BAKHTIN'S THEORY OF THE

LITERARY CHRONOTOPE:

REFLECTIONS, APPLICATIONS, PERSPECTIVES

Nele Bemong, Pieter Borghart, Michel De Dobbeleer,

Kristoffel Demoen, Koen De Temmerman & Bart Keunen (eds.)

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Internal Chronotopic Genre Structures: The Nineteenth-Century Historical Novel in the Context of the Belgian Literary Polysystem

Nele Bemong

Chronotope Theory and Polysystem Theory

One of the most fundamental problems of systemic approaches to literature is the question of how systemic principles might be translated into a manageable methodological framework. This contribution proposes that a combination of functionalist-systemic theories (in casu Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem theory – especially the textually oriented versions[1] – and the prototypical genre approach proposed by Dirk De Geest and Hendrik Van Gorp 1999) with Mikhail Bakhtin's chronotope theory shows great promise in this respect. Since I am primarily interested in literary genres, the prototypical genre approach assumes a central position in my theoretical framework. My main argument is that Bakhtin's chronotope concept offers interesting perspectives as a heuristic tool within a functionalist-systemic approach to genre studies, enabling the study not only of the constitutive elements of genre systems, but also of their mutual relations.[2] Bakhtin's own vague definitions of the concept somewhat hamper the process of putting it into practice for this purpose, but with the aid of the distinction between generic and motivic chronotopes, that problem can be solved. A detailed, comprehensive account of the theoretical premises underlying my proposal can be found in Bemong (under review); here I restrict myself to the basics.

My methodological proposal takes its starting point in Bakhtin's initial conception of the chronotope (literally: the "time-space" or fictional world in the text) as a concept that "provide[s] the basis for distinguishing generic types [and that] lies at the heart of specific varieties of the novel genre" (FTC: 250-1). As noted by Bemong and Borghart in the introduction to this volume, Bakhtin's definitions of the chronotope concept in his essays from the 1930s remain very vague. Nevertheless, of the four levels on which chronotopes play a role (see Bemong and Borghart again), their role in the discerning of generic types seems to be the central one, given that it is explicitly brought to the fore in the subtitles of Bakhtin's two chronotope essays: FTC has as its subtitle "Notes toward a Historical Poetics", and BSHR is subtitled "Toward a Historic Typology of the Novel". I focus here on this generic purport of the term, concentrating on the heuristic potential of the chronotope as a concept that "both defines genre and generic distinction and establishes the boundaries between the var-

ious intrageneric subcategories of the major literary types" (Clark and Holquist 1984: 280).

As Borghart and Bemong point out, an important fact with respect to the vagueness surrounding the chronotope concept in Bakhtin's texts is the use of the term on (five) different levels of abstraction. This paper deals mainly with the levels of the so-called *minor* or *motivic* chronotopes and the *generic* chronotopes. *Generic chronotopes* are in recent Bakhtin scholarship equated with the world view of a text, while a *motivic chronotope* or chronotopic motif is "a sort of 'congealed event'", a "condensed reminder of the kind of time and space that typically functions there" (Morson and Emerson 1990: 374). Keunen (2000a), Vlasov (1995: 44-5), Ladin (1999: 213, 231) and Collington (2006: 88) have all made similar distinctions, albeit with differing degrees of explicitness and using slightly different terms.[3]

The combination of Bakhtin's chronotope concept and Polysystem theory is new, but certainly not far-fetched: there are quite a lot of similarities between Bakhtin's and Even-Zohar's views on literature and on the tasks of literary scholarship. Bemong (under review) comprehensively discusses these similarities. Here, a brief survey will suffice.

The inspiration of both scholars partly comes from the same sources (the Russian Formalists, especially Jurij Tynjanov, the Czech Structuralists, and Jurij Lotman).[4] The most salient similarity between Polysystem theory and Bakhtin's theory is the functionalist nature of their approach to literature (and culture). Such a functionalist approach does not start from the assumption that the essence of literature can be clearly defined (or, for that matter, that it *should* be clearly defined). Rather, it is intent on revealing precisely the specific synchronic and diachronic dynamics of literature within its global cultural and social constellation by meticulously analyzing and reconstructing the relationships between literature and its surrounding "systems" or "zones", such as ideology and the arts, and/or between a national literature and its foreign counterparts. The goal of such an approach is to "reconstruct the ways in which literature has been identified, demarcated and defined as a specific cultural, socio-semiotic phenomenon", determined by a particular context and prone to diachronic changes (De Geest 1997: 164). Central to both Even-Zohar's and Bakhtin's view on literature is therefore the relational approach to literary phenomena. In "Response to a Question from the *Novy Mir* Editorial Staff", Bakhtin advocates the necessity of a relational view of literature: "Literature is an inseparable part of culture and it cannot be understood outside the total context of the entire culture of a given epoch". He explicitly draws attention to "the interconnection and interdependence of various areas of culture" – both synchronically and diachronically – and emphasizes that "the boundaries of these areas are not absolute, that in various epochs they have been drawn in various ways" (2002b: 2).

The innovative feature of Polysystem theory, compared to the dynamic functionalism of the 1920s, is of course that socio-semiotic systems are held to form "a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly over-

lap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent" (Even-Zohar 2005: 40). In order to understand one stratum (system) of the polysystem, one has to view it in light of the other strata.[5] The different systems making up a polysystem are hierarchically structured by means of center-and-periphery relations. However, a polysystem does not consist of just one center and one periphery, but rather of several such relations. Diachronic changes take place when elements or functions start to move from one position to another.[6]

Another important similarity between the polysystemic view on socio-semiotic phenomena and Bakhtin's writings lies in the fact that in these dynamic processes of interconnection, both scholars reserve a key role for the lower cultural strata. Even-Zohar emphasizes that literary or cultural polysystems require a regulating balance between their canonized (official, higher) and non-canonized (non-official, lower) strata in order not to collapse or disappear (2005: 45).[7] In order to be able to cope with the changing needs and circumstances of the society in which it functions, any polysystem needs a strong subculture, since new elements often come from peripheral strata.[8] Bakhtin, too, stresses that "the most intense and productive life of culture takes place on the boundaries of its individual areas and not in places where these areas have become enclosed in their own specificity" and that "[t]he powerful deep currents of culture (especially the lower, popular ones) […] actually determine the creativity of writers" (2002: 2, 3). Therefore, "failure to include noncanonized strata in the analysis of the literary polysystem can obfuscate the dynamics behind interference" (Codde 2003: 113).

The last important similarity is the importance attached to diachronic intersystemic relations. (Poly)systems are not, as is often wrongly presumed, simply static, synchronic networks of relationships; they are essentially dynamic, evolving networks where "at any given moment, more than one diachronic set is operating on the synchronic axis" (Even-Zohar 2005: 39). Exactly the same idea can be found in Bakhtin's essays, when he describes several chronotopes in their intersystemic relations to other systems (older as well as contemporary, and literary as well as non-literary - see FTC: 85, 88-9, 96; BSHR: 14-5; 2002b: 5).[9] Bakhtin's added observation that all "[these] elements derived from various other genres assumed a new character and special functions in this completely new chronotope […] and ceased to be what they had been in other genres" (1990d: 89) shows clear affinities with Even-Zohar's assertion that "[a]n appropriated repertoire does not necessarily maintain source culture functions" (2005: 65).

Chronotopes, Prototypes and Systemic Relations

My central hypothesis in combining Even-Zohar's Polysystem theory with Bakhtin's chronotope theory is that the chronotope concept may be of great value for one of the major goals that Polysystem theory has set for itself, to wit the functional study of the mechanisms of intersystemic *interference* and *transfer*,[10] together with the study

of the role of *models*, the importance of which Even-Zohar has stressed from the very beginning of his publications on Polysystem theory (see 1978: 31-2). A system's dynamics, Even-Zohar argues, is not influenced by individual canonized texts, but by certain literary models that manage to establish themselves as productive principles through the system's *repertoire*, which is the aggregate of laws and elements that govern the production of texts. This idea is captured in the notion of "dynamic canonicity", which, rather than being a reference to the acceptance of a text as a finalized product in a set of sanctified texts ("static canonicity"), refers to the introduction of texts into some repertoire through a model (Even-Zohar 1990: 19).

Even-Zohar defines models as one of the structural levels of the repertoire of a polysystem. Repertoire and model both have a textual as well as a cognitive meaning (see Codde 2003, Andringa 2006 and Bemong (under review)). As such, they closely reflect the ambiguity inherent in Bakhtin's chronotope concept. Analytically, models are "the combination of elements + rules + the syntagmatic ('temporal') relations imposable on the product" (Even-Zohar 2005: 18). For the potential consumer, however, models hold a cognitive significance: "the 'model' is that pre-knowledge according to which the event is interpreted ('understood')" (ibid.: 19). Even-Zohar also links his model hypothesis expressly to the concept of *schemes* in cognitive studies (ibid.: 20), a concept that Keunen (2000a) connected to chronotopes.[11] And in a text entitled "The Making of Repertoire, Survival and Success under Heterogeneity", Even-Zohar links repertoires to people's "sense of orientation in the world", to a "recognizable way of handling life situations" (2005: 180-1), while Andringa conceives of repertoires as "a *mental equipment* that enables its users to act and to communicate in a literary (sub)system" (2006: 525; emphasis in original). All these connections warrant the link between repertoires, and more specifically, models on the one hand, and chronotopes, in the sense of world views, on the other.[12]

Since I am primarily concerned with the study of literary genres, a few more words are needed on the nature of a functionalist-systemic approach to genres. Like De Geest and Van Gorp (1999), I study genres from a prototypical perspective rather than from an ontological, essentialist point of view. Since empirical evidence confirms intuitive insights that it is wrong to assume that all members of a genre category are wholly equal (from an evaluative as well as a structural perspective), literary genres ought to be treated as *prototypically structured categories*.[13] Category (i.e., genre) membership is not perceived as a binary question, but as a matter of degree. Besides central, prototypical instances of a category, there are also more marginal, peripheral instances that nevertheless still belong to the same category. Particular instances – especially the ones that are located in the periphery of a particular category – can belong to multiple categories at the same time. Internally, each category is structured around one *or more* prototypes, as a system of the center-periphery type. The prototype is the instance that functions cognitively as an optimal representation of the entire category:[14] it maximally represents it and shares a minimal number of characteristics with other, neighbouring categories (De Geest and Van Gorp 1999: 40-1).

A prototypical genre approach thus enables one to take into account the relational aspect of literary systems, the complex interactions between diverse genres and the particular position of a genre within the global generic system, while leaving room for the study of diachronic change (ibid.: 38). It is also striking that the way in which people are believed to deal cognitively with prototypically structured categories bears remarkable similarity to Even-Zohar's description of how consumers "passively operate" a repertoire: they look for connections, for links. "A 'consumer' is an individual who handles a ready-made product by passively operating a repertoire. 'To passively operate' basically means to identify relations (connections) between the product and one's knowledge of a repertoire" (Even-Zohar 2005: 29).

Prototypes thus function in a cognitive manner, just like repertoires and models do. Generic chronotopes, which can be described as the world constructions of a literary text (expressing a certain world view), *also* function in a cognitive manner: the similarities in world constructions function as Wittgensteinian *family resemblances* that connect a text with other texts. From a prototypical view of genres, it would therefore be logical to state that generic chronotopes function as prototypes, internally structuring genre systems. The linking of chronotopes and prototypes is further warranted by the fact that temporal and spatial schemata function as substrata for other processes of meaning (Keunen 2000b: 68). Moreover, chronotopes are also related to a number of key issues such as "the time-space and the image of man in the novel" (BSHR: 19), the configuration of "'reality' within the world of a text" (Beaton 2000: 181), and the relation between characters and the diegetic world, more specifically the degree to which the two categories influence one another (see BSHR: 19-25). Ladin formulates this idea as follows: "The characteristics of a given chronotope define what actions and events are possible within it, and what those actions and events mean" (1999: 231).

When we take into account that there are two different kinds of chronotopes and reformulate these ideas in polysystemic terms, the following picture emerges. Within the internal, horizontal structure of a genre, generic chronotopes define the family resemblances with respect to historical time, social space, individual character, and moral action (Morson and Emerson 1990: 300). As such, they can play a key role in the study of synchronic *intra*systemic (i.e., intrageneric) relationships. Generic chronotopes also seem to occupy a privileged position for the analysis of various *inter*systemic relationships: (1) with extra-literary systems – Holquist defines the chronotope as "an optic for reading texts as x-rays of the [presumably extra-textual, NB] forces at work in the culture system from which they spring" (Bakhtin 1990b: 425-6); (2) between canonized and non-canonized systems of one and the same polysystem or between different canonized systems; (3) with other genres in different literary polysystems (e.g. the Belgian historical novel vis-à-vis the French, the German, the English, etc. historical novel).

Eduard Vlasov's description of "adjacent chronotopes" – what I call *motivic chronotopes* – as chronotopes that "are more 'capacious' than the basic ones and incorporate

in themselves works of different literary genres and historical periods" (1995: 44-5) suggests that the second type of chronotope might be a privileged heuristic tool for studying: (1) *synchronic* relations between the various generic chronotopes within the internal prototypical stratification of a genre, i.e., *intra*systemic synchronic relations; (In my analysis of the Belgian historical novel below, I illustrate how the chronotope of the castle comes to function as a kind of *generic marker*) (2) *synchronic* relations with other systems (i.e., *inter*systemic synchronic relations); (3) both intersystemic and intrasystemic *diachronic* relations.

Morson and Emerson's description of motivic chronotopes confirms this view: in the case of motivic chronotopes, they argue,

> [a] particular sort of event, or a particular sort of place that usually serves as the locale for such an event, acquires a certain chronotopic aura, which is in fact the '*echo of the generic whole*' in which the given event typically appears. […] When these events or locales are used in other genres, they may 'remember' their past, and *carry the aura of the earlier genre into the new one*; indeed, they may be incorporated for this very reason. (1990: 374; emphasis added)

The potential of generic and motivic chronotopes as heuristic tools in the description and mapping out of these different polysystemic relationships (inter- and intrasystemic, synchronic and diachronic) is illustrated below in an analysis of the internal chronotopic structure of the Belgian historical novel in the 1830s and 1840s (i.e., in the first two decades after the creation of a Belgian state) in relation to neighbouring systems (both national and non-national, canonized and non-canonized). This analysis may at the same time serve as an illustration of Even-Zohar's model (he even talks about "laws") of how new, young literary polysystems establish themselves.

The Establishment of the Belgian Literary Polysystem

When Belgium became an independent state in 1830, an entire national literary polysystem still had to be "created". In this process, the sudden political independence for a state which had never before existed in the precise form that it then took played a rather prominent role. One Belgian historical novelist characterized the task of literature in the new nation-state as follows: "Create and help to create a national literature, for it will be the strongest pillar of the national building!" (Ecrevisse 1846: 15; my translation). This functionalist view of literature is in line with a statement in Even-Zohar's diachronic socio-semiotic study of the (apparently uniquely European) role of literature in the making of nations, to wit that "possessing a 'literature' belonged to the indispensabilia of power" and that every European nation since the birth of western civilization has strived after a national literature (2005: 111). In the remainder of this section, I offer a brief outline of how the canonized prose system in Belgium came to be. Following that, an analysis of the genre of the historical novel

illustrates how the chronotope concept might help us to gain better insights into the inter- and intrasystemic relations that a particular system – here, a particular genre[15] – maintains with adjacent systems of different types.

Since there was no indigenous prose tradition, Belgian novelists could not turn to or benefit from extant repertoires. According to Polysystem theory, any weak or defective literary polysystem has two major options available for becoming a proper, independently operational polysystem able to function while confining itself to its home repertoire; that is, a system that possesses a sufficient home stock (a state which, according to Even-Zohar, all polysystems strive for[16]). These options are: (1) adopting some other system (or parts of it) and its idiom, or (2) producing what is lacking by means of the home inventory (i.e., the repertoires of one's own, non-canonized systems) (Even-Zohar 1978: 56). I think that it would be a methodological advantage to bring chronotopes into this theoretical framework, especially when the study of diachronic change is concerned. In terms of an *inter*systemic extrapolation of what is known as "Shklovskij's second law" – the assumption that peripheral properties are likely to penetrate the center of a system once the capacity of the center to fulfil certain functions (i.e., the repertoire of the center) has been weakened (an assumption, that is, that operates on *intra*systemic relations; Even-Zohar 2005: 47) – one can study the evolution of the Belgian literary polysystem, and especially the ways in which it enlarged its home stock, in terms of generic chronotopes. It is my hypothesis that the transfer of models occurs by way of the transfer of generic chronotopes; thus, generic chronotopes can play a key role as a heuristic tool in the study of inter- and intrasystemic interferences.

First, however, it needs to be stressed that, given the context of romanticism and the then prevalent discourse on "the national spirit" (Herder), the first half of the nineteenth century was characterized even more strongly than other periods by a discourse that focussed on the urgent need for a nation to possess a *truly national* literature. Even-Zohar has pointed out the crucial role of literature in the creation of nations such as the German, Italian, Bulgarian and Czech. "In each of these cases", Even-Zohar states,

> a small group of people, whom I would like to call 'socio-semiotic entrepeneurs,' popularly known under various titles, such as 'writers,' 'poets,' 'thinkers,' 'critics,' 'philosophers' and the like, produced an enormous body of texts in order to justify, sanction, and substantiate the existence, or the desirability and pertinence of such entities – the German, Bulgarian, Italian and other nations. At the same time, they also had to bring some order into the collection of texts and names which in principle could be rendered instrumental in justifying what their cause [sic]. (2005: 120)

All these national identities are thus to a high degree "literary", for "[i]t is by now widely accepted that there would have been no German nation without the German literature" (ibid.).

The Belgian nation may be safely added to Even-Zohar's list. In Belgium, the question of whether this national literature should be written in Flemish or in French – both of which were "national Belgian languages" – was at first of secondary importance (see Bemong 2006b: 114-5). However, the unproblematic attitude towards this bilingual character of Belgian national literature lasted no longer than two decades or so. The change in attitude, and the ensuing bifurcation into two separate unilingual polysystems – a Flemish-Belgian and a French-Belgian – coincided with an increasingly critical attitude towards the Belgian state and tensions between the two communities which persist to this day.[17] The following passage from Even-Zohar's paper "Language Conflict and National Identity" proves that this situation is an illustration of a universal phenomenon:

> As long as no disagreement has arisen with regard to the propagated or imposed identity, even the most blatant linguistic diversity has never encouraged language conflicts. These geographically adjacent languages may be either contiguous, that is, of a rather close structural nature, or discontiguous, that is, remotely related if at all. It is only when there have emerged doubts and disagreements around the question of identity that language, having become the most marked carrier of that identity, has become an issue of often violent conflict. […] Once the dissident group manages to organize its activities, language conflicts may go on as long as the ideological conflict is not solved. They may then become part of political struggle, dragging the state to interfere, and end with geographical and/or political separation between the groups. Indeed, they may not end at all. (2005: 129)

With regard to the first two decades after Belgian independence, however – and this is most important with respect to the situation I am presenting here – there existed a single bilingual Belgian literary polysystem.

Now I want to examine how this polysystem made use of the two options available for becoming a proper, vital one and how it increased its repertoire. (Following that, I illustrate the role that chronotopes can play in the description of these processes.) According to Polysystem theory, weaker polysystems[18] – and this is the first option – will readily borrow items that they themselves are lacking from adjacent polysystems that possess them. And indeed, the Belgian literary polysystem partially built its canonized system by treating adjacent literary polysystems, especially those of the neighbouring countries France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Great-Britain, as source polysystems.[19] Thus, the Belgian polysystem acted like any new national cultural polysystem:

> when the various European nations gradually emerged and created their own cultures – most explicitly vehicled by their new literatures, languages, and official histories – certain center-and-periphery relations were unavoidably present in the process from the very start. Cultures that devel-

oped earlier, and which belonged to nations which influenced, by prestige or direct domination, other nations, were taken as sources for more recent cultures (including more recently reconstructed ones). (Even-Zohar 1990: 24)

From these adjacent polysystems, the weaker polysystem draws elements or properties (or rather: repertoires, in the *textual* sense) missing from its own, thus striving after heterogeneity and enlargement of its own stock.

On the one hand, the adoption of these foreign elements and repertoires was facilitated by the multilingual status of the Belgian literary polysystem: all languages dominant in the immediately neighbouring countries (French, German, and Dutch) were spoken by certain communities of the Belgian state.[20] On the other hand, however, two important problems presented themselves with respect to this option.

The first of these concerns the multi*cultural* counterpart of the multi*lingual* character of the Belgian literary polysystem. While the Flemish-speaking people, and especially the large numbers of Flemish working class people, were still mostly illiterate in this period, the French-speaking part of the public was better schooled and to a much higher degree familiar with foreign literary traditions. This was especially the case for French literature, but other European literatures entered the Belgian polysystem as well, albeit predominantly via *contrefaçons* (reprints that were made without consent of the author or publisher) of French translations. Walter Scott's historical novels, for example, were introduced into Belgium mainly via reprints of French translations (Deprez 1990: 124-5; Charlier 1948: 103, 329; 1959: 38). Dutch translations of these novels started to appear from 1824 onwards (more than thirty within a period of less than twenty years - Gielkens 2008: 126-7), and reprints of these might have circulated in Belgium as well.[21] However, most Dutch readers read Scott's works in French (or German) translations, just as was the case in Belgium (see Den Tenter 1984: 8).

The *contrefaçon*-practice was widespread in nineteenth-century Europe and especially flourished in Belgium, where there were no statutory regulations on the subject until the 1850s (Deprez 1990). During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Belgian market was literally flooded with French literature due to this practice. Since none of the institutions that controlled the center of the polysystem could exercise supervision over this non-canonized system operating at the margins of legality, the explicit rejection of this peripheric system by the said institutions (literary critics, the church, historical novelists) did not have much effect, especially since the reading public (the market) was rather receptive to popular novels by authors such as Eugène Sue (see Bemong 2004). Thus, certain elements or repertoires from this system were able to gain access to the center of the polysystem (e.g. to the genre of the historical novel, see below).

However, the *availability* of foreign models did not coincide with an unproblematic *accessibility*. Because of their illiteracy, many Flemish citizens had no access to these

models.[22] This potential Flemish reading public was predominantly familiar with non-canonized strata of subculture such as the rich culture of oral storytelling. And while the French-speaking public had a higher level of education, most of them had no ability in Dutch, so *they* had no access to the models from the Netherlands, which also became more widely available thanks to the *contrefaçon*.

Ideological and political motives played a role as well – and here we touch upon the second problem. The option of borrowing elements from adjacent polysystems was stridently rejected by large numbers of Belgian writers for reasons of national ideology. This is in line with a general tendency in societies that are characterized by a rising nationalism: any use or interference of "alien" systems is rejected and prohibited as "a threat to national integrity" (Even-Zohar 2005: 58). Pieter Ecrevisse voices the "universal agreement" in Belgium in a preface to one of his historical novels when he asserts that, in order to arrive at a truly national literature, the Belgians should begin by "pushing all foreign models aside" (1846: 15-6; my translation). National literature was emphatically seen as organically related to the nation itself, and both the producers and institutions of the Belgian literary polysystem emphasized the incompatibility of the national character (the *Volksgeist*) with foreign repertoires, i.e., with foreign mores and manners. Again, the Belgian situation here serves as an illustration of a more universal phenomenon, which Even-Zohar characterizes as follows: "the connection between repertoires and groups has been conceived of as an inherent relation, meaning that a certain identifiable repertoire is conceived of as built-in into the very 'nature' of a certain identifiable group" (2005: 174). Consequently, people will sometimes go to great lengths in order to maintain the existing, familiar repertoires, since these are seen as linked to their "sense of orientation in the world" (ibid.: 181).

This belief partly explains the general hostility to foreign literary models at this time. The particular, extreme hostility displayed towards French ones (e.g. Jules Janin, Eugène Sue, Frédéric Soulié, Honoré de Balzac, etc.) was also the result of the perceived immorality of French contemporary literature, which was pilloried throughout Europe in the nineteenth century (see Leerssen 2003: 55-6) and was seen as evidence for the depravity of the French people and the French nation as a whole. It was feared that an introduction of this repertoire into the Belgian literary polysystem would lead to a corruption of traditional Belgian mores and manners, which were explicitly praised in many historical novels. The fact that France kept threatening to annex the Belgian state long after its independence and the nine-year-long refusal of the Dutch King William I to recognize the new state did not help to make these foreign literary models acceptable.

The reverse logic also held: novelists believed that they could safeguard the national character and traditional mores and manners against corruption if they could only replace "the monstrous foreign literature by a chaste and truly national one" (Ecrevisse 1846: 8; my translation). That particular goal could be realized by laying more emphasis on the *second option* available for establishing a canonized system, to wit the transfer of repertoires from the indigenous non-canonized systems, such as folklore.

Even-Zohar was not the first to note that literary novelties in the canonized system are often borrowings from the non-canonized system (including e.g. folktales)[23]; Shklovskij had done so before him (see Even-Zohar 1978: 19). With specific reference to nineteenth-century literature, however, Even-Zohar added that "a non-canonized system was the *sine qua non* for a dynamic and vivid evolution of the canonized one. The canonized system got its popularity, flexibility and appeal by a constant and positive struggle with the non-canonized system" (ibid.: 19-20). Especially in Flanders, the oral folk tradition was very much alive, and it was kept vital through theatrical performances and puppet shows based on popular material.[24] A similar feeling of anti-French particularism led writers all over western Europe to turn to their own medieval literature and folk traditions: fairy tales, ballads, chapbooks, folk songs, local legends, and the like became new and important sources of inspiration (Leerssen 2003: 80-1). Moreover, the use of folkloric elements that were so widely known also aided the intended "democratization process enlarging the social range of literary consumers" (Even-Zohar 1978: 56).

Polysystem theory lends itself particularly well to dealing with such multilingual and multicultural cases because they make the heterogeneity of the polysystem quite "palpable", as Even-Zohar puts it (2005: 41). More specifically, the genre of the historical novel in nineteenth-century Belgium is a particularly well-suited case in point to illustrate the potential of the chronotope concept in a prototypical and polysystemic genre approach, both in its synchronic and its diachronic aspects. It is the *one* genre that immediately gained a central position in the *canonized* system, despite the fact that is was heavily criticized and contested *as a genre* (see Bemong 2006c).

The Belgian Historical Novel in the Nineteenth Century

Now that the wider polysystemic context has been roughly sketched, I narrow the focus of my analysis. The aspects that receive central attention in my analysis of this genre are: (1) its internal prototypical, chronotopic structure in the decades under discussion; (2) the relations of each of these prototypes or generic chronotopes with adjacent (literary and non-literary) systems.

The historical novel was the first literary prose genre introduced into the Belgian polysystem. From the outset, it was quite explicitly given the task of legitimizing the creation of a separate state in 1830 by creating a national consciousness and a national past for a nation-state that had never before existed in this specific form (see Bemong 2006b; 2008b: 115). Some five years later, a second prose genre arose: the novel of manners, set in contemporary times.[25] These two genres would dominate the center of the prose system for decades to come.

In fact, the first question that should be asked here is whether "the historical novel" was considered *as a genre* by contemporaries, or whether the subsuming of a number of texts under the denominator *historical novel* is rather an *a posteriori* construction

of literary scholars. That the former is true becomes apparent from the generic indicators in subtitles and prefaces, and from contemporary discussions between novelists, critics and historiographers concerning the benefits and dangers of the genre (Bemong 2006b; 2006c). But when one actually reads the texts that are labelled *historical novel*, it soon turns out that the texts lumped together under this umbrella term form a hybrid and heterogeneous corpus. Establishing necessary and sufficient criteria for membership would be quite a challenge. But it would also be a very reductive undertaking. It is my belief that far greater interest lies in the *functional differences* between texts that nonetheless present themselves as belonging to the same genre[26], i.e., in the internal differentiation within the genre, in how certain texts begin to function as models for other texts within the same genre system, while still others seem to be modelled after texts that belong to *other* genres (systems).

During the first two decades of Belgian independence, the poetics of the Belgian historical novel were largely determined by a number of functions which the genre was called upon to perform. The following passage from a preface reveals the diversity of communicative functions assigned to the genre (both by the novelists themselves and by contemporary critics): "Shake the dust off of our old charters; show us our privileges; add lustre to the heroic feats of our ancestors; make those glorious forefathers appear before our eyes; teach us the customs, traditions and splendor of Belgium! Let everyone present his offerings at the altar of the fatherland" (Ecrevisse 1846: 15; my translation). In fact, three separate functions that were assigned to the genre come together in this passage: (1) evoking nationalist feelings amongst the nineteenth-century Belgians through the portrayal of glorious episodes from the ancestral past (i.e., a purely *nationalist* function); (2) disseminating knowledge about the national past (a more *didactic* function); and (3) stressing the genealogical link and continuity between ancestral and contemporary virtues and manners in order to check the spread of the alleged corruption of the national *genius* by France (a corruption that, it was feared, would find its culmination in a future annexation) (i.e., a moral, *ethical* function as well as a nationalist one). The main function – creating a past for the Belgian nation and providing legitimization for the newly created state – thus consisted of several "sub-functions".

I have argued elsewhere (Bemong 2008b: 118-24) that important insights can be gained into this essentially hybrid genre if we link the abovementioned three functions with three prototypical forms of historical novel. The distinction between these three models or prototypes can be formally described in terms of generic chronotopes. The first function is predominantly realized by historical novels that draw attention to great episodes of the national past and portray national heroes fighting for the freedom of their country. The primary goal is to make these heroes serve as examples of patriotism to contemporary Belgians. The generic chronotope that functions as the world construction underlying this first type of historical novel is the *chronotope of the adventure novel of ordeal*.[27] However, compared to the *traditional* version of this chronotope as Bakhtin described it, the nineteenth-century variant in historical novels has undergone some important changes. The most significant change is that

adventure time remains "intensified", but not "undifferentiated" (FTC: 90): the actual historical context and historical time are no longer completely irrelevant with respect to plot development and characters. In historical novels of this type, historical events are allotted a certain amount of importance, enough to have an influence on the events in the individual (usually a romantic) plot-line (see Bemong 2006a: 279, 290; 2008b: 119-21).

The second function – disseminating knowledge about the new fatherland amongst Belgian citizens, who were often only acquainted with the history and peculiarities of their own region – is realized by two generic chronotopes, which are also regularly combined in one polychronotopic constellation.[28] One is the *chronotope of the adventure novel of everyday life*, the other is what Keunen has called a *documentary chronotope*.[29] These chronotopes, which provide the opportunity to include "some kind of social space" (Clark and Holquist 1984: 282) and realize everyday life within the chronotope, presented historical novelists with a model for depicting their mother country, especially different *everyday* aspects of its past. What Schmeling says about the *Satyricon* (one of the examples that Bakhtin himself gives of the chronotope of the adventure novel of everyday life), namely that it might be used "as a primary historical source to provide us with a picture of life in the first century A.D." (1996: 484), also holds for this type of novel.

Lastly, *idyllic chronotopes* (which often occur in combination with a chronotope of the adventure novel of ordeal, as becomes clear from textual analyses; see e.g. Bemong 2007: 518, 535) fulfil the function of emphasizing the genealogical connection between nineteenth-century Belgians and their forebears. In these historical novels, remote and rural corners of the fatherland are portrayed, where the inhabitants have lived for countless generations in the same isolated place and where, thanks to this marginal position, the ancestral virtues, customs and traditions have been preserved in a virtually uncorrupted state as reliable sources of past traditions (see Bemong 2008b: 123-4).[30]

The first generic chronotope in this prototypical structure – that of the *historical adventure novel of ordeal* – shows clear evidence of intersystemic relations with foreign models such as the French adventure novel and the *Gothic novel*, which was very popular in neighbouring countries (the French *roman noir*, the German *Ritter-, Raüber- und Schauerromane*).[31] Indeed, this prototypical category came to life partly thanks to the transposition of models or repertoires from adjacent literary polysystems such as the French and German. At the same time, this generic chronotope also ties in with certain elements and models (especially with respect to plot structures, motives, compositional-organizing devices, and characters) with which Belgian readers were familiar through their oral folk tradition. However, it is the *idyllic chronotope* which most clearly shows the influences of the non-canonized system of folklore and most distinctly proposes an alternative to the elements borrowed from other polysystems (see Bemong 2007: 518-35, 545-7).

In my analysis of the forms and functions of the genre, I stated that the second function is fulfilled by two generic chronotopes that tend to occur in combination with each other. With respect to the intersystemic relationships, however, these chronotopes help connect the historical novel to two separate systems, one literary, one more-or-less extra-literary. The *chronotope of the adventure novel of everyday life* links a certain type of historical novel to the second important prose genre, the novel of manners, and thus creates a kind of continuum. That there was no clear demarcation between the historical novel and the contemporary novel of manners was already acknowledged by the contemporary critic P.F. Van Kerckhoven, who wrote that "it would be rather difficult to state exactly until what year one could go back in time in the description of manners and events without encroaching upon the domain of the historical novel" (1845: 101). In other words, when exactly does a novel become a historical novel? The *documentary chronotope*, on the other hand, connects the historical novel to the adjacent system of historiography. In the 1830s and 1840s, historical prose fiction and historiography were not yet clearly separated from each other. Historians wrote extensive historical narratives that were founded not only on material gathered in archives and libraries but also on a heterogeneous collection of myths, metaphors, stereotypes, and allegories.[32] Conversely, many historical novelists explicitly assumed a position equal to that of historians with regard to the historical value of their works (see Bemong 2006c, 2007: 138-61). Some works are simply impossible to categorize as one or the other (something which is of course no longer necessary or relevant when one entertains a prototypical view on genres).[33]

Lastly, I want to illustrate briefly the role of motivic chronotopes in this network of systemic relationships. I take the chronotope of the castle as an example. This motivic chronotope appears in a large number of nineteenth-century historical novels. As Bakhtin himself observes, "[t]he historicity of castle time has permitted it to play a rather important role in the development of the historical novel" (1990d: 246). But more importantly, it appears in historical novels that belong to very different generic prototypes. As such, it synchronically and intrasystemically connects the different generic chronotopes within the internal prototypical stratification. This particular chronotope occurs so often that it starts to function as some kind of generic indicator. Of course, it is not restricted to the nineteenth century; as Bakhtin notes, it arose together with the Gothic novel[34], so it also links the historical novel diachronically to that particular tradition and is thus responsible for certain intersystemic relations with other European literary polysystems.

Bakhtin himself has described the role of the motivic chronotope of the castle as follows:

> The castle is saturated through and through with a time that is historical in the narrow sense of the word, that is, the time of the historical past. The castle is the place where the lords of the feudal era lived (and consequently also the place of historical figures of the past); the traces of centuries and generations are arranged in it in visible form as various parts of its archi-

tecture, in furnishings, weapons, the ancestral portrait gallery, the family archives and in the particular human relationships involving dynastic primacy and the transfer of hereditary rights. And finally legends and traditions animate every corner of the castle and its environs through their constant reminders of past events. It is this quality that gives rise to the specific kind of narrative inherent in castles and that is then worked out in Gothic novels. (FTC: 245-6)

Nevertheless, in combination with different generic chronotopes, the particular *connotations* of this motivic chronotope may vary. This is best illustrated by focussing on narrators' comments, which so often accompany the occurrences of this motivic chronotope, and which can take the form of reader addresses, evaluative comments or generalizations.

In many *historical adventure novels of ordeal*, castles play an important role as the spaces where the action takes place, and they are also typically the homes of the villains. In the tradition of the Gothic novel, much attention goes to descriptions of secret passageways, subterranean dungeons, and so on. In this type of historical novel, the castle symbolizes the arbitrariness of feudal law and the impunity with which the rich and mighty could tyrannize the poor and weak in medieval times. In prototypical *documentary chronotopes*, castles are predominantly viewed in their particularity: the reader is provided with detailed information about the particular castle portrayed: its history, its previous and contemporary owners, size, location, the state in which it has been preserved, and so on. Lastly, in an *idyllic chronotope*, usually only the ruins of a castle remain, and it becomes a place that exemplifies the transience of life. In this generic chronotope, the images of castle ruins are often contrasted to those such as rocks, rivers, and forests, to emphasize the cyclical continuity of nature versus the finiteness of man-made objects.

Conclusion

As far as this case study is concerned, I believe that only a chronotopic heuristic framework is properly fit to *describe* the heterogeneity that characterizes the corpus of nineteenth-century Belgian historical novels, precisely because the chronotope is a concept that has a cognitive as well as a textual aspect to it. But it is only when this framework is used in combination with a polysystemic framework that one can not only describe but also *explain* this heterogeneity, by mapping out the different types of polysystemic relations (inter- and intrasystemic, synchronic and diachronic) with neighbouring systems (both national and non-national, canonized and non-canonized).

Systems-theoretical approaches to literature have been received fairly critically in literary studies. For a large part, this criticism concerns the lack of methodological elaboration in the theoretical assumptions of these approaches. The methodological

framework proposed here is intended to provide a solution by meeting the need to translate (poly)systemic principles into heuristic models. As this case study demonstrates, Bakhtin's chronotope concept, and particularly the distinction between generic and motivic chronotopes, offers a promising heuristic tool for studying both inter- and intrasystemic relations, at least with respect to a functionalist-systemic, prototypical approach to genre studies. This methodological framework makes it possible not only to study the internal stratification of genres, but also to map diachronic changes in literary polysystems through a study of processes of transfer and interference.

Endnotes

1.   Even-Zohar has continually reworked and revised his Polysystem theory: 1978 – itself a collection of papers written between 1970 and 1977; 1979; 1990; 1997; 2005. In the early collection *Papers in Historical Poetics* (1978), the essays present not so much a developed theory as a collection of "mere theoretical premises" (Even-Zohar 1979: 287). His 1979 contribution to *Poetics Today*, which was given the explicit title "Polysystem Theory", offers a more synthetic treatment of what he calls the "PS hypothesis" (ibid.), and is intended to clarify some major points and comment upon some widespread misunderstandings.
      During this continual process of revision, Even-Zohar gradually moved away from the more textually oriented versions of the 1970s, which still closely followed Tynjanov's theories, and began to shift the focus from the study of literature to other semiotic sign systems and other cultural disciplines. From the 1990s onwards, his polysystemic approach to literature and culture has continuously come closer to an action-oriented approach in which the institutional component is more important and which makes use of socio-economic models and concepts along the lines of Bourdieu's field theory.
      On the face of it, Even-Zohar's textually oriented versions of Polysystem theory provide a more suitable theoretical framework for combining a functionalist-systemic approach to literature with a chronotopic approach to genres. Nevertheless, the notions of *repertoire* and *model*, which became central to the later versions of his theory, are also of great importance to my main hypothesis (on which more below). Moreover, the ideas voiced in the earlier versions are often more sharply formulated in later versions. It is for these reaons that I have decided to take most of my quotes and references from the latest version of Even-Zohar's papers (2005). Occasionally, however, when certain notions or examples that I deem relevant do not appear in this latest version, or when the formulation of certain ideas seems more adequate in one of these, I refer to earlier versions of the theory

2.   One of the most pressing questions involved in systemic approaches to literature has exactly been "how to study the constitutive elements of a system, including their mutual relations" (Fokkema 1997: 178).

3.   Keunen uses the terms "genological chronotopes" and "motivic chronotopes". Vlasov argues that Bakhtin discusses eight basic chronotopes and six "adjacent chronotopes" (1995: 44). Ladin makes a distinction between "genre-defining and historically significant chronotopes, such as the 'adventure time' of the Greek romance, the 'folkloric chronotope', the 'Rabelaisian chronotope', and the 'idyllic chronotope'" on the one hand (1999: 213), and "several 'lesser' chronotopes such as 'the road', 'the castle', and 'the threshold'" – precisely the type of chronotopes that Vlasov calls "adjacent chronotopes" – on the other (1999: 231). Finally, Collington makes no *explicit* distinction, but she does seem to hint at such a difference when she states that "cer-

tains [chronotopes] sont principaux ou organisateurs, alors que d'autres sont plutôt liés à un thème précis" (2006: 88).

4. See Even-Zohar (1990: 1; 2005: 35) and Bakhtin (2002b: 1, 2). On Bakhtin and Tynjanov, see Weinstein (1992) and Tihanov (1998: 35-8).

5. One should bear in mind that *system* is a heuristic concept (it has no ontological meaning), and that *inter-* and *intra-* might best be regarded as relative concepts that need to be defined concretely in each case. It should also be noted that the literary polysystem "is simultaneously *auto*nomous and *hetero*nomous with all other semiotic co-systems" (Even-Zohar 1990: 23; emphasis in original). The particular *degree* of autonomy/heteronomy depends on which facts or systems are at the center of the polysystem. In nineteenth-century Belgium, the degree of autonomy of the literary polysystem was still rather low, and compared to politics and ideology (especially national ideology), the *facts of literary life* – what Eikhenbaum termed *byt*: literary ideologies, publishing houses, literary criticism, literary journals, etc. – functioned less at the center than they appear to do nowadays.

6. E.g. from the center of one system to its periphery, and consequently to the periphery of an adjacent system (within the same polysystem or not), then to the center of that system, etc.

7. My use of the term *canonized* has nothing to do with the texts making up the literary canon (the so-called *classical* texts). I use the term to refer to the systems or strata that are central at a certain point in time, i.e., that are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles or institutions (critics, periodicals, literary awards, etc.) and are productive in their role as models. See also Codde's critique of Even-Zohar's "oversimplified equation of *canon* and *center*" (2003: 103-4).

8. On the basis of these insights, Even-Zohar formulated the "universal law" that "[a]ll literary systems strive to become polysystemic" (1979: 301).

9. A detailed discussion can be found in Bemong (under review).

10. See Even-Zohar's papers "Laws of Cultural Interference" and "The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer" (both 2005).

11. Codde speaks of "scripts" in this context (2003: 99).

12. The cognitive functionality of literary genres that Morson and Emerson recognize in Bakhtin's writings is indeed compatible with such a view on the role of models. See Bakhtin (2002: 5) and Morson (1991: 1087).

13. De Geest and Van Gorp (1999: 39) take their cue from Wittgenstein's concept of *family resemblances*, Zadeh's concept of *fuzzy sets*, and Rosch's prototype theory.

14. These prototypes need not exist in reality; they are theoretical fictions. *Prototypical instance* might therefore be a better suited term.

15. In "Universals of Literary Contacts", Even-Zohar explicitly singled out genres as one possible type of system (1978: 50).

16. Even-Zohar calls this the "law of proliferation" (2005: 47) or "law of polysystemization" (1979: 303), and claims it to be a universal law. In the early versions of his theory, he introduced the notion of "literary optimum", the concept of which is "a hypothesis on the *optimal volume* of a polysystem, i.e., the repertoire considered necessary for those sets of relations without which the system is not considered to be able to function in an optimal way" (1978: 54-5; emphasis added). From the 1979 version onwards, however, he relinquishes this idea of an optimal volume and hypothesizes that "in order to fulfil the needs, a system actually strives to avail itself of a *growing inventory* of alternative options" (1979: 303; 1990: 26; emphasis added). Here, Even-Zohar already seems to be speaking about an *ever*-growing inventory. In 2005, the idea of a

limit (borrowing until there is sufficient stock) disappears altogether when he reformulates his law of proliferation as follows: "in order to operate and remain vital a system has to be *always enhanced* with a growing inventory of alternative options. Hence, inter-systemic transfers, in whatever constellation or volume, are inevitable, and are carried out in spite of resistance" (2005: 47; emphasis added). It should be emphasized in this context that a certain amount of change is beneficial for any polysystem and that change should not be identified with instability: controlled changes in a system's repertoire may, in fact, heighten a system's stability ("To hypothesize a relation between heterogeneity and persistence is therefore elementary in any theory of complex systems. The gist of the argument is that since it is the multiplicity of repertoires which co-exist as permanent competitors that makes it possible for a system to change; and since change is necessary because systems necessarily clash and conflict with other systems, heterogeneity allows systems to carry on"; Even-Zohar 2005: 176).

17. It would be interesting to scrutinize the causal relations between the developments in the literary order and those in the political and social orders.

18. Even-Zohar defines "weak" as "a situation in which a system is unable to function by confining itself to its home repertoire only. This 'weakness' is a result of the relative insufficiency of the home repertoire vis-à-vis an external system within reach, whose repertoire happens to suit its needs" (1978: 67). The degree of weakness of a literary (poly)system is conceived of exclusively in terms of literary features, although political or economic weaknesses may go hand in hand with such literary weakness: "Other factors are obviously correlated with the state governing the literary [poly]system, but it is the weakness of the latter as such [i.e., its deficiency or insufficiency, its not having all the types or genres, NB] that determines whether or not it will assume a dependent position vis-à-vis another [poly]system" (Even-Zohar 1978: 55). Thus, a whole network of intricate relations is hypothesized.

19. English literature entered the Belgian polysystem mostly via the mediation of another neighbouring country: either through "intermediary" French (or in some cases: German) translations, or through reprints of Dutch translations, which were *also* often intermediary translations via the French (on title pages one often finds "translated from the French after the English"). See Van Gorp (1996: 5, 7, 10, 13) and Van der Wiel (1999: 69).

20. Everyday Flemish speech was (and is) extremely close in form to everyday speech in the Netherlands and mutually intelligible to a very high degree. Whether the former should be described as 'Flemish' (suggesting a distinct language) or (a variety of) 'Dutch' continues to be a matter of contention to this day.

21. Consequently, we should consider translated literature as "a system fully participating in the history of the polysystem, as an integral part of it, related with all the other co-systems" (Even-Zohar 1978: 22). Especially in a polysystem that has not yet been crystallized, i.e. with respect to a literature that is relatively young and still in the process of being established, translated literature "simply fulfils the needs of a young literature to put into use its newly founded (or renewed) tongue for as many literary types as possible in order to make it functionable as a literary language and useful for its emerging public. Since a young literature cannot create major texts in all genres and types immediately, it benefits from the experience of other literatures, and translated literature becomes in such a way one of its most important systems" (ibid.: 24). Therefore, translated literature as a system should always be included in the synchronic and diachronic study of the polysystem.

22. See Even-Zohar: "For many members in a society, large parts of a repertoire, most importantly the dominating one, may not be accessible due to lack of knowledge or competence (such as lack of education, etc.)" (2005: 16).

23. Ecrevisse himself is one of the novelists who make abundant use of the rich home inventory of folklore in their novels. Many of his novels even start with a reference to the folk culture, e.g. the narrator leading the narratee into a hut on the moors, where an elderly villager starts to tell them a local legend.

24. In his memoirs, the most important nineteenth-century Belgian novelist, Hendrik Conscience (who was also the one to write the first historical novel and the first contemporary novel in Flemish), recalls a puppet show that he attended as a young boy. It was this, he tells us, that prompted him to go and read the chap books from which the material was taken. This was his introduction to the phenomenon of *literature* (Conscience 1914: 31-40). For a discussion of the importance of the oral folk tradition, see Bemong (2009a/b).

25. An interesting detail is the fact that the contemporary critic J.F.J. Heremans argued that this had been the standard chronological order in the evolution of every literary polysystem since Greek antiquity: according to him, the historical novel always preceded the novel of manners (1845: 139-40).

26. If we "look", as Wittgenstein urges us to do ("What is common to them all? – Don't say: 'There *must* be something common […] but *look and see* whether there is anything common to all. […] To repeat: don't think, but look!"; 1968: 31), at how these texts present themselves to the reader, we certainly see that they use similar generic indicators and similar paratextual strategies.

27. Bemong (2006a) presents an analysis of such a historical adventure novel of ordeal.

28. See Bemong (2008a: 279-80 and 2008b: 122-3) for discussions of an example. I would like to emphasize that all the different generic chronotopes can of course be combined in one and the same work; for reasons of clarity and brevity, I restrict myself here to the salient forms.

29. Keunen 2001: 424-7. Bakhtin uses the term "realistic novel of emergence" (BSHR: 24), while Morson and Emerson talk about "this [chronotope of] historical emergence" (1990: 411). In order to be able to speak of a documentary chronotope, two important requirements have to be met. The diegetic world should be semantically recognizable to the reader, and a strong pragmatic interaction is required: the reader should be able to learn something from the story, and this lesson should be useful in the extra-literary, social world (Keunen 2000b: 89-90. Of course, in historical novels this knowledge pertains to the past). Narrative time in a documentary chronotope can be characterized as an assimilation of historical time, and the time-space becomes identifiable with a particular historical era, showing clear signs of the social and historical forces at work. See also Borghart and De Dobbeleer elsewhere in this volume.

30. This classification into three main functions and three corresponding chronotopic forms, which together make up the internal, prototypical structure of the genre, holds for the period 1830-1850. The next question, of course, is how diachronic generic developments (i.e., changes concerning the formal elements: their renovation or replacement, etc.) help to reveal how a literary system reacts to a change in functional needs; how the functions of the literary order change in relation to the adjacent social order; in Tynjanov's terms, how the (poly)system "mutates" (Tynjanov 1971: 76). That is a question I hope to answer in the near future.

31. Van Gorp (1996) and Van der Wiel (1999: 69-77) discuss the reception of the Gothic novel and the German *Schauerroman* in Dutch literature. Since both authors deal primarily with the period just before Belgian independence (1790-1820s), their results are also relevant to the development of the Belgian literary polysystem. According to Van Gorp (1996: 18), there were also intersystemic relations between the genres of the Gothic novel and the historical novel in the Netherlands in the 1830s (he talks about "a mixture of genres").

32.   See Nachtergaele (1993) and Bemong (2007: 72-84) for a discussion of the isomorphic resemblances between the two genres. These are of a narrative, documentary, spatio-temporal and functional nature. Moreover, some authors practised both genres.

33.   The generic indicators in the (sub)titles of a number of works testify to this ambiguity: besides "historical episodes", "historical scenes" and the like, which are indicators that refer to already more peripheral instances than do texts labeled "historical novel", we also encounter indicators such as "history", "historical fact" and "chronicle", i.e., indicators that are used for historiographical texts as well.

34.   "Toward the end of the seventeenth century in England, a new territory for novelistic events is constituted and reinforced in the so-called "Gothic" or "black" novel – the *castle* (first used in this meaning by Horace Walpole in *The Castle of Otranto*, and later in Radcliffe, Monk Lewis and others)" (FTC: 245).

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