallas highlights as the main reason for her growing dissatisfaction with her marriage the fact that the majority of her husband's energy was spent on professional self-realization, reducing the contact to his wife to the discussion of the most basic daily matters (see, e.g., Kallas 1994a: 63, 71, 111; Kallas 1994b: 237, 246). She also makes this factor responsible for the problems she sees marriage facing in contemporary society in general (see Kallas 1994b: 256). While the New Women advocated women's entrance into the professional world as one of the key aspects for redefining spousal relations on more equal grounds, Aino Kallas is expecting her husband to cater for the financial needs of her family, at the same time failing to see the extent to which her husband's excessive professional engagement was dictated by the need to earn a decent living for his family. If Virginia Woolf's financial contribution to her marriage was quite substantial (partly thanks to her inheritance), at times exceeding that of her husband, Aino Kallas remained financially dependent on her husband for the greater part of her life.

²⁸ I have in mind here her diary volumes that were published posthumously, as there is no mention of her husband in *The Diary of Anaïs Nin*.

economic independence from her mother as well as the quite luxurious life style that Hugo's money makes possible liberating but soon grows increasingly dissatisfied with her wifely role that she views as clipping her need for artistic self-realization. After she and Hugo move to Paris in 1924, she also experiences a sensual awakening only to find that she is not sexually attracted to her husband. In a sense, she only succeeds in making her marriage a satisfactory and even rewarding living arrangement for herself after engaging in intimate relationships with other men. Driven into the relationships partially by her pervasive sense of insecurity that can be viewed as the result of paternal desertion and possible childhood sexual abuse, her relationship with Hugo now comes to symbolize order, harmony and security for her.

An important aspect relating to marriage was motherhood, one of the topical issues in the women's emancipation movement at the beginning of the 20th century. Among the three women who form the focus of my research, Aino Kallas was the only one who had children. Although the reasons why Virginia Woolf²⁹ and Anais Nin³⁰ did not are certainly important to look at within the

²⁹ The treatment of the topic of motherhood in Virginia Woolf's diary finds brief consideration in article II (see p. 294), where I emphasise the positive aspect of Woolf's childlessness to her literary career. However, in my analysis I overlook the hesitant tone of the diary entry from December 20, 1927 (see Woolf 1980: 167). Rather than offering a clear statement about a decision not to have children as they might be a possible impediment to her creative self-realisation, Woolf formulates such state of her life as an inevitability, also implying that accepting it has not been an easy process for her: "Oddly enough I scarcely want children of my own now" (Woolf 1980: 167, my underlining). As Woolf also points out, at the time of writing the entry, she no longer was in fertile age. Another important aspect of Woolf's attitude toward maternity in the entry is "the physicalness of having children" (Woolf 1980: 167) that would have entailed a sexual relationship of at least some regularity with her husband as well as being confident that she would have the necessary mental and physical health to go through pregnancy and childbirth. Especially with regard to the advice of several doctors concerning the influence of having children to Virginia Woolf's fragile mental health, this may have seemed a liability for Virginia Woolf and it certainly seemed one for her husband (see also Lee 1997: 334–335). In several other diary entries Woolf relates the feeling of utter desperation, a sense of failure and suicidal feelings, among other things, to the fact of not having children (see Woolf 1978: 72, 221; 1980: 110). In these entries, her sister Vanessa (who had three children) emerges as a model of womanhood. What weakens the argument that Woolf's decision not to have children was motivated by her writerly ambitions is that Vanessa, whose life Virginia Woolf was able to observe closely throughout her life, successfully combined motherhood and being an artist.

³⁰ Nin's attitude toward motherhood is revealed perhaps most clearly in the diary entries documenting her reaction when she found herself pregnant with Henry Miller's child in May 1934. Although being pregnant made her feel "a complete woman," motherhood remained "an impossibility" for her (Nin 1992: 329), largely due to the fact that she could not imagine Henry dedicating himself to the paternal role. Given the very sleek possibility of his support, Nin sees the child as an obstacle to her future artistic

framework of their bodily self-perception, it is the experience of motherhood of Aino Kallas that can be related most closely to consideration of that issue by first wave feminist thinkers.

In Finland, the most influential contributors to the role of motherhood in woman's life were Minna Canth and the Swedish feminist Ellen Key. Although the views of Ellen Key, who was known as one of the advocates of free love were more liberal, both viewed motherhood as the most important life task for woman, which extended to the public sphere, forming woman's most important social role (Lappalainen 203: 215). Aino Kallas raises the issue of 'social motherhood' in relation to the advancement of Estonian national culture the biggest weakness of which she sees in the reluctance of mothers to teach their children to speak Estonian and to hold in high esteem the national values (see Kallas 1994b: 215–214). Later, however, this role proved somewhat problematic for Aino Kallas due to what she viewed as her own and her children's ambivalent position between Estonian and Finnish culture (see also article VI, p. 267).

However, an even more important issue relating to motherhood for Aino Kallas was its conflict with her creative (see article II, pp. 38–39) and sexual needs (see also section 1.3.3. of the current chapter). The diary entries from the period of 1900–1904 highlight the author's disappointment in the waning of her erotic feelings for her husband as well as her concern for her husband's need for physical intimacy that she has difficulty satisfying partly due to the physical and emotional energy her pregnancies and maternal duties require of her (see, e.g., Kallas 1994b: 224–225). The dilemma of female sexuality and motherhood found expression in a short novel *Kirsti sielunkuvaus* (1902),³¹ whose protagonist yields to her fiancé before the wedding and becomes pregnant but later loses the child. With the novel, Aino Kallas entered the debates in Finland over women's emancipation and the New Woman that often found expression in the theme of female desire (Rojola 1999: 157–159). Although the solution of the story, the punishment the protagonist receives for her mistake by the loss of her child, emphasizes the necessity to follow the (traditional) social code of morality, I would argue that with the story, Aino Kallas explored possible alternative scenarios in her own life, regarding her sexual initiation. It is with the help of the novel that she starts to contemplate the possibly problematic interrelationship between love and marriage, over the years gradually moving toward an acceptance of free love, most visible in the diaristic record of her relationship with Eino Leino.

development. Although she later came to develop a poetics of writing based on the maternal space, the womb, emphasizing the relational subjectivity of the woman writer, here she sees the main aspect of her pregnancy the "supreme immolation of the ego" that compromises her state "of being most awake as an artist, as a solitary, unmated woman" (Nin 1992: 329). Nin's decision to terminate her pregnancy can also be related to her own traumatic childhood relationship with her father.

³¹ Helsinki: Otava.

The advocates of free love³² problematized the institution of marriage as the only legal channel of sexuality (Lappalainen 2003: 214), also raising the question of the “reality and importance of female sexuality” (Showalter 1992: 45). The concept was popular with socialist thinkers, such as, for example, Karl Pearson, who was of the opinion that by gaining economic independence women no longer were in need for the legal protection offered by marriage and the intimate relationship between men and women could be now based on “mutual sympathy and affection [and] its form and duration would vary according to the feelings and wants of individuals” (Pearson 1887: 442, quoted in Showalter 1992: 50).³³ Both Pearson and August Bebel, a German socialist also discussing the issue of free love were of the opinion that it was a personal matter which the state or the society had no right to interfere with (Showalter 1992: 50, Leskelä 2000: 226).

Aino Kallas was familiar with the work Ellen Key,³⁴ one of the supporters of the idea of free love or, as she formulated it, freedom of love (Lappalainen 2003: 214) in the Scandinavian countries. One of her most radical claims was a call for the “open recognition of the sexual side of love, including woman’s erotic nature and sexual pleasure” (Offen 2000: 238). In her work *Über Liebe und Ehe* (1904) Key highlights the need to redefine the concept of marriage, in particular with regard to the need to secure more rights for women. Key also discusses in detail the nature of love between man and woman that, always involving both spiritual and physical feelings (1920: 26), could not be always contained within the boundaries of (one) marriage (Key 1920: 74). Key highlights as her ideal of love the relationship between Tristan and Isolde, a free love that “seeks its own laws and overturns others’ laws” (Key 1920: 50). In my opinion, the manner in which Aino Kallas discusses her relationship with Eino Leino, in particular her demand for personal freedom for “[her] soul and [her] body” (Kallas 1993: 90) and her view of their love as superior to the laws of morality of the society is, to a certain extent, compatible with the ideology of free love (see also section 1.3.3. of the current chapter).

In her memoirs, Virginia Woolf highlights as one influential aspect of the Bloomsbury group for her the critical space it provided for “reimagining social

³² The idea of free love or “the free sexual union” (Showalter 1992: 49) was promoted, for example, in the USA by Victoria Woodhull, in Great Britain by Olive Schreiner and Eleanor Marx as well as Karl Pearson (Showalter 1992: 46–58) and in Scandinavia by Ellen Key (Lappalainen 2003: 214).

³³ It is clear that there was more on stake for women engaging in ‘free sexual union’ than for men both with regard to their reputation and, more importantly, with regard to children, as contraception was not available at that time. Women advocates of free love were more concerned about the legal guarantees regarding the children and also more pessimistic about the assumption that the new ideal of love excluded the issues of abandonment, jealousy and infidelity (Showlater 1992: 50–51).

³⁴ She mentions reading Key’s *Über Liebe und Ehe* (1904) in the fall of 1904 (Kallas, R. 1988: 231).

and sexual relationships” (Elliot and Wallace 1994: 59). In “Old Bloomsbury” Woolf mentions both the issue of male homosexuality that became a widely discussed subject within the Group at some point as well as the topic of adultery in marriage that lead her to reconsider fidelity as “not the only or inevitably the highest form of married life” (1985b: 174). Bloomsbury’s sexual subversiveness was certainly not manifested only via their standpoints on these issues but, even more importantly, via the life-style they lead. A good example of Bloomsbury’s highly unconventional webs of personal relationships is the life of Vanessa Bell. Marrying Clive Bell in 1907, she gave birth to their first son Julian in 1908 and their second son Quentin in 1910. Soon after the birth of their first child, Clive Bell’s erotic interests were directed elsewhere; during the years 1908–1910 he grew increasingly intimate with Virginia Woolf and although they never became lovers, the relationship caused a great deal of pain to Vanessa. In 1911 Vanessa started an affair with Roger Fry, an artist and an art critic who in 1910 had organized an exhibition called “Manet and the Post-Impressionists” that had a crucial influence on British art (Lee 1997: 287). In 1913, she fell in love with the homosexual painter Duncan Grant and settled down with him during the First World War, having to share him with David Garnett (see Garnett 1984: 35–36) and, over the years, with many other male lovers, some of them “coming not only from the working but also the criminal classes” (Bell, Q. 1995: 52). On Christmas Day 1918 Vanessa gave birth to their daughter Angelica with Clive Bell officially listed as her father (Lee 1997: 541). Vanessa lived with Duncan Grant until her death in 1961 with Clive Bell sharing their Charleston residence from 1939 onwards.

Although Vanessa’s choices in leading her life cannot perhaps be directly related to the ideology of free love, her life was certainly highly unconventional with regard to the moral codes even of the beginning of the 20th century. Compared to her sister’s life, Virginia Woolf’s marriage, although certainly not traditional in many ways, was much more in accord with the norms of morality. The reason for this, in my opinion, is perhaps not so much Virginia Woolf’s greater conventionality or her fear of public disapproval but the limits of the Bloomsbury Group itself regarding sexual subversiveness. Looking upon adultery and male homosexuality as acceptable and even welcome components of sexual life, Bloomsbury nevertheless seemed to draw the line where female homosexuality or ‘sapphism’ as Virginia Woolf liked to refer to it (Lee 1997: 489) was concerned. If earlier it simply may never have come up as a topic of much interest or importance to discuss, at the time of Virginia’s affair with Vita Sackville-West, it was perhaps more Vita’s very different background and worldview rather than her sexual preferences that made it impossible for her to become an intimate of Bloomsbury (see Dunn 1990: 210, also Lee 1997: 499). Woolf’s fairly suggestive diaristic account of her relationship with Vita Sackville-West (see article V, pp. 31–33) as well as the possible interpretation of the two lectures delivered at Newnham and Girton, forming the basis of *A Room of One’s Own* as a “public statement by way of [Woolf’s] own

‘sapphism’ (Marcus, J. 1987: 166, 167, see also section 1.3.3. of the current chapter), in my opinion, point toward Woolf’s deliberate transgression of not only the sexual taboos of the society in general but also the limitations in these matters of the Bloomsbury Group as well.

The manner of Nin’s numerous diaristic accounts of sexual affairs with many different men leaves the firsthand impression that among the three women, her ideas on love and sexual relationships were the most liberal. At the same time, however, via an elaborate web of lies, Nin kept up an appearance of a faithful and devoted wife throughout her life, an arrangement that although perhaps not making her husband happy, he nevertheless accepted. This testifies to an important extent to the limits of Nin’s artistic oeuvre as far as her lifestyle was concerned and her confirmation to and acceptance of the bourgeois way of life. Nin’s rejection of the idea of wifely devotion and faithfulness was related to the beginning of the process of her self-perception as an artist. Here her cultural surroundings, the city of Paris with its longstanding bohemian tradition certainly played an important role. Nin’s numerous descriptions of Paris in the third volume of her early diary³⁵ make visible the extent to which she identified Paris with the bohemian artistic existence (see, e.g., Nin 1984: 80, 85) that she first could not relate to as well as the city’s sensual nature that she declared she hated (Nin 1984: 115). With a few minor exceptions, Nin’s real initiation into the bohemian and sensual side of Paris took place upon her acquaintance with Henry and June Miller in 1932. Parallel to explorations of her newly found sexuality, she also explores, with Henry Miller, the artists’ Paris. In her *Women of the Left Bank*,³⁶ Shari Benstock argues that Paris provided for Gertrude Stein as well as to other members of the expatriate community “the privacy and personal freedom to live and write as [they] pleased” (1986: 14). Although with certain reservation, this statement can also be applied to Anaïs Nin, who, according to Benstock, has been viewed as “typical of all heterosexual women” in the expatriate community (Benstock 1986: 174).

* * * *

According to Joseph Allen Boone, “since the advent of the turn-of-the-century sexological and psychological discourses, psychosexual and libidinal energies have come to be seen as constitutive of human subjectivity” (1998: 3–4, see also Felski 1995: 3). Among the most influential contributors to the debates on sexuality were Sigmund Freud, George Simmel, Otto Weininger, Paul Möbius, Cesare Lombroso, Havelock Ellis and Richard von Krafft-Ebing. The new awareness of the role of human sexuality in the development of the

³⁵ *The Early Diary of Anaïs Nin, 1923–1927. Journal of a Wife*. London: Peter Own Publishers, 1984.

³⁶ Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986.

human personality was crucial, radically changing the way “Europeans thought about both the world and themselves” (Anderson and Zinsser 1988: 216).

Freud’s *Studies in Hysteria* (1895), *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) and, most importantly, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) introduced to the wider readership his “pathbreaking theory of the unconscious that provides the main supports to his innovative theory of sexuality (Bristow 1997: 64). In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Freud first elaborates his view of the unconscious as the site of repression of sexual drives in order for the human subject to maintain his identity. In the process of repression that takes place during different stages of the subject’s life in a different manner for men and women, the infantile phase that Freud relates to two interdependent structures, the Oedipus complex and the castration complex plays an especially important role. While recognizing the positive effect of psychoanalysis that enabled “thousands of women and men to lead more fulfilling and productive lives,” Anderson and Zinsser point out that the “‘new’ values and behavior prescribed for women by psychology” strongly resembled the traditional limited concepts of women’s nature and function (1988: 217). This can be exemplified by the concept of “the penis envy,” that Freud saw as the central concept of the development of female personality that destined girls for far more complicated process toward normal adult sexuality and clear sense of identity. In “Femininity” (1933), Freud argues that “girls fall victim to ‘envy for the penis’, which will leave ineradicable traces on their development and the formation of their character and which will not be surmounted even in the most favorable cases without a severe expenditure of psychical energy” (1953–74: 120). Freud also attributed to ‘the penis envy’ women’s “little sense of justice” and their weaker social interests (Freud 1953–74: 121, 127).

Of the three authors considered in the current thesis, the influence of psychoanalysis is certainly visible most strongly in the diaries of Anaïs Nin. First learning about psychoanalysis from her cousin Eduardo Sánchez in 1928 (Nin 1985: 95–97), Nin was gradually drawn to it, starting to read Freud (*History of Psychology* and later also *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*) in 1931 (Nin 1985: 372). If she first resisted psychoanalysis, claiming to be “proud of never having to turn to another for any explanations of [her] self” (Nin 1985: 96), a few years later she admits that the knowledge of psychology contributes greatly to the function of her journal as a textual space “helping to clarify, realize and organize the knowledge of one’s self” (Nin 1985: 449). In late 1920s Nin also became interested in the work of D.H. Lawrence, whose “descriptions of the undercurrents of body and mind” that she viewed as “means of bringing to the surface” unconscious feelings she related directly to the thought of Freud and Jung (Nin 1964: 32–39).

In April 1932 she started psychoanalysis with René Allendy and in November 1933 with Freud’s famous dissenting disciple Otto Rank, whose emphasis on the central importance of creativity was to have a crucial influence on Nin (Tookey 2003: 64). Although Nin held the ideas of Freud in high esteem

throughout her life, it was Rank whose thought accommodated her own ideas on creativity that was an issue of vital importance for her. Nin's main problem with Allendy was that he viewed as the objective of his therapy "the formation of [Nin's] human self: 'normalcy'" (Nin 1966: 292). Nin remembers Allendy once referring to her as "*petite fille littéraire*" as an implication of "liv[ing] out novels and biographies and not [her] own life (Nin 1966: 114). Allendy also looks upon Nin's literary activities as a mode of self-realization of little value beyond its function as a compensatory mechanism providing her a sense of security she does not have when she is among people and suggests she would be likely to drop it should she succeed in it (Nin 1966: 88). When starting her analysis with Allendy, Nin hopes to be freed from "the EYE of the father" (Nin 1966: 88) but when starting to suspect that along the way, he seeks to 'cure' her of being an artist (Nin 1966: 281), she loses her faith in him.

Nin's first acquaintance with Rank was his work *Art and Artist: Creative Urge and Personality Development* (published in English in 1932) that Henry Miller recommended for her to read (Nin 1966: 158). Nin was fascinated by Rank's idea of considering "neurosis a failed work of art, the neurotic a failed artist" (Nin 1966: 270)³⁷ and decided to see him, according to her journal showing up at his doorstep telling him: "I am one of the artists you are writing about, Dr. Rank" (Nin 1966: 270). Nin found in Rank's ideas about the nature and functioning of the creative personality ample support for her own diaristic self-explorations, in particular Rank's elaboration of the idea of the "volitional impulse [where] the two spheres of artistic production and actual experience meet and overlap" (Rank 1989: 38). Her diaristic record of her sessions with Rank demonstrate that one of the topics they touched upon was woman's nature: "the feminine way of acting, woman's motivation, more often come from that mixture of intuition, instinct, personal experience, personal relation to all things which men deny having" (Nin 1966: 276). As a response to Rank's emphasis Nin starts to think about her "struggles to find a language for the intuition, feelings, instincts which are, in themselves, elusive, subtle and wordless" (Nin 1966: 276). In my opinion, Nin's later formulation of her embodied poetics of writings, that Sharon Spencer calls "the music of the womb" (1989: 161) that she elaborates in the second volume of her diary (see Nin 1967: 233–235, also article VI, pp. 273–277), may have originated in her sessions with Rank.

The relationship of Virginia Woolf to psychoanalysis is ambivalent. Psychoanalysis, in particular the works of Sigmund Freud, that were translated into English by James Srathey and published by the Hogarth Press, was a

³⁷ According to Otto Rank, if the neurotic is an "artiste manqué," the artist is a "productive neurotic" (1989: 27). Unlike the "average type" who accepts the external reality as it is, "seeking merely to adapt to it" the neurotic and the artist engage in an ongoing process of self-construction (Tookey 2003: 67) that Rank calls "the artist's life-long work on his productive personality" (1989: 37).

much-discussed subject among the members of the Bloomsbury Group. Leonard Woolf read *The Interpretation of Dreams* and reviewed *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* in 1914 (see Jouve 2000: 252–253). The brother of Virginia Woolf, Adrian Stephen, and his wife Karin as well as several other members of the Bloomsbury Groups, such as, for example, James Strachey and his wife Alix trained as psychoanalysts. Lytton Strachey participated in the meetings of the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology where Freud's ideas were one of the central topics of discussion. Yet the reaction of Virginia Woolf to psychoanalysis and those practicing it was dominantly hostile and ironic (see, e.g., Woolf 1977: 110, 221, 1978: 135). Nicole Ward Jouve has suggested that Virginia Woolf may have felt threatened in particular by the scientific status of Freud's ideas that she related with her own traumatic experience with various psychiatrists. As a science, Jouve concludes, psychoanalysis posed a double threat to Virginia Woolf's life and art (2002: 256).

More than psychoanalysis and Freud's ideas, Aino Kallas was influenced by various other works on sexuality, such as, for example, Otto Weininger's *Sex and Character* (1903), Cesare Lombroso's *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute and the Normal Woman* (1893) and Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopatia Sexualis* (1886).³⁸ Although the male-centered and often misogynistic slant of these works had a rather depressing effect on her (see Laitinen 1997: 247), they also shaped her perception of the important role of sexuality for human behavior. Her diary entry from May 1908 recording her thoughts upon reading Weininger demonstrates that she believed in and took quite seriously the widely held belief about the smaller weight of brain of woman and her respective lesser mental capacities (see Kallas 1994a: 59–60). Aino Kallas refers to the brain metaphorically in relation to her intellectual frame of mind in her diary quite a few times (see, e.g., Kallas 1994a 140, 145, 147). During her fifth pregnancy Aino Kallas also juxtaposes the demands of her body and her mind, expressing self-doubt about her intellectual and creative abilities during pregnancy. "Do I still have a brain, or do I exist only below my head?" she asks in July 5, 1910, "I'd rather peel carrots /.../ than read Sophocles (Kallas 1994a: 158). During the pregnancy she also feels herself to be "a basis of the law of nature that realizes itself regardless of "her wishes or intentions" (Kallas 1994b: 160). Such self-perception is radically different from a recognition of great creative potential that Aino Kallas saw as the central defining feature of her first pregnancy (see article VI, p. 267–268).

Weininger's influence can also be traced in a short story "Nainen, jolla olit aivot" (1912)³⁹ where she discusses in a gloomily ironic and allegorical vein the

³⁸ Aino Kallas mentions reading Weininer in May 1908 (see Kallas 1994a: 59), Lombroso in February 1911 (Kallas 1994a: 177) and Krafft-Ebing in November of the same year (Kallas 1994a: 201).

³⁹ In English the title means "A Woman Who Had Brain."

out-of-placeness of intellectually talented woman in her contemporary society. Although in the story the protagonist, not capable of standing the isolation resulting from her outstanding mental capacities, decides to “let her brain go numb” (Kallas 2005: 727), the diary of Aino Kallas demonstrates her insistence on educating herself and sharpening her mental faculties. At the end of the story, the protagonist “can peacefully go on living in the darkness that has been destined to her kind by the Creator” (Kallas 2005: 727). In the diary of Aino Kallas a contrasting image emerges: she compares herself to an “ugly black hyacinth bulb” that needs to be kept in the dark for long months so that it can finally develop into a beautiful blossoming flower (Kallas 1994a: 143). Already during the period when the bulb has to be kept in the dark cellar, it harbors within itself all its potentials and possibilities. This is certainly a maternal metaphor of intellectual and creative maturation, in a sense a continuation of Kallas’ perception of maternity’s creative potential.

1.3. Theoretical perspectives on the body

Autobiography studies, have, until recently, excluded the questions pertaining to the role of the body in the textual formation of the autobiographical self.⁴⁰ The unified, coherent and individuated self functioning as the primary defining criterion for autobiography in theoretical considerations of autobiography in the 1960s and 1970s was viewed as a disembodied entity. Underlying such mode of conceptualization of the ‘proper’ autobiographical self is the notion of the universal subject enjoying a privileged status as “the origin of meaning, knowledge, and truth” that is grounded on the agency of reason that makes it possible to “transcend the contingencies of desire, affectivity, and the body” (Smith 1993a: 7–8). Such subject position relies on the binary oppositions of the corporeal versus the spiritual of the Platonic tradition, body versus soul in the Christian theology and body versus mind in the legacy of Descartes’ philosophy in the Enlightenment (Neuman 1994: 293). These have shaped the perception of the body well into the 20th century, also manifesting themselves in autobiography as “one of the West’s master narratives” (Smith 1993a: 18).

Within each pair of binaries the corporeal signifies that which needs to be transcended and repressed for the self to gain a proper existence. The mind/body dichotomy is deeply gender-biased, identifying women with the latter, culturally negatively encoded category. Both of these factors frame the history of women as practitioners of autobiography in the West, often reinforcing each other. Up to the twentieth century, for women writing autobiographically, the normative model of the disembodied self required, on the one hand, a construction of themselves as subjects “through pursuit of an out-of-body experience” in order to gain any autobiographical authority at all (Smith 1994:

⁴⁰ See Gilmore 1994: 83–84; Neuman 1994: 293; Smith 1994: 266–267.

272). One the other, they also had to identify themselves with the “matrices of reproduction and nurturing” assigned to the female body by the social norms (Smith 1994: 272).

In later critical considerations of autobiography, influenced by post-structuralist thought, the notion of the autobiographical self gave way to the more flexible notion of subjectivity that highlighted the “multiple, dispersed, local technologies of selfhood through which subjects come to self-knowledge in historically specific regimes of truth” (Smith and Watson 2002: 133).⁴¹ Such a framework provides conceptual tools for perceiving the subject as gendered and embodied. Arguing that current notions of the constitution of the subject anchor subjectivity very much in the body (1994: 267) Sidonie Smith articulates the need to “look at the cultural practices that surface on the body and through the body to get at the emergence of the autobiographical body” (Smith 1994: 270). The body, for Smith, figures here as a result of various socio-cultural forces (Riley 1988: 102, quoted in Smith 1994: 270) a proof of the subject’s “material engendered[ness] in its social conditions and possibilities of existence” (de Lauretis 1986: 9, quoted in Smith 1994: 270). Outlining how the body is conceptualized in contemporary philosophical thought, Elizabeth Grosz identifies two principal trends: the body “as a surface of social inscription and [the body] as the locus of lived experience” (1993: 188). Significantly, the distinction Grosz makes here is founded in spatial metaphors. Smith’s understanding of the autobiographical body aligns with the first trend, which Grosz traces via the thought of Nietzsche, Kafka, Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, and Lingis (Grosz 1993: 196; 1994: v).

1.3.1. Michel Foucault and the tradition of the ‘inscribed body’

Among the philosophers and theorists mentioned by Grosz, Michel Foucault’s ideas on the body, knowledge and power, elaborated in “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History” (1977), *Discipline and Punish* (1977), and *History of Sexuality*, Volumes I–III (1976–1984)⁴² have been of primary importance in foregrounding “the corporeal entity, the intelligible and intelligent flesh and blood” that forms the foundation of subjectivity (Braidotti 1991: 38) in contemporary critical thought where the contributions made by feminist theory play an

⁴¹ See also Nussbaum 1988: 128–129; Smith 1993b: 393. For a more detailed discussion of the characteristic features of the autobiographical self, its gradual exhaustion and replacement by the concept of subjectivity see article I, pp. 179–183.

⁴² In *Discipline and Punish* and *History of Sexuality*, Volume I, Foucault is concerned with the advent and development of “the bourgeois order” (Foucault 1980b: 5) starting at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century (Foucault 1980b: 5, 1999: 263) and, in *History of Sexuality*, Volume I, extending to the beginning of the 20th century.

important role.⁴³ Foucault's central argument that the body is shaped and molded by historically specific socio-cultural forces, acquiring its definitive characteristics as the result of these grids of forces or power networks is the theoretical starting point of several critical considerations of the body in autobiography.⁴⁴

If one promising approach to the representations of the body in the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas, and Anaïs Nin regards it as a surface of the inscription of culture, this requires a discussion of Foucault's conception of the body and the questions raised by his feminist critics. Underlying my engagement with Foucault and the critical responses of feminist thought to his ideas is the question of how the body emerges as produced by the discourses of power in the diaries. Is it possible to identify any disciplines that produce certain kinds of bodies in the diaries? What is the role of resistance in the representations of the inscribed body in the diaries and, finally, what are the limits and possibilities of subjectivity in the diaries within the Foucauldian framework of the body?

Foucault first addresses the body as "the surface of the inscription of events" (1998: 375) in relation to his elaboration of "the notion of a history capable of being analyzed and recovered by a procedure known as genealogy" (Grosz 1994: 145) in his essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." Against a traditional understanding that history does not concern the body, Foucault posits an alternative perception of the body that is "molded by a great many distinct regimes; it is broken down by the rhythms of work, rest and holidays, it is poisoned by food or values, through eating habits or moral laws; it constructs resistances" (Foucault 1998: 380).

⁴³ See, for example Bartky 1990: 63–82; Bordo 1998: 84–97, 1993, 1991: 202–341, 1989: 13–33; Braidotti 1994: 124–135, 1991; Butler 1999: 307–313, 1990: 91–106; de Lauretis 1987: 12–18; Grosz 1994: 145–155; McLaren 2002; McNay 1991: 125–139; Sawicki 1991.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Neuman 1998: 415–424, 1994: 293–315; Smith 1993a, 1994: 266–292; Smith and Watson 2002: 37–48. Sidonie Smith, whose work displays perhaps most consistent interest in the autobiographical body, does not refer directly to Foucault, but her emphasis in considering the role of the body in women's autobiographical texts is dominantly on "negotiations of their material circumstances, their degrees of self-consciousness about cultural determination" (Smith 1993a: 22) as well as the body as "the source of subversive practice" (Smith 1993a: 23) thus roughly following Foucault's main line of argument on the body. Shirley Neuman bases her discussions of the body in the autobiographies of two contemporary women authors, Kate Simon and Violette Leduc and the social construction of maleness in the *Memoirs* of the famous 19th century hermaphrodite Adélaïde Herculine Barbin on Foucault's understanding of bodies "as sites of ideological codification" (Neuman 1994: 295) and effects of cultural and historical activity as well as Grosz's view of bodies "as produced by and productive of ideology and social power" (Neuman 1994: 295). The emphasis of Smith and Neuman is, unlike that of Foucault, clearly on the gendered body.

If in “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” Foucault lays out the premise of the body’s centrality to the kind of historical research he considers productive, the main focus of his *Discipline and Punish* and *History of Sexuality* is the effect of power on bodies. The body that is “directly involved in a political field,” has to be considered through the hold power relations have upon it by “invest[ing] it, mark[ing] it, train[ing] it, tortur[ing] it, forc[ing] it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs” (Foucault 1999: 259). Appropriating the notion of the body politic that compared the state or society to a human body, Foucault reformulates this as “a set of material elements and techniques that serve as weapons, relays, communication routes and supports for the power and knowledge relations that invest human bodies and subjugate them by turning them into objects of knowledge” (Foucault 1999: 261).

Foucault’s consideration of power marks a radical break with liberalist and Marxist traditions, that take as their starting point the assumption that power, by nature repressive, is possessed by a certain class or people, and is centralized in the law, the economy and the State (Sawicki 1991: 20). For Foucault power is “not an institution and not a structure, neither a certain strength we are endowed with” but, instead, “the name that one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society” (1980b: 93). It is power as a generative rather than a prohibiting force that produces reality and the individual where, in turn, the creation of certain kinds of bodies plays a key role. In his later work,⁴⁵ Foucault reformulates his concept of power by opposing traditional juridico-discursive notions of domination “as a state of asymmetrical power relations that persists over time” (McLaren 2002: 39),⁴⁶ to the concept of power as a positive and productive force.

Power relationships, always relational in character, “depend on the multiplicity of points of resistance” that are, however, not situated outside power networks but always imbricate it, playing “the role of adversary, target, support or handle in power relations” (Foucault 1980b: 95). Even in *Discipline and Punish*, where the focus is on the effects of domination of power on the body, Foucault argues for these effects to be “not univocal [but] defin[ing] innumerable points of confrontation, focuses of instability, each of which has its own risks of conflict /.../ and of at least temporary inversion of the power relations” (1999: 260). Resistances are positioned differently, assume diverse formats and vary in intensity and duration.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault introduces the notion of the “micro-physics of power” and explores its manifestation via the utilization of certain methods during the 18th century aiming at producing a “docile body,” a body that “may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (1999: 263). These methods or disciplines, as Foucault calls them, operate via organization of

⁴⁵ See Foucault 1988: 1–20; 1982: 208–226.

⁴⁶ On Foucault discussion of juridico-discursive dimensions of power, see Foucault 1980b: 82–91.

bodies in space, via time related control of activity, and via a focus on the efficiency of bodies, “obtaining holds upon the body at the level of the mechanism itself – movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity (Foucault 1999: 263). Foucault also provides illustrations of the functioning of the disciplines: military discipline in the 18th century, the setup of the pedagogical system of Christian elementary schools, and the management and organization of bodies in the industrial sphere.

In *History of Sexuality, Volume I*, Foucault’s emphasis is on the discourses rather than disciplinary practices and strategies of sexuality. Confronting the psychoanalytic perspective, Foucault casts aside the perception of sexuality “as a stubborn drive” (1980b: 103)⁴⁷ describing it instead as “an especially dense transfer point for relations of power” (Foucault 1980b: 103). Sexuality, for him, is not a natural given that bodies possess and “which power tries to hold in check” (Foucault 1980b: 105) but rather produced and maintained via “the regime of power-knowledge-pleasures” (Foucault 1980b: 11). Foucault’s objective is to investigate the discourses in which sexuality has been discussed and, most importantly, to identify the “effects of power generated by what was said and the pleasures that were invested by them” (Foucault 1980b: 11). The notion of discourse as Foucault uses it in *History of Sexuality* bears certain likeness to the notion of discipline in his *Discipline and Punish*: both operate to produce and render visible and appropriate or effective a certain kind of body. While the discipline can be seen to proceed by the institutional imposition of certain corporeal frameworks on people, “tactically polyvalent” discourses (Foucault 1980b: 100) are not subjected to the interests of the dominating hierarchies of power. Neither do the discourses form an opposition based on acceptance and exclusion but must be instead conceived as “a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable” (Foucault 1980b: 100).

Touching upon the significance of sex becoming a public issue from the 18th century onward, Foucault points to “a whole web of discourses, special knowledges, analyzes and injunctions [that] settled upon it” (Foucault 1980b: 26) finding expression in various fields, such as demography, biology, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, ethics, pedagogy, and political criticism (Foucault 1980b: 33). Foucault discusses the idea of the deployment of sexuality via four main strategic clusters “that formed specific mechanisms of knowledge and power centering on sex” (Foucault 1980b: 103): a hysterization of women’s bodies, a pedagogization of children’s sex, a socialization of procreative behavior and a psychiatrization of perverse pleasure (Foucault 1980b: 104–105). Although Foucault does not posit the functioning of these mechanisms in a hierarchical or unidirectional manner, but rather as forming “perpetual spirals of power and pleasure around bodies and sexes” (Foucault

⁴⁷ On Foucault’s relation to and problematization of psychoanalysis, see Braidotti 1991:16–45 and Butler 1999: 307–313.

1980b: 45), the body nevertheless tends to become a passive recipient and locus of power.

1.3.2. Appropriations of Foucault by feminist theory

Foucault's conceptualization of the body as culturally inscribed within networks of power has been the subject of extensive criticism by feminist thought, ranging from complete rejection of his ideas to foregrounding their progressive and subversive potential for a feminist rethinking of the (female) body. Most valuable has been his refusal to attribute to the body any kind of pre-social or extra-cultural status, viewing it rather as a construction, "a nodal point or nexus for relations of juridical and productive power" (Butler 1999: 307).⁴⁸ Attention is thus directed to "the interdependency of the fleshly materiality of the body and its functioning, representation and regulation in discursive fields" (Bakare-Yusuf 1999: 313). Breaking down the "notions of transhistorical and stable categories of sexuality/sex", Foucault's treatment of the body and sexuality is believed to sketch a way out of the historical identification of women with (sexualized) bodies (Bailey 1993: 102).

Judith Butler has used Foucault's culturally inscribed body as a ground for contesting the naturalness of the category of sex and, accordingly, also that of gender as a cultural expression of sex (Butler 1990: 6–7). Like Foucault, Butler sees gender as "the discursive/cultural means by which 'sexed nature' or a 'natural sex' is produced and established as 'prediscursive', [as a] politically neutral surface on which culture acts" (Butler 1990: 7). In *Bodies that Matter* (1993), Butler takes her argument one step further: arguing that "there is no reference to a pure body which is not at the same time a further formation of that body," she seeks to locate the "regulatory norms" through which "sex itself [is] materialized" (Butler 1993: 10). Aiming to detach the notion of gender from sexual difference with which it has become "virtually coterminous" (1987: 2), Teresa de Lauretis proposes to consider gender not as "a property of bodies or something originally existent in human beings" (1987: 3) but as a "set of effects produced in bodies, behaviors and social relations by the deployment of a complex political technology" (Foucault 1980b: 127, quoted in de Lauretis 1987: 3).

⁴⁸ Butler has, however, also pointed out that Foucault's claim that "the body is culturally constructed" (Butler 1999: 307) raises, in particular with regard to the use of the indefinite article, questions about meanings "the body" might have, e.g., in terms of gender, origin and other qualifying parameters to be "existentially available to become the site of its own ostensible construction" (Butler 1999: 307). Butler concludes that in *History of Sexuality, Volume I* and in "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," "there is a body that is external to its construction," representing "a dynamic locus of culture per se" (Butler 1999: 308).

While Butler and de Lauretis use Foucault's understanding of the body and sexuality for reconceptualizing the sex/gender system and the premises relating to the materiality of bodies as such, many feminist theorists criticize Foucault for his failure to pay sufficient if any attention to issues related to sexual difference.⁴⁹ According to Rosi Braidotti,

Foucault never locates woman's body as the site of the most operational internal divisions in our society, and consequently also of the most persistent forms of exclusion. Sexual difference simply does not play a role in the Foucauldian universe, where the technology of subjectivity refers to a desexualized and general 'human' subject" (1991: 87).

Sandra Bartky criticizes Foucault for treating the body as if "the bodily experiences for men and women did not differ and as if men and women bore the same relationship to the characteristic institutions of modern life" (1990: 65). Even in the specifics of his analysis, Foucault risks "being blind to those disciplines which produce a modality of embodiment which is peculiarly feminine" (1990: 65). Although Bartky concludes that Foucault's consideration of the docile body in his *Discipline and Punish* "reproduces that sexism which is endemic throughout Western political theory" (1990: 65) she nevertheless takes his idea of the body as discursively produced by disciplinary power as a theoretical starting point for her discussion of disciplinary practices, producing a "recognizably feminine" body (Bartky 1990: 65). Analyzing three categories of practices pertaining to the size and general configuration of the body, the gestures, postures and movements of the body, and the body as an ornamented surface (1990: 65), Bartky's focus is on the anonymous workings of power in producing the "ideal body of femininity" on which an inferior status has been inscribed (1990: 71).

While recognizing Foucault's role in stressing the importance of the body in sociopolitical thought, Susan Bordo also draws attention to the existence of a considerable body of feminist literature from the 1960s and 1970s on "the social construction and deployment of female sexuality, beauty and femininity" that has not been credited as containing theoretical insights (Bordo 1993a: 183). Bordo traces an awareness of "culture's grip on [the woman's] body" (Bordo 1993b: 17) to Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). For Bordo Wollstonecraft's description of the social construction of femininity of the privileged women can serve as an excellent example of Foucault's notion of the 'docile body' (Bordo 1993b: 18). Thus Bordo argues that sexual difference must be regarded as a definitive aspect determining the production of bodies by discourses of power.

Nevertheless, Bordo recognizes in Foucault several useful theoretical categories for considering the body, such as, for example, the understanding of

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Bartky 1990: 65; Braidotti 1991: 86–97; Morris 1979: 152; Ramazanoğlu and Holland 1993: 239–264.

power as non-authoritarian, non-conspirational and non-orchestrated (Bordo 1993b: 26). For a cultural analysis of women's embodied situation, Bordo also sees as productive the notion of resistance operating via "local and often minute shifts in power /.../ spawning new forms of culture and subjectivity" (Bordo 1993b: 27–28). Bordo has applied the Foucauldian perspective of the body to an analysis of various corporeal constructions of femininity, such as neurasthenia and hysteria at the second half of the 19th century and agoraphobia, anorexia nervosa and bulimia at the second half of the 20th century.⁵⁰

Some feminist critics are, however, more reserved about the progressive potential of Foucault's consideration of modern power and his notion of resistance. Viewing Foucault's conception of power as monolithic and criticizing his passive account of the body, Lois McNay claims that Foucault's perception of female sexuality in terms of the hysterization of the female body suggests that "the experiences of women were completely circumscribed by the notion of a pathological and hysterical feminine sexuality" that excluded any possibility of women resisting "socially prescribed feminine roles" (1991: 135). McNay spots a contradiction between Foucault's theoretical account of resistance and his historical analysis that leaves the impression "that the body presents no material resistance to the operation of power" (McNay 1991: 134). Furthermore, the process of resistance to oppressive practices would presuppose social agency that in McNay's opinion, Foucault's thought reduces to passive corporeality, failing to offer any account of how "individuals may act in an autonomous fashion" (1991: 127). McNay views the notion of agency as central in order to account for "the contradictions and instabilities" in the oppressive regulatory practices that have "at times provided women with a space from which to undermine the very system which constricts them" (McNay 1991: 135–136).

Contrasting McNay's view of Foucault's conceptualization of the subject as a passive entity determined by power relations, Margaret McLaren emphasizes "the active role [subjects play] in their own production" (2002: 58) in Foucault's thought. For McLaren, Foucault's claim about the production of the subject by power relations is directed at "break[ing] from the traditional philosophical dilemma of viewing self and sociality as mutually exclusive (McLaren 2002: 59). McLaren highlights the importance of Foucault's treatment of power's effect on bodies as not merely prohibitive but also productive. Thus an analysis of the ways in which power is exercised on bodies through social norms also necessarily makes visible the ways in which oppression constructs new identities that exceed the model of absolute domination (McLaren 2002: 97). Such position is perhaps most clearly formulated in "Body/power" where Foucault asserts that although "mastery and awareness of one's own body can be acquired only through the effect of an investment of power in the body" after power has produced this effect, "there

⁵⁰ See Bordo 1989: 13–33; 1991: 202–341; 1993b: 139–164.

inevitably emerge the responding claims and affirmations, those of one's own body against power, of health against the economic system, of pleasure against the moral norms of sexuality, marriage and decency" (Foucault 1980a: 56).

1.3.3. Foucauldian approach to the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin

In his *Discipline and Punish* and *History of Sexuality* Foucault argues that observing and analyzing the ways in which the body is produced by the heterogeneous, ubiquitous and non-hierarchical networks of power contributes considerably to an understanding of the functioning of modern society. These productive processes that create a body corresponding to certain parameters and possessing certain skills ensure the functioning of a social body in accordance to a certain set of normative practices. Foucault creates a dynamic model of the socio-cultural structure of modern society where resistance that co-exists with power, constantly producing shifting cleavages in society and enabling new configurations of power to emerge, plays an important role. In the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin, the body is taken up in a number of entries in relation to the operation of various social and cultural norms, providing interesting insights into the embodied situation of women at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Supporting the argument of many feminist critics who have argued that power operates on bodies in gender-specific ways, the body that emerges in the diaries is depicted as an object of normative practices and conceptual frameworks aimed at determining women's secondary position in society and the subjection of her needs and desires to those of men.

Foucault discusses the multiple workings of power that produce the female embodied subject most explicitly with respect to the hysterization of women's bodies from the 18th century onward (1980b: 103–104). Feminist critics have viewed this as a limited, negativistic position, refusing women any possibilities for self-perception outside the thoroughly oppressive conceptual and operational framework. Indeed, of the four strategic clusters that Foucault outlines, the one concerning the hysterization of women's bodies determines woman's position in society totally, while the three other clusters, focusing on men⁵¹ either concern only the private sphere or are structured around a positive motivational scheme. In Foucault's elaboration of the first cluster, such a

⁵¹ This is evident from the ways in which Foucault discusses the functioning of the clusters, referring to the schoolboy (1980b: 121) as the primary target of the mechanisms regarding the pedagogization of children's sex, to the "impotent, sadistic, perverse husband" (Foucault 1980b: 110) as the key issue relating to the socialization of procreative behavior and the "young homosexual who rejects marriage or neglects his wife" (Foucault 1980b: 110) as the core of the psychiatrization of perverse pleasure.

scheme is completely absent. However, as McLaren has pointed out (2002: 31), Foucault's perspective is a critical one; secondly, his concept of resistance as an inseparable part of all power relations excludes the possibility of viewing any dominating frameworks of power as static and unchangeable.

Foucault enlists the following processes that determine the position of (middle-class) women in bourgeois society: the conceptualization of woman's body as thoroughly saturated with sexuality, its characterization as intrinsically pathological and its resulting integration into the sphere of medical practice, and the reduction of woman's position to her maternal role (1980b: 104). The ways in which the body emerges as inscribed by culture in the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin can be viewed as roughly corresponding to the general framework outlined by Foucault. What I find more important, however, is the ample textual evidence the diaries provide of the multiple workings of the discourses of power, manifested in everyday practices in diverse ways, always harboring "a multiplicity of points of resistance" (1980b: 95).⁵²

The diaries also support Foucault's claim about the nonsubjective yet intentional nature of power relations (1980b: 95). Many entries tackling the body focus on the process of adapting to or resisting certain normative configurations, which are depicted as clearly intelligible yet not viewed as exercised by a concrete person or institution. One example illustrating the nonsubjective nature of normative power producing a certain kind of body can be found in the first volume of the diary of Aino Kallas in an entry from June 1897 where she describes her appearance at the ceremony of the conferral of degrees by the Faculty of Philosophy of the Imperial Alexander University (later Helsinki University) (Makkonen 1999: 425) that she participated in as the personal wreath-maker of one of the graduates (Kallas 1994b: 10, see article IV, p. 80). The entry contains a rather detailed description of her dress, hairdo and accessories that are selected to highlight its wearer's physical attractiveness while corresponding in full to the social demands of female propriety. The author is utterly pleased with her appearance that corresponds to the norms of female beauty. As the following entries offering an account of the festivities make clear, this is targeted at attracting the attention of her possible future

⁵² It is certainly important to bear in mind that the characteristic features attributed to the diary, such as, for example, its status as a liminal form, balancing between the private and the public sphere (Nussbaum 1988: 135), its considerable flexibility in terms of formal and thematic set-up (Fothergill 1974: 3, Hogan 1991: 100) and, as far as the diaries of women are concerned, its fragmentary, interrupted, inclusive and trivial nature, make the diary a text type that seems to be particularly well suited for a Foucauldian interpretation of the operation of networks of power. As I have outlined in my article focusing on women's diaries (article I), most features viewed as characteristic of women's diaries can be also found in the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin, even if they are often employed self-consciously by their authors in order to create multiple levels of meaning.

husband. In Foucauldian terminology, this entry offers an account of an ‘intelligible body’, representing, according to Susan Bordo, “a domestic, sexualized ideal of femininity,” conveyed in the 19th century via the so-called ‘hour-glass’ figure (Bordo 1989: 26).⁵³ Apart from the stereotypical female gender role that such figure symbolizes, Bordo also calls attention to a special praxis consisting of “straitlacing, minimal eating, [and] reduced mobility” that was needed to achieve the required look (Bordo 1989: 26). The author’s description of her appearance confirms her willing alignment with and compliance to the norm that she is conscious of yet does not address directly or relate to a specific institution.⁵⁴ Virginia Woolf, in contrast, mentions the tremendous relief she felt upon the vanishing of “that tremendous encumbrance of appearance and behavior” (Woolf 1985b: 169) which her half-brother George had piled upon her and Vanessa before they moved to Bloomsbury after their father’s death. For Aino Kallas, corresponding to the norm outlining the “ideal body of femininity” (Bartky 1990: 71) enhances her positive self-perception until it clashes with her literary ambitions (see Kallas 1994b: 26, also article IV, p. 82). By the time of her engagement to Oskar Kallas, she has become relatively well aware of the conflict between the social demands limiting women to the role of wife and mother and her wish to realize herself as a woman of letters (see article II, pp. 297–298, article VI, p. 264).

In a similar vein, the rather categorical body versus mind split that characterizes the early diaries of Anaïs Nin points to the functioning of interrelated webs of tactics of power which form comprehensive systems (Foucault 1980b: 95) (see article IV, pp. 78–80). Nin’s almost desperate wish to construct a disembodied subjectivity in her diary implies an implicit awareness of the tactics of power equating women with corporeality and dailiness and excluding them from the realm of reason, spirituality and creativity. Of the few entries where she criticizes such hierarchies of power one places responsibility on her mother for supporting her bother’s career as a musician at the expense of her intellectual and spiritual advancement (Nin 1982: 270) and another voices a

⁵³ Although the diary entry does not enlist in full the characteristic features of the ‘hour-glass’ figure, that “emphasized breasts and hips against a wasp-waist” (Bordo 1989: 26), a photo of Aino Krohn, taken at the graduation ceremony of Helsinki University in 1897 and reprinted in Kai Laitinen’s biography of Aino Kallas (Tallinn: Sinisukk, 1997), demonstrates that her appearance did indeed correspond to such norm of female beauty.

⁵⁴ A diary entry from April 1898 records a conversation where Aino Krohn’s maternal aunt Ida Godenhjelm humorously scolds her of being “like a woman of the old times” (Kallas 1994b: 44), corresponding to a model of female gender role that she finds outdated. This makes Aino Krohn contemplate on the direction her development has taken. Admitting that she has temporarily cast aside issues relating to women’s rights and her possible entrance to university, she concludes that this period where she perceives herself as “a woman through and through” should be looked upon as a developmental stage that she will eventually leave behind (Kallas 1994b: 44).

categoric refusal to correspond to a stereotypical image of a young woman in relation with the opposite sex (Nin 1982: 213). On several occasions, however, Nin's perception of woman's (innate) nature corresponds to what Foucault views as the conceptualization of woman's body as thoroughly saturated with sexuality and an identification of woman with her sexualized body. An account of such "primitive and animalized" woman whom Nin considers to be "an obstacle to civilization" (Nin 1982: 517–518) is provided by a series of excessively corporeal and sexualized portraits of June Miller whom Nin both juxtaposes herself to and seeks to identify herself with (see article III, pp. 69–77). Such view of woman's nature suggests an internalization of the gender hierarchies underlying the construction of the universal (male) subject: masculine disembodiment only becomes possible "on the condition that women occupy their bodies as their essential and enslaving identities" (Butler 1987: 133, see also Smith 1993a: 5–17). Here power can be seen as working "from below", constructing "prevailing forms of subjectivity and selfhood /.../ through individual self-surveillance and self-correction to norms" (Bordo 1993b: 27). At the same time, however, the entries creating a portrait of June Miller as an excessively sexual *femme fatale* in the early 1930s mark the moment when Nin systematically starts to revise the androcentric conception of female sexuality to facilitate a female embodied subjectivity, identifying the desiring female subject as its core.

Of the three diaries that I have looked at in my research, those of Virginia Woolf are certainly most reticent in matters pertaining to the body. In her essay "Professions for Women,"⁵⁵ Virginia Woolf enlists as two important tasks of her professional life the killing of the Angel in the House and "telling the truth about [her] own experiences as a body" that she does not think she has solved (1942: 240). This reference to the importance of the body as well as an emphasis on bodily matters in several of her autobiographical sketches included in the posthumously published *Moments of Being*⁵⁶ suggest that the issues regarding the body and sexuality appear in Woolf's diary relatively rarely, not due to the fact that she wouldn't have considered those matters important but rather because she felt them to be "unfitting for her as a woman" to discuss (Woolf 1942: 240). Thus the scant consideration of bodily matters in the diaries of Virginia Woolf can be interpreted as a silent acknowledgement of and adherence to the "cultural rules of female propriety" (Smith 1993a: 16) that Woolf does not explicitly address in her diaries. Such an interpretation also suggests that "the truth" concerning her body that she may have considered important to touch upon in her diary was necessarily something that would be in conflict with the moral codes of her socio-cultural context and the instances in her autobiographical sketches, where she addresses bodily issues via a reference

⁵⁵ *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays*. London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1942, 235–242.

⁵⁶ New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985.

to (possible) sexual abuse by two half-brothers (see Woolf 1985b: 67–69, 160) and as a possible lesbian self-identification (see Woolf 1985b: 174) certainly confirm this.

The diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin reveal the impact of the heterogeneous operation of diverse discourses of power producing a female body characterized by certain ideological parameters without the authors' explicit acknowledgement of the "technologies of gender" (de Lauretis 1987: 1–31) at work. At the same time, however, numerous diary entries also demonstrate their authors' awareness of and resistance to the normative configurations regulating the female body and conditioning female subjectivity. As a concept that foregrounds the emergence of "new forms of culture and subjectivity /.../ through local and often minute shifts in power" (Bordo 1993b: 28), I find Foucault's notion of resistance useful for my research. Compared with McNay's definition of agency as the potential of "individual[s] act[ing] in an autonomous fashion" (1991: 127), which is limited in its similarity to the Cartesian subject (see Smith 1993a: 5–10), Sherry Ortner's view of agency is more flexible. According to her, individuals "resist, negotiate, and appropriate some feature of their world" within the framework of "cultural meanings and structural arrangements that construct and constrain their 'agency'" (Ortner 1996: 2).

In the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin, resistance to the normative frameworks of embodied female subjectivity emerges via different conscious acts and strategies of opposing the norms and refusing to follow them. Reflecting upon and contributing to the extensive and manifold late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century European processes of reconceptualizing and repositioning women in society, the resistances in the diaries can be looked upon as acts of "strategic codification" (Foucault 1980b: 96) partaking in bringing about a revolutionary change in women's social position.

The diary of Aino Kallas contains the most explicitly articulated criticism of the normative frameworks determining woman's role in society via a specific inscription of the female body. In a diary entry from the period of engagement with Oskar Kallas, Aino Krohn mentions the "pressure of the leading way of thought" that although presenting marriage as the ultimate goal that all young women should strive towards, at the same time makes them a passive vehicle of the institution of marriage (Kallas 1994b: 169). The key question for Aino Krohn here is the moral code constructing women as asexual creatures who are refused a desire of their own and trained for marriage in terms of passive yielding to their husband's desire (Kallas 1994b: 169). Confronting this norm, Aino Krohn recognizes her physical desire for her fiancé and refuses to cast it aside as inappropriate for a woman. When describing her inner struggle with her desire, Aino Krohn uses a military image of a castle (embodying the norm of female propriety) that her impure thoughts attack, so that finally the walls "begin to crumble" (Kallas 1994b: 170). Asserting the primacy of her feelings

over the norm, Aino Krohn explains her desire as something natural, hastening, however, to legitimate it with her potential of motherhood as one of the “grand aims” of God (Kallas 1994b: 170).

After the birth of two children within two years after marrying Oskar Kallas, however, Aino Kallas realizes that motherhood (among other factors) has effaced her desire for her husband, and finds such situation alarming (see Kallas 1994b: 239). In her two reviews of J. Randvere’s “Ruth” (1909),⁵⁷ a controversial work presenting a highly sexualized ideal of the modern woman,⁵⁸ Aino Kallas criticizes Ruth for the absence of maternal instincts. The position of Aino Kallas regarding maternity in her critical response to “Ruth” echoes the views of Minna Canth who related female sexuality with reproduction, finding that after the birth of children wife’s “erotic relationship with husband would be replaced by respect, tenderness and motherly care” (Lappalainen 2003: 215). In her diary, however, Aino Kallas rather quickly outgrows this model, suffering from the waning of the intense emotional, erotic and intellectual bond with her husband over the years and from a crisis of literary creativity resulting from this as well as the routine of her everyday life dominated by maternal duties. The discussion about the interrelationship between creativity and female desire occupies a central position both in her diaries during the years 1900–1921 and her most important work of fiction, *Eros the Slayer* trilogy (see Rojola 1994: 59–68, Melkas 2006: 171–253).⁵⁹

In March 1908 Aino Kallas characterizes herself as being “intellectually polygamous” (1994a: 56); the diary entries considering her relationship with a well-known Estonian psychiatrist, psychologist and man of letters Juhan Luiga, a renowned Latvian painter Jan Rosenthāls and the famous Finnish poet Eino Leino, however, make visible a much larger scope of Aino Kallas’ feelings for these men than mere intellectual affiliation. In 1916, she talks about the

⁵⁷ See Kallas 1909: 6; 1921: 143–157.

⁵⁸ The real author of “Ruth” was Johannes Aavik, one of the members of the Noor-Eesti literary grouping that Aino Kallas for a period affiliated herself with (see Kallas 1994a: 226). In 1921, Aino Kallas published a monograph on Noor-Eesti (*Nuori-Viro: muotokuvia ja suuntaviivoja*. Helsinki: Otava: 1918), where she highlights the role of Noor-Eesti in enriching Estonian intellectual life with a range of new subject matters, including “the aesthetic question as such,” (Kallas 1921: 46). In her reviews, Aino Kallas saw Ruth as Noor-Eesti’s human ideal, “embodying in full the spirit of the modern times,” traceable in her “fine analytic inner life and sophisticated taste for enjoyment” (Kallas 1909: 6). Kallas was much more critical, however, toward Ruth as the ideal of the modern woman, in particular her absence of maternal instincts (see Kallas 1909: 6; 1921: 154) and her utter purposelessness that, in her opinion, real-life women with comparable intellectual and artistic capacities could not afford as it became a vital necessity for them to realize these capacities (see Kallas 1921: 153–155, also Kurvet-Käosaar 2006: 99–124.).

⁵⁹ The trilogy consists of three novels: *Barbara von Tisenhusen* (1923), *Reigin pappi* (1926) and *Sudenmorsian* (1928).

emergence of a new self-awareness that is grounded on the “longing for the experience of love” as “the center and secret” of her life (Kallas 1993: 10). As her diary entries demonstrate, a simultaneous recognition of and struggle against erotic desire is an inseparable part of the all-encompassing experience of love that she was seeking and viewed as a force capable of unleashing her literary creativity. Describing herself as “internally aflame,” like “a red ruby” (Kallas 1993: 10, 11), she is determined not to let the fire burning inside her go to waste but use it for realizing her life’s work if she cannot realize it in love (Kallas 1993: 11). In *Barbara von Tisenhusen* (1923), when the protagonist Barbara confesses to minister Matthaes Friesner (who is the narrator of the story), her forbidden love for Franz Bonnius, the clerk of Rõngu, Friesner sees her “aglow as a red ruby” instead of “a bright and pure rock crystal” that she earlier used to resemble, and attributes this to the effect of love (Kallas 1938: 32). If the comparison with a rock crystal here explicitly refers to purity and virginity, and the absence of sexual feelings and immunity to the corruptive and degenerate ways of life of the nobility, the glowing ruby implies both recognition of female desire and overt rebellion against the laws of nobility defining her existence.

In the diary of Aino Kallas, her comparison of herself to a red ruby can be viewed as the moment when a longing for the experience of love becomes an ultimate inner necessity (see also Laitinen 1997: 604) that she is determined to follow even if it entails a clash with norms of morality.⁶⁰ If the diary entries tackling her relationship with Juhan Luiga foreground a constant (inner) balancing process in terms of social acceptability (see also Laitinen 1997: 135–136, 604, Kurvet-Käosaar 2006: 117–118), upon meeting Jan Rosenthäls these considerations are cast aside. Describing her situation as if standing “on the verge of a waterfall,” about to be drawn into the current (Kallas 1993: 23), Kallas writes: “.../ the only thing I am looking forward to is the experience of love with him” (Kallas 1993: 23). However, as the diary entries indicate, by the time Aino Kallas writes these words, Rosenthäls had shared with her his *carpe diem* concept of love, flaunting himself as a cynical and self-centered philanderer using women to satisfy his sexual desire and suggested that she viewed their relationship from the same perspective (see Kallas 1993: 21–22). Considering Rosenthäls’ position, their relationship can hardly be viewed in radical and subversive terms of free love, as Maarit Leskelä has suggested (2000: 226) but rather in terms of the double moral standard of male sexuality (in Finnish *kaksinaismoraali*) that viewed as socially acceptable the situation where men satisfied their sexual needs with other women in addition to their

⁶⁰ In a letter to Ilova Jalava from July 1916, she repeats the metaphor of the red ruby with an implicit reference to its erotic dimension that she is prepared to realize (see Leskelä 2000: 226).

wives.⁶¹ However, as Parente-Čapková has pointed out, the exploration of “woman’s ‘instincts’ and bodily desires” a common topic for many early 20th century women writers was complicated by the class-specific discourses of female sexuality that viewed middle-class women as asexual and related “intriguing sexual[ity] with lower-class women or prostitutes (2003: 62). Aino Kallas’ apparent acceptance of Rosenthäls’ view on love to which she added Alma Söderhjelm’s assertion of the need of intellectually engaged women for physical love equaling that of men (see Kallas 1993: 31), can therefore also be considered as an attempt to construct female sexuality on her own terms.

In her relationship with Eino Leino, Aino Kallas seeks to formulate her feelings with great preciseness. She admits to loving him with the full force of her individuality that has developed late in her life. “Him I have chosen as an individual, for myself, with the instincts of my sensitive, sophisticated and jagged mental organism,” she writes in May 1917 (Kallas 1993: 82–83). Signaling a new self-awareness, her declaration of her love for him is also characterized by the emergence of a new moral order that she views as superior to the laws of morality of the society and is prepared to defend both in front of her family (Kallas 1993: 132, 141) and in public (Kallas 1993: 64). Repeating in many entries that in her relationship with Eino Leino her great yearning for the real experience of love has come true (Kallas 1993: 77, 82, 90, 121, 130) she wants it to correspond to what she sees as perfect love, involving both her soul and her body (Kallas 1993: 129, 136, 152). As the diary indicates (Kallas 1993: 126), one of her models for love was Laura Marholm’s ideal of womanhood that she calls *la grande amoureuse*, the great lover, who loves both with intense spiritual and physical passion (Marholm 2004: 175).⁶² In my opinion, however, the diary entries concerning the physical side of her love for Eino Leino are characterized by certain ambivalence: more than a powerful

⁶¹ Rosenthäls’ story (narrated to Aino Kallas as an illustration of his concept of love) of his young Polish lover whom he set up in an apartment close to his home, without even bothering to hide the affair from his wife is a perfect illustration of the double standard.

⁶² Laura Marholm describes *la grande amoureuse* in the following way: “she is the highest level of woman’s life /.../ [where] all the passive female qualities – the need for love, yielding to a man, self-scrutiny, faithfulness, nurture, dedication – are not merely instinctual but are related to the woman’s brain. /.../ She embodies the flourishing of female wisdom and /.../ the highest level of female intellect,” her love involving both intense spiritual and physical dedication to her beloved (Marholm 2004: 175). Aino Kallas had referred to Laura Marholm, albeit in a critical tone, already during her engagement to Oskar Kallas, highlighting in particular the erotic aspect of love (see Kallas, R. 1988: 128). Marholm’s woman’s ideal can only be applied to the relationship of Aino Kallas to Eino Leino only with reservations as according to Marholm, *la grande amoureuse* dedicates herself to only one man throughout her lifetime (see Marholm 2004: 175).

force that she cannot resist,⁶³ she seems to consider it as something that would function as the ultimate proof to her of the completeness of her love, of its dimension as the all encompassing experience matching her love's ideal. It is possible that the bond between Eino Leino and Aino Kallas did not, after all, involve very strong physical attraction or that it was something Aino Kallas sensed in Eino Leino's feelings for her. It is also possible that the relatively restrained manner in which Aino Kallas discusses the physical dimension of her relationship can be attributed to a fear of ruining her reputation that was already under fire when her brother Kaarle became involved in it. As Maarit Leskelä has also pointed out (2000: 232), Aino Kallas probably knew that it was unlikely that Eino Leino would have legitimized their relationship via marriage and even if he had, it would have meant a considerable social as well as financial decline for her, no matter how close affinity she felt with him spiritually.⁶⁴ In an entry made toward the end of their relationship Aino Kallas confesses to fending off all sensual feelings for Eino Leino so that she now only feels tenderness for him. In the same entry, referring to Heinrich Mann, she also talks about the necessity of sacrificing personal life as a prerogative for being an artist and views herself as conforming to this pattern. As a woman, she again turns into a 'rock crystal', 'the glow of the red ruby' she recognized in herself in 1916 becoming the force that unleashes her literary talent.

Unlike the diary of Aino Kallas, the diary of Virginia Woolf contains much fewer entries that directly confront the social norms inscribing the female body. However, I would argue that within the context of her diary where she generally refrains from a discussion of personal matters, the entries focusing on her relationship with Vita Sackville-West (and to a lesser extent, also the entries tackling her relationship with Ethel Smyth) form a noteworthy example of conscious resistance to normative configurations defining female sexuality (see article V, pp. 31–33). One of the first entries referring to Vita Sackville-West introduces her as a "pronounced Sapphist [who] may have an eye on [her]" (Woolf 1978: 235–236). The entry, written in slightly ironic and playful tone, nonetheless defines Vita in terms of her sexual identity and creates a possible connection between her and Virginia Woolf via that identity.

⁶³ The erotic dimension is, in fact, more visible in the diary in the entries that focus on the relationship with her husband during their engagement as well as in the entries considering her relationship with Juhan Luiga and Janis Rosenthäls.

⁶⁴ Several entries demonstrate that even during the time when she declared to care for nothing else than Eino Leino's love for her, she was not indifferent to her social position and financial situation. When Oskar Kallas reveals to her that he may have tuberculosis and accuses her of ruining his life and his health, she becomes wary of the financial difficulties that may arise from his death or serious illness (see Kallas 1993: 140–141). The detailed manner of the diary entry where Aino Kallas writes about Oskar Kallas' new position as a minister, demonstrates that she did care about her family's new social position despite the fact that she herself denies it (Kallas 1993: 151).

Hermione Lee points out that Virginia Woolf's "preference of her own sex had been a fact of her life since childhood" (1997: 490, see also Bell, V. 1993: 37, 94), yet this is impossible to trace in her diary until she met Vita Sackville-West. Considering Virginia Woolf's extreme self-consciousness as a writer, the subtle but nevertheless noticeable change in the tone of her diary toward a more confessional and also sensual mode cannot be merely accidental. Instead, it marks a conscious shift in her self-representation toward a female embodied subjectivity where the desiring female subject emerges in relation to another woman. Such a subject-position is central for female creativity as several diary entries, but even more importantly, *A Room of One's Own* (1929) demonstrates. When Woolf delivered the two lectures on women and fiction at Newnham and Girton in October 1928, Vita Sackville-West accompanied her. Jane Marcus, referring to *Orlando* as "a lesbian love letter" and the obscenity trial of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) that both women were related to, has argued that the audience of Woolf's lectures could hardly have failed to notice the symbolic significance of Vita Sackville-West's presence (1987: 166). In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf herself also refers to the trial in the passage where she talks about friendship between women in a highly evocative manner: "'Chloe liked Olivia ...' Do not start. Do not blush. Let us admit in the privacy of our own society that these things sometimes happen" (1929: 82). Even if the meaning of three dots, according to Marcus, known as "a female code for lesbian love" (1987: 169) might have not been comprehensible in lecture format, the implication of the rest of the above quoted passage is quite clear, in particular in relation to Woolf's humorous concern about the possible presence of Sir Chartres Biron, the presiding magistrate of *The Well of Loneliness* trial, at the lecture (see Woolf 1929: 82). Marcus considers both Vita Sackville-West's appearance at the lecture and the rhetorical strategies of *A room of One's Own* that she sees as "an extension of [Woolf's] love letters" to Vita as a "public statement by way of [Woolf's] own 'sapphism'" (1987: 166, 167). Hermione Lee, comparing the draft versions of *A Room of One's Own* with the published version, argues that Woolf "carried out a telling piece of self-censorship" placing the emphasis of the relationship of Chloe and Olivia on its impersonality (1997: 526–527).

Yet in the published version of *A Room of One's Own*, the relationship of Chloe and Olivia is characterized by both an intimate personal bond as well as their shared work and the remark in Woolf's diary where she seems to be concerned about the reception of her essay in terms the possible "hint[ing] for a sapphist" (Woolf 1980: 262) can be interpreted also as a textual strategy aiming at directing the reader's attention to this aspect. Furthermore, the comment can be, in my opinion, applied to the diary entries concerning Woolf's relationship with Vita Sackville-West as well. Both evasive and suggestive, the entries aim not at a construction of a clear-cut 'sapphist' identity but wish to "hint" for it nevertheless, manifesting a self-conscious assumption of homoerotic female embodied subjectivity in confrontation with the norms of female subjectivity

both in her immediate surroundings (the Bloomsbury group) and the larger socio-cultural set-up of the period in general.

If self-censorship emerges as an important aspect in the strategies of resistance in the diaries of Aino Kallas and Virginia Woolf, the publication history of the diary of Anaïs Nin makes this issue even more central and also more problematic. Of the manuscript of 35,000 hand-written pages (Knox 1995:18), only a small selection has been published in three different series and the sharp discrepancy between the self-presentation of the author in the two of them (*The Diary of Anaïs Nin* and *The Unexpurgated Diary of Anaïs Nin*) caused a fierce public outcry against Nin. Although the central problem with Nin's diary was located in its construction of an emancipated woman artist in charge of her own life while she was, in fact, a woman "materially and emotionally sustained by men" (Tookey 2001: 9), the critical response to Nin's unexpurgated diaries demonstrates the high extent to which her life as depicted in the diary was viewed as violating the norms of morality.⁶⁵ The embodied female subject emerging in Nin's diaries is viewed, in most literal sense, as a female body "thoroughly saturated with sexuality" (Foucault 1980b: 104) and condemned as dangerous, monstrous, pathological and corrupt. The attacks against Nin based on moral grounds go hand in hand with calling into doubt her merit as a diarist.⁶⁶

Critics of Nin's unexpurgated diary also accused Nin of a failure to offer a coherent and positive depiction of the importance of female sexuality that would be compatible with the objectives of the second wave feminist movement. Melissa Knox, for example, views *Fire*, the third volume on Nin's unexpurgated diary as a "portrait of confusions of female sexuality" (1995: 19) failing to explain to the reader nor to comprehend herself the real meaning of her "romantic and sexual escapades" (Knox 1995: 18). Although the significance of *Fire* as well as other volumes of Nin's unexpurgated diary, can be seen in making visible the construction of an autonomous female embodied subjectivity in confrontation with the normative frameworks determining the female body, the process highlights "the traumatized and fragmented subject" (Henke 1998: 78), not a coherent and unified self central in the (male) canon of autobiography that, paradoxically, Knox seems to be demanding at a time when scholars of women's autobiography had problematized the defining criteria of autobiographical writings and highlighted its androcentric bias.

Not unlike Aino Kallas in the early 1900s, by late 1920s Nin was finding her life defined by her role as a banker's wife limiting. In 1926, under the influence of Hélène Boussinescq, a "middle-aged French teacher of English literature" (Nin 1984: 172) who was well-read in contemporary literature, knew personally several modern writers, and kept a literary salon, Nin began to familiarize

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Hughes-Hallet 1994: 6; Knox 1995: 18–19; Lawson 1995: 35; Pierpoint 2001: 51–80.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Knox 1995: 18–19; Pierpoint 1993: 74–90.

herself with and to contemplate seriously about “this thing called modernism” (Bair 1995: 78–79). Furthermore, Boussinescq’s advice to Nin about the urgency of “bringing every aspect of herself into the twentieth century” (Bair 1995: 79) may have triggered in Nin a wish to experience Modernism “as a way of life” (Hanscombe and Smyers 1987: 11) that took full force in 1932 when Nin met Henry and June Miller and soon found herself “decend[ing] passionately [into their] fecund chaos and confusion” (Nin 1992: 18). Taking stock of herself in December 1932, Nin admits that being a faithful wife is not compatible with her newly discovered sense of self as “a creator, /.../an experimenter” (Nin 1990: 12).

Being a creator is in Nin’s diary not limited to literary self-realization but, even more importantly, manifests itself in the ways she manages her life, from her choice of country where to live, the interior decoration of her home and her style of clothes to her relationships with men (see Nin 1992: 218). In terms of her lifestyle, Nin sees herself as an avant-garde force, who “even in love [will be] understood much later” (Nin 1992: 218). The entry, dating from the time when her incestuous relationship with her father was at its height, and her affair with Henry Miller had lasted for some time, is primarily concerned with the norms of morality that Nin’s life strongly clashed with. Struggling to come to terms with the experience, she is ready to discard the notion of morality, at least in her relation to the others, altogether, claiming to only “care about [her] own judgment” and concluding that if she is “perverse, monstrous in certain eyes, *tant pis*” (Nin 1992: 235). At the same time, she is, during that period also experiencing a pervasive sense of insecurity, manifested in the diary by deeply melancholy mood (Nin 1992: 229), frequent nightmarish dreams (Nin 1992: 255), failing health and a fear of death (Nin 1992: 220–221), accompanied by a heightened anxiety about her diary. Experiencing some heart trouble when alone for one night in Avignon and becoming afraid that she will not survive the night; her only concern is to have enough energy to burn her diary where, against her father’s wishes, she has recorded their affair (Nin 1992: 220–221). In her diary, Nin’s affair with her father is depicted as the ultimate act of rebellion against the norms of morality, the effect of which Nin views as a necessary step in her journey toward achieving personal freedom she considers crucial of her self-perception as an artist.⁶⁷ Feeling immense upsurge of literary creativity, she feverishly embarks on transforming sections of her diary into fiction,⁶⁸ characterizing her mood with the following words: “Peak days. Sensual, creative. I feel my sex flame, and my mind flame, and the dream

⁶⁷ Among the generally hostile reception of Nin’s unexpurgated diaries, a few critics also wrote appreciative reviews, seeing Nin’s importance in introducing into women’s writing a new range of themes related female sexuality, the most important of which was the theme of incest (see, e.g., Jong 1994: 15–25; Benstock 1989: 33–34).

⁶⁸ The results of her work were two short novels, *House of Incest* and *The Winter of Artifice*, published respectively in 1936 (Paris: Siena Editions) and 1939 (Paris: The Obelisk Press).

flames. A life like furnace. Power” (Nin 1992: 253). Although appearing to function as an example of ‘sexual anarchy’ par excellence, I agree with those critics of Nin who interpret the episode as a result of Nin’s traumatic childhood experience of sexual abuse and abandonment.⁶⁹ In creating a vision of herself in the diary as the person in control of their relationship and emphasizing her father’s insistence on his need for her and his fear of losing her, Nin seems to assume the role she has formerly attributed to her father. However, instead of gaining control over her (perception of her) father she becomes even more infatuated by him, imagining him as the French *Roi Soleil* (see, e.g., Nin 1992: 218, 223, 226, 227, 234), her “nonhuman and rarefied” ideal of love (Nin 1992: 227). Yet she slowly comes to gain a wider perspective on his destructive and traumatic influence on her life and starts fighting against it, seeking to rid herself of her emotional dependence on him. A diary entry of a meeting with her father in June 1934, records a discovery that she has “no feelings for this stiff inhuman schoolteacher /.../ [with] a dried-up soul” and rejoices at her newly found freedom: “Oh, I’m free! I’M FREE” (Nin 1992: 339–340). Several later entries demonstrate that the process of liberating herself from her father’s influence was a slow and painful one with multiple setbacks. It is only “by a miracle,” she asserts in the final volume of her unexpurgated diary, *Nearer to the Moon*, “that I escaped from my father’s burden, because he killed my love” (Nin 1996b: 291).

As I have argued in article V (see p. 37) Nin’s depiction of her simultaneous affairs with many different men often highlights their self-destructive nature, providing a perfect illustration of the account in her early diary of the “primitive and animalised” woman who is “an obstacle to civilization” (Nin 1982: 517–518). Recording in her diary in a frantic manner one act of confronting the norms of morality after another, her negative self-perception, visible, for example, in the numerous occasions she compares herself to a whore (see, e.g., Nin 1996a: 142, 212, 214, 228–31, 235, 247, 249, 252) at the same time testifies to the importance of the notion of morality for herself. Nin’s diary, however, also makes visible the positive implications of her self-perception as a sexual subject. This aspect emerges in her diary most strongly in her depiction of her intimate relationship with Henry Miller. In *Henry and June*, she records the “strange gentle power” (Nin 1990: 56) of sexuality that she experiences upon her first sexual encounter with Henry Miller. Gradually coming to comprehend the meaning of her sexual awakening, she recognizes the emergence in her of a new self-awareness that, for her, has its source beyond the conscious layers of language in the preverbal, in the “impalpable” space where there are no words (Nin 1990: 58). For Nin, this becomes the ideal of physical intimacy, her paradigm of “nearness” (see Nin 1996a: 154):

⁶⁹ See Henke 1998: 63–67; Podnieks 2000: 319–328.

If we talk or a scene reveals that when he uses words we are not close, it only proves the falsity of *words*, of *thought*, of *expressions*. Everything that has not been said between me and Henry, /.../ is what there is between us, that which can only be said with the fingers, the lips, the penis, the legs, the touch of skin /.../ the divine language of the body (Nin 1996a: 154).⁷⁰

Nin's self-perception here is that of a desiring female subject who in her experience of the fulfillment of physical desire gains a richer and deeper understanding of herself and of human existence in general. Viewing the "language of [the desiring] body" as divine, i.e. as superior to the human language that also contains the normative framework of morality, Nin also manages (at least temporarily) to free herself of its confining properties.

1.3.4. Simone de Beauvoir and the 'lived body'; Julia Kristeva and Hélène Cixous and psychoanalytically informed feminist perspectives on the body

A second approach to embodied subjectivity takes as its starting point the "body of lived experience," and focuses on "the ways in which the subject's corporeal exterior is psychically represented and lived by the subject" (Grosz 1994: xii). Grosz's exploration of the intellectual traditions aligned with the second approach, which includes neurology, phenomenology, and psychoanalysis begins with a lengthy examination of the concept of "body image," which has a long history in Western thinking, and which more recently has functioned as a third term in psychoanalytic discussions of the body, mediating body-mind dualism. As formulated by Schilder, the body image has a libidinal structure, and it is always slightly temporally out of step with the current state of the subject's body (Grosz 1994: 84). Grosz sums up the body image as a "map or representation of the degree of narcissistic investment of the subject" in its own body and body parts:

It is a differentiated, gridded, and ever-changing registration of the degrees of intensity the subject experiences, measuring not only the psychical but also the physiological changes the body undergoes in its day-to-day actions and performances (Grosz 1994: 83).

Though it would appear that neurological, psychological, and psychoanalytic approaches to conceptualizing the "body image" bracket the social meanings of the body, complicating the risk of gender blindness, Grosz rather regards the concept as doing more than translating material into conceptual terms.

⁷⁰ Paradoxically Nin, by creating a textual record of the "divine language of the body," herself brings the experience from "beyond words" to the normative structures of language.

Arguably, the body image is both describable and narratable. As such, the rendering of body image in socially available language and scripts might be a significant form of autobiographical practice. In this way, the rendering of bodily experience in the daily text of the diary could be seen as a tracking of the body image. The autobiographical subject voices her experience of her body “from the inside out,” but this is in no sense a denial of the pressures and imprints of the social world her body inhabits and encounters. Indeed, the approach to tell and describe oneself “from the inside out” at all is a socially constructed choice, significantly inflected with respect to gender. If as for Grosz, body image “attests to the necessary interconstituency of each for the other, the radical inseparability of biological from psychical elements, the mutual dependence of the psychical and the biological, and thus the intimate connection between the question of sexual specificity (biological sexual differences) and psychical identity,” (Grosz 1994: 85) the body image is a locus of autobiographical practice that may have particular significance when reading the diaries of women.

I have chosen not to pursue this promising interpretive direction, since several feminist appropriations of the concept of “body image” have taken their point of departure from (feminist) critiques of Foucault (see, e.g., Bordo 1991: 202–341; 1993b: 139–164). Phenomenological approaches elaborated by Grosz: Merleau-Ponty’s “body schema” and “flesh” (see Grosz 1994: 86–111) have been significant for feminist thinkers on subjectivity, particularly for Luce Irigaray in *The Ethics of Sexual Difference* (1984). For my chosen authors, a more useful approach has been Simone de Beauvoir’s phenomenological description of women’s gendered experience of the body in the *Second Sex*. It bears mentioning that de Beauvoir’s biography locates her within meaningful generational range of Woolf, Kallas, and Nin (see, e.g., Moi 1994). While her conventional periodization of woman’s life course, and her distanced, arguably negative coding of the experience of reproduction and motherhood have been justly criticized by feminists, the philosophical harvest of de Beauvoir’s discussion of woman’s corporeality is the valuable concept of “body as situation.” (Beauvoir 1993: 35). For both men and women, the body functions as “the radiation of subjectivity,” and as an instrument that makes possible the comprehension of the world (Beauvoir 1993: 281, see also article V, p. 263). Toril Moi’s reading of de Beauvoir emphasizes that the concept of “body as situation” offers the possibility of active embodied agency for the female subject, as the body gains (or has to be turned into) ‘lived reality’ “in interaction with the woman’s culturally situated, conscious choices and activities” (Moi 1999: 71). Thus, Beauvoir’s view of body as a situation entails an access to transcendence through the “project” (Beauvoir 1993: liv), the privilege of which has traditionally been reserved for men.

In article VI of my dissertation I have explored touching points between Beauvoir’s treatment of motherhood and Aino Kallas’s struggles with impasses between motherhood and creativity. Clearly, as I have shown elsewhere (see

article II, pp. 38–39), this struggle is a thread that shifts and changes through the diary, and involves the voicing of experience, a phenomenological description of motherhood from the inside out. If Kallas' existential project was practicing writing and becoming a writer, her body was far from neutral ground, and far from a detachable piece. As her "situation," the maternal body was the ground of her creativity, as well as an impediment. During her first pregnancy in particular, Aino Kallas codes the body and maternal experience positively, and does not succumb to dualism; her specific description of motherhood defies de Beauvoir's representation of the reproductive body as an annoying obstacle visited upon the female of the species by social expectations (see, e.g., Beauvoir 1993: 36, 521). In *The Second Sex* de Beauvoir never goes so far as to allow the possibility that motherhood itself could be an existential project full of dignity that could be lived without resentment or a sense of deprivation. As such, a comparative reading of Kallas and de Beauvoir, focusing on Kallas' tandem formulations of motherhood and literary creativity as a published author could generate an illuminating dialogue.

The problematics of motherhood haunts Virginia Woolf's diaries from a different perspective. Since biological motherhood was not part of Virginia Woolf's experience, motherhood impinges on her autobiographical writings through the cultural traditions that metaphorize creativity as motherhood. More significantly, however, Woolf's experience as a daughter and her early life experiences as a member of a complicated family system give maternity a different valence: her voiced fears of childbirth and physical motherhood are located more internally than they are for Kallas, and would lend itself rather to a psychoanalytic exploration. A third dimension of Woolf's encounter with maternity is the question of the kind of poetics she envisions for "women's writing." Do women write differently and why? And where might the source of this difference be located? Is difference located on the level of psychosocial experience? However one answers this question, one must go on to ask whether the difference of the woman writer manifests itself in style and use of language, whether there is indeed a 'woman's style', as exemplified in the "woman's sentence" (Woolf 1929: 91). Perhaps best known is Virginia Woolf's wittily forceful articulation in *A Room of One's Own* of the basic conditions for women to write at all and to make their appearance as cultural agents: access to educational institutions, the material conditions of a place, financial means, and time to devote to writing.

As with Kallas and de Beauvoir, I have explored but one potential facet of dialogue between Woolf's diaries and the "body as lived experience" line of thinking about embodied subjectivity. Drawing upon a cumulative reading of Virginia Woolf's diaries, I conclude that her sense of embodiment is covert, a kind of aftertaste, an inkling beyond the text of an identity being formed and emerging non-verbally. Julia Kristeva's theorizing of the semiotic *chora*, carried out in her *Desire in Language* (1980) and "Stabat mater" (1976) is resonant with Woolf's writing of the body through concealment and restraint.

Kristeva's treatment of the semiotic *chora* valorizes pre-Oedipal experience and spatializes the *chora* as a maternal territory. As such, this maternal space is a contact point, a mediating ground between soma and psyche: the drives that are "pivot[s] between 'soma' and 'psyche', between biology and representation" (Kristeva 1995:30) open up a new space, an unnamable space that she evokes under the guise of denying and providing identity and meaning. It might be argued then that Woolf, impelled by the complex, projected longings and losses she experienced in her family, tracks maternal spaces in her autobiographical writings, particularly in her diary. Furthermore, this maternal space is far from empty, reverberating with absences, but the language that fills it provides the substrate for her practice of libidinally charged, passionate prose, her embodied poetics.

The connection between the potential stylistic differentia of 'women's writing' and embodiment has been controversially formulated by Hélène Cixous, whose essays and fiction exemplify an intentional practice of 'embodied' writing. In her most famous essay, "The Laugh of the Medusa," (1975) Cixous claims a closer, privileged relationship between women's writing and their bodies. Far more radically than a thematic privileging of writing one's bodily experience, for Cixous, women write their bodies (see 1991: 338). This is also a categorical imperative, a battle cry, since it entails the overcoming of the bars and brackets of patriarchal society, the "law of the father" which have impeded her access to language, including the language within herself. The female subject *s'écrit*, which means she puts her body into the text:

Woman must write her self: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies – for the same reasons, by the same law, with the same fatal goal. Woman must put herself into the text – as into the world and into history – by her own movement (Cixous 1991: 334).

A female "libidinal economy" of writing is thus a future project of liberation which envisions the discovery of a New Woman (one must add, a New Woman that for Cixous has no semantic or rhetorical connection with the turn-of-the 20th century New Woman debates in England and elsewhere in Europe). *Écriture féminine* is a revolution in language that is focused on a recovery of the female body.

As I have demonstrated in article VI (see pp. 273–277), Anaïs Nin's poetics of female writing, "the music of the womb" (Spencer 1989: 161) both has its origin in a similar claim and uses, in its articulation, also partially similar rhetoric to that of Cixous. Via an elaboration of her female poetics of writing that has especially significant implications in terms of her diaristic oeuvre (see article VI, p. 276), Nin attempts to find a channel that would make it possible for women to access creation directly, to "create as a woman" (Nin 1967: 233). The image of the male creator who, assuming the position of God, "makes

creation an act of solitude and pride” (Nin 1967: 233), according to Nin has been confusing for women (and does not convey accurately the process of creation by a man either). Women, however, “born to represent union, communion, communication” (Nin 1967: 234) must create relationally and through and with her flesh, her body, in particular through her reproductive organ, the womb. As I argue in the section of the introductory chapter where I discuss Nin’s affiliation with psychoanalysis, Nin’s poetic of (embodied) female writing may have been initially influenced by Otto Rank’s assertion of the importance of recognizing the instinctive and personal mode of relating to the world of women to gain a fuller understanding of the human psyche. However, behind Nin’s embodied poetics of writing there lurks, similarly to Virginia Woolf, a dark shadow of traumatic personal experience relating to maternity. If Virginia Woolf’s envisioning of the maternal space raises questions about her own problematic relation to motherhood, Anaïs Nin’s “music of the womb” can also be read as a requiem to her stillborn daughter and Nin’s fears of actual experience of motherhood (see Nin 1992: 329–31, 370–373).

1.4. Conclusions

My doctoral thesis, “Embodied Subjectivity in the Diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin,” undertakes a study of the representation of the body in the diaries of three well-known women writers of the first half of the 20th century. I see my thesis as a contribution to three related fields of knowledge: first, the study of the genre of the diary, in particular the woman’s diary, second, the investigation of the body in autobiographical writings, and third, the research on women’s modernity.

The narrower focus on the body highlights several important aspects relating to the diary genre, such as, for example, the status of the diaristic text within the dichotomy of truth versus fiction, the literary versus the non-literary, and the private versus the public sphere. The framework of my research also raises the question of the positioning of the diaries in relation to the work and life of their authors. Rather than looking at the diaries as texts of secondary importance, providing biographical information about the authors, or as texts of autonomous status and literary value, I seek to overcome the dialectic of “literary” and “personal” writings. I place the diary into a privileged place in the writer’s oeuvre, inseparably informing her other texts and being informed by them. Indeed, the writer’s poetics may make itself felt first in her diary.

By focusing on the relevance of the body in the formation of subjectivity in one autobiographical genre – the diary – my research contributes to an aspect of autobiography studies that has received only minimal amount of critical attention so far. Although several autobiography scholars, in particular those working with women’s autobiography, have highlighted the importance of “the

autobiographical body” (Smith 1994: 270), the number of studies of wider scale (i.e., in the format of monographs or collection of articles) is extremely limited in this area. My thesis has contributed to bridging this gap in autobiography studies by offering an in-depth analysis of three well-known diaristic texts from various theoretical perspectives.

Within the context of recent considerations of literary modernism, in particular the tradition of women’s modernism as well as within the wider framework of (women’s) modernity, the issues pertaining to the body and sexuality have received more extensive critical attention. Here I see my contribution in using the diaries of my chosen authors to make visible the autobiographical basis for the high relevance of the body and sexuality in their fiction and essayistic works. Far from emerging seamlessly from the level of autobiography, these issues remain contradictory and unresolved, and do not yield to aesthetic harmonization. With my comparative analysis I have also aimed at revealing the varying extent to which different authors affiliated themselves with, or were influenced by the discourses of corporeality and sexuality considered characteristic of the period of modernity.

For Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin the habit of keeping the diary was closely related to their self-perception and development as writers. The fact that a conscious construction of their subjectivity as women and as writers might have been, from the very beginning, influenced by a consideration of the diary’s role within their literary heritage does not sufficiently explain their life-long commitment to the diaristic practice. Although an awareness of the possible audience has certainly shaped the diaries of Woolf, Kallas and Nin (see article II, pp. 290–291), the diaries also provide a private textual space with primary importance for the author herself. How is the maintenance of a level of privacy (as is proper to the *journal intime*) connected or at odds with the more public aspects of the diary? As writers who exercised their literary talent in many different genres and who often reflected upon the nature of the diary genre, the three women were certainly skilled to explore these several textual possibilities of the diary. Similarly, the diary may be a place to rehearse and overcome self-doubt, to gain conviction in one’s writerly vocation, particularly since for women becoming a writer brought up concerns about the propriety of speaking publicly. It is clear that the diary functioned for them as a textual space facilitating an ongoing process of building and reflecting upon their self-perception as writers. This articulation of subjectivity is an important private dimension of the diaries that should not be overlooked or underestimated in the critical evaluation of the diaristic oeuvre of Woolf, Kallas and Nin.

Emerging variously in the diaries, the conflict between being a woman and being (or wanting to be) a writer often emerges through a focus on the body and sexuality. Although both the first wave of feminism and general debates on sexuality characteristic of the period created a platform for a more open discussion of the formerly taboo topics, there were risks particular to women who publicly engaged in these debates. The diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino

Kallas and Anaïs Nin make visible the necessity of exploring the possibilities of the textual representation of female embodied subjectivity as well as the restrictions imposed on dealing with such topics even within the relative privacy of the textual space of the diary. On the one hand, the self-imposed restrictions concerning the representation of the body in the diary could have been influenced by their public visibility as women of letters. On the other, their status as writers that included keeping themselves up-to-date with various cultural discourses of modernity including those pertaining to the female body and sexuality, certainly put them in a position where they could construct their own subjectivity in the diary drawing on these discourses. In their engagement with public discussions of sexuality, these diaries reach significantly beyond their more immediate daily contexts. All three diaries, those of Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin more directly and those of Virginia Woolf in a more covert manner, demonstrate that the three women viewed their writerly status as something that grants them freedom of self-exploration outside the traditional normative frameworks defining woman's position in society. The ways in which these three women renegotiated and appropriated the normative frameworks regulating the female body can be seen in articles III, IV and V and, to a certain extent, also article II as well as the section of the introductory chapter (1.3.3.) where I apply Foucault's ideas on the body to the three diaries.

In the consideration of the limits and possibilities of the representation of the body in the diaries, it is important to look at the nature of autobiographical truth related to the diary genre, and the dichotomy of truth and fictionality. In article I, I have argued that the diary's daily structure makes it possible to articulate the author's subjectivity within a more flexible and dynamic framework, in turn generating multiple truths that are perspectival and simultaneously relevant. One of the possible reasons for the popularity of the diary genre with women authors was that they recognized in this mode of autobiographical writing the potential to gently facilitate varied degrees of relating oppositionally to the dominating hierarchies of the public sphere.

The diary's flexible possibilities of 'telling the truth' about oneself are certainly recognized in different way by all three authors who are the focus of the current thesis. In the foreword of her diary, Aino Kallas introduces the notion of the "daily truth" (1994b: 6, see also article I, p. 188–189); in her diary, Virginia Woolf celebrates the spontaneous style of her diaristic writing that enables the recording of half-conceived thoughts that would be excluded from a heavily normative type of text (1977: 266, see also article I, pp. 190–191) and Anaïs Nin talks of the "million roles" that she plays in her diary (1996a: 24). With these 'clues', each author positions her text with regard to matters of truth that emerges via a web of interrelated and yet often contradicting entries, as well as via the general mood, style and rhythm of the diary text as a continuum. The image of the body is a crucial element of this creation of selves.

In my analysis of the representation of body and sexuality in the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin I have relied on theoretical traditions conceptualising the body as a surface of social inscription as formulated by Michel Foucault and appropriated by feminist theory. To a lesser extent, I have also focused on the 'lived experience' of the body as outlined by Simone de Beauvoir in her *The Second Sex* and on the concepts of *chora* and *écriture féminine*, elaborated by Julia Kristeva and Hélène Cixous respectively, drawing on the paradigm of psychoanalysis. With an exploration of the various theoretical perspectives that form the basis of my analysis of embodied subjectivity in the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin, I hope to have opened up some possible routes for a further investigation of embodied subjectivity in autobiography.

I have found the Foucauldian framework of viewing the body useful in my analysis of occasions in the diaries where body is treated as subject (either via internalization or resistance) to various normative practices used in the specific cultural contexts inhabited by the authors of the diaries. Foucault's understanding of the body as an important site of inscription of culture and his claim that observing and analyzing the ways in which the body is produced by the heterogeneous, ubiquitous and non-hierarchical networks of power offers a comprehensive insight into the functioning of modern society. An important role of this theoretical perspective lies in its potential of facilitating culturally specific readings of the body in the three diaries.

In the diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin, the body emerges as an important site of subjectivity. Although the diaries contain representations of the body making visible both the internalization of and resistance to the norms shaping the female body, entries that aim at a redefinition of the traditional normative frameworks form an overwhelming majority. This process, however, emerges in the diaries not in progressive linear manner but rather via different textual strategies and (at times contradictory) webs of entries. For instance, the relatively rare occurrence of matters pertaining to the body in the diaries of Virginia Woolf can be attributed to an (perhaps subconscious) adherence to the Victorian ideal of femininity characterized by its asexual nature and purity as Woolf's response to the experience of possible childhood sexual abuse by her half-brothers. In order to ultimately rid herself of the shameful and sexually corrupt perception of herself, she may have chosen as a conscious textual strategy to avoid all matters pertaining to the body and sexuality in her diaries. A contrasting interpretation views the infrequent mention of bodily matters in her diary as a silent resistance to the Victorian ideal of femininity, which she openly discarded in her later writings. In addition, this might indicate resistance to the paradigm of sexuality of the Bloomsbury group who accepted liberal heterosexuality and male homosexuality but not female homosexuality. On the occasions when Woolf raises themes related to the body and sexuality, both in her diaries and in her

memoiristic writings, she does it in an extremely rebellious and transgressive vein.

Another example of varying interpretative possibilities of the representation of the body is the series of excessively corporeal and sensual portraits of June Miller in Nin's diary. While Nin makes a considerable effort to underline her radical difference from June, emphasizing her artistic and intellectual nature, it is also possible to analyze Nin's extensive focus on June as a strategy of identification with her, making visible her wish to claim a desiring body and her simultaneous fear of it. The diaristic representation of the relationship of Aino Kallas with Jan Rosenthäls also lends itself to contradictory possibilities of interpretation. On the one hand, Aino Kallas seems to rely on the standard of double morality that was one of the targets of criticism of the women's emancipation movement, on the other, her understanding of the relationship can be viewed as a striving for an autonomous assertion of female sexuality.

The conflict with normative frameworks defining the female body is in all three diaries closely related to a need for creative and intellectual self-realization. Particularly the diaries of Anaïs Nin and Aino Kallas highlight the dangers inherent in woman's traditional modes of corporeal existence (related to domesticity as well as woman's wifely and maternal role) to their self-perception as artists and their creative ambitions. The categorical body versus mind split in the early diaries of Anaïs Nin and her identification with the latter is fuelled by Nin's perception of the immanent nature of woman's domestic daily existence as well as the social rituals expected of women. In the diary of Aino Kallas, the mutual implication of body and creativity comes up in a variety of contexts; pregnancy, birth and motherhood are part of this larger complex of issues. The interrelationship between literary productivity and female reproductivity is an important aspect highly relevant to the current thesis, not only on the level of its metaphorization but also through the experience of motherhood and its effects on pursuing a life of intellectual and artistic creativity. Although this dimension of corporeality finds most systematic consideration in the diaries of Aino Kallas (who is also the only woman among the authors I have focused on who had children), the possible conflict of motherhood and literary creativity also finds consideration in the diary of Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin.

All three diaries manifest either a wish to disclaim a body for the sake of more complete and harmonious artistic and intellectual development (the diaries of Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin) or view the body as an obstacle to it (the diaries of Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin). At a certain point, however, the diaries not only make visible the relevance of the embodiedness of subjectivity but clearly foreground it via a flaunting of the desiring female body. For all three women, the recognition of female sexuality is an important part of the process of gaining an autonomous and individual existence and as such, closely related to the role of female sexuality in the feminist revisioning of the concept of

woman and her social position at the beginning of the 20th century. This process, however, proceeds in the three diaries along different routes.

Woolf comes to recognize herself as a sexual being in her mid-forties, at a time when she had already built a fairly steady reputation as a writer. It is possible that it was certain sense of security, based on her position as a woman of letters that prompts the change in the mood of her diary and fuels her decision to provide a diaristic record of her intimate feelings for Vita Sackville-West. That record certainly highlights Vita's presence in her life as a powerful inspiring force. It is during her affair with Vita that she conceives of and completes her *A Room of One's Own* where intimate relationship between women emerges as a basis for a female poetics of writing.

In the diary of Aino Kallas, the desiring female subject emerges during a period of intense personal and artistic crisis and is closely related to the process of unleashing her literary talent. In Aino Kallas' understanding of her development of herself as a writer, literary productivity and the impact of the experience of love and a self-perception as a transgressive sexual subject are immediately linked. It is important, however, to bear in mind that Aino Kallas does not (fully) realize or recognize herself as a sexual subject (not even textually within her diary); instead, this energy transforms into and finds expression in her fictional works. The moment in the diary that she views as the beginning of the full realization of her creative talent also marks a near-complete disappearance of the themes related to the body and sexuality.

Anaïs Nin relates her self-awareness as a desiring female subject with her artist's existence and with her need for experience that the framework of traditional bourgeois marriage does not enable. The process of corporeal and sexual self-exploration is, in her (unexpurgated) diary, explored in much more open manner than in the diaries of Woolf and Kallas and the desiring female subject is also central in her fiction that was published before her diaries but failed to win for Nin a considerable literary acclaim. Nin only became more widely known in the 1960s with the publication of her diaries, where paradoxically, female desire and sexuality are not conveyed as important aspects of the author's subjectivity. Her unexpurgated diaries make visible the contradictory relationship between female desire and creativity. The process of realizing herself as a sexual subject is both an obstacle to and an enhancer of Nin's creative potential.

The manifestation of embodied subjectivity in the three diaries can also be viewed as the basis of the poetics of embodied writing of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin. For Woolf, Kallas and Nin, the woman artist is not a disembodied entity but needs, in order to properly come to terms with her creative potential, recognize herself as an embodied subject. One important aspect of embodiedness is the legitimisation of female desire and sexuality that functions as a marker of individual autonomy which, in turn, is an enhancing factor of (female) creativity against the confining prescriptive frameworks of female subjectivity. Another aspect of embodiedness that I have analyzed with

regard to the poetics of the three women writers in more detail is a conception of the reproductive dimension of the female body as the basis of female creativity. For Virginia Woolf, it is the simultaneously inspiring and protecting preverbal space of (her) mother's womb that she extends to a celebration of female space that nourishes female creativity. Anaïs Nin's elaboration of her poetics is based on a similar image, only for her, it is her own womb that she refuses to utilize in the service of reproduction, that metaphorically functions as the source feeding woman's creative imagination. During her first pregnancy, Aino Kallas views herself as self-sufficient, perceiving her maternal body as a powerful source of creative energies. The creative and inspiring potential of the maternal body, however, diminishes considerably in the diary entries focusing on Aino Kallas' other pregnancies, with the fourth and fifth pregnancy in particular depicted in sharp conflict with her artistic and intellectual self-realization. For Aino Kallas, the ultimate bodily source of her creative potential is the power of (subversive) female sexuality.

In sum, the subjectivity of these women's diaries is significantly embodied, and the diary is a site for the production of a gendered autobiographical body. In previous theorizations of autobiography, even some with feminist roots, the body of and in autobiography has remained a relatively empty category. These three writers' diaries provide a site where the dynamics of embodied subjectivity can be traced, and this theoretical lacuna can be challenged. In my future research I hope both to widen the scope of the inquiry by including more diaries and diarists from the modern period, and to investigate more systematically the implications of theories of the body in autobiographical research.

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II. ARTICLES

‘Teemandid tolmuhunnikus’ ehk kuidas vaadelda naiste päevikuid. ‘The Diamonds of the dustheap’: the Diary as a Genre of ‘Feminine’ Identity’. (2003)

Representations of Woman Writer’s Identity in *A Writer’s Diary* of Virginia Woolf and the Diaries of Aino Kallas. (2001)

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KOKKUVÕTE

Subjektsuse kehalisus Aino Kallase, Virginia Woolfi ja Anaïs Nini päevaraamatutes

Kolme 20. sajandi esimese poole tuntud naiskirjaniku Virginia Woolfi (1882–1941), Aino Kallase (1878–1956) ja Anaïs Nini (1903–1977) päevikud toovad esile paljud olulised (naise) modernsusekogemust puudutavad teemad ja annavad hea ülevaate naiskirjaniku positsioonist 20. sajandi esikümnenditel. Toetudes seksuaalsuse ja kehalisuse temaatika keskele asendile 19. sajandi lõpu ja 20. sajandi alguse Euroopa ja USA ühiskondlikes, kultuurilistes, kunstilistes ja intellektuaalsetes paradigmatel, on minu dissertatsiooni eesmärgiks analüüsida naise keha kujutamist Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini päevaraamatutes. Keskendun keha tekstuaalse ilmnemise ning selle mahavaikimise protsessidele päevikutekstides, keha ja vaimu vastandusele ning naise iha kujutamisele. Samuti on mind huvitanud kehapoliitika toimimine päevikutekstides ehk see, milliseid kehalise olemise viise on naise jaoks sobilikuks peetud ning kuidas kõnealused kolm autorit suhestavad oma tekste sellise normatiivse raamistikuga. Uurimuse üheks eesmärgiks on analüüsida Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini kui oma aja ühiskondlik-kultuurilises kontekstis privilegeeritud naiste päevikutes ilmnevate kehalisuse kujutamise viiside suhet naise loovuse ja kirjanike loomepoeetikaga, kus kehalisusel on oluline roll.

Töö teoreetiline asend autobiograafiauringute valdkonnas

Keha ja kehalisus on teemad, millele 1960. ja 1970. aastatel kirjandusteaduses omaette valdkonnana esile kerkinud autobiograafiauringud on pööranud vaid minimaalset tähelepanu. Pikka aega autobiograafia kui kirjandusliku žanri määratlemise problemaatika keskmes olnud ühtset ja teistest selgelt eristuvat mina on kanoonilistes (enamasti meesautorite poolt kirjutatud) autobiograafiakäsitlustes vaadeldud suuremal või vähemal määral kehatuna (Vt. Gilmore 1994: 83–84; Neuman 1994: 293; Smith 1994: 266–267). Sellise analüüsistrateegia põhjuseks võib pidada antiikaega tagasiulatuvat keha ja vaimu vastandust, kristliku maailmavaate keskmes olevat keha ja hinge vastandust ning Descartes'i filosoofiale ja valgustusajastule omast keha ja mõistuse vastandust, mis on mõjutanud ka autobiograafia kui ühe läänemaailma “suure narratiivi” arengut (Smith 1993a: 18). Kõikides dihhotoomilistes vastandustes kujutab keha endast midagi, mis on vaja ületada või alla suruda *mina* tõelise eksistentsi saavutamiseks. Keha ja vaimu vastandus ei ole ajalooliselt olnud sooliselt neutraalne: naist on alati samastatud kehaga kui kultuuriliselt negatiivselt märgistatud kategooriaga. Autobiograafiliste tekstide loomisel on kehalisus just

naise jaoks olnud äärmiselt problemaatiline: mingigi tekstuaalse autoriteedi saavutamiseks on olnud esmatähtis luua täielikult kehatu autobiograafiline *mina*, sellal kui valitsevates filosoofilistes paradigmades ei saagi naine kui läbinisti kehaline olend toimida subjektina. Sellise ideoloogiline surve tulemuseks on olnud naisekeha neutraliseerimine või kustutamine naiste autobiograafilistest tekstidest.

Hilisemates postmodernistliku paradigma poolt mõjutatud autobiograafia-käsitlustes asendub humanistlik *mina* paindlikuma *subjektsuse* mõistega, mida vaadeldakse kui erinevate ühiskondlike, kultuuriliste, ajalooliste, keeleliste jt. diskursuste haakumispunktides paiknevat, dünaamiliste võimuvõrgustike poolt toodetud entiteeti (vt. artikkel I, lk. 179–183). Sellise teoreetilise raamistiku kaudu saab subjekti vaadelda nii sooliselt markeerituna kui kehalisena, võimaldades ka pealtnäha kehatut *mina* peegeldavaid naisautorite autobiograafiad lugeda kui palimpseste, kus tulevad esile nii keha naise subjektsuse kujundajana kui ka kehalisust neutraliseerivad tekstistrateegiad.

Päeviku kui autobiograafia kaanonis marginaalseks peetud žanri retseptsioonis on teistest autobiograafilise žanri käsitlustest rohkem nähtaval keha/vaimu binaarne vastandus. Retseptsioon on asetanud päevikužanri keha/vaimu binaarsuse negatiivselt märgistatud poolele, vaatamata sellele, kas päevikutekst kehale otseselt keskendubki. Ühest küljest paigutuks päevik autobiograafilisse kaanonisse seega rohkem kehalise (kohaliku tähtsusega, igapäevase) kui vaimse (universaalse, igavikulise) ning seetõttu ka kirjandusuurimise seisukohast väheväärtusliku tekstitüübina. Teisest küljest on tegemist autobiograafilise žanriga, mida pole piiritletud üli rangete žanripiiride tõmbamise või sisu täpse ettekirjutamise kaudu. Asjaolu, et päevik võib sellisena kätkeda eneses teistest autobiograafia liikidest rikkalikemaid ja mitmekesisemaid keha kujutamise võimalusi, näitab samas ka päevikužanri sügavust ja paindlikkust. Päevikut võib vaadelda kui autobiograafilise *mina* või subjektsuse tekstikehandi kodu, mis seondub ka kirjutaja enda kehaga.

Töö aines

Võttes teoreetiliseks lähtekohaks subjektsuse mõiste, keskendub doktoritöö “Subjektsuse kehalisus Aino Kallase, Virginia Woolfi ja Anaïs Nini päeva- raamatutes” kehalisuse representatsioonile kolme 20. sajandi esimese poole tuntud naiskirjaniku pävaraamatutes. Kõik kolm autorit haakuvad kirjandusliku modernismi paradigmaga: Virginia Woolf nii modernismi kaanoni olulise autorina üldiselt kui “naiste modernismi” väljapaistva esindajana, Anaïs Nin kui naiskirjanik, kes paigutub angloameerika modernismi äärealadele ning Aino Kallas kui uuemates tõlgendustes modernismi ja *fin de siècle*’i vaatepunktist oluliseks tõusnud (nais)autor soome ja eesti kirjanduses. Kolme naiskirjaniku päeviku analüüs käesolevas doktoritöös põhineb aga mitte niivõrd esteetilistele ja vormilistele aspektidele toetuval modernismi paradigmat, vaid paindlikumal

ja avaramal modernsuse mõistel, keskendudes naise kogemusele mitmekesistest kultuurilistest, poliitilistest, kirjanduslikest, teaduslikest ja igapäevaelulistest raamistikest, mis iseloomustavad 19. sajandi lõpu ja 20. sajandi alguse Euroopa ja USA ühiskondi.

Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase and Anaïs Nini päevikud moodustavad ulatuslikud tekstikorpused, mis katavad märkimisväärse osa autorite elust. Alustades pävikupidamist juba varajases nooruses, osaliselt omamoodi ettevalmistusena kirjaniku elukutseks, ei loobunud ükski kolmest naisest regulaarsest pävikupidamisest ka siis, kui nad said tuntuks kirjanikena, teostades end erinevates kirjanduslikes žanrites. Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini pävikuid, millele on omane tugev pihtimuslikkus ning põhjalik süüvimine autori siseellu, võib vaadelda *journal intime*'i traditsiooni osana. Virginia Woolfi pävik, mida ta ise on iseloomustanud kui hinge(elu)le mitte keskenduvat, on eraelulise materjali esitamisel tunduvalt napisõnalisem ning vaoshoitum, peites autori sisemist *mina* puudutavad märkused hoolikalt pigem kronoloogilises kui analüütilises võtmes üles tähendatud igapäevaelu sündmuste ja toimetuste vahele. Virginia Woolfi pävik on postuumselt tervikuna avaldatud, see koosneb kuuest köitest ning katab aastaid 1897–1909 ja 1915–1941. Woolfi noorpõlvapävikud ilmusid Mitchell A. Leaska poolt toimetatuna pealkirja all *A Passionate Apprentice: The Early Journals (1897–1909)* 1990. aastal, pävikute põhiosa (aastad 1915–1941) aga avaldati Anne O. Belli poolt toimetatuna aastatel 1979–1985. Anaïs Nin pidas pävikut alates 11. eluaastast kuni oma surmani aastal 1975 ning pävaraamatud moodustavad olulise osa tema kirjanduslikust pärandist. Pävikute esimese, aastaid 1931–1974 katva versiooni toimetas tugevalt redigeerituna ja ümberkirjutatuna trükki autor ise. Postuumselt on Nini teise abikaasa Rupert Pole'i poolt toimetatuna avaldatud aastaid 1931–1939 kattev nn. kärpimata pävik, mis sisaldab varem avaldatud köidetest väljajäänud materjali ning keskendub Nini intiimsuhetele erinevate meestega. Postuumselt on samuti Rupert Pole'i poolt toimetatuna neljas köites ilmunud Anaïs Nini noorpõlvapävikud, mis katavad aastaid 1914–1931 ning milles on ainsana säilinud igapäevastel sissekannetel põhinev ülesehitus. Nini päviku puhul on oluline silmas pidada nii seda, et avaldatud osa moodustab 35 000-leheküljelisest käsikirjast vaid väikese osa, kui ka seda, et avaldatud tekstikorpusest peaaegu poole aluseks on toimetaja, mitte autori enda selektsiooniprintsiibid. Aino Kallase pävik ei ole samuti täiel määral avaldatud, kuivõrd autor hävitas kooliajast pärinevad pävikuköited hiljem ning aastaid 1931–1943 katvad pävikud läksid kaotsi Teise maailmasõja ajal. Aastaid 1897–1931 katva päviku osa toimetas Aino Kallas trükikõlblikuks vanemas eas. Pävikud ilmusid kuues köites aastatel 1953–1957, viimase pävikuköite pealkirjaga *Vaeltava vieraskirja vuosilta 1946–1956* toimetas trükki Annikki Setälä.

Töö ülesehitus

Dissertatsioon koosneb sissejuhatavast peatükist ja kuuest avaldatud artiklist (vt. publikatsioonide nimekirja). Töö põhiosa moodustavad kuus ajavahemikus 2001–2006 avaldatud artiklit, mis kajastavad ka teatud nihkeid uurimistöö rõhuasetuses. Algselt keskendusin naiskirjanike päevikute ja päevikužanri võimalustele ja piirangutele. Töö käigus hakkas keha kujutamist puudutav probleematika tõusma järkjärgult esile, omandades üha suurema tähtsuse ning muutes nähtavaks kehalisuse ja seksuaalsuse temaatika olulise rolli naiskirjaniku identiteedi kujunemisel. Päevikus esinevat kehakujutust uurisin kõigepealt (naise) modernsuse ühiskondlik-kultuurilistes raamistikes. Analüüsisin sissekandeid, kus keha tõusis esile nii normide omaksvõtu kui vastuhaku mõõtmes, suhetatuna erinevate autorite vahetutele kultuurikontekstidele iseloomulike normatiivsete praktikatega. Keha tõuseb kolme naiskirjaniku päevikusissekannetes sageli esile loomingulist ja intellektuaalset arengut takistava entiteedina, samas on keha inspireerival ja energiat andval potentsiaalil ka loomingulisust toitev roll. Päevikus ilmnevat kehakujutuse paradoksi ei saanud lahendada normatiivsetele struktuuridele ja praktikatele toetuva metodoloogia abil. Keha kirjandusloomet inspireeriva ja toitva rolli osas pakkus rohkem võimalusi keha analüüs subjekti elukogemuse ja subjekti psüühilise olemuse (ingl. k. *psychic constitution*) baasilt, mis andis parema teoreetilise raamistiku kolme naiskirjaniku kehastunud loomepoeetika käsitlemiseks. Normatiivseid raamistikke ületades jõuavad kõik kolm autorit kehalisuse tajumiseni subjektsuse olemusliku osana, mida iseloomustab keha ja vaimu vastanduse lahustumine.

Sissejuhatava peatüki esimene osa on pühendatud Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini lähema kultuurikonteksti avamisele, eriti neis aspektides, mis on seotud keha ja seksuaalsuse küsimustega. 19. sajandi lõpu ja 20. sajandi alguse ühiskondlik-kultuurilist miljööd sootundliku pilguga vaadates puudutan naistele avanevaid uusi eneserealiseerimise võimalusi avalikus sfääris ja naise positsiooni intellektuaalset ja kirjanduslikku ümbermõtestamist, samuti naiste “uut võimu” kui ühiskonna stabiilsust ohustavat tegurit vaatlevaid käsitlusi, mis muu hulgas avaldusid ka mitmetes misogüünsetes ja androtsentrilistes seksuaalsuse käsitlustes.

Sissejuhatava peatüki eraldi osa keskendub kehateooriatele, mis on kujundanud mu analüüsi subjektsuse kehalisusest Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini päevaraamatutes. Kasutatud kehateooriate liigituses olen juhindunud Elizabeth Groszist, kes kaasaegsetes keha kontseptualiseeringutes eristab keha käsitlemist kultuurikirjutuse pinnana ja keha kui elukogemuse paika (Grosz 1993: 188). Sama eristus tuleb esile ka autobiograafiliste tekstide kehakujutusele keskenduvates käsitlustes, kus keha vaadeldakse nii autobiograafilise teadmise paigana kui tekstuaalse pinnana, millele on ‘kirjutatud’ (ingl. k. *inscribed*) autori elu (vt. Smith ja Watson 2002: 37). Keha kui kultuurikirjutuse pinna teoreetiliste aluste avamisel olen piirdunud Michel Foucault’ keha, teadmise ja võimu suhtele keskenduva kontsepuualse raamistikuga, mida ta

arendab oma teostes *Distsipliin ja karistus*, “Nietzsche, genealoogia ja ajalugu” ja *Seksuaalsuse ajalugu I* ning Foucault’ kehakäsitluse feministlike rakendusvõimalustega. Paljude ajaloospetsiifiliste ja kultuuriliste keha analüüsiprojektide lähtekohana on Foucault’ mõju olnud ülioluline ka keha feministlikes, antiessentsialistlikus võtmes übermõtestamisprojektides. Foucault’ kehakäsitluse kaasamist töö aluseks olevate päevikutekstide analüüsi pean tulemuslikuks, samas on haakumine olnud problemaatiline selles osas, mis puudutab Foucault’ üksikindiviidi agentsust ja kavatsuslikkust välistavat subjektsuse kontseptsiooni. Agentsus ja kavatsuslikkus tulevad esile suhestumisel keha normeerivate diskursustega ning vastuhakus neile kui äärmiselt olulised Woolfi, Kallase ja Nini päeviku kehakäsitlust iseloomustavad jooned.

Kui Foucault’l põhinev teoreetiline suund vaatleb keha ühiskondlik-kultuurilise konstruktsioonina, siis feministlikul fenomenoloogial ja psühhoanalüüsil põhinevad kehakäsitlused (Simone de Beauvoir, Iris Marion Young, Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray ja Hélène Cixous) keskenduvad kehalisusele subjekti elukogemuse osana ja keha psüühilisele struktureeritusele (Grosz 1993: 115). Oma töös ei süüvi ma aga fenomenoloogilisse ja psühhoanalüütilisse kehakäsitlusse üldiselt, vaid piirdun de Beauvoir’i arusaamaga kehast kui situatsioonist, Kristeva *chora* ja Cixous’ *écriture féminine*’i mõistega, mida olen oma viimases artiklis (vt. artikkel VI) otseselt sidunud kehalisuse avaldumisega Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini päevikutes.

Sissejuhatava peatüki lõpuosas esitan järeldused, keskendudes kehalisuse kujutamise ja naise päeviku žanrilisele omapärale, kehakujutuse erinevatele strateegiatele ja avaldumisvormidele päevikutes ning subjektsuse kehalisuse ja loomepoetika seostele.

Esimene artikkel, ““Teemandid tolmuühnikus” ehk kuidas vaadelda naiste päevikuid” analüüsib autobiograafiauuringute kesksete küsimuste kontekstis päeviku kui autobiograafia vähetunnustatud žanri iseloomulikke jooni. Artiklis keskendun eraldi naisautorite päevaraamatute tekstuaalsele omapärale. Arutlen põhjuste üle, miks päevikut on vaadeldud kui olemuselt naisele omast tekstitüüpi, nähes päevaraamatutes sageli naisele tüüpiliseks peetud elumustri ja mõtteviisi üksühest kehastust. Sellises arusaamas peituvad võimalused ja piirangud suhestuvad olulisel viisil kehalise subjektsuse loomeprotsessiga kolme töö aluseks oleva naiskirjaniku päevaraamatutes (vt. artiklid III, IV, V ja VI). Olulisena tõusevad siin esile küsimused päeviku poolt ajalooliselt naistele avatud nn. tekstuaalse ruumi olemusest ja päevikudiskursuse potentsiaalset lõhkuda avaliku sfääri normatiivseid hierarhiad.

Artikkel II “Representations of the Woman Writer’s Identity in *A Writer’s Diary* of Virginia Woolf and the *Diaries* of Aino Kallas” (“Enese loomine kirjanikuna Virginia Woolfi ja Aino Kallase päevaraamatutes”) käsitleb naiskirjaniku päeviku spetsiifikat. Keskendun päevaraamatu positsioonile avaliku ja privaatsfääri piirimail, Virginia Woolfi ja Aino Kallase privilegeeritud positsioonile oma ajas ja päevaraamatutes esile tulevatele konfliktidele naise ja kirjaniku rolli vahel. Kuigi artikkel ei vaatle Anaïs Nini päevikuid, saab Woolfi

ja Kallase päevaraamatute kirjanikuks olemise eripärast kantud jooni omistada ka Nini päevikutele. Anaïs Nini eristab Virginia Woolfist ja Aino Kallasest aga asjaolu, et sellal kui kaks viimast olid kirjanikena produktiivsed väga paljudes erinevates žanrites ning neid peeti oma kultuurikontekstis väljapaistvateks kirjanikeks, siis Anaïs Nini (vastuolulise) maine kujundajaks kirjanikuna ja avaliku elu tegelasena olid just tema päevaraamatud. Nini reputatsiooni puudutavaid küsimusi olen käsitlenud III artiklis “Anaïs With(in) Henry and June: in Search of a Self in *The Diary of Anaïs Nin Volume I* and *Henry and June*” (“Anaïs läbi Henry ja June’i: Mina otsingud Anaïs Nini päevikuköidetes *The Diary of Anaïs Nin Volume I* ja *Henry and June*”).

Artiklid III, IV (“Claiming and Disclaiming the Body in the Early Diaries of Virginia Woolf, Anaïs Nin and Aino Kallas”, “Salatud ja omakstunnistatud keha Virginia Woolfi, Anaïs Nini ja Aino Kallase noorpõlvapäevikuis”), V (“Tracing Desire in the Diaries of Virginia Woolf, Aino Kallas and Anaïs Nin”, “Iha rajajooned Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini päevaraamatutes”) ja VI (“Maternal Spaces in the Diaries of Aino Kallas, Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin”, ““Emalik ruum” Aino Kallase, Virginia Woolfi and Anaïs Nini päevaraamatutes”) keskenduvad erinevatele päevikute kehakujutust puudutavatele teemadele. Ühe uurimissuunana olen vaadelnud identiteediloomes protsesse, milles keha tõuseb esile kui erinevate normatiivsete praktikate poolt toodetud pind või entiteet ja kui sotsiaalse kontrolli paik, toetudes Foucault’ kehateooriale ning selle feministlikele rakendustele. “Taltsaks tehtud” (ingl. k. *docile*) ja normidele allutatud keha ilmneb Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini noorpõlvapäevikutes järgmiste teemade kaudu: noore naise traditsiooniline sotsialiseerumisprotsess, haigus ja meditsiinilised protseduurid, keha kui intellektuaalse ja hingelise arengu takistus, naise iha ja moraalinormide vastuolu (artikkel IV). Päevikusissekanded, milles autorid käsitlevad iha ja erootilisi tundeid (artikkel V) ning Nini päeviku esimeses köites sisalduvad kehalisusele ja sensuaalsusele keskenduvad June Milleri käsitlused, mis peegeldavad Nini enda kehalisuse tunnistamise vastuolulist protsessi (artikkel III), on vaadeldavad Foucault’ võimu ja vastupanu koosseksisteerimise dünaamika raamistikus.

Töö selles osas, mis vaatleb päevaraamatuid fenomenoloogiast ja psühhoanalüüsist mõjutusi saanud feministliku teooria valgusel, on minu eesmärgiks määratleda ja analüüsida neid päevikukatkeid, kus keha ilmneb elukogemuse (ingl. k. *lived reality*) osana. Doktoritöö viimases artiklis (artikkel VI), mis põhineb otseselt de Beauvoiri filosoofia fenomenoloogilisel ja eksistentsialistlikul kehakäsitlusel ning Kristeva ja Cixous’ tööde psühhoanalüüsil põhineval naise kehalisuse kontseptualiseeringul, olen keskendunud emaduse teemale nii ema kui lapse vaatepunktist. Selline kehaline enesetunnetamise viis, mille alused on tagasi viidavad kolme naiskirjaniku “igapäevastele elutekstidele”, on minu arvates ka kolme kirjaniku loomepõhimõtete ehk poeetika aluseks, kujutades endast loomingulist ja olemuslikku raamistikku, mis võimaldab luua naissubjekti avaramas mõõtnes.

Järeldused

Käesoleva doktoritöö tulemused koonduvad ümber kolme temaatilise põhitelje, mis lähtuvad töö teoreetilisest ja kultuuriloolisest ülesehitusest: need on keha roll autobiograafia kaudu avalduvas subjektsuses, (naise) päevikudiskursuse spetsiifika kehakujutuse vaatenurgast ja naise modernsusekogemus.

Kehalisus ja autobiograafiauuringud

Vaadeldes keha representatsiooni päevikus kui autobiograafia ühes žanris, süüvib käesolev doktoritöö seni suures osas tähelepanuta jäänud valdkonda. Kuigi paljud autobiograafia uurijad, eriti need, kes on keskendunud naiste autobiograafilistele tekstidele, on esile tõstnud keha rolli autobiograafias avalduva subjektsuse kujunemisel, on seni avaldatud vaid üksikuid põhjalikumaid autobiograafia kehakäsitlusele keskendunud uurimusi. Käesolev töö aitab kaardistada neid nn. valgeid laiike autobiograafiauuringutes, analüüsides kolme tuntud autori autobiograafilisi tekste teoreetilisest perspektiivist, mis põhineb erinevatel keha kontseptualiseeringutel.

Keha ja (naise) päevikudiskursus

Doktoritöö fookus, mis on suunatud päevaraamatutes avalduvale kehakujutusele, tõstatab mitmeid keskseid, päevikužanri tekstuaalset omapära puudutavaid küsimusi. Olulisena tõuseb esile päeviku paiknemine tõe ja väljamõeldise, kirjandusliku ja faktuaalse ning era- ja avaliku sfääri piirimail. Kõik kolm töös käsitletud autorit on teadlikud päeviku struktuuri omapärasest tulenevatest, paindlikest autobiograafilise tõe esitamise võimalustest, mis pakub mitmekesiseid võimalusi vastuhakuks traditsioonilistele mehekesksetele naise kontseptualiseerimise viisidele. Kehalisuse ja seksuaalsuse kujutuse kaudu tõuseb selgelt esile päevaraamatule omaste tõerääkimise strateegiate teadlik kasutus tiheda ja sageli vastuolulise sissekannete võrgustike kaudu, kus olulise aspektina tõuseb esile päevaraamatute tekstuaalne rütm ja valdav stiil ning kõrvalekalded sellest. Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini päevaraamatuid kui kirjanike päevikuid iseloomustab ühelt poolt päevikus esineva minapildi teadlik kujundamine, arvestades võimalikku tulevast lugejat. Samas on päeviku oluliseks mõõtmeks selle toimimine eelkõige päeviku autorile olulise privaatse tekstiruumina. Kõik kolm autorit suutsid oma päevikuid kohandada nii avaliku kui privaatse mõõtmega, olles hästi kursis erinevate kirjanduslike žanrite iseloomulike joontega ning harrastades ka ise paljusid erinevaid žanre. Woolfi, Kallase ja Nini staatus kirjanikena võis kahtlemata avaldada piiravat mõju päeviku kehakujutuse kujunemisele. Kirjanikena ning oma aja erinevate mõttesuundadega hästi kursis olevate naistena oli Woolfil, Kallasel ja Ninil võimalik kehalisust ja seksuaalsust samas käsitleda ka suhestatuna nende teemade üle käivate avalike aruteludega, mis võimaldas tõsta päevikut kõrgemale igapäevasest kontekstist. Päevaraamatutest ilmneb, et kõik

kolm naist vaatlesid oma kirjanikustaatust kui positsiooni, mis asetas neid naise ühiskondlikku asendit määravast normistikust (vähemalt osaliselt) väljapoole.

Naise modernsusekogemus

Kehalisusele ja seksuaalsusele keskenduv temaatika on viimase kümne aasta jooksul saanud üsna põhjaliku kriitilise tähelepanu osaliseks nii kirjandustekstide uurimisel soolisest vaatepunktist modernismi paradigma raames kui naise modernsusekogemuse uurimisel laiemalt. Oma töös näitan kolme modernismi kaanonisse kuuluva naisautori loomingu kehalisuse ja seksuaalse temaatika tugevaid autobiograafilisi tagamaid, mis ilmnevad päevikutekstides vastuolulisel moel, tõstatatud probleemidele sageli täielikke lahendusi pakkumata. Kuigi päevikus sisalduvat kehakujutust võib pidada nende teemade ilu-kirjanduslike ja esseistlike käsitluste aluseks, ei ole see taandatav ühtseks harmooniliseks esteetiliseks tervikuks. Kolme naisautori päevikuteksti analüüsis tõuseb esile ka modernsuse perioodi ning sellele eelnevat ajastut iseloomustavate, keha ja seksuaalsust hõlmavate diskursuste varieeruv mõju nende autorite kitsamas kultuurilises ja perekondlikus kontekstis, samuti nende erinevate diskursustega suhestumise määra.

Keha ilmneb kõigis kolmes päevaraamatus subjektsuse olulise paigana. Kuigi päevaraamatutes kujutatakse keha nii naise kehalisust määratlevate raamistike omaksvõtu kui neile vastuhaku kaudu, domineerib päevikutes siiski viimast tüüpi kehakujutus. Samas ei tule see protsess esile ühtse ja lineaarsena, vaid erinevaid tõlgendusvariante pakkuvate, vastuoluliste sissekannete võrgustike ja tekstuaalsete strateegiate kaudu. Konflikt naise keha määratlevate normidega on kõigis kolmes päevaraamatus vahetult seotud loomingulise eneseteostuse vajadusega. Kõik kolm autorit püüavad täiuslikuma intellektuaalse ja loomingulise arengu nimel oma keha kas maha salata või vaatlevad seda kui takistust kõrgemate vaimsete eesmärkide poole püüdlemisel. Samas tõuseb kehalisus päevaraamatutes tugevalt esile hetkel, mil Woolf, Kallas ja Nin hakkavad tunnetama naise seksuaalsust subjektsuse ilmingimatu osana. Seksuaalsuse aktsepteerimine on oluline osa individuatsiooniprotsessist kunstniku ja inimesena ning sellisena tihedalt seotud 19. sajandi lõpul ja 20. sajandi alguses Euroopas ja USA-s aset leidnud naise ühiskondliku asendi ja olemusliku aluse ümbermõtestamisega.

Virginia Woolfi, Aino Kallase ja Anaïs Nini päevaraamatuid võib pidada nende kehastunud loomepoeetika lähtekohaks. Et oma loomingulist potentsiaali täielikult ja täiuslikult tunnetada, peab naiskirjanik Woolfi, Kallase ja Nini hinnangul tajuma end kehastunud subjektina. Loomeprotsessiks vajaliku iseisvuse üheks eeltingimuseks on enese tajumine seksuaalse subjektina, vastandudes naist määratlevatele normatiivsetele raamistikele. Samas iseloomustab naise loovust ka seotuse tunnetus, mis tuleb päevaraamatutes esile naise keha reproduktiivse mõõtmise vaatlemisel metafoorselt naise loomingu lähtekohana.

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