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CONSTRUCTIONS OF NATIONAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE POETRY OF SCOTS MAKARS¹

Abstract. The paper explores different ways national and cultural identity is constructed by relying on theoretical insights of Anderson (1983), Smith (1991), McCrone (1998) and Devine (2006). This theoretical framework is applied to the poetry of Scots Makars (Burns, Morgan, Lochhead and Kay) in order to emphasize the role of the national poet in creating distinctive Scottish identity. The common denominator in the poetry of the aforementioned Scots Makars is their insistence on the usage of Scots as a valid means of literary expression and glorification of the heroic Scottish past. It is also important to emphasize that modern Scottish identity is shaped by new concerns reflecting the current political, national, economic and cultural queries. Thus, Scots Makars also assert that the molding of modern Scottish national and cultural identity can represent a potential benefit and not a burdensome handicap for the nation only by a constant interchange between the past and present.

Key words: Scots Makar, national poet, national and cultural identity, nation, nationalism.

From the moment of its conception in 1998/99, after the successful Devolution Referendum (1997), the Scottish Government has definitely raised the awareness of the nation to the burning question of national identity. Focused on the statement that the Scots "take pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity" (2007:1), the Scottish Government's definition of this complex concept includes its most relevant parameters simultaneously yoking together the intricate notions of the nation's past and present and a potent sense of belonging to the (Scottish) place:

Scotland's national and cultural identity is defined by our sense of place, our sense of history and our sense of self. It is defined by what it means to be Scot-

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 $^{^{\}rm I}$ Makar: the equivalent of English maker, a term from Scottish literature referring to a poet or bard. Robert Burns (1759 - 1796) is nowadays popularly referred to as the first Scottish national bard. In 2004, the Scottish Parliament established the position of national laureate, entitled the Scots Makar. Edwin Morgan was then proclaimed to be Scotland's official national poet, following in Burns's footsteps. In 2011, the post was granted to Liz Lochhead. In 2016, Jackie Kay was announced as the third national bard of Scotland in the $21^{\rm st}$ century.

tish and to live in a modern Scotland in a modern world. It is the tie that binds people together. (THE SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT 2007:1)

It could rightfully be asserted that the Scottish Government's definition of national and cultural identity goes hand in hand with one of the most memorable definitions of this concept, that of Anthony Smith, who in his influential study *National Identity* (1991), claims that: "National identity involves some sense of political community, history, territory, patria, citizenship, common values and traditions." (SMITH 1991: 9) Smith also argues that "nations must have a measure of common culture and a civic ideology, a set of common understandings and aspirations, sentiments and ideas that bind the population together in their homeland" (SMITH 1991: 11). In general, national identity is characterized with the following features: the existence of historic territory or homeland, common myths and historical memories, a common, mass public culture common legal rights and duties for all members and common economy with territorial mobility for members (SMITH 1991: 14).

To a large degree, Smith's definition of national identity relies on Benedict Anderson's study *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983) in which Anderson deals with the issue of constructing national identity in detail. The definition of nation as an "imagined community" can be thoroughly explained in the following manner: it is "imagined" because most of its members will not meet their fellow-members; it is imagined as "limited" because no matter how large it is, how many members it contains, it has its boundaries which separate it from other nations; it is sovereign because the term was created in the time of Enlightenment when there was no more belief in the dynastic system determined by the divinity; it is a community because it is essentially regarded as a system of brotherhood (AN-DERSON 1983: 49-50).

The key point of Anderson's definition of nation represents a conception of comradeship and fraternity that links strangers within the imagined community. However, the last part of Anderson's definition poses a problem with regard to Scotland. The concept of a sovereign nation beyond traditional geographic boundaries cannot entirely be applied in this case since Scotland is profoundly linked to its southern neighbour, England. The two nations were formally united in 1707 and ran by the Parliament in London; however, in 1998, after a successful Devolution referendum, Scotland has again gained its own Parliament in Edin-

burgh (with limited powers, though, mostly dealing with Scotland's health and education system, as well as numerous local issues).

Since the south-east of the UK has generally been perceived as the centre of financial power, it is no surprise that massive waves of migration were taking place from Scotland to England (particularly the London area) starting from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards. As a result of frequent migration waves, a great deal of Scottish culture got scattered among the urban centres of England. It is precisely in reaction to the loss of Scottish identity that Robert Burns, nowadays recognized as the first Scots Makar, starts (re)constructing Scottish national and cultural identity.

In an imagined community, as Anderson writes, the use of vernacular leads to the creation of linguistic nationalism (ANDERSON 1983: 42), whereby the cultural products of nationalism - poetry, prose fiction, music, plastic arts (ANDERSON 1983: 141) represent the main pillars of national cohesion and unity. Burns was thus one of the first Scottish poets who raised his voice against the English cultural domination through the powerful medium of language. Namely, through the literary canon, English texts have mostly been perceived as a synonym for good taste and value, and through RS (Received Standard) English, the English of the south-east of England has unrightfully been depicted as a universal norm in creative writing. In this way, the English language has gradually become a powerful tool used for the perpetuation of a hierarchical structure of power.

Although English is recognized as the national language in both Scotland and England, there is a huge difference between RS English and Scots - the former, representing high cultural standards of the British Empire, and the latter, belonging exclusively to Scotland, vividly expressing the vitality of Scottish culture and heritage. Accordingly, Scottish literature has generally been identified as an isolated national by-product of English literature, and thus unjustifiably marginalized and

² Scots is traditionally associated with the Scottish Lowlands. It came into being from a variety of old English spoken in the Kingdom of Northumbria. It was particularly developed during the medieval period when it was mostly used in poetic expression and at court. Paradoxically, during the 18th century when Scotland lost its political independence after the Union of Crowns in 1707, Scots experienced its literary revival. Burns is a representative of the eighteenth-century "vernacular revival", i.e. the revival of poetry written in the Scots tongue. The varieties of Scots are still spoken in Scotland nowadays.

subordinated. The cultural hegemony of the British Empire has bluntly been maintained through the open mistreatment of provincial, seemingly uneducated vernacular languages, like Scots English. As a result, both Scots and Scottish nation have mostly been seen as inferior in comparison to RSE and English nation.

Although obtaining his formal education in English, Burns became a witness of the negative trend in Scottish culture – Anglicization in conformity to English standards and norms of polite communication, whereby Scots was perceived as a mark of lower-class provinciality to be rejected by the polite, the professional and the well-to-do English. David Hume and Adam Smith, for instance, recommended avoiding the usage of Scots in speech and writing and a cultivation of a pure English style to appeal to the British public. In light of these issues, Burns's fear of the loss of a unique Scottish identity seemed to be rather well-founded. His constant and repetitive use of the vernacular created a sense of linguistic-nationalism in an attempt to oppose the cultural domination of the British Empire and its (in)direct colonization of Scotland. Accordingly, Devine in his influential study, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (2006), validly states that Burns hallowed Scotland and the Scottish tongue:

The Scottish dialect as he put it was in danger of perishing. Burns seemed at this juncture to start to his feet and reassert Scotland's claim to national existence; his Scottish notes range through the world, and he has thus preserved the Scottish language forever—for mankind will never allow to die that idiom in which his songs and poems are enshrined. (DEVINE 2006: 294)

By recalling the memory of Scotland's past glory, Burns attempted to reconstruct the Scottish national and cultural character through his Romantic poetry. His most glorified instance of Scottish patriotism relies on the national icons of the 13th and 14th-century Wars of Independence between Scotland and England, William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. For example, in "Such a Parcel of Rogues" (1791), the poet laments the state of Scotland following the Act of Union (1707), which marks the end of Scotland as an independent state, and the sorrowful fact that was sold and betrayed by "a parcel of rogues" within Scotland into union with its southern neighbour:

O would, or I had seen the day That Treason thus could sell us, My auld grey head had lien in clay Wi' Bruce and loyal Wallace! But pith and power, till my last hour, I'll mak this declaration; We're bought and sold for English gold – Such a parcel of rogues in a nation. (BOLD 1993: 33)

The heroic spirit of William Wallace and Robert the Bruce is thus potently contrasted to cowardly rogues who do not find their sacrifice for the future of Scottish nation sacred. In order to emphasize the influence of these historical figures in the creation of Scottish national and cultural identity, Burns frequently devotes his most powerful patriotic verses to them. Burns's "Scots Wha Hae or Bruce's Address to his Troops" (1793) is probably one of his most famous patriotic songs, which served as an unofficial anthem of the country for centuries. He wrote the lyrics to the traditional Scottish tune "Hey Tuttie Tatie", which, according to military tradition, was played by Bruce's army at the Battle of Bannockburn. The poet here glorifies the fighting spirit and love of freedom against English tyranny: it is written from the perspective of Robert the Bruce, the celebrated King of Scots from the 14th century, who addresses his men before the Battle of Bannockburn (1314) in which the Scots under his command won a decisive victory against the forces of England's King Edward II in the First War of Independence (1296–1328). The poet deliberately associated Bruce's fight for freedom with the French Revolution of 1789, so the poem simultaneously shows Burns as a Scots patriot through his treatment of Scottish history and a fervent supporter of the revolution and its long-term goals: liberty, equality and brotherhood. The idea that the Scots language represents a dignified, even high-flown means of expression, fit for a king, permeates the poem and thus significantly contributes to the construction of both national and cultural identity. Here is an excerpt from Bruce's address to his fellow soldiers:

Wha will be a traitor knave?
Wha will fill a coward's grave?
Wha sae base as be a slave?
Let him turn an flee.
Wha, for Scotland's king and law,
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Freeman stand, or Freeman fa,
Let him on wi me.³ (BOLD 1993: 12)

This is an English translation of Burns's poem: Who will be a traitor knave? Who will fill a coward's grave? Who's so base as be a slave? -Let him turn, and flee.

As a national bard of Scotland, Burns is mostly associated with the authentic Scots expression, as seen in the aforementioned excerpt; however, in this poem, he starts his address in genuine Scots, but by the end of the poem, he effortlessly moves into poetic English, a feature frequently encountered in Burns's poetry and later adopted by his 21st century literary descendant, Liz Lochhead:

By oppression's woes and pains, By your sons in servile chains, We will drain our dearest veins But they shall be free. (BOLD 1993: 12)

The end of the poem clearly states that the sacrifice made by Bruce and his soldiers symbolically represents a potent legacy for future generations. At this point, it is quite convenient to refer to Renan's comprehension of nation. Namely, according to Renan, in its essence, nation represents a soul. He equalizes the term nation with a spiritual principle and concludes that it is based on the sacrifices made in the past and those which will be taken in the future (RENAN QUOTED IN MCCRONE 1998: 5). Thus, Burns's poem creates a powerful link in the chain of generations and gives a significant message to the generations to come – not to forget the past glory and to spread Bruce's ideals against the forcefully imposed English domination. It is no wonder, therefore, that today "Scots Wha Hae" is the party song of the Scottish National Party, sung at the close of their annual national conference each year.

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In *The Sociology of Nationalism* (1998), McCrone claims that all nations have "histories" and that there are two kinds of them: living and dying histories. Every nation has its past, but not all nations have a future; there are examples of "dead" histories. However, those can be revitalized, if they can make a connection with the present and future (MCCRONE 1998: 59). He transfers his claim onto the example of Scotland and England. Scotland is abundant in historical events, but, unfortunately, it seems that this nation is "over" with its identity in the past,

Who for Scotland's King and Law Freedom's sword will strongly draw, Freeman stand or freeman fall, Let him follow me. (BOLD 1993: 12) in the period before Scotland became a part of the Union in 1707. This is when British entity symbolically became the future and Scottish nation remained in the past. The expression used in the mid-nineteenth century to describe this state was unionist-nationalism (MCCRONE 1998: 60). However, McCrone also asserts that things have completely changed and that as Scottish history was seemingly over in 1707, nowadays, this is the case with British history. Although McCrone's vision of British history is rather bleak and questionable, his idea of Scottish history is quite applicable to the present moment: the mere fact that there has been a revival of the institution of Scots Makar testifies to the significance of the past heritage to the construction of modern national and cultural identity.

One of the frequent difficulties in constructing identity of a nation is reflected through the rise of nationalist tendencies. In the aforementioned study, McCrone introduces two aspects of nationalism: political and cultural. Although until recently cultural nationalism was thought of as an alternative, it is actually considered a "safety valve" (MCCRONE 1998: 135) which prevents nationalism to become the leading factor in the politics of a country. That was what a Scottish nationalist, Jim Sillars, thought with his comment that the Scots were "ninety-minute nationalists", "happy to cheer on their sporting team, but unwilling to translate that identification into voting for their nationalist party". (MC-CRONE 1998: 135) What he claims is that the Scots have always been eager to express their attitudes regarding their nation on trivial matters, but never seemed to have the courage to make a change in the political structure of the country. This state is referred to as "Scottish cringe" – "a lack of personal and political confidence in people's capacity to take charge of their lives" (MCCRONE 1998: 136). Genuine Scottish culture is thoroughly based on the glorification of the heroic past, which, as nationalists warn us, could symbolically represent a potential benefit, but also a burdensome handicap for the future of the nation.

Interestingly, McCrone also suggests that the romantic dichotomy made by Walter Scott, "Scottish heart" vs. "British mind" can also be viewed as a realistic distinction between "Scottish past" and "British future". The identity of Scottish nation remained in the past, before the Union, whereby only the future of the British state, formed from many different identities, existed (MCCRONE1998: 136). The formation of a separate, solely Scottish identity is definitely a logical step in the long-

term battle of (re)gaining Scotland's national and cultural independence. The poetry of the official Scots Makars in the 21st century (Morgan, Lochhead and Kay) definitely contributes to a significant task of (re)constructing Scottish identity, the task that their literary predecessor, Burns, literally comprehended as a personal, life-long commitment. As seen, Burns found the role of the past and history crucial for envisioning the future of Scottish nation; this is undoubtedly (but not solely or exclusively) one of the guiding principles in the poetry of the 21st century Scots Makars. It is also important to notice that modern Scottish identity is shaped by new concerns reflecting the current political, national, economic and cultural queries (both at the local and global level!). Only by a constant interchange between the past and present can the complex process of shaping modern Scottish national and cultural identity represent a potential benefit and not a burdensome handicap for the nation.

The poetry of Edwin Morgan, the first Scots Makar in the 21st century, is definitely a good example of the previous claim. The past and present of Scottish nation are equally intertwined in his verses, which can best be seen in the "Poem for the Opening of the Scottish Parliament (9 October 2004)". Although he was commissioned to write the poem by the Scottish Government, Morgan proudly claimed that as a National poet of Scotland, it seemed to him that he would not have a more obvious job to do, so he relished the work. The poem basically represents Morgan's reminder to Members of the Scottish Parliament to be courageous and not over-cautious with the trust the people endowed them with:

Dear friends, dear lawgivers, dear parliamentarians, you are picking up a thread of pride and self-esteem that has been almost but not quite, oh no not quite, not ever broken or forgotten.

When you convene you will be reconvening, with a sense of not wholly the power, not yet wholly the power, but a good sense of what was once in the honour of your grasp. (MORGAN 2004)

The poem symbolically begins and ends with Morgan's optimistic outburst to open the doors and begin the long-awaited process of recreating Scotland's lost independence, by living up to the ideas and ideals of the past, but at the same time, to use them for the creation of a prosperous modern state. His address to Scottish politicians is rather direct and straight-forward as it should, because, as the Scots Makar, he represents the voice of the people:

I made sure that the poem addressed the politicians very directly, challenging them to rise to the occasion of a fine new parliament building and to take up

with vigour and determination the threads that had almost been snapped when the old parliament of Scotland's lost independence was dissolved. 'Almost' is the key word. The continuity of the country's ideas and ideals was never quite lost, though stretched and damaged. The poem asks our parliamentarians to live up to those ideas and ideals and push these forward into a thoroughly modern and developing state. (MORGAN 2004)

In the same vein, Liz Lochhead, who became the Scots Makar after Morgan passed away in 2010, cherishes the past legacy of Scottish nation by emphasizing the cultural significance of the Scots language for the present political moment. She touchingly reminds the people of Scotland of the genuine richness of their mother tongue. In "Kidspoem/Bairnsang" (2003), which has become one of her signature poems, Lochhead purposefully uses both English and Scots, in the fashion of her literary idol Burns, in order to emphasize the subordinate and marginalized position of her mother tongue in the domain of public institutions in the UK. The poem is "cleverly but also appealingly bilingual, perfect for showing those who don't know Scots how the language marches beside English; and for those who do know Scots, it serves as a reminder of its riches and legitimacy in the public sphere. Many generations had Scots bred out of them at school, and that this is changing is in no small part due to the work of Scotland's writers." (SCOTTISH POETRY LIBRARY, LOCHHEAD 2017:1)

Moreover, Lochhead here articulates her personal indignation over the way Scots is rejected as a valid means of written expression. Since Scots is sidelined into informal usage, it is a general opinion that literature written in Scots will never be accepted into the canon. Lochhead personally disapproves of this claim:

Oh saying it was one thing but when it came to writing it in black and white the way it had to be said was as if you were posh, grown-up, male, English and dead. (SCOTTISH POETRY LIBRARY, LOCHHEAD 2017:1)

Apart from being a fervent supporter of the usage of Scots in the public (and literary!) domain, Lochhead has dedicated her writing career to exploring the issue of female identity. The mere fact that being a female writer represented an implicit provocation in the 1970s, when she was at the beginning of her literary career, testifies to new trends and themes she enriches contemporary Scottish poetry with. In the poem "Liz Lochhead's Lady Writer Talkin' Blues (Rap)" from *True Confessions*

and New Cliches (1985), Lochhead successfully satirizes stereotypical male judgments about so-called "women's writing" (and she does so, notably, in a colloquial, spoken Scots voice):

He said Mah Work was a load a' drivel I called it detail, he called it trivial Tappin' out them poems in mah tacky room About mah terrible cramps and mah Moon Trawled Womb – Women's trouble?

Self Pity. (BBC 2017, LOCHEAD'S PROFILE: 1)

Following in the footsteps of Lochhead, Jackie Kay, the current Scots Makar (appointed for the post in 2016), has frequently been dealing with restrictive categorizations concerning both her writing career and private life. She has often been categorized as black, lesbian and Scottish, but has remained determined to escape these categorizations as a writer. Although she claims her legacy to previous Scots Makars, she enthusiastically opens up new perspectives in Scottish poetry. She has won her audience with utmost sincerity and readiness to discuss her personal life and preferences (which depicts the currently burning issues of gender, race and sexual orientation). During the honorary speech on the occasion of her announcement as the new Scots Makar, Kay proudly proclaimed:

It's a tremendous honour to be chosen as Scotland's new Makar, following in the footsteps of such wonderful poets as Edwin Morgan and Liz Lochhead. As Robert Burns demonstrated, poetry holds up a unique mirror to a nation's heart, mind and soul. It is the pure language that tells us who we are. I hope to open up the conversations, the blethers, the arguments and celebrations that Scotland has with itself and with the rest of the world, using the voice of Poetry in its fine Scotlish delivery. (SCOTTISH POETRY LIBRARY, OUR NATIONAL POET 2017: 1)

As the Scots Makar, Kay was commissioned to write a poem for the Scottish Poetry Library's anthology of contemporary Scottish poets' responses to Burns on his 250th anniversary in 2009. She chose "John Anderson my jo", "and brought to her own poem, "Fiere" a long love of reciting Burns's poems and hearing sung, and made it a celebration of strong friendship between women." (SCOTTISH POETRY LIBRARY, KAY 2009)

Thus she successfully accomplished to intertwine Scottish tradition in poetry writing with current trends of living in contemporary Scotland. It became the title poem of her 2011 collection *Fiere*:

O'er a lifetime, my fiere, my bonnie lassie, I'd defend you – you, me; blithe and blatter, Here we gang doon the hill, nae matter,
Past the bracken, bothy, bonny braes, barley.
Oot by the roaring Sea, still havin a blether.
We who loved sincerely; we who loved sae fiercely.
The snow ne'er looked sae barrie,
Nor the winter trees sae pretty.
C'mon, c'mon my dearie – tak my hand, my fiere!

(SCOTTISH POETRY LIBRARY, KAY 2009)

Kay has managed to create a modern hymn to friendship between women; however, her connection with Burns's (and for that matter, Lochhead's) tradition rests on the fact that she accomplishes the task in a colloquial, spoken Scots voice, as a proper Scots Makar. It is interesting to note that "fiere", which is an old Scots word for a friend, also had a positive connotation of "fierce" to Kay. In the poem, "fiere" has eventually become an association for "fierce friendship":

I wanted to write a poem about friendship and to celebrate friendship. So many poems celebrate romantic love, and not so many celebrate the love for a trusty friend. The friend in this poem is real, a true fierce friend. I've kept the friend without a name in the poem so that hopefully she could remind the reader of the reader's friends. (SCOTTISH POETRY LIBRARY, KAY 2009)

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On the occasion of appointing Jackie Kay as the new Makar, (15 March 2016), at the Scottish Poetry Library, the current First Minister of Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon gave a good description of the role, duty and expectations of the Makar in modern Scotland:

Poetry is part of Scotland's culture and history, it celebrates our language and can evoke strong emotions and memories in all of us. The role of the Makar is to celebrate our poetic past, promote the poetry of today and produce new pieces of work that relate to significant events in our nation. (SCOTTISH POETRY LIBRARY, OUR NATIONAL POET 2017: 1)

In her honorary speech, Sturgeon indirectly emphasized two significant aspects in Scots Makars' task of constructing and strengthening national and cultural identity: the continuous and dedicated work on the preservation of the Scots language by writing verses in Scots, as well as promoting writing in Scots, and the celebration of the heroic past by constant invocation of famous historical figures and their contribution to Scotland's independence. Her points basically reflect the theoretical framework explored in the paper: Smith's insistence on the existence of a nation's common myths and historical memories (1991), Anderson's linguistic nationalism (1983), Devine's comments on Burns's devotion

to Scotland and the Scots tongue (2006) and McCrone's notions of political and cultural nationalism (1998). The Scots Makars of the 21st century have definitely been aware of the great literary and historical legacy of their great predecessor, Scotland's first national poet, Robert Burns. The common denominator in the poetry of the aforementioned Scots Makars is their constancy in the usage of Scots as a valid means of literary expression and glorification of the heroic Scottish past. However, they enriched the contemporary Scottish verse with new ideas and themes to reflect the state of Scotland as a modern prosperous nation. Thus, Scots Makars also rightfully assert that a constant interplay between the past and present is not only necessary, but inevitable, in the process of constructing modern Scottish national and cultural identity.

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Milena M. Kaličanin

NACIONALNI I KULTURNI IDENTITET U POEZIJI ŠKOTSKIH NACIONALNIH PESNIKA

Rezime

Sažetak. Rad se zasniva na istraživanju pojmova nacionalnog i kulturnog identiteta oslanjajući se na kritičke uvide Andersona (1983), Smita (1991), Mekrona (1998) i Divajna (2006). Ovaj teorijski okvir primenjuje se u tumačenju poezije škotskih nacionalnih pesnika (Burnsa, Morgana, Lohid i Kej) kako bi se naglasila uloga nacionalnih pesnika u procesu stvaranja osobenog škotskog identiteta. Zajednički činilac u poeziji pomenutih pesnika čini glorifikacija herojske prošlosti i konstantna upotreba škotskog jezika kao validnog načina književnog izražavanja. Takođe je bitno napomenuti da je kreiranje modernog škotskog identiteta pod velikim uticajem savremenih globalnih političkih, nacionalnih, ekonomskih i kulturnih dešavanja. U poeziji škotskih nacionalnih pesnika se zato ističe da se prilikom oblikovanja modernog škotskog nacionalnog i kulturnog identiteta nacija može potencijalno okoristiti samo kroz nužnu međusobnu razmenu uvida iz prošlosti i sadašnjosti.

Ključne reči: škotski nacionalni pesnik, nacionalni i kulturni identitet, nacija, nacionalizam.