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ARNE MELBERG Oslo

WHERE IS THE SOUTH? WHERE IS THE EAST? LITERARY VERSIONS OF EUROPEAN BORDERS

Borders and limits are of obvious importance in Europe: this is demonstrated daily by masses of more or less illegal immigrants and by other forms of so-called trafficking. And it is demonstrated in more peaceful forms in the country where I happen to live: Norway. This nation not a member of the European Union and in the Norwegian debate this sad fact is often presented as if Norway did not belong to Europe at all. There have been two popular votes on this in Norway and in the heated arguments during the campaigns "Europe" was often presented as a homogenous entity with un-norwegian characteristics: unreliable in business, cheating in sports, corrupt in politics, more catholic than Norway. warmer, lacking nature. Norwegians seem convinced that European food is contaminated while Norwegian food is healthy. And so on. There is a demand for delimiting what is un-Norwegian from what is authentically Norwegian and what is un-Norwegian is often called "Europe" just as there is a demand for open borders between Norway and Europe when it comes to import and export of culture as well as goods and services

Considering the prominence of the mythology based on the difference between Norway and Europe it is surprising that so little of it has made its way into literature. There is a classic modern novel by Dag Solstad with the first popular vote as background, but not even that novel contributes to the mythology. (And Solstad's latest novels have a distinctively European setting). If we want literature that investigates the geographical and cultural borders of Europe we should instead go South or East. The border called South has been of topical cultural interest at least since the 18th Century. Here I will give some examples concentrating on the mythology of the border as it is found in Naples and on Capri. But I will start with the border called East, a prominent theme in contemporary literature on Eastern Europe or Turkey. In both cases the question is: where is the Eastern border? Where is the East?

I need not remind you that the question of Turkish borders is of an immense historic impact in Turkey as well as in central Europe. The question is given topical interest by the difficult negotiations between Turkey and the European Union. In the 19th Century quite a few French writers explored Turkey, and specially Istanbul, as the very border between Europe and Asia, between West and East - I am thinking of for instance Nerval, Flaubert, Loti and Theophile Gautier, who roamed the streets of Istanbul dressed up like a Muslim to cultivate his fascination undisturbed. Gautier is praised by the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk in his book Istanbul (2003) as one of those writers who has taught the Istanbul people to see their city from a Western as well as an Eastern point of view. This split vision is constitutive for Istanbul people, according to Pamuk. It creates ironic insight as well as melancholy due to lost unity. Pamuk exaggerates, of course, but at least he is describing his own writing: not only the autobiographical Istanbul but also his novels give an excellent version of the border between West and East as an area of myth and fiction. His best novels - The Black Book, My Name is Red. Snow - all use a striking mixture of Western plot and Eastern aesthetics. My Name is Red (1998), for instance, is an entertaining and exciting story about miniature painters in Istanbul at the end of the 16th Century. There is a crime plot of a kind that must be called modern and Western; while the conflict that triggers the murderous development has to do with the aesthetics of painting. The conflict goes between traditionalists and modernists, the moderns being accused of developing an individual style admitting arbitrary subjectivity into the heavily regulated paintings. The ongoing argument gives the novel a touch of old--fashioned allegory as a story of classical Turkish conflicts: West-East, original-reproduction, subjectivity-collectivity. The narrator seems neutral but Pamuk gives the novel a very personal touch by putting himself into it as little Orhan and at the end of the novel this Orhan is made into an editor of the novel we have read. In this way Pamuk puts his signature into a text that discusses exactly the signature and the individual touch as modern and Western characteristics.

In *Istanbul* the political aspects of this argument come closer, Pamuk taking on the role of mediator between West and East and presenting his city as a meeting-place rather than a border. It is a grim

historic irony that after this book, after the public indignation concerning the Armenian genocide, and after the Nobel Prize, Pamuk had to leave his Istanbul. The role of the mediator has become a political provocation in a situation ruled by extremes. The border as a meeting-place became a dividing border of threatening conflict. If we go instead to what is traditionally called Eastern Europe we find that several Polish writers have developed the border into a theme. I am thinking of Czesław Miłosz, especially in his autobiographical Rodzinna Europa from 1958 (in English as Native Realm). It is a book about Eastern Europe and the East-European identity with Miłosz himself as the prime example. He was born 1911 in Vilnius, then situated in Poland, a city that not even has a fixed name: "The Poles say Wilno, the Lithuanians Vilnius, the Germans and Belorussians Wilna." The city and its region have been tossed between conflicting powers; in Miłosz' time from Poland to Lithuania to Germany to the Soviet Union and, again, Lithuania. The city was divided between catholics and Jews and several other ethnic groups, most of them with the Polish language in common. Furthermore, the region was an arena for genocide as well as massive transports of people in different directions. It was simply a region of conflict and no wonder that Miłosz uses his book to express a European ideal of peaceful and multinational identity.

I am also thinking of Ryszard Kapuściński, who constructs his book Imperium (1993) as scenes and glimpses from his travels along the borders of the decaying Soviet Union. The book starts and ends in his native town Pinsk, now in Ukraine and formerly in Poland. Already that simple fact illustrates the problematic of the border in the East: the border as a zone of change and conflict. Nevertheless, Kapuściński seems to embrace the manifold and the movable. He has an unsurpassed instinct for borders as zones of conflict and he also has an ideal of the boundless, the limitless. In Imperium we read: "The most attractive, the most sought after and longed for by everyone, is the boundless state: unconditional, complete and absolute." Characteristically he contrasts this ideal with reflections of the production of the barbed wire in the Soviet Union: the enormous amount of the barbed wire needed to secure and build borders along the empire and around camps and barracks and arsenals. In Kapuściński's vision the border of the East is symbolized and summarized as a barbed wire. I pick a final example on the problematic of the East as a border from the German journalist and writer Wolfgang Büscher. In his latest book, Deutschland, eine Reise (2005) he

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follows Kapuściński's example from *Imperium* in the sense that he gives us glimpses from a journey along the borders of his Germany. It comes as no surprise that the borders hide historical conflicts and therefore appear as zones of conflict. In his earlier book *Berlin-Moskau, eine Reise zu Fu* (2003) the impression of the border as a zone applies to the whole area that he covers when he sets out to walk from Berlin to Moscow. He is walking eastwards and one of the ideas with doing that seems to be exactly to find out about that mysterious phenomenon: the East. Where is it? Where does it start?

In a sense his East starts at the same moment as he leaves his Berlin and starts walking eastwards: it means that he leaves modern life and goes into a different dimension of communication and speed. He slows down. It also means that he goes into another history: he leaves the normality of the present day and gets physical contact with past days. An important factor is of course that he passes rural and backward and practically deserted areas of Poland, Belorussia and Russia. He also establishes a kind of contact with the German history of reaching East since he is walking along the same route as the troops used when trying to invade the Soviet Union during the second world war. In another sense he is not reaching the East at all: it is always in front of him. When he finally arrives in Moscow it is more like going back to modern life again. He has escaped from the East and the East has escaped him and become a dream or a fiction. A delicate version of this is given when he arrives in a town called Gagarin. Not only the name of the town but more or less everything in the town is called after the astronaut, except the hotel at Gagarin Square: "Es hieß Wostok. Osten. Ich drückte die Holztür auf, trat ein and war im Osten." The East in this book is a miserable hotel, symbolizing the whole vast area that Büscher covers when walking from Berlin to Moscow.

Many other examples on the East as a zone of myth and fiction as well as conflict and change could be taken from literary excursions in for instance Siberia or Transylvania. I will continue, however, to another border that also seems defining from a European perspective: the border called South. Immediately it seems more definite than the East: South of Europe is Africa and Africa is definitely not Europe; Africa is Europe's Other. The question is only where Africa starts. Perhaps it starts already in Europe? For instance in Naples? That is what marquis de Sade experiences during his Italian journey in 1775: Naples is *au bout de l'Europe*, on the very border of Europe. On the other side of the border the marquis finds only filth and disorder and even if the marquis became famous for relishing sexual transgression he was certainly not interested in crossing the cultural border.

The marquis traveled in an epoch when many European travelers coming from the North - Scandinavia, Germany, England - discovered the South when coming to Italy. Discovering the South meant reviving classical culture but it also meant what it still means for tourists from the North: awakening sensuality. I will summarize two very classical examples: Goethe and Mme de Staël.

Goethe set an unsurpassed standard for the literary meeting with the South with his *Italienische Reise*, a huge work connected to his autobiographical *Dichtung und Wahrheit* from 1816-17 but going back to journals and letters from the actual journey in 1786-87: a book of memory that is also an autobiography, travelogue and cultural history. Goethe leaves Weimar to experience the South that he meets in Rome, later also in Naples and Sicily. Two famous passages emphasize the cultural borders: the crossing of the Alps and the travel from Rome to Naples - the latter was considered dangerous due to the infamous swamps that had to be passed before the traveler reached the famous view of the bay of Naples and the Vesuvius.

Goethe expected and found classical culture in Rome. In Naples he expected not only culture but also nature. When coming to Naples, the traveler from the North goes into a state of nature: Naples is a "happy country with abundant satisfaction of elementary need making its people naturally educated into a carefree expecting of tomorrow what today has brought and thus living continuously without concern. Immediate satisfaction, moderate pleasure, happy patience for temporary sufferings!" Goethe even thinks that the many poor in Naples are not as miserably poor as the poor in the North since he regards Naples as a country where no-one must freeze or go hungry. Nor are work and culture to be taken as seriously as in the North: In Naples "you work not only to live but to enjoy." Even the intellectual and spiritual people that Goethe meets avoid serious work and prefer idling. Their best products "should be enjoyed in sensual pleasure, splendor and recreation." Goethe finds of course some sublime and threatening vistas, especially when he comes close to Vesuvius, but even death seems gay to him in this setting. And the Southerner is for Goethe, as so many travelers before and after him, a happy child of nature, living by the abundance that is visualized in the picturesque street-life of Naples.

Mme de Staël's Corinne, ou L'Italie, published in 1807, became a much read novelistic version of the meeting with the South. When the title character Corinne together with her admirer Oswald reaches the border of Naples on their Italian journey the narrator observes, "It is here that the South really begins." Coming to Naples is like coming to "another world," distinctive from the rest of Europe. In Naples a picturesque state of nature penetrates the surface of European civilization making the narrator associate to Africa on the other side of the sea: Africa is "almost already perceptible." While marquis de Sade only saw nameless filth and disorder on the other side of the European border, Mme de Staël gives it a name. Perhaps she is the first writer to introduce this myth of the South: the South as Africa already in Europe.

This almost African state of nature means that the people of Naples, in the version of Mme de Staël, are lazy and ignorant but also emotional and dangerously violent. "Idleness and ignorance, in combination with the volcanic air one is breathing here, must provoke violence, when passions are roused." And passions are indeed roused: the admirer Oswald falls prey to the magic of the South. He has easily controlled his feelings during the long journey, but coming to Naples means losing control: he "violently fondled her knees and seemed to lose all control over his passion." Corinne is impressed by this demonstration of natural passion and seems tempted to let herself go, but at the last moment she holds back, of course, and asks Oswald not to "disabuse" his "power." Her request is immediately respected by Oswald, who cannot forget that he is a European!

Goethe and Mme de Staël agree in considering the South tantamount to the awakening of sensuality, implying that in civilized North we control our senses while they are set free in the South. In the North we are slaves of discipline; not so in the South. The air and the heat break up the customs and rules that we regard as necessary for civilization in the North. This constellation is of course well known and very much alive also today; the tourist industry is deeply involved in such mythology.

The Swedish reader recently had an updated version of the meeting with the South through the meeting with Naples in a book by the journalist Tomas Lappalainen: Se Neapel och sedan dö (See Naples then die 2006). It is an enthusiastic story of a year spent in the so called Spanish quarters of Naples, the most densely built and inhabited part of the old town. Lappalainen tries to go native - living as everyone else - while giving us abundant information about the history and culture of the city. There is certainly no tourist mythology here, celebrating picturesque scenes in the alleys. Nevertheless, Lappalainen gives the impression that Naples is fundamentally different when it comes to the basic elements of life, like love, death, family, food, religion. There is no lack of culture and civilization in Lappalainen's Naples: it is rather the unbroken connection to ancient culture that makes Naples different. He comes close to Goethe's investigations of antique sources and overrules the simplistic dualism of for instance Mme de Staël: North as culture and South as nature. On the other hand Lappalainen confirms another classical division: North means civilization but also society; and in Northern and European society we pay taxes and take responsibility. In the South we meet in Naples social society is rejected. Instead there is cultivation of solidarity based on family and blood-bonds.

In German this constellation is sorted out as *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft* and was much afloat at the beginning of the 20th Century, often combined with nostalgia over lost versions of *Gemeinschaft*. A humble version came in an article from 1925, written by Walter Benjamin together with the Latvian actress Asja Lacis and called, simply, "Neapel". It is a relevant piece of work because it contributes interestingly to the mythology and taxonomy I have just scetched. It also happened to be written on Capri, the island outside Naples, and Capri will be my next and final station in this presentation.

The central term in the article is *Porosität*, porosity. "Porosity" characterizes customs, individuality and even the architecture of Naples: "Edifice and arrangement transforms into yards, arcades and stairs. In everything a space is spared to make a stage for new and unexpected constellations. The definite is avoided." "Porosity not only characterizes the idleness of the Southern craftsman, but above all the passion for improvisation." "Porosity is the inexhaustible law of life in this city." It comes as no surprise for the reader that this "law" is more African than European: "Private life is disseminated, porous and perforated. What makes Naples different from all big cities it has in common with the African village: every private attitude and affair is pervaded by communal life. For the Northern European existence is a highly private matter; for the inhabitant of Naples, like for the Hottentot, it is matter of the collective."

Benjamin's Naples is fundamentally different and in that capacity also intriguing: the "porosity" is perhaps not only an archaic structure

that will disappear with modernity. I guess that Benjamin is fascinated because he fancies the "porous" individual, "perforated" by communal life, as a sign of the future. This was 1925 and Benjamin had started playing with ideas of a future beyond bourgeois society. Nothing of that is articulated in the article on Naples but it is certainly written between the lines: Benjamin seems to imagine that the South - and Africa - will have its revenge and that we all will become like "hottentots." Benjamin had gone to Capri to escape German inflation and finish his dissertation on the Trauerspiel. For at least a hundred years Capri had a stable reputation of being different. This reputation was very much a German invention: in 1826 a young German artist, August Kopisch, visited the island and heard some rumors about a mysterious cavern by the edge of the sea. He swam into it and on his return to Rome he proclaimed to have discovered grotta azurra, which quickly became a tourist attraction on Capri. The cavern and the island became literary with the help of H. C. Andersen, who made it the demoniac center of his first novel, Improvisatoren, from 1835. Goethe passed Capri on his way from Naples to Sicily but H. C. Andersen is the first writer to my knowledge connecting Naples with Capri. If Naples were the very border between North and South in Europe, then Capri was beyond that border: south of the South. The sad reality behind this myth was that Capri was even poorer than Naples, meaning that it was a cheap place to visit. What Benjamin enthusiastically called "porosity" had also to do with sex and what he imagined being the "perforated" individual becomes less attractive in that perspective. Italy was regarded as permissive by visitors from the North meaning simply that it was cheap to buy sex of all sorts. Sex was in itself no part of the Northern European identity and certainly not permissive sex or so-called inverted sex. Sicily became an early haven of refuge for homosexuals from all parts of Europe and Capri developed the same status, especially during the first half of the 20th Century.

Perhaps sex is a topical part of the problematic of the border? Sex-based so-called trafficking seems to be a fast growing European problem. Travel writing from Eastern parts of Europe – and especially from those parts that seem to go beyond Europe, like Eastern parts of Russia – have one mandatory scene in common: the Western traveler arriving in an Eastern hotel is offered immediate sex by local prostitutes. (I refer to travelers after the fall of the Soviet Union; and so far I have found no one admitting being tempted by the offer). In Italy and especially Capri the great theme of sex was of course transformed into love. Capri became (already with H. C. Andersen) the island of love but it was a love that had threatening elements of violence. This constellation was prefigured already in the legends concerning the emperor Tiberius, the successor of Augustus, who spent his last 11 years on Capri. Especially Suetonius, writing about a hundred years after the death of Tiberius, deals with pornographic detail on the old emperor's excesses, laboriously combining sex with violence and brutal death. One component in this mythology has to do with Capri itself: it was inconceivable for the Romans that the emperor could leave the heart of the civilized world, i.e. Rome, and settle on a primitive island, i.e. beyond civilization.

Capri was not a zone of conflicting interests (like so many Eastern examples), nor could it offer an experience of the very border itself (like Naples). Capri was definitely on the other side of the border. This notion goes back to Roman days but it developed quickly in the 19th Century and there are still remnants very much alive, even though Capri today is affluent, expensive and very European. Let me mention another German example from the 19th century and two Italian examples from the 20th Century to show the transformations of the notion of Capri as beyond the border.

Nietzsche visited Capri for a few days in March 1877. This was a tourist tour made from Sorrento, where Nietzsche spent his first winter in Italy. Capri was of course a minor component in his Italian adventure but still of topical interest. The visit to Capri can be seen as a part of the great turning-point in Nietzsche's life and his thinking, the shift from the North to the South, the leaving of his German ideals and academic career in favor of a nomadic life as a "free thinker." One major component in this shift was a discovery that Nietzsche made, just like so many travelers from the North had made before him: the discovery of the body. From now on the body is the protagonist of his philosophy. Or rather: the relations between body and thought, between body and language and morality and meaning: Nietzsche starts exploring the philosophy, ethics, dietetics and aesthetics of the body. This investigation shows its first results in Menschliches, Allzumenschliches, that was mainly written during the first Italian winter. It goes on for the rest of his prolific writing, for instance in Jenseits von Gut und Böse, where Capri turns up in aphorism 55. This aphorism gives a dense version of his critique of religion: in a few lines he summarizes the religious his-

tory of humanity as three versions of sacrifice. As an example of the human sacrifice of early religions Nietzsche provides "the sacrifices executed by Emperor Tiberius in the Mithras cavern on Capri," a sacrifice that he describes as a horrible Roman "anachronism." Apparently Nietzsche had looked into the famous Grotta di Mitromania during his short trip. One has found, in this cavern, signs that indicate a ritualistic use in archaic times, for instance a relief that may picture the Persian sun god killing a bull (although it is more probable that the cavern was used as "nympheum"). Nietzsche had of course read his Tacitus and Suetonius and was well informed about the Tiberius-legends. Furthermore he may have read August Kopisch's report from his discoveries, telling us that the old emperor was using both grotta azurra and this cave for his orgiastic purposes. It does not matter that the whole historic construction seems unlikely to say the least, but for Nietzsche it strikes a very strong phantasm having to do with Dionysos. In his Notebooks from 1878, the year after Sorrento, the cavern comes up in a series if notes, showing his fascination for this constellation of Mithras. Tiberius, sacrifice and orgiastic annihilation. Capri, then, triggers Nietzsche's imagination by confronting him with what he believes to be a testimony of the archaic ritual, combining sex, violence and destruction. If Sorrento were on the border of the South and helped him to discover the body, then Capri, as south of South, indicates something beyond. It is quite possible to regard his winter in Sorrento as starting his philosophy of civilized interaction between body and thought - and his short visit to Capri as the triggering of those thoughts that went beyond.

The German domination in mythologizing the South, including Capri, faded away in the 20th Century. Capri became dominated by English writers, popular in the 1920'ies but attracting few readers today (Norman Douglas, Compton Mackenzie). The most important English contribution was Swedish: the doctor and adventurer Axel Munthe wrote in his old age (and in English) *The Book on San Michele* (1929). This book became a widely spread and highly idealized picture of Capri as a residue of natural paradise in a world that was lost to modernity. Let me instead mention some later Italian examples, that continue the tradition of situating Capri beyond the border of civilization while adding some new aspects of political interest.

I am thinking of books by Alberto Moravia and Elsa Morante, a couple that was living on Capri for long periods during the 1930'ies and 40'ies. There were at least partly political reasons for this: a long Italian tradition forced people that were undesired on the mainland to live on the islands along the West coast. Some of these islands, like Procida north of Capri, were veritable prison islands while Capri gave a more comfortable version of exile. Still it was an exile: the logic was that the mainland was European civilization and the islands were beyond. The border, then, was simply the sea in-between and as you can expect, the transport from mainland to island is often the starting-point for the literature that investigates the problematic of this border.

Moravia's novel 1934 (1982) starts like that: a young guy is taking the boat from Naples to Capri and already on the boat his world is changing radically. He falls in love (of course) but the woman appears to be German and married to a nazi-like elderly German - this is as the title says, 1934. Our young man follows them to the hotel and becomes involved in a very complicated plot of wavering identities, including sexual identities, ending with the German woman (or women) committing suicide, the husband disappearing in some nazi-plot and our protagonist left to tell us all.

On one occasion he takes a small boat to grotta verde, another one of these famous Capri caverns. There he meets with the German woman in a scene that hovers between dream and reality including a sexual phantasm. This is practically a copy from a scene in an earlier novel, *Il disprezzo (The Contempt,* 1954). In this novel the protagonist takes a boat to grotta verde together with his unfaithful mistress only to discover that he is on his own - and that she at the same time died in an accident. The constellation is standard Capri: fatal love, violent death, but also an unstable identity, including sexual identity, and a destabilized reality. Apparently anything can happen once you have crossed the border.

Both novels are written many years after Moravia's living on Capri, so I imagine they can be regarded as recirculation of mythical material mixed with some memories. The only novel that Moravia wrote on Capri, to my knowledge, was *La mascherata* (*The Masquerade* 1941), an allegorical political satire that confirmed his inner exile. This is difficult to read today but adds to the political dimension of Moravia's Capri-books. There were political reasons for being quasi-exiled on Capri. Furthermore, the position beyond invited a political view of the civilization left behind. This is also true for Elsa Morante's remarkable novel *L'isola di Arturo* (*Arturo's Island* 1957): it does not take place on Capri at all but on the prison island Procida. I like thinking that Morante during her time on Capri had a view to Procida and imagined that is-

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land being like Capri before Capri, i.e. in a state of raw nature. The novel is in any case a passionate story of an odd family on the island, with ingredients of oedipal sex and male homosexuality, crime and distant politics. The novel deals with archaic passions in an archaic landscape that gradually dissolves in the years before the war.

The conclusion to these scattered observations goes like this: the literary version of the border called South gives us something that is definite and dividing – although the components making up the borderline have shifted during the ages. The border called East, on the other hand, seems vague and extensive, more of a zone than a dividing line. In both cases, however, mythological interest is invested: the border – line or zone – is a place of drama and conflict, ultimately a drama of civilization. Obviously, much more evidence could be exposed, especially if I had gone to the North and to the West. And just as obvious is the following: the literary investigations of the border that I have examined are not concerned with law or traffic. The borders described are all located in the haven of imagination.

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I refer to the following books in my own translations:

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Orhan Pamuk: Benim adim kirmizi (My Name is Red) (1998), Istanbul (2003)

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Mme de Staël: Corinne, ou l'Italie (1807)

GDZIE JEST POŁUDNIE? A GDZIE WSCHÓD? LITERACKIE WERSJE EUROPEJSKICH GRANIC

Streszczenie

W eseju autor dokonał analizy wybranych przykładów literackiego konstruowania granic Europy, szczególnie w przypadku Wschodu i Południa, przy pomocy przykładów literackich z twórczości kilku różnych w swoich poetykach pisarzy, takich jak Orhan Pamuk, Ryszard Kapuściński, Czesław Miłosz, Wolfgang Büscher (Wschód), czy Johann Wolfgang Goethe i Mme de Staël (Południe). Specjalną uwagą autor obdarzył literackie przedstawianie wyspy Capri jako południa Południa. Taki zabieg jest widoczny w twórczości Hansa Christiana Andersena, Fryderyka Nietzschego, Elsy Morante, Alberto Moravii i Axela Munthe.

W konkluzji autor stwierdza, że literackie wersje granicy nazywanej Południem dostarczają nam bytu, który jest określony i spełnia swoją funkcję ograniczania i dzielenia. Natomiast granica nazywana Wschodem wydaje się nieostra i rozległa, jest bardziej strefą aniżeli rzeczywiście linią podziału. Jednakowoż oba przypadki są konstruowane z intencją mitologizacji - granica - linia bądź strefa - jest miejscem dramatu i konfliktu, który ostatecznie staje się dramatem cywilizacji, oraz dramatem wyobraźni.