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GYÖRGY LUKÁCS' MONARCHIEBILD

KIRÁLY ISTVÁN

Budapest

Von seiner Jugend an bis zum Ende seines Lebens stand Lukács in Opposition zur Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie. Den Ungarns Schicksal an das Habsburgerreich bindenden Staatsvertrag, den Ausgleich von 1867 hat er immer verurteilt.[1] Es ist kein Zufall, dass er im Jahre 1910 beim Erscheinen seines Bandes Lélek és formák (Seele und Formen) nicht zuletzt aus dem Grunde mit der Kritik des Dichters Mihály Babits die Debatte aufnahm, weil er das "Weinerische", einen Wiener geistigen Einfluss in seinen Schriften zu entdecken glaubte.[2] Er wollte sich von jeder Einordnung fernhalten, die ihn mit der Monarchie in Zusammenhang brachte.[3]

Deutlich trat diese Abneigung während des Ersten Weltkrieges zutage: seine Monarchiefeindlichkeit war zugleich seine damalige konsequente Antikriegshaltung.[4] Wie seiner Korrespondenz mit Paul Ernst zu entnehmen ist, stellte er – die Kantsche Unterscheidung von Legalität und Moralität weiterdenkend und mit dem die kriegsführende Staatsmacht verherrlichenden und sich zum deutschen Sendungsbewusstsein bekennenden Paul Ernst debattierend – der ersten Ethik, den gegenüber den Institutionen bestehenden Verpflichtungen, die zweite Ethik, die Verpflichtung gegenüber der Seele, auf das entschiedenste gegenüber: dies stellte zugleich Opposition zur Monarchie als Institution und als Staatsgebilde dar.[5] Am Ende seines Lebens formulierte er – sich an die Diskussionen von einst zurückerinnernd – in seiner autobiographischen Skizze Gelebtes Denken folgendermassen: "Meine Heimat, die Habsburg-Monarchie erschien mir... als eine zur Zerstörung bestimmte menschliche Sinnlosigkeit. Nun sollte man das eigenen Leben daran setzen, am universellen Mord sich beteiligen, damit dieses Hindernis einer Menschenwerdung durch die strenge, geistlos-strenge Ordnung des deutschen Reichs weiter erhalten bleibe. Man sollte individuell Mörder, Verbrecher, Opfer etc. werden, um dies in dieser Weise weiter in Existenz zu erhalten." All das war es, was er – wie er schreibt – "vehement ablehnte". Ab 1914 war dies bis zuletzt seine Weltanschauung. Sein Monarchiebild war negativ. Er sah in ihr ein "Hindernis des Menschenwerdens". Er schätzte Werke, die den notwendigerweise eintretenden Zerfall dieses Staatsgebildes darstellten, hoch, zum

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Beispiel Karl Kraus' Die letzten Tage der Menschheit, Joseph Roths Radetzky-marsch und Musils Mann ohne Eigenschaften. Auch seine Aussöhnung mit Kafka am Ende seines Lebens stand im Zeichen der Monarchiekritik: er wähnte in der den Menschen erniedrigenden Spukhaftigkeit des Prozesses und des Schlosses die bürokratische Entfremdung des Zeitalters unter Franz Josef zu erahnen.

In seinen Schriften nach 1919 begründete der bereits marxistische Lukács seine Monarchiefeindlichkeit auch gesellschaftlich-historisch. Aus seinen verstreuten Bemerkungen kann man ein historisches Bild von der Monarchie zusammenstellen. Sowohl in aussen- als auch in innenpolitischer Hinsicht hatte seiner Ansicht nach die Monarchie seit dem Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts ihre Funktionen verloren. Hatten ihr früher die Notwendigkeit des Zusammenhalten gegen die Türken und später der dem deutschen und dem russischen Imperialismus gegenüberstehende "Pufferstaat"-Charakter noch eine Existenzberechtigung gegeben: so war sie am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts nur mehr der Handlanger der deutschen imperialistischen Bestrebungen; nicht Beschützer der in ihre zusammengefassten kleinen Völker, sondern vielmehr deren Gefängniswärter. So arbeitete das überall erstarkende nationale Selbstbewusstsein notwendigerweise gegen sei. Und in innnenpolitischer Hinsicht hatte zu dieser Zeit ihre frühere, beanspruchte zivilisatorische Rolle endgültig aufgehört, zu existieren. Sie trieb den Prozess der Verbürgerlichung nicht voran, sondern bremste ihn durch die schweren feudalen Lasten eher ab. Die Modernisierung war in ihr nur durch Vergleiche mit den feudalen Überresten voranzutreiben. Nicht zuletzt dieser Umstand war es, dass sich hier neben den nationalen Gegensätzen auch die sozialen in grossem Masse zuspitzten. Ein Staatsgebilde hatte seinen Sinn verloren. Dies lebte bereits im Bewusstsein des jungen Lukács als "zur Zerstörung bestimmte menschliche Sinnlosigkeit".

Doch paradoxerweise zeigte sich gerade in seiner Monarchiefeindlichkeit seine enge Bindung zur Monarchie. Wie das der über Musil schreibende amerikanische Wissenschaftler David L. Luft oder der sich mit dem Geistesleben der Monarchie zu Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts beschäftigende Ungar Endre Kiss meinen, gehörte doch, wenn auch mit Budapester, mit ungarischen Farben vermischt, der gedanklichideelle Weg von Lukács vor 1919 einer charakteristisch innerhalb der Monarchie vorhandenen, intellektuellen geistigen Bewegung an.[6] Sein Verhältnis zur Monarchie war gleichsam organischer Bestandteil der individuellen, der menschlichen Entwicklung, der Ontogenese: es berührte Fragen des "Menschwerdens".

Denn trotz aller späteren Gegnerschaft war der junge Lukács ein Kind, ein Zögling der Monarchie. Er wurde in eine Klasse mit einem monarchischen Staatspatriotismus, in die ungarische Finanzbourgeoisie hineingeboren. Neben der Aristokratie, dem hohen Klerus, dem Offizierkorps und der Beamtenelite war diese Schicht am meisten an der Existenz und an der Erhaltung der Monarchie interessiert. Ihr wirtschaftliches Interesse, ihre Bildung, ihr System der Verbindungen — alles band sie an dieses Staatsgebilde. Die österreichische Ringstrassenbourgeoisie war das Ideal für sie. Ihre eigenen Paläste in der Budapester Leopoldstadt und am Ring liess sie ganz in deren eklektischem, pompösen Stil erbauen.[7] Selbst in ihren Villen in der Umgebung des Stadtwäldschens und auf dem Gellértberg war der in Wien modische toskanische Charakter bestimmend. Jedes einzelne Mitglied dieser Bourgeoisie, zumeist jüdischer Herkunft, fühlte sich in Wien und Budapest gleichermassen zu Hause. Ihre Heimat war nicht Ungarn, aber auch nicht Österreich, sondern die Monarchie.

Bei Lukács kann man auch philologisch die starken Bindungen dieser Schicht an die Monarchie aufzeigen. Sein Vater, József Lukács, war Direktor der zum Interessenbereich des Wiener Hauses Rothschild gehörenden Ungarischen Allgemeinen Kreditbank (Magyar Általános Hitelbank). Seine Mutter, Adele Wertheimer, kam aus Wien nach Budapest. Sie brachte den dortigen Geschmack mit. Sie hat zwar gut ungarisch gelernt, doch war die Sprache der Familie trotzdem (wie zumeist bei diesem monarchischen Grossbürgertum) untereinander eher das Deutsche. Ihre bevorzugten Zeitungen waren die Neue Freie Presse und die Österreichische Rundschau. Ihren Sommer verbrachten sie zumeist in so modischen österreichischen Urlaubsorten wie Bad Gastein, Pörtschach, St. Gilgen usw. Ihre Bekannten- und Freundeskreis umfasste die höheren Kreise beinahe aller Nationalitäten der Monarchie. Nicht zufällig erinnerte ihre gesellschaftliches Leben Lukács an die über den Nationen stehende aristokratische, separate Welt von Bourgest Cosmopolis.[8]

An die Monarchie banden den jungen Lukács die Atmosphäre der Familie und an sie banden ihn auch verschiedene geistige Freunden. Es stimmt: diese sind zum grossen Teil sowohl in rezeptorischer als auch initiatorischer Hinsicht noch unaufgeklärt. Nur über das Verhältnis zwischen Lukács und Rudolph Kassner sind einige erwähnenswerte Schriften entstanden,[9] doch ist bisher — um an dieser Stelle nur die wichtigsten zu erwähnen — sein Verhältnis zu Schnitzler, Beer-Hofmann, Hofmannsthal, Karl Kraus, Musil, Broch beziehungsweise Alois Riegl, Max Dvorak und Otto Bauer ungeklärt. Es kann nicht die Aufgabe dieses Vortrags sein, diese komparatiwistische Lücke zu

schliessen. Er steckt sich nur ein einziges Ziel: zu rekonstruieren, was Lukács für den charakteristisch monarchistischen Geist, für ihre Mentalität hielt und wie die damit geführte innere Diskussion seinen Weg beeinflusste.

Es ist wahr: zum einen hat Lukács seine eigene individuelle Monarchiefeindlichkeit und zum anderen, die Marx-Engelssche Tradition widerspiegelnd, niemals vom monarchischen Geist gesprochen: er sprach nur von deutschen oder ungarischen literarischen Erscheinungen. Er ging mit der Monarchie nicht wie mit einer die Moral, das Denken bestimmenden selbständigen Entität um. Doch lassen sich aus seinen Schriften trotzdem Erscheinungen analysieren, die unbestreitbar auch in seiner Deutung der Dinge mit der historischen Wirklichkeit der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie verbunden sind. In gesellschaftlicher Hinsicht hat er zwei charakteristische Eigenheiten — die zweifache Struktur und das zweifache Allgemeingefühl — als Züge angesehen, die par excellence für die Monarchie zutreffen.

Vom Gesichtspunkt des die Neuzeit bestimmenden Formationswechsels — des Übergangs vom Feudalismus zum Kapitalismus — was nämlich bis zuletzt die doppelte Struktur für die Gesellschaft der Länder des Habsburgerreiches charakteristisch. Um die von Lukács oft benutzte Leninsche Unterscheidung zu gebrauchen — nicht auf dem amerikanischen Weg, sich von den feudalen Lasten befreiend, sondern auf dem Preussischen Weg, die Lasten des Lehenswesens weiterschleppend schritt hier die bürgerliche Entwicklung voran. Die Hauptkraft der bürgerlichen Modernisierung, der Kapitalismus, musste mit den Überresten des Lehenswesens ein Bündnis schliessen. Nebeneinander existierten so zwei unterschiedliche Strukturen: Kapitalismus und Feudalismus. Und die daraus resultierende Widersprüchlichkeit — Ungelöstheit — wurde durch das zweifache Allgemeingefühl noch auffäliger: durch das Zusammenleben des Bewusstseins der Sicherheit und des Gefährdetseins.

Auf Grund seiner Kultiviertheit und seiner grossen Traditionen schien nämlich das Habsburgerreich noch Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts als unumstürzbar. Das Sekuritätsbewusstsein, die "Selbstgenügsamkeit" der Franz-Josef-Zeit hat auch György Lukács häufig erwähnt.[10] Zugleich waren aber auch von anderer Seite die Zeichen des Zerfalls bereits in der Tiefe zu spüren. Und wie Lukács über Joseph Roth schreibend bemerkte, "auch die herrschenden Klassen konnten nicht mehr auf die alte Weise Leben,... schritt für Schritt verloren sie an gesellschaftlichem Boden und Glabuen".[11] Ein doppeltes Allgemeingefühl war so für das Leben hier charakteristisch. Sicherheitsgefühl und Gefährdetsein vermischten sich zu einem.

Die ständig empfundene Widersprüchlichkeit der Gesellschaft mit zwei-

facher Struktur und zweifachem Allgemeingefühl zwang das Ich zu dauerndem Kompromiss. Die Neigung zum Nachgeben und dessen emotionale Rückblendung, "Skepsis und Resignation" wurden beinahe zum Grundgefühl der Seele. Schon in Grillparzers Weg nach 1848, in seiner "Hyperloyalität", und in seiner die Kraft der VerhäLtnisse über das Individuum erhebenden Tragödientheorie sah Lukács dies, ebenso wie in Stifters "ästhetisch verdinglichtem Quietismus" oder im abwinkenden, gleichgültigen Fatalismus des Ungarn Mikszáth. Verbotstafeln standen hier den Gedanken im Wege. Die Tabuiertheit war bestimmend geworden.

Denn wo das Leben zwischen Widersprüchen hin- und hergeworfen, zu Kompromissen gezwungen wird, dort werden bestimmte Verhaltensbegrenzungen selbstverständlich. Notwendigerweise ersteht ein archaischer Verteidigungsmechanismus wieder. Damit das Ich die Ambivalenz, die innere Zerrissenheit ertragen kann, erscheinen die Tabus, die schützenden Angste. Und diese stellten auch in der Monarchie eines der wichtigsten, die Gesellschaft organisierenden Prinzipien dar. Man kann es nicht als Zufall ansehen, dass gerade ein Wiener Psychologe, Siegmund Freud, in seiner im Jahre 1913 erschienen Arbeit Totem und Tabu das Tabu vom Kunstwort der Ethnographie zum terminus technicus der Gesellschaftspsychologie machte. Die Monarchie war die Welt der unausgesprochenen Tabus. Die Gesamtheit der Gesellschaft versuchte die ungelösten, heiklen Fragen zu ignorieren.[12] Jeder einzelne Mensch trug einen unsichtbaren Zensor in sich, überall zog sich, um die Worte von Lukács zu gebrauchen, "eine unsichtbare Grenze, die das Verbotenen vom Erlaubten trennte".

Eine notwendige Begleiterscheinung solch einer tabuierten, von Kompromissen eingegrenzten Existenz war die Verprivatisierung. Denn dort, wo die zu lösenden, wesentlichen Fragen durch den gesellschaftlichen Anstand für verboten erklärt werden, dort hört jedes Interesse auf, das öffentliche Leben verfällt, die Öffentlichkeit stirbt ab. Der Citoyen, der zur Entscheidung, zur Wahl fähige mündige Mensch verschwand. Seinen Platz nahm der sich in die private Sphäre zurückzeihende, autoritätsgläubige, biedere Bourgeois ein: die bürokratische Seele.

Ausser der Privatisierung wurde, als eine andere sozialpsychologische, sozialethische Begleiterscheinung der Tabuierung, für die Gesellschaft der Monarchie die Gedankenphobie kennzeichnend. Denn die Existenz der stillschweigenden Tabus hatte nicht nur das öffentliche Interesse, sondern auch im allgemeinen das Interesse und so auch das Denken niedergedrückt. Wie Lukács schrieb: vor den Grundfragen blieb selbst ein so mutiger intellektuel-

ler Radikalismus stehen, wie der Musils. Es fehlte das konsequente Zu-Ende-Denken.

In einer von Tabus umgebenen, zur Privatisierung und zum Nicht-Denken neigenden Gesellschaft lebend, trennten sich drei charakteristische Lebenslösungen voneinander. Einerseits war das Nach-aussen-Leben möglich: die Anpassung an die gegebene Welt. Andererseits war die Hinwendung zum Inneren möglich, der Versuch dieser Art der Abgrenzung. Und schliesslich die salto vitale: der völlige Bruch.

Die erste Lösung — das Nach-aussen-Leben — war die Eigenheit der herrschenden Klassen und der mit ihnen verbundenen Intellektuellen. Lukács unterschied hierin zwei Verhaltenstypen: die nicht-denkende-spontane und die zynisch-skeptische Anpassung. Laut dem Zeignis der uns zur Verfügung stehenden autobiographischen Notizen hatte er die erste Art in seiner Kindheit, in den reichen bürgerlichen Kreisen der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie angetroffen. Ein sich immer nach aussen richtendes Erfolgsdenken und eine Erfolgsverehrung lenkte hier den Alltag. Das authentische, eigengesetzliche Leben war unmöglich. Nicht zuletzt gerade deshalb hat sich der junge Lukács von der Umgebung seiner eigenen Kindheit losgerissen. Für ihn war die durch Ibsens Vermittlung zu ihm gedrungene stoische Botschaft "Sei der, der du bist" ein Befehl. In der ihn umgebenden aristokratischen, Beamten- und grossbürgerlichen Welt konnte dies nicht geschehen. Sie liess die Selbstverwirklichung nicht zu.

Als eine andere Variante des Nach-aussen-Lebens erschien die Attitüde der zynischen Skepsis. In Lukács' Sicht war hierfür Musils Arnheim das Beispiel, jener Held, der "'Geschäft und Idealismus', 'Geist und Macht', 'Seele und Reichtum' in eine harmonische Einheit zu fassen wünschte", dabei die "Niedertracht seiner moralischen Ansichten" entlarvend.[13] Unter den Schriftstellern hielt er Ferenc Molnár für den Repräsentanten dieses Typs. Er sah dort in ihm jenen Menschen, der die Leere, die Inhaltslosigkeit der ihn umgebenden Welt zwar spürte, doch für Geld, für die Karriere sich mit einem zynischen, "schulterzuckenden Nihilismus" mit ihr einigte. Und für seinen charakterlichen Mangel machte er die Gesellschaft, die Zeit verantwortlich, die es ihm nicht erlaubte, anders zu leben. Dies war seiner Ansicht nach die Grundhaltung des in der Staatsordnung der Monarchie verbliebenen, sich nach ihr richtenden Intellektuellen. Die romantischen Kulturkritik von Karl Kraus achtete er nicht zuletzt auch deshalb, weil er den auf diese Weise entstehenden "vornehmen Kitsch" bis zuletzt verachtete.[14]

Dem oberflächlichen Nach-aussen-Leben, den "völlig leer gewordenen

äusseren Sitten der Gesellschaft" stand Lukács immer konsequent ablehnend gegenüber. In seiner Jugend war das Nach-innen-Leben für ihn die Alternative. Als die einzige möglich scheinende Form des Protestes idealisierte er die Isolierung von der Welt, das sich ins Unendliche Wenden der Seele. Das hatte Tradition im Habsburgerreich. Hier hatte die Romantik vornehmlich als Biedermeier gelebt: das innere Leben wurde das Gegengewicht zur äusseren Regungslosigkeit der Heiligen Allianz. Und dies geschah nach der Ansicht nach Lukács auch um die Jahrhundertwende. Die politische Hilflosigkeit, der ambivalente Zustand von Sicherheitsgefühl und Gefährdetsein vergrösserte die Rolle des inneren Lebens im hohen Masse. Wie er über Schnitzler schreibend bemerkte: Man glaubte "auf dem Wege der einsamen, der seelischen Vertiefung über die Flachheit der äusserlich-gesellschaftlichen Problemstellungen herauszukommen".[15] Zwei Verhaltenstypen unterschied Lukács innerhalb dieses nach innen gewandten Lebens: die ästhetisch-impressionistische und die tragisch-ethische Opposition.

Die ästhetische Wendung nach inne sah er als die typische Wiener und monarchische menschliche Haltung an. Er hielt es für symbolisch, dass hier der Naturalismus so gut wie vollkommen in der Literatur fehlte: er ging beinahe sofort in den Naturalismus des inneren Lebens — in den Impressionismus — über.[16] Wie er über Stefan Zweig ausführte: "Wien ist nicht umsonst die Stadt von Macht und Freud... es ist die Bestrebung der gesamten Wiener Schule, nicht die Ereignisse selbst, sondern die Erlebnisreflexe, den seelischen Widerschein der Ereignisse zu beschreiben".

Lukács wusste sehr gut, dass diese eigentümliche — von ihm Impressionismus genannte — Wendung nach inne, diese ästhetisierende Modernität Opposition war, und zwar Opposition im Zeichen der Schönheit, des Ästhetikums — der seelischen Feinheit. Auch wenn das subjektive Bewusstsein diese Art der Haltung auf eine ontologische Ebene erhob und zum ewigen menschlichen Verhältnis von Innerlichkeit und Aussenwelt mystifizierte, war dies in Wirklichkeit die Verneinung des Gewöhnlichen, der Unkultiviertheit der umgebenden Gesellschaft. Zugleich sah er darin auch das Zugeständnis, die Thomas Mannsche "Macht geschützte Innerlichkeit": den Kompromiss mit der äusseren Welt. Die Welt zerfiel in Stimmungen, die nur Selbstzweck hatten und wenige Minuten lebten. Die verspürte Ziellosigkeit war durchpoetisiert.

Schon in seiner Jugend, in seinem im Jahre 1910 erschienenen Essayband Lélek és formák (Seele und Formen) wandte sich Lukács gegen dieses Verhalten. Seine Einstellung war antiimpressionistisch. Und der Impressionismus bedeutete für ihn (wie im allgemeinen später auch jede Stilkategorie) nicht

nur eine Stilrichtung, sondern auch ein Weltbild: eine Philosophie, in der "mit der Festigkeit der Dinge die Festigkeit des Ichs sich auflöste, in der mit dem Verlust der Fakten auch die Werte verlorengingen".[17] Das Individuum blieb ohne inneren Kern, ohne Fixpunkte. Die Persönlichkeit verschwand.

Nach Lukács war die Welt der Wiener Astheten die "des Alles-Ausgeniessens und des Nichts-bewahren-Könnens".[18] In Arthur Schnitzler, einem der bedeutendsten Repräsentanten dieser Richtung, sah er zum Beispiel den Schriftsteller einer Schicht, "die materiell aller Sorgen des täglichen Daseins enthoben, zugleich aber jeder Beziehung zum Produktionsprozess... beraubt wurde". Schnitzlers ganzer Problemkreis – schrieb er – "wurde auf das Seelenleben des beschäftigungslosen Menschen beengt. So wurde die Erotik zum Zentralinhalt dieser Richtung. So wurde der Zweifel allen Werten gegenüber ihre Weltanschauung... Jeder Stabilität, jedes Rückgrats, das nur aus der allgemeinen (also gesellschaftlichen) Welt der Werte und Ideale entstehen kann, beraubt, bietet sie nichts mehr als eine Reihe von genussreich durchgekosteten, nachträglich skeptisch oder ironisch beleuchteten Stimmungen".[19]

Schon in seiner Jugend liebte Lukács nur jene Züge der Wiener Astheten, die anzeigten, dass hier die Skepsis im Begriff war, in die Tragödie überzugehen; die resignierte Skepsis wurde zur tragischen. Dies war seiner Ansicht nach das Zeichen für das Zu-Ende-Denken: das der Sinnlosigkeit, der Ziellosigkeit ins Auge Schauen. Dies meinte er in solchen Werken Schnitzlers zu entdecken wie zum Beispiel in Liebelei oder Der einsame Weg oder in Hofmannsthals Brief des Lord Chandos. Er spürte "die überschwengliche und deshalb sich an nichts ausrichtende Subjektivität" "einer auf den Irrweg geführten, die Welt verlorenen Seele" darin: den Schatten der Tragödie.[20] In seiner Jugend standen ihm in erster Linie jene Wiener Schriftsteller nahe, bei denen er wie bei Kassner und Beer-Hofmann den Wunsch nach dem Wesentlichen und auch die selbstmarternde Skepsis zu erkennen meinte: die Trauer des Nicht-finden-Könnens. Durch diese tragische Verdüsterung hindurch zeigte sich seiner Ansicht nach der Ausbruch aus dem nur ästhetischen Sein: das Asthetische ging ins Ethische über.

Dies macht es verständlich, dass er nach 1918 als Marxist – jede Form des Nach-inne-Lebens, der Introversion als Pseudolösung zurückweisend – einen Schriftsteller wie Robert Musil so hochschätzte. Nicht nur aus dem Grunde, weil (worauf David Luft und Marie Louise Roth gleichermassen hingewiesen haben) hinter Musil die anregende Wirkung der frühen Schriften von Lukács, von Seele und Formen und Theorie des Romans stand.[21] Er achtete in

ihm nicht in erster Linie den seine Jugendwerke schätzenden Autor, sondern die moralische Persönlichkeit. Jenen Schriftsteller, der "gnadenlos die Leere, Inhaltslosigkeit und innere Unaufrichtigkeit entlarvte", der "seine eigene Persönlichkeit und sein Werk häufig mit unerschütterlicher Ehrlichkeit" beurteilte. Den immer ehrlichen Künstler" sah er in ihm, der ständig in der Lage war, seinen Gedanken eine "moralische Wendung" zu geben, bei dem das Denken zugleich auch Ethikum war.[22]

Musil erreichte über eine Verhaltensform, die Wendung nach innen — wie Lukács schrieb — "die höchsten Gipfel, sowohl hinsichtlich der gedanklichen und künstlerischen Verarbeitung seines Gegenstandes als auch hinsichtlicht der Anständigkeit und Erhlichkeit seiner Überzeugung".[23] Doch vielleicht gerade deshalb zeigte er an ihm in einer seiner Studien aus dem Jahre 1933, in Grand Hotel "Abgrund" den — seiner Ansicht nach — falschen Charakter dieses Weges. Dass nämlich trotz der Zurückweisung der Kompromisshumanität diese tragisch-ethische Wendung nach innen dem Wesen nach selbst der Kompromiss war. Denn es stimmt zwar — wie er schrieb —, "dass nur die Ernsthaftesten und Besten bis an den Abgrund, bis zur Erkenntnis der Unlösbarkeit der Probleme kamen", und in die Stille gebietenden Untiefen der Verzweiflung hinunterblickten, doch blieben sie dort auch stehen, liessen sich nieder und richteten sich ein im — wie er es mit einem metaphorischen Namen bezeichnete — Grand Hotel "Abgrund".[24]

Lukács schreibt, in Musils "Augen gibt es keinen bürgerlichen Zug mehr, der einen positiven Wert besässe, doch gerade aus dieser alles zerfressenden Verzweiflung schöpft er ein skeptisch-mystisches Motiv für das so sehr verabscheute Bestehende".[25] Nur nihilistische Skepsis, ethische Rationalität und eine Art Mystik setzte er der um sich selbst herum verspürten Sinnlosigkeit entgegen, es kam aber nicht bis zur Tat, er übernahm nicht die einzige Lösung: die salto vitale, den Sprung aus der schlechten äusseren Welt nicht in die nirgendwohin führende innere Welt der Seele, sondern in eine Ordnung mit anderen Gesetzen, in eine äussere Welt mit anderem Inhalt und anderen Vorzeichen; aus dem Partikularen ins Totale.

Symbolisch ist, dass Lukács selbst gerade im Jahr des Zusammenbruchs der Monarchie, im Jahre 1918 gerade diesen entscheidenden Sprung, den salto vitale tat. Damals wurde er Kommunist. Es kann nicht das Ziel der Wissenschaft sein, historisch noch offene Fragen zu werten. Sie kann nicht entscheiden, ob Lukács' Sprung in Wirklichkeit ein salto vitale oder ein salto mortale war. Vor allem dann nicht, wenn die Stimmung der Zeit in eine andere Richtung weist und gegenüber der von Lukács angebotenen Lösung, mit ihr bei-

nahe diskutierend, zum Beispiel ein heutiger Nobelpreisträger, Joseph Brodsky ähnlich schreibt: "Wenn die Kunst den Künstler überhaupt etwas lehrt, dann ist es die Privatheit der menschlichen Existenz. Als älteste Form der Privatinitiative fördert sie in jedem Menschen ... das Bewusstsein seiner Einzigartigkeit, seiner Individualität und seiner Einsamkeit, und sie verwandelt ihn so von einem sozialen Lebewesen in ein empfindsames Ich".[26] Natürlich kann der Wissenschaftler in einer solchen umstrittenen Frage eine eigenen Standpunkt haben, doch eine wissenschaftliche Abhandlung kann sich nichts anderes zur Aufgabe stellen, als nur den Weg eines bedeutenden Denkers, von György Lukács, aufzuzeigen, der seine eigene Selbstverwirklichung nicht zuletzt in der Auseinandersetzung mit den für die Habsburger-Monarchie als charakteristisch angenommenen Verhaltensformen und so auch im Gegensatz zur Privatisierung und zum Individualismus suchte. Vielleicht kann dieser Lebensweg und sein polemisierendes Monarchiebild ein Beitrag für jene sein, die die charakteristische Geisteswelt, die Mentalität der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie erforschen.

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A HUNGARIAN ART-THEORETICAL CONCEPT, FROM THE PAST CENTURY (IMRE HENSZLMANN)

KLÁRA SZÉLES

Szeged

1. The place of Imre Henszlmann's theory of art in his oeuvre

When discussing his theory of art, and, in general, the system of his views on art, studies on Henszlmann are highly cautious, noncommittal or self-contradictory in defining their attitude.[1] By contrast, investigations with a mainly art-historical bias, given a new impetus in the recent past, are stressing more and more insistently the general, theoretical significance of Henszlmann's multifaceted work. "... in H., history and theory are firmly linked. ... his works are built on a clearly thought out basis of principles – that is the principal feature to which they owe their permanent value. ... The primary demand for a theoretical foundation." It is "in regard of classification and theoretical erudition" that – even in comparison with the other two personalities of the "great triad" of art history – "Henszlmann probably deserves the greatest credit".[2]

That change of opinion is presumably due to a more and more thorough and increasingly professional exploration of that impressive oeuvre. As in the case of the other Hungarian polymaths of the past century, the particular academic disciplines increasingly depend on each other for help in trying to find the combined values of the oeuvre as a whole. It follows from the nature of the work that surveys of the individual questions of detail suggest but the distant outlines of a more accurate portrait of the scholar one is dealing with. Add to this that, for the time being, no monograph on Henszlmann is being prepared. If one is writing a history of the academic study of literature and ciriticism in Hungary, all the indicated problems arise during the work. In solving them, one could do far worse than draw on the extremely useful work carried out so far by art historians.[3] Starting on that lead, we have attempted to appraise, from the viewpoint of the history of criticism, the lessons to be drawn from the hitherto unprocessed sources of Henszlmann's oeuvre[4] and to formulate a network of the relationships that are vital for a survey of those sources.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

On the basis of what has been said and on the basis of a thorough study of Henszlmann's works, we can observe a coherent, extremely methodical and tenacious architecture within the oeuvre as a whole. We glimpse the outlines of a systematic, scholarly pattern of working characterized by due regard shown for the existing external conditions — the concrete historical, political, and economic conditions —, but one which strives to integrate those conditions in accordance with its own, internal work plan and scholarly temperament.[5]

Already at the time he starts his career it is surprisingly clear to Henszlmann what it is he attempts to do and what sort of concept he follows in his work. Later on, he carries out some detailed investigations into all that he outlined as a work hypothesis back when he first started.

"... it is time for the enormous mass of works bequeathed to us by the Classical periods to be arranged in the torchlight of criticism; everything should be put in its proper place, and, comparing them with each other, we should examine the genesis, the development, and the degeneration of every single art, mindful of the interrelationships between the individual arts and showing due regard for the influence exercised on them by life in the antiquity", he writes, for instance, in a treatise that he presented to the Kisfaludy Society in 1843, called A hellen tragoedia (The Hellenic Tragedy).[6] The part of the task of "arranging the enormous mass of works" that he himself wished to tackle was, first and foremost, to write a universal history of art. In the development of his life, his work, we may distinguish three major phases:

1. 1840/1841—1849: From the start of his career, his first art critiques and the influential work Párhuzam (Parallel) to the defeat of the 1848—49 Hungarian War of Independence — an event that brought some fundamental changes in his life and work — we have before use the period of "preparation". In that period his work is characterized by an extremely varied activity that branched out in all directions.[7] Those were the years too that saw the important part of his work as a literary critic and newspaper editor, the blossoming of his active involvement with politics and of his ambitions to become the educator of the nation (primarily in an aesthetic respect), a blossoming in tune with the historical and social tasks of the 1840s and with his own years, his circle of friends.

2. 1849—1860: An important "interlude" for Henszlmann. During the emigration in Britain and France, he and Pulszky "made art history — which in Hungary they had cultivated as dilettantes, for mere amusement — into

their breadwinning profession too".[8] That means Henszlmann has a chance to devote most of his energy and attention to the subject of his own choice — i.e. the theory of proportions in medieval architecture.[9]

3. 1860—1888: He returns home because of the building of the Academy palace, and he works almost entirely in his native Hungary right until his death.[10] That is his longest, most tranquil and naturally, his most prolific creative period. The aforementioned concrete construction project may be regarded as a watershed. The attempt at a practical application of Gothicizing, of the theory of proportions, is the crowning of Henszlmann's work in that direction. That is followed by specialization, which, in Henszlmann's case, means especially three kinds of activities:[11]

a) Practical work:

Archeology, conducting of methodical excavations, publication of results;

Laying the groundwork for the protection of monuments in Hungary, starting a programme of mapping the whole country from that viewpoint;

The writing and publication of the first great monographs on art history.

(Cf. The Excavations in Székesfehérvár and Kalocsa, 1860, 1862, 1864, 1873, 1883 etc. Hungary's old Christian, Romanesque, and Transitional-Style Monuments... 1876 etc.)

b) His work as a university professor:

(From 1873 to ?)

The History of Art:[12]

I. Art of the antiquity

II. Classical sculpture and painting, 1879.

III. Old Christian, Byzantine, and Romanesque art

IV. French or Gothic style

V. Italian schools, 1882

VI. Greek and Roman sculpture and the German schools of painting

VII. Dutch painting

c) Drawing of theoretical conclusions:

(Prior to his university lectures)

The Laws of the Development of Art 1864—65.

(During his lectures)

Medieval architecture, n.d.

Other more specialized studies, theoretical sections of monographs etc.

(After his lectures)

The Development of the Visual Arts,[13] 1888. (?)

The important activities he carried out in those three areas are organically interconnected, in more ways than one. For example, the discoveries yielded by the excavations done in Hungary provide living, "experimental" material for both the lectures on art history and the theoretical conclusions. But it also works the other way round: the theoretical ideas do play a role not only in the manner of interpretation of universal art history (its periodization, the approach to be applied to it, the handling of its material of examples etc.), but also in the practice of choosing the direction, the order, and the focus of the excavations and the protection of monuments, as well as of the restorations etc. which we have not even mentioned here.[14]

It is evident in what sense the term "theoretical activity" should be taken in Henszlmann's case. It is not the sort of philosophically-aesthetically motivated "theorizing" he mentions with so much aversion already in Párhuzam. Nor is it a speculative aesthetic system (not even one presented as a concrete art-historical, architecture-historical system); no; instead, what we get here is an emphatically empirically inspired habit of intelligence which, controlled as it is by daily practice, respects the facts and is ultimately much akin to positivism. That said, this activity and way of thinking — in fact, the very manner in which the activity and the contemplation are intertwined — are yet not entirely devoid of that "theorizing" he so desperately strove to eschew.[15] Henszlmann's views on the theory of art carry within them the virtues but also the limitations of the best of contemporary scholarschip.

And finally, all that happens in a strictly concrete historical situation and Henszlmann is aware of that — thus his ideas differ from those of his Western European contemporaries, if only because of their East-Central European and national characteristics. But that is not all: they also display the unmistakable marks of a strong, highly individual personality.

2. Henszlmann's view of art

How can we briefly summarize, on the basis of what has been outlined, the essence of Henszlmann's theory of art? Contrary to appearances, that conceptual system can hardly be characterized by "the laws of the development of art", stressed by him. Nor can it be because although, admittedly, both the principle of development and the demand for a quest and conceptual-

ization of the "law" are part of the "conditio sine qua non" of his theory, still, no less important is a deep embeddedness of all these in the entire process of an invariably concrete historical and social evolutionary pattern.

Henszlmann evolves for himself a consistently thought-through system. And if we look for the focal point of that system we shall probably find it in the element of a peculiarly construed "organicity".

> ... The effect of (artistic) harmony can never arise from some arbitrary mode — quite the contrary, it can only arise from an organic process in which every larger feature or system of construction engenders the smaller features that depend on it — as a result of which organic process every system (for instance, that of the bases and buttresses) depends not only on the main unit but also on the interrelationship between the individual systems.[16]

We have deliberately taken our quotation from the first public lecture he gave in London (December 6, 1852) on his research into the theory of proportions in the period we have called "interlude" (1849—1860). Here we find the accentuated fundamental principle expressed most articulately and in a conceptual language, in the form of an abstraction. At the same time, we can compare the original English-language text, preserved in the Royal Institute of British Architects, with its contemporary Hungarian translation.[17] Such a comparison may prove beneficial by giving us a clearer understanding of the technical terms involved. On the other hand, precisely because here we are dealing with a certain specific "question of detail" (Gothicism, the theory of proportions) of a particular period (medieval architecture) of a particular specialized discipline (history of architecture) — precisely for that reason it may serve as an object lesson of the principle that the proposition here expressed in conceptual terms ("every larger feature or system of construction engenders the smaller features that depend on it...") applies, according to the author's approach, not just to the given segment of the given subject field; indeed, it is just a concrete application of a far wider concept. Now, over a century on, and with the benefit of being able to survey the entire oeuvre, we may venture the assumption that the well-reasoned statement here quoted represents the essence of Henszlmann's entire life-work.

His own activity from Párhuzam (1841) to A képzőművészetek fejlődése (The Development of the Visual Arts — 1888) is not an "arbitrary mode" but an "organic process". His concept of art theory remains essentially unchanged throughout his life. There are some modifications to the extent that, whereas in the first phase (1841—1849) his view has an almost uni-

versal horizon, in the second phase (1849—1860) it apparently concentrates on a single, highly specialized question of detail — i.e. the theory of proportions in medieval architecture. And finally, in the last, "prolific" period (1860—1888), he specializes within the range of the individual academic disciplines outlined (archeology, protection of monuments, history of art, history of architecture etc.). That identity, which is nonetheless attended by an internal modification — the perfecting of his professional attitude — could be illustrated by a juxtaposition of the characteristic theoretical conclusions of the particular periods.[18] Naturally enough, that modification is intimately related to the European evolutionary history of the various branches of learning. Put in slightly simplistic terms, we may say that in him we essentially witness the passing into positivism of a romantic theory of art which, inspired by the natural sciences, is, as such, averse to philosophical-aesthetic speculation.

Regarding his aesthetic views as coherent in this respect, we can now sketch out the complete outlines of this theory, qualified as a system. We mention "outlines", primarily because the gradual specialization mentioned above is important to us mainly in two respects. Firstly, it means that the range of phenomena scrutinized becomes narrower — for instance, his attention, which at the time he started his career included virtually all branches of art, tends to be confined later on to the history of art, more specifically, to the history of architecture, with painting as something of an avocation, really. But on the other hand, we must not forget about the opposite internal process — the fact that the concept, chiefly expounded in the works of his youth, of "the arts regarded in their interrelationship as defined by an oeuvre",[19] that is, the taking into account of <u>all</u> branches of art, bearing in mind the interplay between them, is a lifelong influence. This latter also means that the specialization already underscored does not preclude the "universal" character of his approach which, beyond the mutual effect of all branches of art, also organically builds into its system the <u>concrete</u> socio-historical, the given geographical and economic background of these. And within that too we must emphasize that when we say this "building in" happens organically we mean that he invariably considers the material conditions of life as far and away the determinant, the <u>basis</u>; from them he explains the phenomena of consciousness, and not the other way round.[20]

Thus his theory of art can best be illustrated by an art-historical description of development, one in which the principal role is played by

the "organicity" underlined earlier on, by the kind of progress where "one thing develops from another". That "development from one another" — precisely because of the likewise emphasized "interrelationship between the particular system", because of the taking into account of "all the life of all art", and finally, because he regards this as "analogous" "with all the life of humanity" — can only be comprehended if it is elucidated from several sides. That presumably explains why the majority of those analyzing Henszlmann's aesthetics quote a table provided by himself in which he illustrates the development from one another of "the various species of art" by both vertical and horizontal parallels.[21] He divides the development of poetry, music, and the graphic arts into "first, second, and third in genesis", linking the chronological sequence with the spatial juxtaposition in such a way that this correspondence is not mechanical in any of the cases, but instead, specially "organic".

That "organic" view fundamentally derives from a demand for the primacy of living experience, of empirical reality. We believe that this is the demand that gives rise to the view according to which his starting-point is not the organically interconnected history of the arts but the concrete historical-social conditions calling the arts into life and determining them in their possibilities — more specifically, the "needs", the given level of sophistication of technology and the "material" resources contingent upon the geographical features. "A first-generation art is always one that satisfies the first need of man; the second- and third-generation arts cannot be long in coming either, though the emergence of the latter proceeds more slowly than that of the first-generation arts",[22] we read in the eighth proposition of his laws. And that statement receives a still stronger emphasis if we set it against the fact that it is precisely because of this adherence "to the needs", the "physical" determinedness "of its material and means", that he gives priority to research into the laws of architecture.[23] And if here we have widened the circle "extensively", signalling that in this system of art theory it is the striving for completeness that represents the greatest possible attention paid to the geographical, economic, historical etc. conditions and changes of the relevant period, we must hasten to add that the "intensiveness" of the concept too is characterized by the same theoretically "infinite" amplifiability. Precisely because of that ambition to be at once "universal" and minutely exact, a brief summary has to limit itself to references. To illustrate the point, we had best look at a concrete example. Of the arts we choose

architecture, which he gave special attention to — and more particularly, Egypt, regarded by him as the beginning.

"... the Egyptian nation, being the earliest to develop, formed, as it were, the root of cultural life", ... "and it occupies the oldest niche in the history of art as well", he writes. He starts the entire series of lectures, including the history of Egypt, with a precise description of the geographical conditions, the inhabitants of Egypt, their dress, writing, literature, gods, the embalming of the dead, their burial customs and funeral rituals — and finally of the "Egyptian year", governed by the flooding of the Nile, — basing all his art-historical conclusions on these material, technical facts. Having firmly stated all these, he concludes, "It is from these conditions that we can explain the Egyptians' great predilection for symbolism, for emblematical expression".

And if the above are sufficient hints of how organically he derives Egyptian architecture from the local geographical, historical — i.e. material — conditionings, we may perceive an extension of the selfsame organic continuity — also when he sees the interrelationship between the particular branches of art in Egypt as follows: "The colossal character passes from architecture into its subsidiary art, sculpture — but not so much to the size of the latter works as to their concept, given that colossal proportions came into use more in the new empire". And later: "We have to assume that in the age from which the oldest Egyptian reliefs come these, like the statues, were already free from the tutelage of architecture, and they appeared fairly independently on the walls prepared for them by architecture and, indeed, on funeral tablets."

According to this view, then, the arts — even like science, religion, and the trades — are "children" of the given needs and the given geographical, material conditions. Within that too, the particular branches of art likewise "give birth to each other". The recurring image of "mother and child", as well as the other parallels drawn from the various forms of animate being, are therefore more than just ordinary metaphores applied and repeated to drive home a point. This view, which takes its cue from the laws of the vital organism, and generally from the advanced natural sciences — which it takes as its model —, imbues Henszlmann's entire theory of art, every single part of it. Thus sculpture is a "daughter" not just of architecture, nor is painting, in turn, born of sculpture alone: within the other departments of art too he conceives of "one thing giving birth to another" in similar terms. He considers the parallel existence of the

particular branches of art too as such an "organic" – and not a mechanical – relationship; he regards them as children of the same age, displaying its character, subject to and depending on its order of development. And he considers similarly the history of the particular art forms and styles and, in literature, of the particular genres. Hence the history of Egyptian art, used as a starting-point, is just an example. What he expresses here can be applied to the history of the entire universal art, and within that, to the history of the particular branches of art and of specific forms of these: "Stone architecture adopted several of the forms of the older wooden architecture; firstly, one of its peripteral columns and also its panelling or division into panels and the marking off of the panels by means of lattice-work (Luttenwerk), moreover, the mock timbers of the ceiling, and finally, several ornamental details, such as the triglyphs, the boltheads etc. Wooden architecture, by contrast, being the lightest and older too, did not follow the patterns of stone architecture, although it did follow its general arrangement."[24]

Our example is also designed to suggest that this theory of art, relying as it does on the advanced natural sciences of the age, emphasizes – in an "organic" manner (mother-daughter) – not only the chronological sequence; and not only in the spatial adjacency does it take account – likewise "organically" – of the development, different in character and pace, of the "poetry, music, and graphic arts" which, due to the divergent geographical, historical etc. conditions of the individual nations, are dissimilar in nature: but in all these it also perceives a technical difference, a difference in degree, a necessary mutual reliance. On the one hand, that mutual reliance also has more than once meaning: the individual branches of art in each historically succeeding culture build on each other's experience (e.g. Greek architecture building on Egyptian architecture, the Romans on the Greeks' experience etc.); at the same time, the different branches of art also rely on one another (sculpture develops further from architecture, painting from sculpture etc.). On the other hand, we must stress in particular that in Henszlmann's system there are no rigid divisions either in time or space or, for that matter, in species. Instead, he devotes much attention to transitions in all fields. Initially – e.g. in Egyptian "colossal" architecture – artistic representation is of the nature of a "sign" or a "symbol". Later, in the course of its development, it reaches the level of a "typical" mode of presentation – e.g. in ancient, Greek sculpture –, and then it gradually approaches the more and more individual representation.

> As soon as mankind enters the symbolic and typical age its products assume the national character, whose subjectivity continues to grow in the flourishing time of art; thus, if the work has a similar or the same subject, it is not difficult to say whether it was made in Egypt, Assyria or Greece.[25]

Thus the increase of that "subjectivity" declares itself in a more pronounced manifestation of the national character, but also in an increase in the number of features characteristic of the school and the master. Originality is represented by "the subjective character of great masters". It is this development of the mode of portrayal that is reflected in the sequence of the particular branches of art (architecture and lyrical poetry are marked by symbolism, sculpture and epic poetry are for the typical, while painting and drama are suitable for expressing individuation), but it is also reflected within them. (For example, in painting, we encounter, at the basic level, the individual; at the intermediate level, the conditions of everyday life; at the highest level, the conditions of historical life — that is, the degrees represented, respectively, by the portrait, the genre picture, and the historical picture.) At the same time, we can also observe, on the basis of this process, the development or even the emergence of the individual artistic devices and artistic elements. For instance, in Byzantine painting, similarly to sculpture, "the figures are set in rigid lines". Cimabue, and then chiefly Giotto "depart from the rigid arrangement in lines" "giving an all but genre treatment to the episodes", "rendering, by that as well, the compositions of the Byzantines more vivid". At the same time, in several other respects too painting proceeds from the type towards the "characteristic".

> In the earlier works, we still see, to a certain extent, manifestations of the type; the faces — especially the faces of those belonging to the same class — resemble each other, e.g. the monks and the angels; even in his later works these more or less display an original family type; but it was Giotto who, in his mature age, carried to perfection the characterization of the figure, particularly in his apostles, who appear with very different characters, whereas earlier, especially in th Byzantines, they were all given virtually the same morose old countenance." "... his composition, his figures, his groups are still rudimentary; the spread of space and chiefly the expression of depth in th landscape are still imperfect; his pictures are still flat, his figure are less crafted; in the colours too there is more variety than harmony.[26]

The further development of this many-sided process may be observed in Masaccio, for instance. The difference between Giotto and him is not only that Giotto "worked with more religious inspiration", but also this: "we

must rather state that Giotto had not yet understood real life in as much depth and detail as Masaccio – and here we may use the word dramatic to describe him: that is, Masaccio was able to portray continuous action, as it were, in which ... his personages appear in external scenes, in a sequential development, always retaining their individual ... figures".[26] That is to say, the portrayal develops from symbolism through typology towards the "characteristic", and in the meanwhile we experience a constantly deepening, more and more multifaceted depiction of life, an understanding of the increasingly complicated logic of the relationships emerging between the particular individual and his fellow human beings. At the same time, the products of art also tend more and more to "come to life", they come to resemble more and more the living phenomena of nature. The mode of portrayal becomes continually more vivid and dramatic, there is more and more passion informing the psychological states depicted and the expression, with the technical devices becoming steadily more sophisticated.

In Henszlmann's time, it is already this "highest stage" that is in the focus of art. The aim of art is a lifelike, characteristic portrayal – in tune with the national character – of the relationships between the individual and other individuals, one he frequently calls "realistic".[27] Hence, in Henszlmann's interpretation, the "realist", "following the laws of nature", creates a characteristic, living work, as opposed to the earlier, less developed "typical" concept, which "the idealists... call ideal", forgetting that the essence of the type "culminates" precisely "in the abstraction from individuality". In nature, however, there is no type, "only individuals". Thus "realism holds the range of that which pleases to be narrower", but it does not "limit art". "It furnishes new and new material and reasons for new and new modifications of the theories". The "realistic" is thus opposed to the "naturalistic" too, which is ".. condemned for its close, servile adherence to its model" – "deservedly so, as it is a bastard child of realism".[27]

The art conceived in those terms, then, "creates its work with organic necessity", like nature – yet, in contrast with nature, "it only creates a fictitious reality", "changing the species of the effect"; "in its own way", it engenders "an artistic reality". Any object can be the material of artistic recreation; the emphasis is on the transformation performed in accordance with its own, artistic laws. By the word "beauty" "we express a subjective sense of what is attractive", which changes in the course of history: we could more properly call it "grace of form" (Formenreiz). There-

fore art ought to create not "beautiful" or "ideal" things, but that which corresponds "to the special tasks of art".

Hence the "artistic" embraces the peculiar view of one's own historica period and a competent handling of its raw material and devices, for the sake of creating an organic, vital, characteristic, and harmonious whole, in which every details is "just an element, depending on what sort of whol it figures in".[28]

So this theory of art emphasizes, in an "organic" manner, the chronological order (mother-daughter); it takes into account, also in an organic manner, the development of the national arts existing side by side in spac more narrowly, that of the different branches of art — that is to say, bot within the individual nations and between the various nations, poetry, the graphic arts, and music rely on one another in their historical development For example, Greek art is built on Egyptian art, and Roman art is built on Greek art etc.; sculpture develops further from architecture, with painting deriving from sculpture. At the same time, in all three domains of artistic endeavour, the change of artistic portrayal proceeds from the symbolic through the typical concept towards the grasping of the individual, the "characteristic". All this implies a rise in the technical level, that is, an increasingly confident mastery of the raw materials — stone, wood, chemival substances, paints; it implies an ever deeper and livelier understanding of real life, and, at the same time, an enrichment and growing sophistication of the genres, art forms, and artistic devices. In other words, historical development creates the aesthetically ever higher stages. That unfolding is similar in nature to biological evolution. The emergence, the "flowering" of things is followed by their "decline", providing a parallel to historical "youth", "manhood", and "old age".

3. "Párhuzam" (Parallel) and "A hellen tragoedia" (The Hellenic Tragedy)

In the 1840s, there are two major studies testifying to the manner in which Henszlmann applies his general theory of art to the examination of specific aesthetic questions. But even in regard to the oeuvre as a whole, these are the two works that represent most directly the theoretical background of his practical activity as a critic. In both instances, his very choice of topic links him with a crucial aesthetic question of his time. The problems of the "graphic arts", particularly neglected in this part of the world, and those of dramaturgy represent particular focal points of the change of his views on art. Within specific professional fields he sets

himself the object of revealing some special rules — yet, with the validity of a general change in view. Both expositions contrast the individual features of "Christian art" with their historical antecedents, especially with their ancient analogues. He conceives of the age of "Christian art" as extending from the Middle Ages to his own times, — in that he follows Hegel and the Romantics.

It is clearly to be felt that Párhuzam was inspired by the patriotic fervour of the National Assemblies of Pozsony. After an extended stay in Vienna, the author, by then a qualified doctor, personally attended the successful National Assembly of 1839—1840. Here he summarizes, in the form of a programme, his accumulated knowledge and maturing ambitions. On a closer scrutiny, we find the parallel not primarily "between the ancient and modern views on art and artistic educations", as indicated in the title, but rather between the modern practice of the academic requirements abstracted from ancient art and the medieval natural concept. He calls his method "negative", since the backbone of his line of reasoning is provided by a critique of the dominant, institutional aesthetic norms. Seven of his nine chapters discuss the training of artists, practice in the graphic arts, and public taste in his times, all judged to have taken the wrong course. The introductory and the concluding parts sum up the basic assumptions that he starts from when he points out the untenability of the given state of affairs, proclaiming a radically new direction to be followed.

Both his premises and his final conclusion centre on the contemporary position of art. His theoretical stance serves as a guide to the analysis of the situation; the art-historical examples and parallels shed light on the causes of a view that has come to an impasse. At the same time, his aesthetic views, stated in definite terms, follow from the historical lessons he has drawn, from the characterization of the given state of affairs. With that in mind, he quotes the reviewed theoreticians selectively, according to his priorities, in a concentrated form. He emphasizes "the transference to practice, at all times, of theoretical views", "from old works to the ennobling of nature", the jettisoning of "false yardsticks". Thus he quotes Winckelmann, Lessing, and Schiller too primarily as proponents of the academic canons, of the notion of the "ideal". To this he counterposes his own formulation of the real task of art — i.e. "the portrayal, suited to its own material, of the living, the characteristic and the purposeful".[29]

For this definition, he makes use of Aloys Hirt's paper Versuch über das Kunstschöne,[30] particularly the lesson of construing general "beauty"

in different ways in different areas and the distinction of "artistic beauty", and within that, the stressing of the elements of the "characteristic" and the "individual". But he goes further and — in a manner not specially indicated — he employs the method of the influential travel accounts of the time, building on their experience. Waagen and Rumohr are the first to provide such concrete descriptions of the particular works, the individual distinctive features of their forms, technique and style, as to make direct, living observation yield precise data and historical definitions. Their practice and that of the "art experts of Berlin" are part and parcel of the view of the Viennese medal engraver and art collector J.D. Boehm, at whose side Henszlmann acquires the application of the method and that erudite artistic sense. If we compare his book with a later writing of his, a tribute to Boehm, we recognize echoes of his master's theses and even his favourite art-historical examples, which Henszlmann borrowed.[31] Having said that, he not only transmits all those legacies, but also groups, adopts and applies them with a specified purpose. Not only does he resist the concept of "beauty", as restricted by academic rules, which trammel practice — not only does he extend the range of artistic freedom, in accordance with the creeds of Romanticism, — placing the individual, the national, the natural at the centre, also admitting the portrayal of the ugly — but, fusing, as it were, the experience of inquiry and observation he also attempts a conceptual definition of the "artistic". He interprets reasons, and amplifies every component of his quoted definition, adducing vividly descriptive examples to illustrate them. Within the notion of the "characteristic" he distinguishes between its objective, subjective, and national aspects. An objective characteristic is "the linking and functioning within an oeuvre of all the qualities and forces pertaining to the individual". By 'subjective' he understands the personal features of the work, i.e. originality. By 'national' he means the features unique to a nation, features he attributes to the differing historical, geographical, economic and other conditions.

Art "... only deserves its name if it is in a characteristic relationship with the author, his nation, and also the object depicted."[32] That is to say, it is not just a characteristic feature we are here dealing with: this feature is also a "relationship", a certain mode which already holds in itself the properties discussed later on, i.e. vitality, the purposeful, and the portrayal adapted to its material. The "interplay" between the "ceaselessly active parts" within the living organism where "every internal

change normally brings on an external one and, conversely, every external change normally produces an internal change in the organism" — it is this mutual conditioning that must be reflected in the living work, in its own "inevitably necessary harmony". The theatrical is the antithesis of the regular, with all its artificiality — while the dramatic moment (Lessing) is its suitable manifestation. For this characteristic, living unity to come about, it has to make every one of its details, all the materials and devices it employs subservient to itself. In spatial arrangement, for example, the "grouping of units" — i.e. composition — must be permeated by "purposefulness". Only after — and on the basis of — a thorough mastering of the raw materials, the instruments, and their technical handling can the artist subject all these to his will, to the work to be created.

Yet, something that receives even more emphasis than the discussion and interpretation of the above is the fact that "there exists a strict organic relationship between the three artistic concepts". That basic principle, on Henszlmann's part, is not just a thesis proclaimed, but also a habit of vision — so much so that, in his argumentations, we witness how, in the discussion of every single question of detail, he also refers back to the whole. One of the reasons for his repetitions too is the fact that his negative and positive examples, with their divergent references, illustrate over and over again his conclusions, closely built on one another. Also in the case of the picture he draws of contemporary art and contemporary audiences, the individual phenomena are in a multiple causal relationship with one another; he elucidates them in that organic, mutual conditoning. Thus when he points out that "the so-called educated audience has no judgement, nor can it have one", he also comes up with an answer as to the reason — namely, "the bad rules inculcated in it" —, which he vividly illustrates by describing its evolution, i.e. academic education. To illuminate just how distorted that mode of instruction is he gives a comparison with the workshop students of old German art. The medieval master, who worked in the same workshop with a small number of students, first gave some lighter tasks to the beginner; yet, even at that early stage, he allowed the novice to take part in the practical work. In architecture, that meant the preparation of the stones, in painting, the rubbing and mixing of paint. Thus he simultaneously educated the student's "sense of muscle" and accustomed his hand to the chisel, familiarizing him with the raw materials, giving him the ability, for instance, to distinguish the stones according to their hardness. In every instance, "mechanical proficiency" evolved hand in hand with "the

development of the spirit", the latter being assigned the crucial role. The individual was equipped with many-sided technical skills, without being trammelled by expectations. The richness of nature was used directly as a model, while giving plenty of latitude to individual initiative, which was appreciated. That kind of training was marked by "gradual development and a balance between practice and views". Present-day academic education, he argues, is the diametrical opposite of all that. Students mechanically develop their mere manual dexterity when first they copy leaves and flowers and later on the plaster models of ancient statues. Even during the copying it is the academic rules that determine in advance "the directions in which the particular parts will stand in relation to each other". Thus, instead of living observation, they internalize mechanisms. "Manual skill precedes by far the development of spiritual talents". The works of only one period — i.e. the Greek period, discovered during the time of Winckelmann — are considered to be the yardstick, instead of "learning and recognizing the achievements of every age". But even of the Greek period they have only an impoverished, superficial image, since they perceive the beauty in the regular, dead lines and fail to discover the life and character that are behind them. It is the rules learnt as if by rote that they transfer both to their own work and to judging the works of others. Even nature does not escape their zeal: "the student, his imagination filled with notions of the ideal nad beauty, endeavours to improve it too, with critical eyes and according to the fiats of its canon". That ingrained prejudice then usually "prevents" him from "understanding life and movement in artistic terms and in accordance with their material".[33] The same method is applied in teaching the composition of historical and genre pictures, landscapes and pictures of state — whereas the work "can only spring from an inspiration of the spirit". But it is precise this — individual discovery — that has its path blocked.

The nature of contemporary works is determined by these ingrained limitations. At the exhibitions of the art associations, the spectator finds himself face to face with a spate of paintings born of such mechanic imitation — paintings which, depicting a great variety of objects, are nevertheless ostentatiously dissimilar in their manners. The audience is dazed by the sheer quantity, the electric cascade of pictures. The average observer thus "oscillates between a hundred influences and impressions", until at last he either follows his own whims or "hastily looks around for some authorities". In the absence of "self-awareness", he "runs into the

arms of strict rules". The situation is apparently the same in the galleries of old pictures. In reality, however, these can and must be critically classified. That is made possible by the presence of "their peculiar national character". But in the more recent works, that is unknown. In this way, taste "misled and plunged into decline". Superficial variety and formal virtuosity are on the rise, with commercial considerations also turning artists in that direction. In the pictures, "frills and decorations" appear, born of manner and fashion, rather than "of a peculiar cultivation of their masters' talents" or an understanding of "local life, nature, and customs".[34]

Thus there is no point in extending the circle of the art associations, so long as the multitude assembles without any understanding of art, and the rules, their aims are formulated without a review of the entire art-historical development. The applications of the new techniques, the "pursuit of perfect elegance" in the most fashionable steel-engravings represent examples of the kind of artistic practice that lacks both life and character. In the meanwhile, they disregard the peculiar requirements of the materials: in the steel-engravings, contours tend to get blurred because of a lack of firmness and strictness; in lithography, they forget to give prominence to the principal forms; in glass panel painting, colours are broken up, as artists try to impart plastic roundness to their figures. His criticism of the "black manner", the "daguerrotype", again indicates that "technical inventions" are confused with the "divine spark", "finer exercises" are mistaken for art.[35]

While outlining and criticizing the present situation, Henszlmann maps out the ways out, one by one. We have on our side "the connection between art and nationality", since we still "have our youthful vigour", "we have our own nationality". "We must create a Hungarian national style." He links academism mainly with the French influence and intellectual dominance, with "cosmopolitan" views, which strive "to abolish nationality". But the disappearance of "distinctiveness, that is, the creative spirit", replacing the "hazy, insubstantial ideal", could usher in a new era, with art becoming "national property".[36]

Five years later, in 1846, he writes A hellen tragoedia (The Hellenic tragedy). His dramaturgical debate with Bajza had, in the meantime, given an added reason for the deepening of his studies in this field. His position, stated in the introduction, is that Greek drama has been overestimated so far, as opposed to the neglected "Christian drama". That is to say, he is the exponent in his native Hungary of the bourgeois reevaluation in the field

of dramaturgy that had been gaining ground in Western Europe from as far back as the second half of the 18th century. He cites as his predecessors "the schools of Lessing, Goethe, Herder and Hegel". Later on he takes A.W. Schlegel's dramaturgy as his basis, as it were. His views also carry within them Schiller's principles on the historical and functional difference between Greek drama and "modern" contemporary drama.[37] Nonetheless, what we have here is not simply a borrowing or application of the concepts of those enumerated. He is strongly against an "isolated examination" of Greek tragedy. On the one hand, he attempts to scrutinize "the individual arts of the Greeks ... in their close interrelationships", while on the other hand he invokes as arguments the connections with the attendant arts, the historical development order of these; that is to say, he marshals, as a well-founded argumentation, the entire concept of his general art theory — a concept that was still in embryo in Párhuzam, but was in the process of being built here. Accordingly, the first-, second-, and third-generation arts which follow each other in the course of historical development, in chronological sequence, — i.e. architecture, sculpture, and painting, — as well as the corresponding stages in poetry, i.e. lyrical poetry, the epic, and drama — gradually become increasingly independent of one another. Relying on Aristotle, he recalls the genesis of Greek drama, pointing at those features of the games on Bacchus' feast which are akin to the epic (the reading of Herodotus' histories, the hymn-like utterances of the chorus). But he also recalls the "life of the Hellenic nation, their view of religion and life", according to which the crowd is above the individual, a view showing itself already in the absence of portraiture, of the immortalization of the individual in sculpture and painting — up to the age of Alexander the Great. This idea of Boehm's he builds into his own reasoning, demonstrating that in drama too portrayal is "typical", rather than individual. At this point, the researches of Winckelmann and Niebuhr, as well as Visconti's Iconographia grecque, serve to support extensively his position. He analyzes Aristotle's requirements, demonstrating, on the basis of the original text, that he has no clear concept of "character", as we understand it, because ἦθος (ethos) blends that content with moralities. As for χαρακτηρ (character), derived from the verb meaning "to engrave, to write letters", it only gained currency during the time of the Scholastics. The rules of Aristotle expressly enjoin that a dramatic hero must not stand out by virtue of his personal properties, he must be "equally balanced" (ὁμαλός). And sure enough, we find no individualization in Greek drama; instead, they used a

general concept of a particular principal quality as a substitute for it, and they interpreted it philosophically. They distinguished neither genders nor age; no tender emotions, no lifestyle, occupation, or nationality. "The extreme point of general characterization" — that was as far as they got. A comparison of Euripides' Electra and Shakespeare's Hamlet speaks for itself.

He reaches the high point of his treatise when he proceeds to discuss the discrepancies of dramatic composition, in close connection with the portrayal of poorly developed, typical and developed characters. In Greek drama, e.g. in Oedipus, "the action springs not from Oedipus' character; instead, Oedipus' character adjusts itself to fate". The action is impelled forward not by human motives but by oracles, prophecies, the apparitions of spirits, dreams and premonitions — all embodying destiny — and by affecting turns of fortune. The simple structure and the small number of events are lacking in "vital actions". The passive roles of intercessors, heralds, and chorus are intimately bound up with the views held about destiny. The development of Greek drama was fundamentally hindered by its dependence on religion, morals, and customs — something that declares itself in the contemporary interpretation of "beauty". For example, a "beautiful death" means dying decorously, in conformance with the demands of religion, — for instance, by avenging oneself. And that is an added reason why it is misleading to regard that which corresponds to the Hellenic rules as "ideal" (Winckelmann, Schiller, Schlegel). In conformity with their own lives, it is nobleness of character that primarily represents the ideal. That is still unknown among the Greeks. We find the explanation in their society. According to that, the individual is more a citizen, a member of a state, rather than a "family man", that is, a private individual. Just how different all that is from our present-day conception can be observed, for instance, in the relationships between brothers and sisters, parents and children, and marriage partners, where revenge, murder, and concubinage betoken a fundamentally different type of "family feeling". Women are in a subordinate position, and there is no question of love of one's neighbour. Conscience is weak — you need furies to support it. The dramatic subjects are one-sided: gods, heroes — as featured in a typical manner. The three unities signal theatrical imperfection; the recitation, the mask, the buskin — these are all impediments to progress, all acting against vitality, against the dramatic dénouement.

All of which goes to show that Greek drama must be considered as the youth of drama, compared to which Christian drama is manhood, the age where

"the enormous machine of art" already starts moving, "with its thousand springs, devices, materials, and subjects". The latter is consequently "deeper, more characteristic, changeable and intellectual" — and it is a big mistake to set before it Hellenic art as an "eternal model".[37a]

Looking back on the two aesthetic treatises, we can observe that he discusses the two topical questions — i.e. the task of contemporary graphic arts and the more sophisticated demands of modern, Christian drama (more sophisticated, that is, than those of Greek drama) — he discusses those two questions from the standpoint of his general art-theoretical system — a system in the process of formation —, into which he fits them and whose arguments he uses to elucidate them. In other words, he differs fundamentally — and in several ways — from contemporary Hungarian authors and their aesthetic discussions. To begin with, he scrutinizes the particular problems of particular genres and periods in the context of the entire art-historical development and of the historical development providing the basis of the former. That integrated approach is built on the relevant specialized scholarly researches of the age, and it invokes the original sources (here, for instance, the works of archeologists and experts on mythology specializing in antiquity, particularly those of Müller, Ottfried, and Overbecke). He combines the lessons offered by specialized fields with a critical use of artistic views (Lessing, Winckelmann, Schiller). But all these he applies primarily by placing in the foreground the internal order of relationships of the characteristics of the particular. For an accurate interpretation of a work of art he uses the maximum possible amount of verifiable scientific data concerning its age, idiom, and concept, but those he places at the service of a primary examination of artistic quality.

His central aspiration is to use also the concrete analyses and controversial questions to get nearer to a more accurate definition of the basic concepts. He protests above all against the semantically and contentually vague term of "beauty", making a remarkable attempt at defining the "artistic", as a possible replacement,[38] — first and foremost by clearly separating the reality outside the work and the reality within it and by thinking through from several sides the individual and individualization.

4. The European "genealogy" of Henszlmann's theory of art

In his first major aesthetic treatises, as well as in the whole of his theory of art, "organicity" can be regarded as a central element, a fundamental principle declaring itself in a diversity of meanings. It is precise-

ly on the basis of its special diversity of meanings that we can trace his theory's points of contact with, and dissimilarity from, the concepts of his contemporaries and predecessors.

The most direct affinity is found to exist with the "organic theory" of the Romantics. The comparison of the world to a living being, and then the analogy of a work of art with a living organism, with plant life, — that is something that we find right from Plato and Aristotle on in the thinkers of the Italian Renaissance and subsequently in 17th-century England (Shaftsbury, Newton). The parallel between the work of art and the organisms of nature appears in Herder and Goethe as well. But it is in Coleridge and, before him, in August Wilhelm Schlegel that we encounter the polarity of "organic form" and "mechanical form" as a fully evolved aesthetic theory. According to it, art, the process and result of creation are, by their very nature, not mechanical but similar to the genesis and forms of life of a living organism. At its conception, the work in the artist's imagination is an "embryo", a "seed" (Keim, Kern) that grows unconsciously and spontaneously, providing its own self-definition. Part of the essence of artistic creation is unity and inseparability ("Einheit und Unteilbarkeit"), the internal, mutual conditioning of the whole and its parts ("durchgängige Vollständigkeit und innere Wechselbestimmung des Ganzen und die Teile"). Material and form interpenetrate in the work of art ("... Stoff und Form... bis zur völligen Ununterscheidbarkeit gegenseitig durchdrungen haben").[39]

> Even the first idea of the work arose in the artist's mind by the latter placing itself in all of the former's relationships and circumstances as a spring acting and suffering in all parts of the work; and as the idea gradually turns into a view, the artist also gets to know the details more and more fully; those details he then extracts from his imagination, applying them as parts of a whole to the object set initially.[40]

It is worth taking a closer look at Henszlmann's formulation. He does not borrow phrases word for word or render German terms into Hungarian but demonstrates, as it were, the psychological process. By reliving experiences and on the basis of his own observation he separates, element by element, the internal activities following each other in time or manifesting themselves simultaneously in differing qualities. He understands in a still more differentiated manner the meaning of the complex contents of the description when he comments in Hungarian the German text quoted briefly: "'Den Stoff durchdringen, mit demselben eins werden, ihn durchgeistigen, besselen'... etc. could be rendered into Hungarian as follows: the artist should complete-

ly penetrate his material, become one with it, put himself in it mentally... During his activity, the artist should weld his individuality with his subject-matter as much as possible or develop it from the circumstances given in the work."[41] This is not a running commentary on his part, but an interpretation — in accordance with his own system. In the given case we witness the separation of the "subjective" and the "objective" sides of individualization, the process whereby things are made to become "characteristic".

And when he continues his train of thought, stating that it is "by virtue of his approach" that the artist can impart a "new shape" to the artistic raw material and subject-matter always received ready-made, and that this approach "is a consequence of his age and subjective character", — adding that "the artist can only draw on the life surrounding him", — we can obtain a picture of the multi-meaning organicity of his concept with all its intertwinings. The psychological process of artistic creation, as conceived in general, appears connected inseparably — according to a strict objective necessity — with technical execution and its spatiotemporal — i.e. historical — conditioning. Finally, it is in that system of relationships that "characteristic-ness", which organizes elements into aesthetic quality, is given its key role. It denotes a successful artistic individualization of the material; the objectification of the character of the creative artist; and, at the same time, the embodiment, to a smaller or larger degree, of his own age and milieu — i.e. the national character — in the character of the creator, the work, and also the individualization.

Therefore the artist's "mode of approach" and the nature of the work differ fundamentally depending on the differing climates and soils of the particular periods and nations, similarly to plants growing up in different terrestrial zones — as we find already in Herder. Also in conformity with Herder's concept, when discussing the emergence of the special arts of the particular nations, Henszlmann too takes into account the peculiar traditions, religions, customs, languages, and "time-spirits".[42] Still, while in Herder it takes the form of aesthetic relativism, in Henszlmann it fits into a historical development order.

That historical development order includes, as components, all the things that Winckelmann's researches had made common ground in art history writing: art is one of the manifestations of the historical development of mankind, and universal style changes together with the life of peoples, reflecting the system of their mythologies, customs, and prohibitions. Henszlmann adopts the judgement and argumentation of Kunst der Altertums on

the originality of Greek art, as opposed to the secondary, imitative works of the Roman.[43] But he further expands the picture provided by Winckelmann, chiefly in two directions. Firstly, the developmental process formulated with regard to the Greeks and the Romans he extends to the other historical periods, placing the "age of Christian art" at the centre. Secondly, he differentiates in several ways the contents of "style", still treated by Winckelmann as a total unity. He isolates the peculiar modes of manifestation of the particular branches of art. Here he makes use of Lessing's views on the discrepancy between the respective modes of representation of painting and poetry — i.e. the spatial and the temporal mode of portrayal.[44] Beyond that, he also pinpoints the place and defines the parameters of the developmental transitions between the individual branches of art (e.g. those of the relief, midway between architecture and sculpture); indeed, within the particular branches of art too he names and describes the change, the special artistic elements carrying quality. In this way, style appears, within the universal development process, as the carrier of the characteristics of the individual periods, nations, and creators. Here we can recognize a vital use and further refinement — on the basis of individual observations and comparisons — of the experience of the authors of the travel reports mentioned above — C. Rumohr, Waagen, and the "Berlin art experts", that is, Boehm's workshop. It is a school of developing one's artistic sense, of equipping one with a conscious understanding of art — a school that distinguishes, for instance, the particular stages of the perception of the beauty of an object of art — as C. Rumohr puts it. At the lowest level, it is merely the external qualities — for example, the sight of colours, the alternation between darkness and light etc. — that captivate the beholder. At a more advanced level, it is the regular relationships of the lines and the forms, their proportions and harmony, which resembles music, that are consciously perceived; and finally, a higher moral-intellectual pleasure is afforded by the kind of symbolism of forms based on nature, rather than intentionality.[45] The works and oeuvres thus observed will be the subject of aesthetic judgement and a sequential historical ordering, where the technical solutions, the application of certain forms, the special individual features illustrate the vital mode of formation of universal art history. At the same time, there are certain stylistical features indicating where the work properly belongs historically.

When Henszlmann considers "all the life of all the arts" analogous with "all the life of humanity", he talks about three major categories of

artistic portrayal, corresponding to three major historical periods. In the ancient East we see the symbol (linguistic form), in ancient Greek art the type, and in the art of the Christian era the character as the dominant form of expression. That kind of division is parallel to Hegel's symbolic, Classical, and Romantic stages, which he likewise considers to be the characteristic forms of respectively the ancient East, the Greco-Roman age, and the Middle Ages, with modern times also included. In another similarity, both authors describe the three periods indicated as having first architecture, then sculpture, and then painting, in that order, as the outstanding branch of art. Hegel's system is echoed, too, in the linking of historical discussion and aesthetic outlook and the historical treatment of the particular aesthetic categories (genres, art forms, styles, modes of expression), the hierarchy of how they developed from each other. Yet, in Henszlmann, all that appears as an objective process. His reasoning, exposition, and argumentation are empirically, rather than philosophically, based.

The generation of art historians that started publishing their principal works from the 1840s onwards was "under the powerful influence of Hegel's aesthetic and historico-philosophical system".[46] The members of that generation were Henszlmann's most immediate colleagues and contemporaries. For instance, Fr. Kugler and C. Schnaase,[47] the authors of the first art-historical manuals, summarize the previous experience in art history at the same time as Henszlmann. They cast their net wide, trying to include in their observations the entire known universal process, if possible, with every branch of it (e.g. coins, engraved stones, and the miniatures of manuscripts are also dealt with). Within that, they analyze the individual works, and fit them into the whole of their system, as manifoldly as possible. In C. Schnaase's train of thought the philosophico-aesthetic starting-point is still more pronounced. Starting from the general concepts of beauty and art, from the ideas in the works, he sees a religious and moral meaning in the particular works. Fr. Kugler, criticizing that theoretical starting-point, consciously counterposes to it his own inductive view, in a programmatic effort to seek in the work itself the condition of its own existence.[48] Henszlmann is near Fr. Kugler's concept, but in him the historical and cultural-historical determinedness, on the one hand, and the creative individual character of the work, on the other, appear as an organic unity, with the two definitional of each other. C. Schnaase also mentions "individual character", as "Volksgeist", and from the Middle Ages forward he talks about the peculiar character of nations. But in Henszl-

mann's system that national character is, at the same time, a necessary carrier of individual expression as well, in a mutual dependence:

> ... nations occupy the same place in the community of peoples that the individual holds in relation to his nation; moreover, the individual becomes a person by the common forces and characteristics in him being modified according to the possibilities and necessity: nationality is determined no differently than the distinctive essence of the nation by morals, customs, climate, local conditions etc. ... the objects which are capable of fascinating the artist — prompting him to imbue them with his spirit — are almost invariably and possibly exclusively those that are of the kind with which and by which he himself was educated, which he saw before his eyes as he grew from a child into a youth, and from a youth into an adult, ... which were at work in him due to constant contemplation.[49]

In both art historian colleagues, the discussion of the relationship of the various branches of art to each other features within the historical development order; then, within the visual arts, they devote particular attention to the Middle Ages, giving prominent treatment to the questions of architecture, like Henszlmann. The reason for that is, in a similar manner, partly the same as that we see in Romanticism: recalling the Middle Ages and also one's own national historical consciousness, the golden age of one's own nation. On the other hand, architecture — and Gothicism in particular — is the most perfect example and field of investigation where the manifestation of artistic necessity is concerned. It is in architecture that the principle of "functionality", which also figures in C. Schnaase ("Zweckmässigkeit"), presents itself in the most direct way. In Henszlmann, however, that "purposiveness" applies to all branches of art, to the special artistic character in general.

Coming to this point, we see him as a member of a narrower club among his art historian colleagues — namely, that of Gothicism's passionate researchers. He differs from the concepts of his predecessors and contemporaries — Mátyás Roritzer, Sulpize Boisserée, Steiglitz, Hofstädt, Cockerell, Billings, Popp, Griffiths, Cesarino, Kallenbach, and Heideloff — where he believes that the reason for "artistic harmony" must be sought in laws more deeply and more closely determined than they assumed.[50] On the one hand, using the historical researches of Fr. Mertens and Thierry, he traces the appearance and gradual evolution of Gothic architectural forms to the movement and aspirations to independence of 12th-century French towns;[51] on the other hand, similarly to Viollet-le-Duc, he regards all construction elements from the pointed arch to the buttresses, from the ribs to the gargoyles, as following from the functionality, the regular internal propor-

tions of Gothic statics.[52] Thus Gothic architecture is a copybook example of the principle that the reason for even the smallest ornament must be looked for within the structure of the entire building. The point where Henszlmann's views differ from those of his contemporaries is where his theory of proportions too differs from theirs. He particularly emphasizes that "every single separate member" of a structure "is ... developed" from a certain unit, as the standard. At the same time, he declares the principle of "natural harmony" not only in relation to Gothicism, nor, indeed, only in relation to architecture, but as something possessing general aesthetic validity. The principle of "natural harmony" is "at once a mathematical and organic principle" whose essence is this, that "we find the dominance of the same principle wherever differing dimensions are united to create a common effect".[53]

Accordingly, Henszlmann's conception on Gothicism and the theory of proportions crowns, as it were, his theory of art, providing the quintessence of the diversity of meanings of the notion of "organicity". Hence it denotes the internal interdependence and functionality of the details of the individual work, representing, at the same time, the organic formations of the historical and developmental processes in both the particular details and the work as a whole. Each carries a particular art-historical "result" or "beginning", from the standpoint of the satisfaction of practical needs, as well as from that of technical solutions. Thus he is also akin to the views of G. Semper, who saw the conditioning of style in the determinedness of the function performed.[54] But Henszlmann extends it to all periods and all domains of artistic endeavour, regarding it as valid to and qualitatively determinative of every small detail.

5. The place of Henszlmann's theory of art in the scholarship of his time

Henszlmann's aesthetics is essentially Romantic in nature. Defying the rigid academic rules, he proclaims a return to nature, the freedom of the artist, the creative superiority of originality, inspiration, individual experience and passion to Classical tranquillity. Any object in nature can be fit for artistic portrayal, the "ugly" no less than the "beautiful"; the important point is that it should be as far-removed from servile imitation as possible, it should be pervaded as much as possible by the character of the artist – while the creator should be imbued with his time and milieu, the characteristics of his nation. He puts the works of "Christian art", the architecture and painting of the Middle Ages, and modern drama above the

models of ancient art. In all of those he praises the expression of the national character, setting them as examples to the artists of the present time. He urges that "they develop their own character from themselves", both in the sense of discovering the national past, of drawing on the sources of popular poetry, and in the sense of relying on the creative power of the personality, in the sense of a multifaceted portrayal of the individual.

Yet, all these Romantic theses fit into the whole of a concept which, wider than Romanticism, both differs from it and transcends it. On the one hand, Henszlmann's ideal of art incorporates the above features — which are identical with the aesthetics of Romanticism — in such a way that it organically builds them into his concept of the developmental process of art. Accordingly, the path of artistic expression leads through the stages of the symbolic and the typical ("ideal") towards a steadily less abstract portrayal which captures real life more and more thoroughly, manifoldly, and dramatically, in a continually more individualized fashion. Thus he tends to measure the art products of his own time against the requirements of "life-likeness", rather than those of Romanticism, frequently invoking the adjective "realist" and "realistic". He distinguishes this kind of life-likeness from the "naturalistic", as a servile adherence to one's model.

On the other hand, it is his way of approaching the theoretical questions of art that changes fundamentally compared to the aestheticians of Romanticism. In Western Europe the Romantic movement is already over when Henszlmann joins the circle of European experts dealing with art, to find himself in the company of the foremost minds of the age. Thus it is not in themselves, but by virtue of their theoretical and practical application, their integration into a systematic whole, that the above principles acquire significance. Henszlmann is a member of a generation of European scholars that participated in, and initiated, a decisive change in the history of learning.

Already in the development of the "Romantic view of nature" we see as a "fundamental factor" the change "... that took place in human thinking when, at the turn of th 18th and 19th centuries, the mechanical-rationalist view of nature, Newtonian in origin, gave way to a concept that treated nature as an organism. The most systematic expression of that concept — developed, in a sense, in terms of a polarity — is Schelling's natural philosophy."[55] The "organic theory" of Romanticism attests that not only

his view of nature but also his "view of art" is opposed to the mechanical school of thought. Nonetheless, that opposition remains essentially within the compass of art, marshalling experiences and subjective conviction in place of arguments. In order that we may have arguments ready for use, the first steps must be made towards treating art as an academic discipline in its own right. As the development of the human intellect, philosophy systematizes the concepts that aesthetics has used till now; Hegel creates a synthesis of the concepts of art that have existed so far, with regard to the art forms, the branches of art, and also the historical formation of these. But there is still a gap to be filled, and, sure enough, in the course of the 19th century — in the 1840s, in particular — there begins a collecting of material on an enormous scale, which, by establishing universal art-historical collections and then museums, by an exact and factual exploration of archeological finds and monuments, creates — for the first time in the specialized field of art history — the preconditions for laying the foundations of an independent academic discipline. In the given period the "inventorial" part of the work is still the dominant aspect. But even that early stage is inseparable from a critical screening, the ascertaining of the features of originality and the historical classification, which gives prominence to the comparisons of art objects and also to emphasizing the special criteria of the comparisons. The distinctive features of form, the types, the features unique to particular artists are thus selected from a host of examples — and in the process the criteria are defined that are suitable for identifying the specificity (forms of vaulting, spatial types in architecture; the changing of the subjects, the concept, the background and grouping of pictures etc.).

Together with his colleagues,[56] Henszlmann too is engaged in this collecting work, essentially positivist in nature. He utilizes and applies the latest international results and, by exploring the material found in Hungary, he contributes to those. He is responsible for bringing into wider use or even creating numerous technical terms, especially in the technical language of art history. Still, his fundamental and essentially independently undertaken aspiration is to try and find the dynamics of the development of art — a "quest for the laws" — and the non-arbitrary modes of "artistic harmony". He considers the exactness of the natural sciences to be the model, taking the view that "Art creates its work in the same way as nature shapes her creatures — that is, with an organic necessity."[57] Nonetheless, he takes great care to distinguish this, the organic necessity of "art" from

the world of non-art — i.e. nature, the object chose as subject-matter, direct empirical reality. He puts the artist's "transformation, transmutation" of all those at the centre, and now within that he tries to identify the special rules of that transformation, in accordance with the artist's concept, presentation and devices. Thus he not only counterposes the theses of Romanticism to the mechanical-academic canon, but also creates different, new, "artlike" basic concepts in the definition of the "characteristic, vital and purposive". Like his specialized colleagues, he too strictly eschews all speculative, philosophically conceived principles. "It is necessary... to study the particular works of various periods and peoples, comparing them with one another and investigating the causes and circumstances of their origin, and so to rise to the laws under whose fiat those works were created"[58] — that is how he formulates the basis of his empirical, experimental method.

On that basis, in contrast to his colleagues, he identifies the special "organic necessity" of art not only within the "organism" of the work of art, but — inseparably from this — also within the organism of the psychological process creating the work of art and within the organism of the historical process determining the artistic heritage, the technical and material conditions. Thus, beyond the Romantic school of thought, the unity of the work of art is, in him, not "geheimnisvollere Einheit";[59] instead, he aims at a professional knowledge of it. Especially in the first half of his career, his activity is a modern and vital active force. From the 1960s onwards, he falls into the error — not unknown in other contemporaries of his — of adjusting his discoveries to his favourite theses, rather than the other way round. He, a vehement critic of academism, was to become an exponent of normative aesthetics.[60] Even so, that rigidity is, throughout his life, countervailed by his practice of giving priority to his experiences of art over theoretical concepts.

Notes

[1]Chronologically, the graveside speech and the obituary (by respectively Zsolt Beöthy and Pál Gyulai) slide over the question with rhetorical phrases. ("You have often led us ... along the paths where we and our successors quest for the hidden laws of the fine arts"; he charted "new directions" "in aesthetic literature".) Cf. Beöthy, Zsolt: Speech at the funeral of I.H., on behalf of the University, on December 7, 1888, archive of manuscripts of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, bequest of László Négyesy;

Gyulai, Pál: Obituary of I. H. in the Kisfaludy Society, on December 19, 1888. The first major study on Henszlmann was written by Regina Korach (H. I. művészeti elmélete) (The Art Theory of I. H.), Budapest, 1902). At some points, she positively denies that H. had a systematic theory of art, while at others, rather self-contradictorily, she reckons with the presence of such a theory. Cf. "We do not find in his papers, either, a coherent, consistent, systematic whole of principles and views, and only if we read them carefully do the leading ideas, as it were, become distinct – the ideas around which the less important ones tend to crystallize" (op. cit. 9). "He does not aim, then, at writing a systematic aesthetics – nowhere, in general, does he seek to set up a theory; instead, he gives only practical guidance, abstracting truths from the phenomena of the flowering of the arts." (op. cit. 9); "... although he often denies it, he nevertheless wants to consider these (the things of art) theoretically as well" (op. cit. 10). Elsewhere: "To learn more about his theory of art..." (op. cit. 9). (Italics added – K. Sz.)

János Kelecsényi puts the following question: "Are these new ideas? No, they had already been ripened by contemporary German art philosophy." But "he examines critically the most acceptable results, arranging them in a sober eclectic manner." At the same time, he chooses the following title for the second chapter of his paper: The theory of artistic development. Within that, after an interpretation of the theory of development, he expresses the view that "This theory ... is a bit weak". He cites chiefly Fechner's "Vorschule der Aesthetik", Bernát Alexander, and "Die Anfänge der Kunst" by Grosse, as the "different methods" "of today". On the other hand, he also states that "Modern aesthetics endorses H.'s theory of development" – and here he refers to Waernemann, Ruskin, and R. Hamann, compared to whom Henszlmann gives something more, too, in that he writes about "the tasks nearer home", giving them prominent treatment. Finally, however, in contrast with all these, he comes up with the following very firm assessment: "In the middle of the 19th century, a Hungarian thinker constructs his system from his own studies in the theory of art, giving expression to the art-philosophical views of the whole century." "The protagonist of the Romantic direction ... proclaims the main principles of Romanticism: its individual, national, and popular principle, thereby opening up a new era in Hungarian art theory." "The first Hungarian philosopher of art and the art philosopher of Hungarian Romanticism." (Kelecsényi, János: H. I. esthetikája /The Aesthetics of I. H./, Athenaeum, Philosofiai és államtudományi folyóirat /Athenaeum, Philosophical and political science journal/, vol. 19, no. 2 of 1910, 83–132. Quoted passages: 84–94; 100–102; 130–132).

In this respect, Béla Jánosi and Árpád Schauschek do not bring anything new to the judgements. (Jánosi, Béla: H. I. és Erdélyi János aesthetikai elmélete /The Aesthetic Theory of I. H. and János Erdélyi/, Budapest. Szle 1914. 159. 26–65; Schauschek, Árpád: Henszlmann Imre. Annual of the Kisfaludy Society. Budapest (1918) 151–213).

In the summary of the companion of literary history, Antal Weber does not discuss this question (op. cit. III. 664–667).

[2] Zádor, Anna: Henszlmann Imre emlékezete (The Memory of Imre Henszlmann). Magyar Tudomány (Hungarian Scholarship), 1964/2. 63–68; 67.

[3] The more recent researches on Henszlmann – investigations with an art-historical starting-point – were initiated by Anna Zádor (cf. op. cit.; H. I. építészetelmélete és a "gótizálás" kialakulása /I. H.'s Theory of Architecture and the Development of "Gothicizing"/, Az Építés- és Közlekedéstud. I. Közl. /Bulletin of the Scientific Institute of Construction and Communications/, 1966(2) 207–228; H. und die Theorie der Neugotik, Sbornik Národ-

niho Muzea v Praze, 1967(4/5) 319–323). Of her students, Árpád Tímár wrote his diploma thesis about Henszlmann's activity as an art critic (1960-manuscript). He has been conducting his researches in this field ever since. Ernő Marosi, first in his diploma thesis (A gótikus stíluskorszak szemlélete a magyar művészettörténeti szakirodalomban /The Gothic Period, as Viewed in the Hungarian Art-Historical Literature/, 1965, manuscript), and then in his doctoral dissertation (A kassai Szt. Erzsébet templom középkori építéstörténetének kérdései /Questions of the Medieval Construction History of Kassa's St. Elizabeth's Church/, 1969, manuscript), put the figure of Henszlmann at the centre, as it were, especially as regards the evaluation of the monograph on the history of the Cathedral of Kassa. His publications: Das romantische Zeitalter der ungarischen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung, Annales Univ. Scient. Budapest, de Rol. Eöt. nominatae, 1965 (43–78); Tanulmányok a kassai Szent Erzsébet templom középkori építéstörténetéhez (Studies on the Medieval Construction History of Kassa's St. Elizabeth's Church), I–III. Műv. tört. i. Ért. (Bulletin of the Institute of Art History), 1969/1, 1971/4. On the part of the OMF (National Inspectorate of Monuments) Dr. Béla Borsos deals with Henszlmann's work (cf. Magyar Műemlékvédelem /Protection of Monuments in Hungary/ 1967–68, I–II. 1872–1880; 1880–1888; – Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970). In his thesis for the candidate's degree, centred on Hungarian Romantic architecture, Dénes Komarik raises some questions relevant to Henszlmann's theory of art. In addition to the written works of those enumerated, Lilla Henszlmann has given valuable assistance through verbal communication, which has proved crucial and most informative on all points, and which I take this opportunity to thank her for.

[4]Széles, Klára: H. I. művészettörténeti előadásai kritikatörténeti szemszögből (The Art-Historical Lectures of I. H., from the Standpoint of the History of Criticism) (I–VI. Hectographed manuscript, Library of the Museum of Fine Arts) (manuscript).

[5]Cf.: "He devoted a great deal of attention at that time" (1840s) "to the history of art too, and the result of his studies he wanted to lay before the Hungarian public in a comprehensive work, which, covering material up to the time of Alexander the Great, is in manuscript, bearing the title 'The History of Old Art'" – that is what we can read in Szinnyei (7091). Ernő Marosi discovered this in the bequest in Kassa: "There is, among his manuscripts, ... a fragment of a comprehensive German-language work on the history of painting, which he calls Boehmia." He adds: "This is probably what Imre Vachot, who lived in the same house as H. in those days, referred to in a letter he wrote to Erdélyi in 1840. In it he mentions that H., together with Boehm, is writing a major work on the history of art, based on the Belvedere and Boehm's private collection." (Ernő Marosi: A gótikus stíluskorszak szemlélete... 1963. 8; The quoted letter: The correspondence of J. E. I. 93).

Henszlmann himself, in his introduction to "Párhuzam" (1841), writes that his present work is a protest, a "negative path", a first step to make sure that "the French general and superficial views" do not spread. For the next step he proposes art history itself, the heeding of the lessons it has to offer, and finally he puts forward his concrete proposals on present-day graphics. (Cf. Párhuzam. Preface. I–VII). Following that, in 1846 – the year of the famous itinerary congress of Kassa, the year when the idea of protecting monuments was officially raised and when the first monograph (first in Hungarian architectural history too) on the Cathedral of Kassa appeared – Henszlmann's lecture "A hellen tragoedia" is published in the annual of the Kisfaludy Society (amongst the events of 1843–1845). In it, for an introduction, as it were, he sketches out the concept of an entire

art-historical and also art-theoretical development. For instance, with regard to the order and laws of the arts he names three "laws", the first of which applies to the visual arts and the developmental principle of their history. Thus it can be assumed that his attention is engaged — what is more, it is permanently engaged — by the history of art. In his other, later writings the constant presence of this leading idea is still more evident. (See A művészet fejlődésének törvényei /The Laws of the Development of Art/, 1864–65; A középkori építészet /Medieval Architecture/, lecture at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, no date; Tanulmányok a góthok művészetéről /Studies on the Art of the Goths/. Inaugural lecture, January 12, 1874; Tanulmányok a középkori román építészeti chronológia köréből /Studies in the Chronology of Medieval Romanesque Architecture/, etc., finally: his university lectures on art history, referred to above (from 1873; Egypt — Dutch painting); The Development of the Visual Arts, 1883).

[6]Op. cit. Annual of the Kisfaludy Society, 1846 (1843–1845) 125–126. (The length of the whole treatise: 125–428).

[7]A few characteristic directions of his multifaceted activity (under point B I give a detailed bibliography on his work as a critic in the forties):

a) After completing his medical studies in Pest, Vienna, and Padua (1837, Padua); after a long trip to Italy and an extended stay in Vienna (from autumn 1838 to spring 1841: where he also learns Hungarian from Imre Vachot, he writes, after his drama Brutus und die Tarquinier, Párhuzam) — in 1841 he moves to Pest and publishes his book.

b) From 1841 he is an associate member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (gains distinction by his work in archeology and art history).

c) From 1843 he is a member of the Kisfaludy Society (studies in dramaturgy).

d) From 1843 he publishes and edits the journal Vierteljahrsschrift aus und für Ungarn in Leipzig.

e) From 1846 he conducts excavations (Pauline monastery of Buda). In the same year he publishes his first Hungarian-language monograph on art history called The Gothic Churches of the Town of Kassa. Already previously he had raised the question of protecting monuments on a national scale (1845, P. H.); now he raises it officially as well (Itinerary Congress of Hungarian Phisicians and Natural Scientists Kassa.)

f) In addition to his influential Párhuzam, "his art critiques which, published at frequent intervals, were veritable treatises in their own right, made him an authoritative factor of the intellectual life of his time, someone known for his rigorous standards". (Zádor, Anna: op. cit. 66).

g) Crowning all these is Magyar Szépirodalmi Szemle (Hungarian Literary Review) (1847), which he edited jointly with János Erdélyi, as well as his influential critical essays on literature.

[8]Marosi, Ernő: op. cit. 15.

[9]Cf. Some Remarks Explanatory of a Series of Drawing Illustrative of the alleged Discovery of the Constructional Laws of Medieval Church Architecture — Read at an Intermediate Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, December 6, 1852 by Dr. Henszlmann. Presented by Zádor, Anna: H. I. építészelmélete és a "gótizálás" kialakulása, loc. cit. appendix 218–228. Théorie des proportions dans l'architecture Égyptienne, Dorique et du moyen âge. Paris. 1860. A detailed description of his theory of proportions: Zádor, Anna op. cit.; Marosi, Ernő: op. cit. 17–22. In the same place, on the contacts between I. H. and Viollet-le-Duc and his circle. We can also compare this with the daily observations of

contemporaries on Henszlmann's assiduous activities in exile (see Degré, Alajos: Visszaemlékezéseim /My Recollections/, 1883(II)211).

[10]Az Akadémia palotájának története (The History of the Palace of the Academy), 1862. (Archiv of manuscripts of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). For the debates surrounding his return home and the architectural designs see, furthermore, the bequest of Kassa (verbal communication by Ernő Marosi). His continuous work in his native Hungary is interrupted by such foreign trips and commissions as, for instance, the trip to Constantinople and Athens in 1862, with Ferenc Kubinyi Sr. and Arnold Ipolyi, or his attendance — on behalf of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences — of the Paris Art Exhibition of 1867.

[11]As in the preceding, here too the bibliography we give is obviously incomplete; we merely outline or try to give an idea of the main acitivities.

[12]A művészet története (The History of Art) I—VII is identical with the above-mentioned hectographed manuscript, with careful notes by his students, on the basis of his lectures. (Library of the Museum of Fine Arts, no. 2273).

[13]The exact titles and bibliographical data of his theoretical studies: A művészet fejlődésének törvényei 1864—65. (The Laws of the Development of Art 1864—65.) Works of I. Henszlmann IX (358—359; Id. 1865. X. 296—298); A középkori építészet (Medieval Architecture), Budapest, no date, 1—70; A képzőművészetek fejlődése (The Development of the Visual Arts), Annual of the Kisfaludy Society. U. F. XX (1884—85), 113; id. in book form, with the obituary by Pál Gyulai: Budapest, Franklin, 1906.

[14]Cf. eg. Magyarország ó-keresztény, román és átmeneti stylű műemlékeinek rövid ismertetése (A Brief Review of Hungary's Old Christian, Romanesque, and Transitional-Style Monuments), Budapest, 1876; Magyarország góthstylű műemlékei (Hungary's Gothic Monuments), Budapest, 1880, etc. — Or in his smaller studies: Kis-bényei román ízlésű templomnak leírása (A Description of the Romanesque Church at Kis-Bénye), 1862; A bél-három-kúti, másképp apátfalvi egyháznak arányai (The Proportions of the Church at Bél-Három-Kút, Otherwise Known as Apátfalva), 1866, etc.

[15]An example taken at random — though a central one, to be sure — is the raising and the solution of the questions connected with the Cathedral of Kassa. According to the art historian, H's book (1846) "did not solve — indeed, it did not even raise in a clear-cut fashion — the problems of construction history: by its normative approach it inherently aligned itself with a phase in the history of scholarship that was, by then, already on the decline." "The building received its first blow when, in 1846, under Bishop Ignác Fábry, on the basis of the designs of Károly Gerster and the advice of I. H., the first 'restoration' of it was commenced"; "... the brandnew forms and the altered general aspect reflected the Romantic restorers' ideas of Gothicism, rather than the original aspect of the church." (Marosi, Ernő: A kassai Szent Erzsébet templom középkori építéstörténetének kérdései /Questions of the Medieval Construction History of Kassa's St. Elizabeth's Church/; doctoral dissertation, manuscript, 4, 12. Italics mine: K. Sz.)

[16]H. I. 1 tagnak az építészek' angol kir. intézetében tárgyalt fölfedezéséről a' középkori egyház építészeti elv körül... (On the Discovery of I.H., discussed in the Royal Institute of British Architects, about the Principle of Medieval Church Architecture...) Antal Tasner's report, M. Ak. Ért. (Hungarian Academy Bulletin) vol. XIII. no. 2. 1853. 45—53. — Presented by Zádor, Anna: op. cit. 219.

[17]Cf. Zádor, Anna: H. I. építészelmélete és a "gótizálás" kialakulása...

[18]For example, in Párhuzam he talks about "The relative strict connection between the vital, the characteristic, and the purposive", emphasizing that "... there exists a strict organic relationship between the three artistic concepts". "It would be an unsuccessful and also harmful endeavour to try and separate those from each other in an excessively theoretical manner (8); he defines style, in the case of particular masters, as "the final result of his whole being and thinking... in other words, of all his physical and psychological qualities acting together" (20); "In the living organism there is always and ceaselessly the untiring, mutually modifying agent of the interplay between the active parts". From A hellen tragoedia (1843): "The arts must be considered in their relationship with each other as life's works." (loc. cit. 128). He analyzes the way in which Greek mythology, life, and art are inbued with each other and are born of each other — invoking the examples of Egyptian and Indian culture, which, though different in character, display similar internal organic relationships (147). This is how he begins A művészet fejlődésének törvényei (The Laws of the Development of Art) (1864–65): "Art creates its work in the same way as nature shapes her creatures — that is to say, with an organic necessity" ... etc.(loc. cit. 358). Finally, A képzőművészetek fejlődése (The Development of the Visual Arts) (1883), while giving a universal evolutionary historical picture, sees, within that, the relationship between the work and the artist, for instance, like this: "By concept we mean the birth and the development of the work within the artist. After the image of the object has, as it were, flashed into his mind, it is necessary... for him to shape it inwadly to bring it closer and closer to its definitive form" (37); "... the logical and organic style" figures as a qualitative stage, as a yardstick (73–74). Amongst the special tasks of art he mentions "organicity" ("lex organisationis") in the first place (99–101) etc.

[19]Cf. A hellen tragoedia, 1843. loc. cit. 147.

[20]Cf. A művészet története (The History of Art) I/1–158; III/1–10 etc.

[21]Cf.

Generation:	Poetry:	Music:	The graphic arts:
first	epic poetry	rhythm	architecture
second	lyric poetry	melody	sculpture
third	dramaturgy	harmony	painting

(A művészet fejlődésének törvényei /The Laws of the Development of Art/, the seventh law, loc. cit. 358).

[22]Cf. ibid. law no. 8.

[23]Cf. A művészet fejlődésének törvényei is completed, in the second lecture (1865), with the section entitled Az építészet átalán tekintve (A General View of Architecture). By the same token, it is no accident that he chooses A középkori építészet (Medieval Architecture) for the subject of a long treatise (meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), and Gothicizing, as well as the investigation of the secrets of the theory of proportions, as the central preoccupation of his whole life.

[24]A művészet története I/5; I/99–100; I/103; I/80; I/63; I/76.

[25]"Sign" "is a manifestation, a figure in the visual arts by which we wish to excite attention through the senses". Between symbol and the thing denoted there exists a definite relationship, whether on the basis of convention or by virtue of resemblance. (E.g. the scarab of the Egyptians is a symbol of the world.) The "typical concept" is where "looking at the various individuals within the species we create a conceptual figure, as it were, one, moreover, that is abstracted from the former". (A képzőművészetek fejlődése, 7–8, 9–10; 17–18).

[26] and [26a] A művészet története V. The Italian school 17, 18, 20–21, 48–49. (Italics mine: K. Sz.)

[27] and [27a] A képzőművészetek fejlődése, 132–133, 97–98, 9–10; 132–133, 140–141.

[28] Op. cit. 97–122, 122–133, 131–144, 143–144.

[29] Henszlmann, Imre: Párhuzam az ó- és újkori művészeti nézetek és nevelések közt különös tekintettel a művészeti fejlődésre Magyarországon (Parallel between the Ancient and Modern Artistic Views and Educations, with Especial Regard to the Development of Art in Hungary), 1841. 5.

[30] Die Horen, 1797. no. 7, 1–37.

[31] Henszlmann, Emerich: Daniel Joseph Böehm, Oesterreichische Revue 1866. I/110–127. We can find, for instance, the example of Masaccio, who recorded with lightning speed the movement in the streets and the example of Rembrandt, who portrayed the elephant as having several trunks, to suggest movement. Apart from here, the examples are also used in Párhuzam.

[32] Párhuzam, 17. 8.

[33] Op. cit. 55, 57, 59.

[34] Op. cit. 60, 67, 75.

[35] Op. cit. 110, 111, 112.

[36] Op. cit. 75, 39.

[37] See: Schiller: A kórus felhasználása a tragédiában. Válogatott esztétikai írások. (The Use of the Chorus in the Tragedy. Selected Aesthetic Writings.) 378. A hellen tragoedia, Annual of the Kisfaludy Society (1846) 1843–1845. (125–428), 125, 147, 162–167, 186, 308, 350, 377, 388, 396, 413, 420, 426.

[37a] Op. cit. ibid.

[38] Párhuzam, 114–132, 82.

[39] Schlegel, A.W.: Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur. Heidelberg, 1917. III.; Sämmtliche Werke, VIII. 122; XI. 187; Vorlesungen über Schöne Literature und Kunst, Stuttgart, 1884. I. 49–50.

[40] Párhuzam, 82.

[41] Op. cit., ibid.

[42] Herder: Von deutschen Art und Kunst, 1773. Sämtliche Werke V. 217–218.

[43] Winckelmann, J. J.: op. cit. 191–197; 248–278.

[44] Lessing, G. E.: Laokoon, 1963. 46.

[45] Rumohr, C.: Italianische Forschungen, 1827. I. 138–144.

[46] Marosi, E.: Introduction to an Anthology (manuscript), 93.

[47] Kugler, Fr.: Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte, Stuttgart, 1842. Geschichte der Baukunst, 1–5; Schnaase, C.: Geschichte der bildenden Künste 1–7. Düsseldorf, 1865.

[48] Kugler, Fr.: op. cit., introduction.

[49] Párhuzam 11.

[50] Cf. Some Remarks Explanatory... loc. cit. The Nuremberg architect Mátyás Roritzer: Von der Fialengerechtigkeit; Boisserée, S.: Geschichte und

Beschreibung des Doms von Köln, 183; Stieglitz, Chr. Ludwig: Von altdeutscher Baukunst, Leipzig, 1820; Hoffstadt, Fr.: Gotisches ABC Buch, 1840; Cockerell, Ch. R.: Ancient Sculpture in Lincoln (?) Cathedral, 1848; Billings, R.W.: Attempt to define the geometric proportions of Gothic Architecture, 1840; Pope, Juste and Buleau, Th.: Les trois âges de l'architecture gothique, 1841; Griffith, W.P.: Ancient Gothic churches, their proportions and chromatics, 1847–1852; Cesarino, C.: Di Lucia Vitruvio Pollione de Architettura, 1521; Kallenbach, G.: Chronologie der deutschen mittelalterlichen Baukunst, 1844–46; Heideloff, Karl: Nürnberger Baudenkmale, 1837.

[51] Henszlmann, I.: A középkori építészet 12–18.

[52] Viollet-le-Duc: Dictionnaire Raisonné, 1854–1868. Entry: "Architecture".

[53] Henszlmann, I.: Some Remarks... loc. cit. 222. On the evaluation of Henszlmann's theory of proportions: Marosi, E.: A gótikus stíluskorszak szemlélete... manuscript, 17–20.

[54] Semper, G.: Die vier Elemente der Baukunst, Braunschweig, 1851.

[55] Horváth, K.: A romantika természetszemlélete (Romanticism's View of Nature), manuscript 1. (Soviet-Hungarian volume on Romanticism). According to the researches of K. H., the claim here formulated is corroborated, amongst others, by Willey, Basil: The Eighteenth Century Background. London, 1946; Korff, H. A.: Geist der Goethezeit. T. 2 and 3; Beach, Joseph Barren: The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth Century English Poetry. New York, 1966; Knittenmeyer, Heinrich: Schelling und die romantische Schul. Munchen, 1929.

[59] We have to think primarily of the other two members of the "great triad", namely, Flóris Rómer and Arnold Ipolyi – and the honorary fourth, Ferenc Pulszky.

[57] Henszlmann, I.: A művészet fejlődésének törvényei, loc. cit. law no. 1.

[58] Op. cit. Az építészet általán tekintve. Law no. 10.

[59] Schlegel, A.W.: Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur II. 97.

[60] See the questions associated with the Cathedral of Kassa, and finally the solution of the restoration – note 15.

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THE BEST HUNGARIAN NOVEL OF THE INTER-WAR PERIOD (DEZSŐ KOSZTOLÁNYI: ÉDES ANNA /SWEET ANNA/)

GABRIELLA HIMA

Debrecen

The generation "which, born between 1880 and 1890, suddenly entered the scene in 1910, in literature, art, academic endeavour, will — though we do not know yet — be called 'the great generation' by those viewing history from a sufficient distance", predicted Kosztolányi back in 1922, in a journalistic writing of his. "Not only people, but periods too have something to say. Some periods arrive laden with new feelings and disquieting thoughts and need a whole camp, an entire army of distinguished individuals to unburden themselves and to drive home what they are really about. At such times, talents come in groups. One complements, explains, stimulates the other."[1]

Kosztolányi himself is a member of the family of this "great generation". He was born in the same decade as such world celbrities as Stravinsky and Bartók, Picasso and Braque, Joyce and Kafka, Le Corbusier and Gropius, and in the same year — 1885 — as Georg Lukács, Khlebnikov and Tatlin. Kosztolányi is not just a contemporary of those enumerated; — his oeuvre too is worthy of theirs.

Kosztolányi the poet and prose-writer is an absolute and authentic example of natural "bilinguality" rarely to be met with in world literature. Verse and prose are equally his mother tongue; his short stories and novels are genuine epic works, — an exceptional quality that makes him, as a poet, unique in Hungarian literature — and probably not only there. Roman Jakobson, the renowned structuralist linguist proficient in about a dozen languages, mentions Pushkin and Macha, Lermontov and Heine, Pasternak and Mallarmé as the most successful exponents of this sort of "bilinguality"; yet, in their prose, for all the admiration he has for the all but perfect mastery they have of their acquired idiom, he nevertheless does detect some "quaint overtone" in the accent. No such "overtones" can be felt in Kosztolányi's prose.

From 1908 — the year he started out as a poet — right until his death in 1936, Dezső Kosztolányi created a whole string of verses, short stories,

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

critiques, sketches, and essays, which belonged — and still belong — to the best of the Hungarian literature of his age. However, the novels hallmarking the middle phase of his career (one short novel and four novels, all of them written between 1920 and 1926) stand solitary, without antecedents and follow-ups, within the oeuvre. At the same time, these four novels vie with the best achievements of the par excellence novelists of the age — indeed, Édes Anna (1926), chronologically the last to be written, even surpasses them. In the monographic literature in Hungary I am probably not alone with the opinion that this work is the best Hungarian novel of the inter-war period.

In the more than six decades that have elapsed since it was written, Édes Anna has proved to be the author's most contradictorily evaluated work and the one too that has been interpreted in the most extreme terms. Its assessment is virtually an index of the evaluations of Kosztolányi, given that it is as much at the mercy of the prevailing trends of the moment as the writer's controversial ideological utterances. Already in 1926, the year it was published, it was perceived to be an act of political position-taking, which, depending on the readers' party affiliations, was greeted with loud acclaim or suspicious reservation. It brought a thaw in the frosty relations between Kosztolányi and the émigrés, while rendering the already precarious "alliance" between the régime and the writer still more uncertain. Today too the contradictions and difficulties around the interpretation of the novel continue to stem from two sources. First, there is the point of view one adopts when reading the work — whether one absorbs it from a political-sociological, a psychological or some other standpoint. The second source is the fact that, for the sake of his choice of subject-matter, the writer seems to have given up the essential principle of shaping a novel that he had used in his second and third novels, reverting instead to the genre form he had experimentally developed in his first novel (Nero), i.e. the parable. Yet, while Nero evokes the events and trials of the stormy period that had just ended — the First World War, and the revolutions and counterrevolutions following it — emblematically, by way of historical analogy, in Édes Anna the topical subject-matter appears without recourse to any analogy, in its bald reality — as though the artist, averse to engaging in politics, had deliberately forced himself to depart from his own habit of intelligence as a novelist only because he felt that the actions and destiny of his heroine allowed — and indeed, impelled him to present the essence of the given historical-social situation.

The palpable argument of the sociologically-politically inspired inter-

pretations is the master-servant relationship placed right at the centre of the plot – a relationship which, in the period after the collapse of the Commune, seems especially problematic, and which breaks up with the servant's murderous action, here killing of her masters. For this reason, some declare Édes Anna to be not simply a social novel, but one of class struggle almost. Similarly to one of the characters in the novel, portrayed with strong reservation and irony, Szilárd Druma – an eternal typifyer of the narrow-minded philistine –, they link the murder with the historical-political situation, assuming a direct causal relationship between them.[2] Others, however, deny not only that relationship, but also the social nature of the conflict[3] – similarly to the writer, who declares that "there is no social conclusion, there is only humanity".[4] That statement – made in reply to critical acclaim from the left, which he nevertheless considered to have missed the point – is absolutely in keeping with his own philosophy, according to which the suffering of mankind is not due to one person or class oppressing and exploiting the other, as the ideologues of communism claim. The cause of suffering, in his veiw, is much more the fact that man is born free, and even if poverty falls to his lot, nobody can deprive him with impunity of his elementary right to freedom and happiness. The writer's opinion, of course, is just one of many, nor does it deserve a special place in the fabric of judgements relating to the work. All that being said, we shall see in the course of the analysis that those who regard the social problem complex in the novel as an accidental frame are nearer the truth than those who see in it the essence of the work's message.

There are quite a few analysts too who, as with the earlier ones, in this novel as well seem to detect a type of Freudism, since here too the tension that builds up explodes in an unexpected, fatal action. To be sure, Kosztolányi does build the clichés of the psychological novel, considered to be dominant all over Europe in the 1910s and '20s, into all five novels, and the plot too he ostensibly directs in every instance according to the tested scheme. Still, analysts who try to prove the application of the Freudian scheme are nevertheless perplexed by the manner in which the murder takes place because, unable to track the changes happening in the psyche, they feel the final action to be a surprising and irrational twist. The old debate about the motivation or otherwise of the action has essentially been decided,[5] – yet, characteristically, those claiming that the action was adequately motivated take their arguments not from the work itself; instead, it is on the basis of their own life-experience that they qualify as

unbearable the all but improbable physical and psychic overstraining that even in itself justifies the final action. That is, while one camp sees in the deliberate lack of motivation the writer's subjectivity and refuses to accept the resulting action as psychologically authentic,[6] the other camp only feels, but does not entirely comprehend the necessity of the hero's reaction, and, instead of arguments, they use persuasion in their endeavour to gain acceptance for the idea that the action is well-motivated.[7] As the poetic signals present in the work escape both parties, they naturally also fail to notice that the principal heroine is not a character shaped by means of traditional psychological portrayal, and that the murder, when it takes place, is meant to serve not so much a psychological authenticity, but rather the showing up of the truth of life. In other words, the plotting of the story of Édes Anna does not, in fact, conform to the rules of the traditional social-psychological novel. The transformation of the personality, which was an organizing principle of the plots of the earlier novels as well, here too functions as the main principle of construction, — with the difference that here the process of change happens in layers where it cannot be traced with the traditional psychographical method; therefore the signals referring to this are made by means of a different sign-system, previously less frequently used in Hungarian literature.

The function of preparation in the structure

As in Kosztolányi's novels in general, the time of the beginning of the action is here too stated exactly: five o'clock in the afternoon, July 31st, 1919. This is the time when the aeroplane of Béla Kun (President of the Republic of Councils, which had been toppled on that day) rises into the air, to take the proletarian leader out of the country — the man who, with pockets bulging with cakes from Budapest's posh 'Gerbaud' tea-room and his arms scarcely able to hold their burden of stolen art treasures, leaves the city, bidding an ignominious farewell to the burghers of Buda, gazing after him. The narrative voice stylized to suit the mentality of the average citizen recounts the events in a dry, matter-of-fact manner, imitating the authentic position of the eyewitness, indeed, furnishing incontrovertible proof of the "it-happened-exactly-so" of the events — a gold chain drops from the aeroplane right in the middle of the Vérmező park, in front of the feet of a respectable, trustworthy citizen, an honest taxpayer who is also named —, while what he illustrates is really the mechanism of

how legends and gossip-like rumours arise. The irresistible humour of the introduction stems from that contradictory presentment.

It is the contradictory situation that imparts humour to the dialogue that takes place an hour later, in the hall of a bourgeois apartment, during the minutes of the historical chaos and uncertainty — a dialogue involving Ficsor, the caretaker — a supporter of the communist government that had just been overthrown — and Kornél Vizy, the landlord — a representative of the old régime, preparing for a restoration. And while "his Worship" and the "comrade", seeking to find out from each other the real state of play in the power equation, converse with each other with true "world-historical politeness", her Ladyship, Mrs. Vizy bursts into the room and, possessed of the most recent information, is about to throw the "comrade" out of the apartment. The latter, however, uses a clever ruse to deflect the woman's passion directed against him: he recommends a maidservant to the woman, who faces perpetual problems with servants, partly because of the difficult historical period and partly because, as a result of her hysterical temperament, she is left by servant after servant. The effect is devastating:

> Mrs. Vizy thought her ears were ringing, that she had misheard. She looked at the caretaker with a deep interest she could not hide. Her eyes brightened. She could not have felt greater joy had she been promised a diamond necklace.

Actually, that is all there is to the introduction, containing the premises. The legendary maidservant — as yet only through the information given by the caretaker — enters Mrs. Vizy's life, to completely fill her imagination, so that waiting for her is, for the moment, the sole content of her life.

Two weeks — an eternity to Mrs. Vizy — elapse from Ficsor's offer to Anna's personal appearance; during that time, the city and the whole country witnessed "events that turned everything upside down. Budapest was occupied". But not by the big powers, as Vizy and his friends in the Ministry had been wishing and predicting; instead, the Romanians were marching down its streets (carrying out the decision of the Trianon Peace Treaty, which, as a consequence of its defeat in World War I, reduced the territory of historical Hungary to one third of its size), with the ear-splitting blaring of trumpets and showing off their brandnew uniforms. The scene is at once terrible and bizarre:

> Neither the Hungarians nor the Romanians could ever, in their

wildest dreams, have believed this. They looked at each other surprised, wondering at what had really happened...

The Hungarians saw from their windows that already Romanian cars were careening along the streets, yet, they refused to believe it. The Romanians themselves did not believe it at first, either.

Although these events and the consequences of the previous historical period, which were now descending like an avalanche, shook the public opinion of the whole nation, they have almost no effect whatsoever on the lives of the two emerging protagonists. We do not know much about Anna at this particular point, but we can be fairly certain that all these have hardly disturbed her in the performance of her daily work. As for Mrs. Vizy, she has not even noticed the world around her. While her husband the very next day took on a new exterior and set about reorganizing work in the Ministry, the most she did — burning in the fever of waiting for the servant — was to take an occasional peep into the stairhall, and even then her sole motive was to obtain from the caretaker new and new information about the maidservant.

Though Anna does not appear personally until the sixth chapter, the organizing principle of the events is woven around her person actually already from the second chapter. In addition, we learn about the episodes of Mrs. Vizy's life-history preceding the chronology of the plot; from the series of unhappy incidents she has had with servants we can also guess at her complex, which explains the abnormally feverish excitement with which she watches Anna's coming; we learn about the difficulties involved in "securing" the girl; yet, the story really consists of a series of preparations relating to the person of Anna and expanding from stage to stage — quite until the moment that she actually enters the scene. Both Mrs. Vizy and the reader are prepared for Anna by Mr. and Mrs. Ficsor; it is from their casual remarks that the figure of an attractive and ideal servant girl emerges. The narrator suggests the tension of waiting with a psychologically authentic episode, characteristic of Mrs. Vizy's pathological personality: she seeks the girl out to watch her from a distance at least, so that the phantom-image within her may assume a living form.

The writer's system of composition proceeds from the universal to the particular. We first learn that, in contrast with Mrs. Vizy's opinion, based on the experiences she has had so far, there still does exist an ideal servant. We then learn about the circumstances that she is soon to be thrown into — including Mrs. Vizy's personality; then the phantom-image of the girl; and when the scene is set for the person who has been the centre of the

myth to appear in the flesh, we encounter an unknown figure, not the one Mrs. Vizy has seen and prepared herself for.

The series of preparations ends with the two protagonists meeting each other. Yet, there is a last phase built in here as well. On August 14th, on the morning of a "hot and bright", "wonderful summer day", Mrs. Vizy, by now beginning to despair, unexpectedly hears a knock on her door. She spends some minutes in feverish preparation,[8] and then, when she says 'Come in' "in a stifled voice", Ficsor appears in the doorway — alone.

> After him — for two seconds, three seconds, four seconds — nobody.
> 'Well?' she said, beginning to believe that she had been fooled again.
> 'Here she is', the caretaker reassured her, 'here she is'.
> And then the girl entered too.

Time and space as devices of personality portrayal

With the entrance of Anna on the scene, the slow narrative tempo, serving to build up tension and to delay, quickens, with the rhythm of narration becoming stricter. At first blush, the portrayal of the two protagonists is done according to the conventions of the psychological novel. It has been revealed about Mrs. Vizy before the moment of the encounter that she is a hysterical eccentric, obsessed with the question of servants. That is quite sufficient for intimating that her relationship with the new servant girl will be a psychologically deviant one. The manner in which the encounter takes place only confirms that suspicion.

The two protagonists represent two opposite types of one and the same personality category. To Mrs. Vizy, aggressiveness is natural — as indeed, she naturally expects Anna to yield to aggression and submit to the terror she uses towards her from the very first moment. Later on, the relationship between the two of them degenerates into a peculiar wolf-lamb relationship which, appart from the characteristics of the two personalities, has some external determinants as well.

We have seen the special historical situation that provided the backdrop to the encounter, but we have also seen that neither Anna nor Mrs. Vizy took any notice of it. Indirectly, however, history did intrude into their lives, inasmuch as it was Ficsor, frightened by the new change of régime, that forced the encounter, in order to save his skin. It is as though the three characters' use of chronology and space crossed one another only by accident. In the case of Anna, for instance, chronology has crowded in from

different sides. Her mother has died, her stepmother has driven her away from home; after the family and social catastrophe happens, she is left with nothing apart from her individual life-chronology. In the given social-historical situation, however, she has no opportunity whatsoever for a genuinely individual use of that individual life-chronology. She is forced to perform menial jobs, that is, like the Roman slaves of old, she serves with her body, her soul and personality for food and lodging — and theoretically, of course, for wages too, but Anna refrains from claiming those. Her individual life-chronology — her sole property — is thus turned into perpetual working time by her Pest masters, who thereby actually prolong their own term of life, — and their outrageous conduct towards the servant, so far from being accounted a crime, is actually regarded almost as a benefaction in the given social environment. The only Budapest relative, Ficsor, poses before Anna as a benefactor, and so does Mrs. Vizy too; in fact, both use her and exploit her from various motives and for various purposes. This is the point where, in their lives too, the strands of time have converged. The tide of fortune has turned, and Ficsor is now in trouble. But here is the opportunity for him to extricate himself and to put his employers in his debt for the rest of their lives. For Mrs. Vizy too an opportunity has now presented itself of solving once and for all the central problem of her life, the question of servants. Her family life is dreary, her child died some time before; she expends all her pent-up passion and bitterness on the servants, who do not take it well or for long. She, in her impatience, dismisses her last servant and, frightened by the precipitate decision, feels she has exposed her whole life to uncertainty. She regards securing the new girl as a make-or-break question.

The coincidence of the concentration of time in the lives of these three characters is thus only seemingly accidental: underlying these accidents are the inner dynamics of the historical-political relationships also generally determining the life of Budapest in those days; — that is the common element in the three characters' journey through life. That said, the communication between the various characters' use of time-space is governed not by accidents, but by an overall pattern manifesting itself in the form of accidents — without the heroes themselves being aware of that.

Whereas we get to know Mrs.Vizy's personality completely already in the course of the preparation, Anna's personality — though partially revealed as the action progresses — essentially preserves its mysteriousness throughout. When she first enters the scene, we are given only an external description

of her — partly from the particulars of the servant's licence and partly from Mrs. Vizy's impressions — and a highly individual psychological characterization, performed not by means of the traditional method — for instance, a detailed description of, say, the face and the expression of the eyes — but through an analysis of the communication between the heroine and her environment. In this novel, an active interpretation of its space will be one of the most important devices of delineating the dominant figure. We got a narrator's description of the locale already in the previous chapters, but this — by now familiar — space is now presented from a new angle, i.e. from the heroine's reaction to the milieu. The locale, just as in the earlier novels, is here too an interior one; the action takes place almost exclusively in the interior of this apartment, and this perspective is so claustrophobically restricted as to give the impression of a real prison, in accordance with the heroine's prisoner position.

Accordingly, the repeated presentment of the locale is now realized from a new angle, by placing it into Anna's consciousness. Naturally, Anna has no comprehensive sense of space, only sensations and impressions, which are unpleasant to the point of unbearability. First, the nauseating "unspeakable stench", which she could not trace the source of, "all she knew was that she could not bear it, — all she knew was that already at the first moment she had wanted to run out and that, if she listened to her healthful instinct, she would rush out and run away without taking leave or saying good-bye". She is constantly on the verge of fainting from the smell of camphor coming out of the piano. At the same time, she is overawed by the décor, the furnishings of the flat: "she was looking at it dazzled and dizzy", "it seemed as though she had been brought to an enchanted castle". The sumptous interiors appear to her just as alien as her own "kingdom", the dingy kitchen, in which the first night she felt as though even her bed had overturned — or the huge fire wall, the storey, the fiery squares flashing on the wall and the mysterious sound of the piano. But it was not only that these surroundings appeared intimidatingly alien to her — she appeared alien in them too. It is significant, in view of what happens later, that the first night Mrs. Vizy locks the doors opening into the bedroom, something she has never done before, against any of her hated servants. So there is, at first, a mutual sense of alienness; but while Mrs. Vizy's mistrust of Anna soon disappears, Anna "felt more and more repelled" day in day out, though she herself did not know what repelled her. She was proud that her masters were distinguished people, that they owned the finest house in the

neighbourhood — yet, if, coming home from the shopping, "she caught sight of the house at No. 238 Attila Street, she shuddered". "She simply could not get used to it."

The activity and independent life of the space in Édes Anna plays an important role in the psychological portrayal, as the environment clearly has an effect on the personality of the heroine. The protagonist's attitude to the locale is used by the author not for simple characterization; instead, it is the locale itself that — by its active intervention — triggers certain changes in the heroine. These are expressed in trivial things, such as the strange fear that unfamiliar things provoke in her. Not only the smell of camphor or the name Kornél (her master's Christian name), but "the furniture too filled her with some nameless terror". She shuddered to see that the stove was not green but white, "while the walls in the parlour were green and not white, the table was not round but hexagonal and low, one of the doors opened inwards, the other outwards". Anna is encircled, deformed by these frighteningly unfamiliar and strange surroundings, and her objectless horror is nothing other than a coherent expression of her undifferentiated experience of locale.

The trap of the desire for affection

Kosztolányi undertook an enormously difficult, almost insoluble task when he placed at the centre of the motivational sequence the figure of a person almost without any awareness, locked up in an extremely narrow world and virtually incapable of communication. Still, that lack of awareness was absolutely vital from the standpoint of the plot, because without it the explosion of the conflict could not have been delayed for such a long time, nor could its impact of unexpectedness have been so devastating. It is as though, for the sake of following through the plot he had conceived, Kosztolányi, beyond the existential determinations, had also called in aid the biological conditionings. Of course, he had resorted to such a device in an earlier novel as well, but there his heroine's plainness did not confront him with the kind of difficulties here posed by Anna's — to quote the investigating judge's words — "ignorance bordering on puerility".

Anna's feeble-mindedness is a topic of debate in the monographic literature on the subject. It is generally denied, and critics quote certain details of the action in an attempt to prove her "normal humanity,"[9] tacitly assuming her soundness of mind. These passages, however, only argue the normality of Anna's emotional life, testifying that lying behind her ap-

parent unpretentiousness there is a genuine passion for seeking happiness. Even under her limitations, she recognizes exactly her elementary needs, she feels how frustrated these are, and even if temporarily she suppresses within herself the desire for satisfaction of those needs, she does not give them up for good. She feels that the things she misses most are the warmth of human companionship and affection: "Still, it was the children she missed most, — the children who were her living toys, her dear little playmates. For up until now she has been earning her bread by playing with them. Here too she would have liked to fondle someone, to tell them nursery rhymes. But what could she do with these serious adults, who were coming and going around her with their closed, separate lives?"

It is precisely because of this craving of affection that Mrs. Vizy's nephew Jancsi — still half adolescent — can become an element in plotting the story. In contrast with Anna, Jancsi pursues the gratification of his biological, rather than emotional, needs when, during a temporary stay as a guest, he allows himself to become for a few days the object of Anna's affection. This relationship has been analyzed a great deal as a decisive motive for Anna's action; its nature, however, was approached from a peculiar viewpoint. The development and the breakup of the relationship were perceived as a social problem, whereas the consequences are just the same as in the case of any other betrayed lover. The social approach sees in the relationship of Jancsi and Anna a temporary absence of the alienness, a breaking down of the barriers, and then, in the termination of the relationship by Jancsi, a restoring of the distance between master and servant. From this they draw the conclusion that Jancsi sins against Anna with the indifference of the master, rather than that of a man.[10]

The works usually mentioned as the literary antecedents and relatives of Édes Anna are Kosztolányi's journalistic writings on servants, some Hungarian works of prose fiction,[11] and perhaps a short story by Chekhov, centred on the theme of servants. But Tolstoy's Resurrection too belongs in this category; in its prehistory, the romantic involvement between the young Nekhlyudov and Katusha Maslova, the fulfilment of that relationship and the subsequent sudden breaking-up distantly remind one of the story of Jancsi and Anna's relationship. For Jancsi's part, one cannot deny the sincerity of the attachment, the presence of certain feelings — after all, for four days he is literally in a fever, and after the fulfilment he passes through the "education of love" backwards as well, from the physical relationship to tender courting. Having said that, while Nekhlyudov and

Katusa, in the period of the burgeoning of their love, are indeed separated from each other by social differences, the cooling-off of Jancsi's feelings is only indirectly attributable to Anna's social position. Jancsi loses his infatuation for Anna as a woman — so much so that he is deeply ashamed of this relationship, would like to forget it forthwith. After four days, as if awakening from a stupor, Jancsi, who fantasizes about elegant luxurious women, feels the servant girl — bedraggled and dishevelled, corny-handed from work — to be unbearable; "he could not even look at her any longer, he felt physical pain whenever he opened the door on her", "he was running away from her". He could not understand himself: "Is this the person he has once loved, can it be that he has ever loved this person?" He was filled with revulsion by the nearness of the girl, he did not even talk to her, and when Anna, because of pregnancy, asked him for help, "he shuddered to think that he was talking to her like this, in such an ugly partnership". He now thinks of Anna as of some object, referring to her inwardly as "that thing".

Anna, by contrast, is more and more deeply in love, and she does not understand Jancsi's frosty behaviour. Every night and every day she was expecting him, hoping for at least a kind word from him, and because it was in vain, she was suffering:

> For even if she did not think of what had been she felt that what had been was no longer there, — like an animal which, outside past and future, lives in a constant present, — like a dog that is not given to eat and does not know what's wrong with it, and yet it drags itself up to its empty food bowl, sniffs it round and, seeing that it sees nothing, it despondently slinks to its kennel, casting furtive glances back on its way.

Anna was made happy by Jancsi, if only for a few days, and it was precisely the experience of happiness that, with the happy state gone, turned the earlier feeling of want into excruciating torment. Yet, there is nothing to warrant us explaining Jancsi's behaviour in terms of the cruelty or indifference of the master. It is the man turning away from Anna, who suffers the humiliation not simply in her capacity as servant, but also in her position as woman, since Jancsi's conduct is addressed not to the servant, but to the female partner unworthy of him. It is not just Jancsi who thinks of Anna as if she were an object; the narrator's word is also ambivalent towards her: in the passage just quoted, it compares her feelings to those of a dog. For Anna, however delicate a creature she may be, has, for all her external beauty, readiness for accommodation and inborn tact,

something subhuman in her being. It is not just her intellectual level, but also her emotional reactions that the narrator depicts as being primitive, thereby — even if unwittingly — justifying Jancsi's conduct. Jancsi treats Anna selfishly and shabbily, but only as a man, not as master. The reason for his behaviour is not primarily Anna's position as servant, but her personality: her reticence, her mode of expression, which is at the level of gestures, her lack of ability to think, the portrayed nature of her emotions seem to suggest a fairly primitive, but nevertheless human-value-oriented manner of living and perception of life.

The limits of linguistic portrayal

The perfect maidservant, who carries out her masters' orders mutely, without protesting, unexpectedly rebels against them and slays them. It is as though this ostensibly simple and straightforward story were deliberately wrapped in mystery by the writer, so that he may blend the traditional procedure of constructing the plot with the then widespread psychological method, whose presence we may detect in the frequent use of the psychological devices of creating an effedt — i.e. unexpected turns prepared with delays and gradual buildups. What one gets in the novel, however, — as has been pointed out earlier on — is not so much a mixture of the story-building and psychological procedures, but rather a clash between the ideals of tradtional psychological portrayal, on the one hand, and of the meaning-creating text, on the other. That is attested by the fact that, in addition to the two types of text — purely narrative descriptions and theatricallized texts based upon dialogues — we see the presence, nay, the growing dominance of a third type — i.e. the protagonist's non-verbal communications, expressed by means of gestures and physiological changes, which are meant to replace, as it were, the heroine's interior discourse. The novel mode of portrayal is intimately bound up with Kosztolányi's view of language.

In works of literature, meaning is created by the text; therefore, in every instance, the text has to contain — linguistically — the code by means of which it can be deciphered. At the same time, the fundamental elements of plot motivation are not necessarily linguistic meanings, since the breaking-up of the plot into poetically meaningful segments is not necessarily performed on a linguistic-logical basis. Let us see an example of that.

From Anna's appearance to the first words she speaks there elapses a fairly long period of time, especially if we take it into account that the

moment she enters the scene she finds herself in a talking situation. But the conversation between Anna and Mrs. Vizy is a strange dialogue, as the two protagonists communicate via an interpreter. The "interpreter" is, of course, Ficsor, who answers Mrs. Vizy's questions for Anna — indeed, he also explains why the girl does not speak: "she is embarrassed. She is very shy". From Anna's part, that "light and sad" shrug of her shoulders is the only personal answer, which Mrs. Vizy interprets as rebellion, but Ficsor again clears her: "that was not her intention". Ficsor "translates" not only Anna's gestures for Mrs. Vizy, but also Mrs. Vizy's words for Anna, as if for a mentally retarded or hearing-handicapped person — or a small child, for whom every single word has to be repeated articulately, to help it understand. The first time Anna speaks when she is left alone by Ficsor, but even then she does not say more than a few words. All the more expressive are her gestures, which, however, — apart from that single shrug of the shoulders — Mrs. Vizy does not even notice.

In both his linguistic-literary essays and his practice as a writer of fiction, Kosztolányi was preoccupied with the relationship between language and thinking, and the conclusion he arrived at had a decisive influence on the system of signals he used in his imaginative fiction. The monographic literature raises the problem that, if Kosztolányi inclined towards an identification of language and thinking, he could not have carried on with the sort of fictional portraiture inspired by depth psychology, as that is predicated on a recognition of the primacy of thought — indeed, of affects and emotions not perceived at the level of awareness — over language.[12] According to this opinion, it was the identification of language and thinking that led to the final break with the psychological novel and resulted, later on, in a work of problematic genre, which radically transformed the sign-system of the traditional narrative work. Without undertaking, in this place, a more detailed critical presentation of this veiw, I merely wish to observe that we witness examples of the confrontation — and a measure of coexistence— between the psychological novel and the new ideal of the novel already from his second novel onwards; as for the character-drawing in Édes Anna, that is built up predominantly according to the canons of the new ideal of the novel.

Kosztolányi's view of language and thinking has much in common with his contemporary, Vigotsky's view; the latter — also in the Twenties— suggests that "the thought happens, rather than finding expression, in the word". Vigotsky, attempting to trace the child's development of speech by taking

into account socialization and the — as regards its direction — opposite but parallel process of individuation, arrives at the total functional and structural differentiation of "socialized external speech" and "individual interior speech".[13] Kosztolányi — who regards language not as an instrument of communication, but as a form of existence of consciousness — also attempts to apply his theoretical insight in his practice as a writer of fiction in the Twenties. Already in his earlier novels, the heroes' interior monologue is assigned an important poetical role. In Édes Anna, Kosztolányi, in fact, motivates the final action from two angles — from the victim's (Mrs. Vizy's) side and from the perpetrator's (Anna's) side too; yet, readers who are prepared for the reception of only the traditional systems of signals can perceive only the first, where it is presented from Mrs. Vizy's side. True, viewed exclusively from that side too, the murder is generally held to be sufficiently motivated.[14] Similarly to those who accuse Kosztolányi of arbitrariness, they miss the other sequence of motivations because the protagonist is "mute": she is incapable of an intellectual relationship to reality and herself, she is incapable of reflection.

The motivation of the murder from the perpetrator's side is built exclusively on her interior speech; yet, since the heroine is "mute", that speech is patently un-speech-like — i.e. instead of communicating the heroine's thoughts in the language of words, it presents — with the help of gestures, replacing words as their equivalents, pantomimic signals and more widely construed bodily-physiological changes — the genesis of her feelings. In the following pages, I shall attempt to present the writer's tour de force whereby he miraculously transforms this passive and "mute" character into an active heroine, portraying — by means of a peculiar system of signs — the psychic process within the heroine that leads from resignation to rebellion.

The informative value of the body's "giveaways"

In the monographic literature, we also encounter the opinion that the event of the murder is not a psychological mystery; it cannot be unriddled by psychological inquiry if only because the heroine displays not psychic, but only vegetative reactions to the events (blushing, paling, nausea, tremors etc.); hence the work — in contrast with the earlier Kosztolányi novels — could be called not so much a psychological, but rather a "physiological novel".[15] I mentioned in the previous chapter that the motivation of the final action, qualified by many as unexpected and mysterious, is

contained in the overall scheme; but the poetic signals are generally and predominantly transmitted through other than the accustomed — i.e. through non-linguistic — channels. This means that the transformation occurring in the heroine's personality-structure is well-founded from the standpoint of the events that wreck her life, even if, with the narrator's verbal information as one's sole guide, it is impossible to trace. This arises from the biological conditioning — the intellectual limitations — of the manifoldly determined personality, which, however, is indispensable for the increasingly unbearable burdens weighing her down to crowd in on her invisibly, as it were, to the outside observer, so that the unquestioning obedience appears to be acquiescence. While, from Anna's viewpoint, the murder is not only to be expected, but indeed the only rational answer to this absolutely inhuman pressure, in the outside observer it may, indeed, create an impression of unexpectedness and irrationality. To achieve that dual effect, the writer employs a principle of oppositions in the portrayal of the personality. The automaton-like behaviour of the apparently uncomplaining and subservient heroine is contradicted by the abrupt body movements — changes of colour in her countenance, changes of posture and look —, which betray the "shortcomings" and "faults" — i.e. the human characteristics —, the final limits of the psychic and physical endurance of this being, who functions almost like some automatic machine.

We have already discussed the sort of reactions that the Vizys' house provoked from Anna the first time. The physiological changes there listed — gestures, as defined in a broader meaning — recur with increasing frequency during the plot, they expand — and since the conditions inducing them, so far from relaxing, actually become constantly more oppressive and hopeless, these physiological changes not only repeat themselves, but become permanent, to provide the first and most important symptoms of the morphogenesis of the transformation occurring in the personality. These signals, then, do not serve the three-dimensional quality of the description of the figure; on the contrary, they are intended to deny it. While the external characterization shows Anna as a machine functioning with increasing perfection, the recurring and ever more frequent bodily "giveaways" contradict that description and provide information about the invisible processes taking place in the internal spheres of the psyche — information that, to the narrator's activity, is impossible to portray. Coming in sudden bursts, these irrepressible gestures, as defensive reactions, mark the utmost limits of the heroine's psychological endurance.

The first signals came already at the time Anna entered the scene. Nonetheless, the call of the instinct to escape is not followed by a serious attempt to run away; the heroine responds to the unpleasant stimuli by shutting herself in. Anna tries to relieve the disharmony of external and internal freedom by escaping into work, as well as into solitude. Absorption in her work is a kind of drug for her, while solitude seems a viable means of self-defence, in that it creates for her some sort of extra-social position: isolated from people, including those of her own station, the servants, Anna, in spite of the peculiar circumstances, is able to feel free. Solitude — as with earlier Kosztolányi heroes — is, for her too, an effective means of protection so long as she does not come into personal contact with the outside world. The relationship with Jancsi is really crucial, as it is there that she relinquishes her defensive posture, and from this point on, everything is changed for her and around her. It is at this point too that she first shows the symptoms of the psychic disturbance. The hallucinations and visions she has the first time are due only to the tablets she has received from Jancsi, but following her recovery, she behaves more and more strangely: she sings while working, something she has never done earlier; before going to bed, she wandered about in the flat "throwing her arms about", — out into the corridor, "from there, back in, she opened the door of the room, the parlour", like one who is looking for something, yet "she did not know what she was looking for, nor did she know what was the matter with her". Now for the first time, she feels fatigue from her work — indeed, not only fatigue, "but some drunken exhaustion". "Something had dulled, had grown numb in her", and the previously perpetually active girl "stands about in a stupor, with empty hands"; if spoken to, she gives a start. Even her exterior is changed: "she had grown plain. Her hair was falling out. There were steadily more tangles of hair caught in the iron comb. She did not like to show herself in public".

That is the situation in which Mr. Báthory, the widowed chimney-sweep, Anna's suitor arrives on the scene — apparently the only realistic chance of escape for Anna. Anna's inability to make up her mind, her susceptibility to influence, which declares itself in that predicament, may be the factor that, apart from her "muteness", lays her open to the suspicion that she is a nincompoop. Anna decides on her own fate, on whether or not she should get married, depending on the sort of advice she is given by the person she happens to be talking to at the moment. That is why Mrs. Vizy finds it so easy to talk her out of Mr. Báthory — no armtwisting is needed. Is she being

simple-minded there or is it rather a question of the chimneysweep not being a real alternative for her, after all? It is probably the latter, as there are no emotional reasons for this marriage, and what Mrs. Vizy says – she would be an "unpaid servant" there too – is essentially correct. Getting married would not change Anna's life, only her social prestige, but Anna is not interested in that: her personal happiness is scarcely at all affected by whether she is called wife or servant.

With this, her escape-route is cut off, and her transformation is completed as well: "she was losing her appeal from day to day. She merged into the routine of the household so much that she disappeared, she was not even noticed, nor did she come up anywhere as a topic of conversation. Like most servants, she too started to imitate her mistress."

After this, the attention of not only the household and the neighbourhood, but of the narrator as well turns away from Anna; he continues relating the story on Jancsi's strand, a strand that later proves completely episodic in character: it has absolutely no bearing on subsequent events, but is sufficient for diverting the reader's attention from Anna. It almost convinces us of Anna's acquiescence in her fate: nothing of interest can now happen around her, for she has indeed become what her masters wished her to be.

After this, Anna does not reappear until the eve of the murder, when, at a reception held on the occasion of Vizy's appointment as undersecretary of state, we see her as an uninteresting subsidiary figure in the background, a kind of "Cinderella" to be ashamed of. In her eternal checkered dress and squelching clogs she cannot show herself before the guests either; banished to the kitchen, to the stoveside, she listens to the news that the borrowed servants, dressed as housemaids, keep bringing from the parlour along with the trays. She learns that inside, Jancsi is courting the beautiful Mrs. Moviszter; then she sees with her own eyes the young master dancing from the drawing-room to the bathroom, as "he clasped his partner to himself, kissing her neck". At this point, the deep sexy laughter of the doctor's wife was heard.

The symptoms indicating the earlier psychic disturbance suddenly reappear:

> Anna, who was standing about in the hall with ears red from the stove's flames, heard it. She wanted to run back into the kitchen, but bumped into the wall. The lamps flared up with a sort of squint-eyed light.

In the minutes preceding the murder, the manifestations indicating the disturbance become more frequent. There is some aimless fumbling, stumbling back and forth, running in and out, voracious eating of food, followed by one last — though uncertain and unrealistic — attempt to escape: "She slumped onto the hall door, as if wanting to get out of here, to go somewhere. But she changed her mind, ran with much noise into the bathroom, and from there, through the yellow wallpapered door, into the bedroom."

The disturbed psychic state, like the ones analyzed earlier on, is this time too provoked by the person of Jancsi. The first suspicious signs showed in November; the murder happened in April. The spacing out in time is achieved by the narration by pushing Anna into the background and including the digression on Jancsi; the intention was clearly to create an impression of acquiescence, order, psychological consolidation; — that is why Anna was not dealt with in the intervening five months. The symptoms shown during that period are reconstructed only after the event, from the testimonies of witnesses given at the hearing. From these it emerges that Anna had been all along signalling, in her own way, the tension building up in her, only then — prior to the murder — nobody yet attached any importance to this: her aimless hanging around Jancsi's old lodgings, her firghtened running, screaming flight and trembling then still appeared but the insignificant faults of an otherwise impeccably working machine.

While critics generally explain the necessity of the murder only from Mrs. Vizy's side, here I have made an attempt at reconstructing the series of motivations — consisting exclusively of gestures and vegetative bodily signals — from Anna's point of view. These signals, as internal transmissions, directly represent the transition from external impulses to the action itself; moreover, reflecting the preverbal phase of the heroine's thoughts and emotions, they perform the function of interior speech in the structure. But since these thoughts and feelings, as a result of the heroine's "lack of awareness", fail to reach the verbal level of conscious perception, the mode of portrayal based upon gestures and other linguistic signs has — as has been seen — either given rise to the charge of a lack of motivation or spawned a plethora of contradictory interpretations.

Kosztolányi's mode of portrayal is unorthodox because the "vocal part" of the central figure is metaverbal. It is generally the transition between external and interior speech that works of prose fiction make the object of cognition, because it is here that one can psychically or intellectually capture the process which leads from the impulses triggered by the series of

external events to recognition and the subsequent action. In the case of Anna, the traditional mode of portrayal is not a viable method because her development of thinking and speech did not undergo the differentiation between "interior" and "external" speech. What frequently lays her open to the suspicion of being mentally retarded is really none other than the arrest of her intellectual and linguistic development at a relatively early, infantile level. She has not developed the ability of external, dialogic speech — hence she is unable to communicate her individual experiences. The sort of dialogical speech which, using Vigotsky's terminology, we call "external speech" and in common parlance refer to as 'actual speech' is entirely absent in her. Anna is characterized almost exclusively by this egocentric interior speech;[16] this is what she uses for the purposes of communication too, even though it is totally unsuitable for communication. When, for instance, she would like to inform Jancsi of her pregnancy, he understands only one word of her gibbering — "disgrace". And when the investigators question her on the reason for her action, again she is able to bring out only one word — namely, "I". But throughout the entire plot, she is unable to make herself understood to a single individual. Her isolation may partly be due to her inability to communicate. Her speech is deeply anchored in her ontological status: she has no reflections, only reflexes, her passion too erupts not in words, but in action. Looked at from this angle, Anna's murder is nothing other than an exteriorization — "socialization" — of her elusive word, her secret sign-language; through it she does indeed manage to establish a communicative contact with the outer world. Anna translated the meaning of her individual experiences not into the language of words, but directly into the language of action.

The consequences of the action in the universe of the novel

Anna's murder, therefore, — even if it cannot be foreseen with complete certainty — can be guessed from her responses to the external stimuli; after it has been committed, it is almost natural, readily understandable even without an explanation — indeed, it does not really admit of a verbal explanation.[17] That is what the judge hints at when he resignedly gives up trying to find out the reason:

> The presiding judge guessed that there could be something here, a secret hidden from them all, perhaps even from the defendant herself... He knew that an action could not be explained by a single reason — or by many, for that matter; behind every action there is the whole person, with his or her whole life, which the judicature is unable to unravel.

The judge — similarly to Moviszter, who appears as witness for the defence — does not have the totality of Anna's life-experiences, he knows only the "product". His skepticism stems not only from the writer's own skepticism concerning cognition, but also from a fundamentally correct insight — namely, that a living personality cannot be appraised merely through his action, but only on the basis of his whole life — the whole of his individual activity.

It is through her murder that Anna eventually rises from an unhappy and pitiable victim to become a tragic heroine. It is unequivocally in her facing up to action that her tragedy can be grasped, as indeed the writer's attitude too is defined in the light of that tragic moment. The moral of Édes Anna is more universal, and at the same time tougher as well, than that of sentimental-lachrymose servants' stories. The last chance of an individual who, entirely defenceless and bereft of protection, has been robbed of his individual life-chronology as well is not stoicism — as the heroes in the earlier Kosztolányi novels believed —, but struggle, because even the most hopeless struggle can present you with an experience of the tragic, — even if you undertake the battle without the chance of victory.

It is precisely her unconscious rebellion that creates the pathos of Anna's personality. She instinctively protests against the giving up of her personality, and her anxiety effects appearing in the course of the plot, which arise from her despair over her hopeless fate, perform a kind of defensive function. Her hallucinations and visions are psychic consequences of the danger threatening her personality. Anna feels that "the odds are stacked against her", and she tries to defend herself. To her, defending herself is the only way of self-fulfilment. Shutting herself in, as a tactic, does work up to the point that the relationship with Jancsi makes a breach in it. That said, it is not Jancsi who is the enemy; he — as the cause of her happiness and agony — only helps her realize the distance that exists between her world and the world of her masters.

For Anna, the murder is ultimately an act of self-preservation: though retaliation, it is not a social revenge, not the underdog's bloody count-settling with her exploiter and oppressor. It is the repressed desire for human values, for a meaningful life and happiness that breaks forth from Anna, and she exacts satisfaction for her crippled life, the blighting of her prospects — on the one that she feels is repsonsible for her misfortune. Anna, of course, cannot see further, and she cannot recognize the social rules which have made the master-servant relationship possib Therefore the murder of Vizy cannot be regarded as part of her revenge, nor can it be

explained by the same motives as the murder of Mrs. Vizy, for Anna fails to perceive that the historical reality that has produced her predicament is embodied precisely by Vizy.[18] His murder is accidental; it is of the same type as Raskolnikov's murder of the usurer's younger sister in Crime and Punishment.

Still, Kosztolányi does not close the novel with the murder. Compacting the events of the half a year or so that elapses between the murder and the hearing and then describing the hearing in greater detail, ha also adds an epilogic closing to the story; in it, he reminds us that he did not intend to explain the lesson of Anna's action and fate to the narrower, fictional milieu, the burghers of Budapest's Krisztina district. Nor could he have done that, as, to this layer, the story simply does not have a moral — or if it has one, it is by no means the same as that drawn either by the writer or the reader. There is no question here of the tragedy's catharsis; it is once again the philistine left alone triumphant on the stage (just like Homais, the apothecary in Flaubert) — the philistine, who, in this novel is called Druma, and who sits in judgement not only over Anna, but also over her creator, Kosztolányi. As for Anna, even her memory is consigned to oblivion:

> Once a woman stopped in front of the house in Attila Street, and said to her husband,
> 'This is where she lived. Don't you remember her? She was a tall girl, strong, with black eyes and big hands.'
> 'She was plain', the man said.
> 'She was fairly pretty', said the woman. 'She was pretty. When the Romanians were camping here, she had a Romanian soldier as her lover.'
> That is how her memory faded. Nobody now knew about her who she had been. She had been quite forgotten.
> And if she had not been living in the Mária-Nosztra penal institution for women but had been resting instead somewhere in Transdanubia, under the acacias of Balatonfőkajár's cemetery, — her effacement could not have been more complete.

It is no accident that the genre of Édes Anna is the novel, rather than the tragedy, because the novel portraying everyday life — even like everyday life itself and in contrast with the human soul — is averse to big moments of drama and emotion, because it does not believe in the cleansing force of these emotional experiences.

The view of history

Although the events of 1919, the war, the revolutions, the terror and the consolidation do feature in all of Kosztolányi's novels, only in his

first and last novels do they appear as a direct backdrop to the fictional landscape: in the first, Nero, only at a remove, in the disguise of the well-known conditions and figures of ancient history; in Édes Anna — his only novel set in Budapest —, however, he treats of the tragedy of 1919, on the face of it, directly, without recourse to any analogies, as of the experience of the contemporary and the eyewitness. There it was proved that the historical personality — in contrast with his own belief — is not the impelling force, but only the object of the mechanism called historical process. In Édes Anna, the relationship between history and the individual is reformulated from a different angle — from the perspective of the average person — and in a latent manner, but with a similar lesson.

That Kosztolányi, after some pure manifestations of the genre of the novel, should have again turned to the genre of the parable, which he had once tried and then forgotten for a while, is attributable, before all else, to personal reasons. In his journalistic writings, he made some unsuccessful attempts at retrospectively justifying the role he had played in the period, absolutely packed with political and historical events, of the year 1919; — and from this standpoint, he did not achieve his object with Nero either, although there, in the figures of Seneca, Lucanus, and Britannicus, he was seeking for answers to the moral and intellectual dilemmas of the apolitical intellectual who suddenly finds himself in the thick of politics — he was seeking for answers, moreover, that would point beyond the given situation, and which he intended to be universally valid. The behaviours represented by the first two heroes proved later on, in the light of the objective logic of their subsequent fortunes, to be utter failures; as for the third, it turned out to be not a realistic alternative. And that the historical parallel with ancient Rome in Nero did not, for all that, turn into an empty allegory is due precisely to the life-like portrayal — i.e. the portrayal in an epic spacetime — of the philosophically profoundly well-reasoned behaviour models which, pointing beyond the conrete historical conditions, emerge from confrontations and comparisons with each other.

In Édes Anna, all the important external events of the period from the overthrow of the Republic of Councils to the consolidation are included in the plot, and that in such a way that all the sudden historical changes can be brought into some sort of connection — mostly based on chronological contact — with the turning-points of the story-line portraying the private events. On the first page of the novel, we learn about Béla Kun's legendary flight from the country on board an aircraft and, indirectly, of the

overthrow of the Commune. In the next chapter, the husband and wife who are central figures of the plot learn about that sudden turn of events – as well as of the existence of a mysterious servant girl – nearly at one and the same time. In the wife's consciousness, this latter piece of information crowds out everything else – any event, however important it may be in the life of the country, the nation, pales into insignificance as being of secondary importance or irrelevant. And as in the consciousness of one of the principal personages, so also in the portrayal of the narrator – who has placed himself inside that consciousness – all the events are dwarfed by the developing and continually expanding myth of the maidservant. The marching in of the Romanians is followed by Anna's entrance into the Vizys' household by an interval of just a few days – and of the two events it is the latter that is the real sensation in the Krisztina district; it diverts the attention of both the characters and the reader from that other event. Anna's gradual adjustment to the new surroundings happens simultaneously with the slow consolidation. The evacuation of the Romanians and the marching in of the Commander-in-chief are followed immediately by the chimneysweep episode, which again causes a far greater stir in the lives of the burghers of the Krisztina district, and in particular, in the lives of the Vizys, than the pomp and ceremony of the historical event.

It is as though Kosztolányi deliberately constructed the plot in such a way that to particular momentous historical-political events some totally private events should be assigned – events, however, which are crucial in the life of the individual –, so that the significance of the historical events is eclipsed in everyday life. With that parallel construction, he leaves no doubt as to which is more important to the individual. The external, historical changes are entirely robbed of their weight by the existential turning-points, and the former, so far from influencing the lives of the characters, actually often fail to even properly permeate their minds. To Mrs. Vizy and Anna, for instance, it is entirely indifferent what is happening in the world outside at the given moment; the relationship between the two of them is not altered by the successive events of either the revolution or the counterrevolution, the occupation or the "liberation". This mode of construction ultimately serves to ironically "debunk" the significance of the historical and political events: looked at from this perspective, history is nothing other than a paltry product of the selfish and petty games played out between the powerholders – for it may determine the fate of nations and fix national boundaries, yet, it has

scarcely any impact on the lives of the burghers of the Krisztina district; the ordinary average person is more indifferent towards it than towards any of the trifling matters he encounters in his own everyday life. History has no power over the individual, as the individual too has no control over the course of history. The individual, whether a historical personality of great stature or a small average person, is not in a position to decide and change.

The value of Moviszter's example

In Édes Anna, then, it was again by recourse to the genre of the parable that the author managed to raise the basic conflict from the political into the moral sphere — for the relationship between Anna and Mrs. Vizy is, on the evidence of the novel, a moral, rather than a social, problem. Subjection has always existed and it always will, so long as men live in communities — and they do live in communities, as there is no alternative; hence it has to be accepted that the structure of the community, in whichever version of democracy, is hierarchical. The existence of a 'pecking order' is a fundamental condition that is independent of social formation; for that very reason, the tensions arising from it are of a moral, rather than a political, nature. The master-servant relationship, of course, — bound as it is to a particular age and system of social organization — represents an extreme form of this organization into higher and lower ranks, possibly unmatched except for the institution of slavery.

Having said that, for this conflict to erupt in the form in which it did here, the social conditionings proved insufficient, so the writer also invoked some biological conditionings. This is true not only of Anna, ignorant to the point of a lack of awareness, but also of the hysterical Mrs. Vizy, who is a pathological personality. Bringing them together was absolutely vital for the conflict to be touched off in such a form; what is more, the circumstance that the conflict erupts between precisely this kind of mistress and servant, possessed of no ordinary characteristics, attests that the author was looking for characters to suit a story found beforehand, and, for the sake of success, resorted to one of the naturalist-positivist devices of portrayal he had rejected or at least never used. Édes Anna is a moral-philosophical parable which, in an artificially created model situation, proves the validity of a moral thesis — in such a way, however, that it does not, for a moment, lose touch with the concrete Hungarian historical reality that has called the work into existence, and the

characters meet not only the exigencies of the situation, but also the requirements dictated by their ontological status and the demands made on them by society. Édes Anna, therefore, is a parable that also tries to integrate into itself the genre features of the novel of destiny, since Anna's murder not only proves a moral-philosophical thesis, but — authentically revealing the laws of the reality portrayed in the novel — paradoxically confirms the truth of life.

That the encounter of Anna and Mrs. Vizy will have ominous consequences is divined, apart from the persons involved, by someone else too. We have seen that both protagonists have, right from the outset, some sort of foreboding, which alternately weakens and intensifies, but is probably present in Anna throughout. She feels at the very first moment of the encounter that she will not be able to bear this place; yet, she does not listen to her instincts telling her to escape. Mrs. Vizy too feels something off-putting in Anna, more sharply, more definitely than in any of her predecessors, but her misgivings are lulled later on.

Doctor Moviszter, who lives next door, also suspects that the mistress-servant relationship between Anna and Mrs. Vizy is abnormal and that it may have some surprises in store for all of them. Old and terminally ill, Moviszter, both as next-door neighbour and as a member of the Vizys' circle of friends, is an eyewitness of how that relationship works out. Moreover, he is not merely a passive observer: whenever he has a chance, he, following the dictates of his conscience, tries to intervene in that relationship and to make the Vizys see reason — yet, to no avails. Already in the ideological debate following the sponge-cake episode (Anna is put to the test in front of the Vizys' guests to see if she likes sponge cake) he finds himself in a minority of one; he is unable to ram home to the Vizys — or, for that matter, to the other two neighbours, Tatár and Druma, who also marshal ideological arguments in support of the Vizys' attitude to servants — he is, then, unable to ram home to them, let alone gain acceptance for, his own point of view. He also tries to bring Mrs. Vizy round during one of his doctor's visits, when, well before the tragic final outcome, he almost prophetically warns her: "Believe me, a perfect servant is not such a good thing. Let her be like the rest: both good and bad."

Moviszter is himself an employer of servants, he belongs to the same social layer as the Drumas, the Tatárs or the Vizys, but he differs from them in that he also tries to feel himself into the position of the other party: "Their situation isn't rosy either", he argues to Mrs. Vizy. "They

labour and toil so much, and their work is such that they cannot even find pleasure in it, because no sooner is it finished than it disappears, immediately eaten up by others, dirtied and ruined by us — yes, please — by us. So let them have at least the compensation of being able to be a little bad at times. One has to understand this." Mrs. Vizy's reaction to the attempt to convince her is typically that of someone who has never tried to intellectually identify with the feelings, thoughts, or attitudes of another person: "But I do understand... There's only one thing I can't understand. Tell me, dear doctor, why are they such pigs?"

Nor does Moviszter's testimony given at the hearing meet with more sympathy from the audience than his opinions expressed in the circle of his friends.Moviszter is alone; public opinion, which goes against him, is represented by Druma and people of his ilk.

In the earlier historical debate between Tatár and Moviszter, which starts from the sponge-cake eating habits of servants, we witness a clash between two opposing viewpoints, of which Tatár's is in line with the semi-official ideology of the ruling class of the day, while Moviszter's views are so far-removed from it as to lay him open to the charge that he is a communist. His debate partners — half jocularly, half seriously — call him "Red" and "old Bolshevik", even though what the doctor proclaims is the diametrical opposite of the revolutionary ideology of the communists. Moviszter would like to see compassion as the fundamental principle of human coexistence, because he is convinced that compassion is the only force that could make the originally and necessarily existing inequalities endurable. The law of compassion is identical with the law of the kingdom of Christ, but it would be a mistake to try and bring that kingdom down to earth. The communists, in Moviszter's opinion, have committed that mistake, thereby destroying the ideal itself. But the ideal can only stay alive if people refrain from trying to put it into practice. It is enough if the human spirit treasures the ideal and remains faithful to it.

Hence Moviszter is opposed not only to the doctrine represented by Tatár, Druma and Vizy; — he condemns at least as bitterly the professional planners of earthly happiness and the lying preachers of heavenly bliss. The earth is a vale of tears, and only by exercising compassion can we alleviate that. The proper place for the kingdom of Christ is neither in heaven nor on earth, but solely in the human soul.

Moviszter's philosophy, just as earlier Seneca's, has been identified by many with the author's philosophy — apparently with full reason too, for,

in all conscience, we do find some word-for-word correspondences between Moviszter's pronouncements and certain of Kosztolányi's journalistic utterances. This having been said, it would be wrong to see in Moviszter the writer's counterpart. Although, of the characters portrayed in the novel, he is, to the writer, undoubtedly the most attractive carrier of ideas, the one most endeared to him, — Kosztolányi is too sober to try and justify in practice the quixotic views of his hero; he does not even attempt to house his hero's ideas in a central figure and to try them out in the life of a central figure. Moviszter's principles do not influence his own personal fate — indeed, he does not have a fate, only a vocal part; for this reason, he is not really a hero, only a performer of a characteristically Kosztolányian role — i.e. that of the philosopher of compassion, whose function within the novel would be to relieve the ineluctable sufferings. Such a role had existed in all of Kosztolányi's earlier novels, but the persons filling that role at least had the advantage of being able, if only temporarily, for a short time, to give real comfort to those in need of it. Moviszter's activity, however, is a total fiasco; there is nothing to confirm him in the significance of the exercise of his activity. He cannot hope to establish contact with Anna, and as for the Vizys of this world, he can never make himself understood to them. To proclaim his principles, he — in contrast with his predecessors — needs nothing short of heroism, but even his heroism is pointless. At the hearing, Moviszter, in defence of Anna, even incurs the risk of persecution, of becoming suspect, nay, ludicrous — all to no avail. The sort of humanity, goodwill, psychological insight and knowledge of mankind that he possesses are, in the world portrayed in the novel, totally ineffective. Although Moviszter does obey the call of his conscience, the value of the brave stand he takes lies in itself — it is neither socially useful, nor does it enable him to save Anna.

Édes Anna is Kosztolányi's last "regular" novel. From the remaining decade or so of his career we know of only one more attempt of his, an uncompleted novel, while the string of new verses and short stories he produced attests that his creative powers, far from being on the wane, were actually blossoming.

Kosztolányi the novelist did perceive the tragedy of life — a perception that is, of course, inseparable from the Hungarian reality of the Twenties, the tragic course taken by Hungarian history after Trianon —, and in all of his novels he argued the tragic nature of individual life.

This tragic quality, in the various life-situations and in the different personages' passage through life, did indeed present the force of a norm. In all of Kosztolányi's novels, fate closed tragically the pilgrimage of the central figure, no matter what philosophy on life he or she had professed or followed in practice: those who had chosen the tactic of escape succumbed in the same way as those who had undertaken action. No alternative presented itself to resolve the tragic life-situations.

With the novels, the time of active heroes — or heroes making some sort of attempt at action — was over. Their failure had proved that action — even the most radical, most brutal action — did not alter the essence of life and the order of the world, but it did not improve the lot of the individual either. Still, Édes Anna is not the "swan song" of Kosztolányi the novelist. Sweet Anna is to be succeeded by a hero who does not even attempt action; he is Kornél Esti, who combines the sharpest clearsightedness with the most complete passivity. True, Kosztolányi does not write a novel about him, but makes him, instead, the hero of short stories essentially independent of each other, which he subsequently composes into an integrated whole. However, the "novellistic" quality of that cycle of stories and its connection with the earlier novels is a topic for another study.

Notes

[1] Kosztolányi, D. publicisztikai írásai. Egy ég alatt. (The Journalistic Writings of Dezső Kosztolányi. Under One Sky.) Budapest, 1977, 433.

[2] Heller, Á.: Az erkölcsi normák felbomlása. (The Breaking-Up of Moral Norms.) Budapest, 1957. 59.

[3] Németh, G.: A románcostól a tragikusig. (From the Romancer to the Tragedian.) In: Küllő és kerék. (Spoke and Wheel.) Budapest, 1981.

[4] "How incomprehensible I must appear to the public mind if, after so much of my activity, I still have to keep explaining this — and one of my attackers also reproaches me, amongst other things, for having been 'afraid to draw the social conclusions' from the novel Édes Anna, in which I expressed my political conviction more clearly than anywhere else. But every line of it asserts precisely this, that there is no social conclusion to be drawn, there is only humanity, — and being arrogant is a greater crime than even murder, a crime for which even a knife is an inadequate retribution; and the greatest virtue is considerate pure-heartedness, penetrating into the essence (?), because, in any case, there is nothing more, and nothing more radical (?) we can do here on earth." Kosztolányi's posthumous published note on the Ady debate (1929).In: Egy ég alatt, 626.

[5] Cf. Bálint, Gy.: Kosztolányi és a nép. (Kosztolányi and the People.) In: A toronyőr visszapillant. (The Tower Watchman Looks Back.) Budapest,

196 vol. I, 710, and Kiss, Ferenc. Az érett Kosztolányi. (The Mature Kosztolányi.) Budapest, 1979. 282–283.

[6]Heller, Á.: Op. cit. 64, and Németh, László. Készülődés. (Preparation.) Budapest, 1941. I. 319.

[7]Bóka, L.: Vázlatok egy arcképhez. (Sketches for a Portrait.) In: Arcképvázlatok és tanulmányok. (Portrait Sketches and Studies.) Budapest, 1962, and Bálint, Gy.: op. cit.

[8]This is mentioned by Ferenc Kiss also, op. cit. 284.

[9]Cf. Németh, G.B.: op. cit.

[10]Kőszeg, F.: A csendtől a kiáltásig. (From Silence to the Cry.) In: Nero, a véres költő. Édes Anna (Nero, the Bloodstained Poet. Sweet Anna — postscript.) Budapest, 1974. 534, Ferenc Kiss, by contrast, stresses that "love is not a class feeling". Op. cit. 279.

[11]Sándor Bródy's work Dada and Lajos Kassák's work Marika énekelj! (Molly, Sing).

[12]Szegedy-Maszák, M.: Az Esti Kornél jelentésrétegei. (The Layers of Meaning in Kornél Esti.) In: "A regény, amint írja önmagát..." ("The Novel, As It Writes Itself...") Budapest, 1980. 104.

[13]According to the Soviet psychologist, Vigotsky, interior speech, given that it is a kind of speech not intended for communication, is unsuitable for verbal interchange. Its structural peculiarities include the dominance of sense over meaning, a predicative character, a reduction of the phasic side, and an idiomatic quality of speech. Cf. Gondolkodás és beszéd. (Thinking and Speech.) Academy Publishing House, Budapest, 1971. 365, 377–385.

[14]Cf. Bóka, L.: op. cit., and Kőszeg, Ferenc op. cit.

[15]Kőszeg, F.: op. cit. 527.

[16]Vigotsky: op. cit.

[17]Cf. Bálint, Gy.: op. cit.

[18]This is claimed by Ferenc Kőszeg. Op. cit. 535.

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CREATIVE IMAGINATION AS ROMANTIC VALUE: FIELD, CHOPIN, SHELLEY AND TURNER

PETER EGRI

Budapest

In 1836, a year before the death of the talented Irish composer, John Field, Robert Schumann wrote an enthusiastic assessment of Field's Piano Concerto No. 7:

> The best way to review this concerto would be to add a thousand copies of it to this issue of the Neue Zeitschrift as a special supplement...
>
> For I am full of it, and can think of hardly anything sensible to say about it except unending praise. ...
>
> The original score lies opened before me. One should see it! — browned as though it had crossed the equator — notes like stakes — clarinets peering through in between — thick cross-beams covering whole pages — in the middle a moonlight nocturne 'woven of rosedust and lily-snow', which reminded me of old Zelter and how, in a certain passage in The Creation he found the moonrise and, ironically rubbing his hands in the time-honoured gesture, exclaimed blissfully: 'This fellow will make a name for himself!' — and then again a nota bene with crossed-out measures and above them in capital letters: 'Cette page est bonne'.
>
> Yes, everything is good; indeed good enough to be kissed, and particularly you, you whole last movement, with your divine tedium, your charm, your clumsiness and your beautiful spirit, good enough to kiss from head to toe. Away with your forms and your thorough-bass conventions! Your schoolroom desks were carved from the cedar of genius, and not just once! Do your duty, i.e. have talent, be Fields, write as you wish, be poets and persons, I beg you![1]

Expounding the principles of his Romantic aesthetics and transfiguring his own critics' censures into John Field's merits, Schumann hails here the Irish composer as an authentic talent. This is high praise from a high place, extended with a mixture of emotional Aufschwung and witty irony, not unlike the disposition of the scherzo movements of Schumann's First and Fourth Symphonies, and lavished by the Romantic composer-critic of Fantasiestücke on a fellow-"fantasist".[2]

Schumann's praise of Field is all the more significant since it is in sharp contrast with the typical nineteenth-century appraisal of English music by German critics, who usually looked upon England as "the land without music".[3] While this evaluation is rather rash and harsh (the music of William Sterndale Bennett was appreciated even by Schumann and Mendelssohn),

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

it is undeniably true that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries native imaginative music in England (Arne, Boyce, Stanley, Crotch, Hook, Bennett, and even the work of such a distinguished initiator of a musical revival in the second half of the nineteenth century as Parry) was far less important than Realistic fiction based on rational, critical, utilitarian and ameliorative norms (Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, the Brontë sisters, Dickens, Thackeray or George Eliot).

The tentative tendency of a reciprocal relationship between the relative importance of music and fiction can be observed in other periods of British culture as well. The golden age of British music (Dunstable, Tallis, Byrd, Morley, Dowland, Weelkes, Wilbye and Purcell) marks but the embryonic stage of the history of British fiction (Sidney, Lyly and Nashe). At the time of the second efflorescence of British music in the twentieth century (Warlock, Elgar, Delius, Holst, Vaughan Williams, Walton, Tippett, Britten, Searle and Fricker), the traditional Realistic novel, even if it did not disappear (Galsworthy, Bennett, Wells, Amis, Braine and Wain), lost the central significance it had enjoyed earlier; and as traditional values came to be replaced by experimental ones, an important branch of the novel became subjectivized (Woolf) and even adopted poetic techniques and musical structures (Huxley and Joyce). Viewed in this axiological context, John Field's music — with no comparable British achievement in the Irish composer's lifetime (1782–1837) — should be considered as an Irish exception to a British "rule", or at least a tangible trend.

The development of German and Austrian culture would seem to corroborate the validity of this axiological pattern from the other side of a comparable constellation. The tendency of reciprocity in the achievement of great music and (traditional) fiction can be equally observed in Germany and Austria in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but there it was music which reached an unprecedented and unsurpassed level (Bach, Händel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms and Wagner), to which the performance of the novel (even in Goethe's Werther and Wilhelm Meister) was unable to rise.

Other national developments also testify to a similar dichotomy. In the United States even the music of a Barber, Copland, Ives, Gershwin or Cage cannot compete with the longer and more prominent range of novelists like Cooper, Hawthorne, Melville, Mark Twain, London, Crane, James, Dreiser, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Steinbeck, Faulkner or Styron.

In France in the first half of the nineteenth century with his Sym-

phonie Fantastic Berlioz emerged as a lonely giant, while the Realistic novel was a strong and broad stream (Balzac, Stendhal, and Flaubert). In the second half of the century, when this type of novel was replaced by Naturalistic fiction (Zola) and the lyrically refined and musically balanced artistic novel of introverted Impressionism and psychological analysis (Proust), the importance of music increased (partly Bizet and Gounod, but mainly Debussy and Ravel).

In Italy at the beginning of the nineteenth century the novelist Manzoni was an isolated phenomenon, and until the last decades of the century the Italian novel could not live up to the standard of the Italian opera (Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi and Puccini).

The imaginative achievement of John Field's music may be an Irish exception to a British "rule", but it is very much a part of the more comprehensive, more universal tendency delineated above. Those Irish-born novelists who approximated the Realistic pattern (Swift and Sterne) combined English social raw material with distance-keeping, imaginative Irish wit, and had considerably predated Field. The representative nineteenth-century Irish novelist, Sheridan Le Fanu, had Romantic, "Gothic" leanings.

The development of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hungarian culture was also characterized by the outstanding role of music (Erkel, Liszt, Bartók and Kodály) which the Hungarian novel rarely approached.

These examples are too numerous to be dismissed as merely accidental. They suggest, if not a rule without exception, a tendency which consists in a reciprocal historical relationship between the heydays of Realistic fiction and great music. The uneven development of culture relies on a correlation between values outside and inside art. From an axiological point of view, a work of art is a specific model of value,[4] a sensuous value-judgement (rather than a mere illustration of ethical tenets).

Such a historical connection is supported by aesthetic considerations as well. The historical polarity of traditional fiction and significant music corresponds to their aesthetic polarity. Whereas the novel satisfies the Hegelian claim of objective totality and provides a vast, moving and changing panorama of a three-dimensional social cross-section represented as an objective network of social types, music expresses an emotionally and imaginatively focused and minutely graded interior universe, weaving a sensitive network of inner relationships without any immediate reference to a visible or tangible world of external objects. While this opposition does not deny the ability of music to suggest the objective essence of a histori-

cally determined human predicament, the visual wealth and auditory poverty of fiction and the auditory richness and visual poverty of music do constitute two opposed poles as far as the artistic moulding of human reality is concerned.

The parallelism between the historic and aesthetic reciprocity of fiction and music might throw some light on why golden ages of fiction and music are often dichotomous. Homogeneous, objective, wide-spread and far-reaching social changes (such as the consolidation of bourgeois society) with a definite direction, evaluation and a discernible trend favour the unfolding of the traditional Realistic novel, which represents a completed phase of social development in a vast tableau. A composer's imagination, however, can soar high under different socio-political conditions as well. Marx observed that the achievement of Classical German philosophy relied on the fact that the Germans were tracing in intellectual terms what the French were doing in political terms.[5] Mutatis mutandis, if Classical German philosophy was an intellectual contemporay of the period of the French Revolution, Classical German music was an emotional and imaginative contemporary of these events. Such reflections may explain why the musical imagination is sometimes able to compose an organic and coherent whole even from contradictory and fragmented material in periods when a Realistic narrative attempt at a synthesis of a comparable magnitude would be doomed to failure or would result in empty utopianism. The tardiness of bourgeois development and the historical necessity to lead a national life in the axiologically emphatic medium of culture created the conditions of an imaginative self-expression of national identity in Ireland. This axiological constellation is responsible for the importance of folk-tales, folklore in general, poetry and poetic drama in Irish culture, and it may also throw an explanatory beam of light on the imaginative achievement of John Field's music.

Field was not only a talented composer; he was also an original one. W.S. Bennett may have been "an English Mendelssohn",[6] but nobody has ever thought of referring to Mendelssohn as a German Bennett. Even much of good music in England in the nineteenth century was historically imitative. Field, by contrast, was no imitator; he was an initiator, an inventor. A case in point is Field's creation of the genre of the nocturne, which earned him the admiration of F. Liszt. In his introductory essay to Field's Nocturnes published in 1859 Liszt extols

> the poignant charm of these tender poems, /their/ balmy freshness,... vague Aeolian tones, ... half-sighs, ... plaintive wailings, ecstatic moanings, ... /and/ delicate originality, which excluded neither extreme simplicity of sentiment, nor variety of form and embellishment. ... For him, invention and facility were one, diversity of form a necessity. ... His tranquillity was wellnigh somnolent. ... Field was the first to introduce a style in no way derived from the established categories, and in which feeling and melody, freed from the trammels of coercive form, reign supreme. ... The title Nocturne aptly applies to the pieces so named by Field, for it bears out thoughts at the outset toward those hours wherein the soul, released from all the cares of the day, is lost in self-contemplation, and soars toward the regions of a starlit heaven.[7]

Written with Romantic passion and pathos, this is an evaluation worthy of Field and characteristic of Liszt.

In the era of Sentimentalism and Romanticism, to attribute value to nocturnal moods was, of course, very much in the air, in fact, in those overcast skies to which so many poets, painters and composers turned their eyes, and in those sensitive "regions of a starlit heaven" which Liszt has so eloquently described.

Schiller's typological discrimination between the "Naïve" and "Sentimental"[8] was developed into the "Classical" and "Romantic" by the Schlegel brothers, as Goethe remarked[9] and modern critics maintain.[10] Schiller's metaphors of the "Naïve" poet being at one with nature and the "Sentimental" poet only seeking it can be axiologically conceptualized: while the "Naïve" poet or artist can easily and naturally express his values in a plastic manner in terms of existing conditions, often even of external reality, the "Sentimental" writer or artist cannot: his value system is basically divorced from that immediately found in philistine reality, so he must develop special means to give a sensuous form to his values. Although a composer does not, as a rule, work with representational images, he may embrace (Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven) or discard plastic ways and forms of moulding his emotional material. Schiller's generic categories characterizing the "Sentimental" attitude and method can be amply exemplified by Field's Nocturnes: those in the minor key are invariably elegiac (No. 2 in C minor, No. 10 in E minor and No. 13 in D minor); those in the major key are usually idyllic (No. 1 in E flat, No. 3 in A flat, No. 4 in A, No. 5 in B flat, No. 6 in F, No. 7 in C, No. 8 in A, No. 9 in E flat, No. 11 in E flat, No. 12 in G, No. 14 in C, No. 15 in C, No. 16 in F and No. 17 in E); while those called Midi (No. 18 in E) and Le Troubadour (No. 19 in C) have a vivacious, dance-like character and — as Patrick Piggott has convincingly pointed out[11] — are not really nocturnes at all, and, despite their usual

inclusion in most collected editions of Field's Nocturnes, should not be considered as such.

The imaginatively idyllic nature of some of the Nocturnes is also underlined by their alternative titles and sometimes by their origins: a variant of Nocturne No. 5 is named Serenade; Nocturne No. 8 was also published as one of Three Romances (1814) and had earlier appeared as the Pastorale movement of Divertissement No. 2 (1811); Nocturne No. 12 had previously figured as a lyric interlude in the first movement of Field's Piano Concerto No. 7; Nocturne No. 16 contains a phrase which Field took over from his Fantaisie sur une Polonaise favorite; and Nocturne 17 is the solo version of Field's Grand Pastorale, an elaborate piece for piano and string quartet.

The musical pattern of the nocturne develops and crystallizes the "Sentimental" attitude in a generic form. Hence its novelty even in comparison with such delightfully vigorous and plasticly articulated lyric pieces as Mozart's Serenata notturna (K. 239) or Eine kleine Nachtmusik (K. 525). The same applies to poems ranging from Young's The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality (predating Schiller's essay) to Shelley's To the Moonbeam, A Summer Evening Churchyard, The Waning Moon, or To Night; as well as to paintings like Turner's Fishermen at Sea, Moonlight, a Study at Millbank and Shield Lighthouse or Friedrich's Two Men Watching the Moon and Moonrise at the Sea.

In his fine analysis of Field's Nocturnes Liszt extends the nocturnal period to include dawn. With his unique ability to associate tone with colour, he writes:

> The third and sixth Nocturnes bear a pastoral character: their melodies seem as woven of the balmiest breezes, sighing warmly and moistly; they appear to reflect the changing shades that dye the vapors of dawn, rose tints giving way to bluish, and these in turn to lilac. In the latter, however, the forms stand out more clearly, with sharper outlines, as if oppressive heat had already dissipated the mists of morning. One meets therein with sinuosities like those of a great wave bearing sparkling wavelets resembling diamond chips, rolling its serpentine swells across a landscape radiant with light and freshness.[12]

Such a free treatment of the nocturnal duration is, in the case of Nocturnes in the major key, not surprising; Field's Nocturnes are, after all, "half-waking dreams, ... they live and move only in the dreamy imagination of the poet, and not in waking reality".[13] (Seeing any kind of images while listening to the Nocturnes is, of course, not necessary.) What is surprising, even intriguing and exhilarating, is the fact that Liszt describes Field's

Nocturnes in terms of Turner's landscapes and seascapes. The serpentine swell of sparkling waves drifting diamond-shaped reflections is often encountered in Turner's "sinuous" paintings, from the more traditional early Egremont Sea Piece to the Impressionistic late Yacht Approaching the Coast. The "vapors of dawn", "rose tints", "bluish" and "lilac" colours mark the colour scheme of paintings like Turner's Venice, Looking East from the Giudecca: Sunrise with conspicuous accuracy. The subdued and delicate quality of "changing shades", "rose" tints and "bluish" hues are also the properties of Turner's watercolour of Venice painted with spots of semi-transparent pastel layers. Liszt's reference to "changing shades", "rose tints giving way to bluish, and these in turn to lilac" correlate with Turner's comparable interest in emphasizing (even in his spatial medium) modifications of views and impressions, evoking and expressing changing moods, "modulations of ... sentiment",[14] the transformation of one state into another. Liszt's association of aural manifestations ("melodies") with visual impressions ("tints") and tactile as well as heat sensations ("balmiest breezes, sighing warmly and moistly") is also parallel to Turner's fusion of impressions in his watercolour of Venice.

The phenomenon can hardly be explained away by claiming that this was after all the way Venice looked like. In Canaletto's Classical Venetian vedutas Venice looks very different. His views are sharp, clear, brilliant, factual and topographically accurate, apparently painted by an artist who was able to represent his internal values through depicting external reality. Turner, however, was not; he belonged to the Romantic trend which developed from Schiller's "Sentimental" attitude. The painter of the Venetian Sunrise, as well as of Sunrise, with a Boat between Headlands, Sunrise with Sea Monsters, Norham Castle, Sunrise and The Blue Rigi: Lake of Lucern — Sunrise has transformed external reality to give an impression of his own internal system of values, and in some respects foreshadowed the Impressionism of Monet,[15] just as some of Field's Nocturnes and several of Chopin's Nocturnes (for example his Nocturnes in E flat major, Op. 55, No. 2; B major, Op. 62, No. 1; or E minor, Op. posth.) give a foretaste of Debussy's music. There are parallel passages even between an ostinato section for violins in the first movement of Field's Piano Concerto No. 6 and Debussy's Petite Suite.[16] This is why Liszt — himself anticipating in his own music later developments — was justified to express, with the instinctive insight of involuntary intuition, his impression of Field's Nocturnes in terms of Turner's paintings.

The anticipation of quasi-Impressionistic procedures within a Romantic idiom can also be observed in Field's Nocturne No. 7, where the simple melody in continuous, moderato motion and in three-four time is played by the left hand, over which a broken octave of a dominant pedal is heard. After ten occurrences this motif is ornamentally transformed and persistently returns. This effectively simple arrangement "finds an interesting parallel in the work of certain Impressionist painters who rendered special effects of light with the use of a palette limited to only two or three colours".[17] In this connection P. Piggott aptly mentions the example of Whistler, who, touched by some Impressionistic procedures, entitled his fine decorative canvases as Arrangement in Grey and Black and even as Nocturne in Bule and Green or Nocturne in Blue and Gold and Nocturne in Black and Gold. The latter type of painting did not leave Debussy's Three Nocturnes unaffected.[18] Turner had achieved a comparable colour scheme in his paintings Moonlight or The Evening Star.

Field's Impressionistic foresights have their harmonic aspects. In the final version of his Nocturne No. 2 he finishes the piece with "a wistful, almost Impressionistic coda, containing one of his favourite pedal effects — a haze of shifting harmonies above a sustained tonic".[19] Nocturne 11 reveals "imaginative asides in harmonic ambiguity".[20] In Nocturne No. 14 in C major, after the final cadence of an episode in G major, its "left-hand arpeggio continues with slight shifts of harmony, until it settles on a repeated G, whereupon the music of the introduction returns in the key of A flat, the connecting link being the note G, which is absorbed in the dominant seventh of the new key".[21] The emphasis is not on energetic advancement and aim-propelled progress, but on sensitive transition and sensuous transference; on an "endless modulation of the .. chord of the sentiment",[22] the gentle modification and shifting readjustment of an emotional state, the gradual re-evaluation of a fragile mood and a tonal shade from the aspect of another mood and shade.

The phenomenon may be called a musical metaphor. That a metaphor can be transplanted from one artistic medium to another is graphically proved by the literary description of a pictorial metaphor in Proust's Remembrance of Things Past. Proust applies the term in the extended sense of sensuous transference to describe the Impressionistic seascapes of the painter Elstir, who, in depicting the harbour of Carquethuit on the Balbec coast, used "one of his metaphors ... employing, for the little town, only marine terms, and urban terms for the sea".[23] The resulting "poetic" suppression

of the line of demarcation between land and sea is also typical of Turner (Dort, or Dordrecht, Storm-clouds: Sunset, The Chain Pier, Brighton, Archway with Trees by the Sea, The Evening Star, Sunrise, with a Boat between Headlands, or Yacht Approaching the Coast). The saturation of Shelley's poetry with metaphors (and tropes derived from metaphors) based on the linguistic transference of a name to another phenomenon is equally conspicuous (Ode to the West Wind, The Sensitive Plant, The Cloud, To a Skylark, etc.). Such an extended sense of metaphor may invoke Impressionistically rich blended sensations, but the notion itself is not metaphorically ambiguous: whether it refers to a literary, pictorial or musical phenomenon, it invariably involves a sensuous (linguistic, visual or auditory) transference of qualities. Cutting across various areas and branches of art, it also focuses a formal procedure of selecting, condensing, generalizing and evaluating phenomena conceived and captured differently in the "Naïve" and "Sentimental" groups. Hence its axiological importance: if value is considered to be the human significance of phenomena, then the function of form is to highlight value by patterning quality.

Liszt's analysis of Field not only suggests specific Romantic traits paving the way for Impressionistic effects; it also points out the pioneering significance of Field's Nocturnes for Romantic music at large: Field "opened the way for all the productions which have since appeared under the various titles of Songs without Words, Impromptus, Ballades, etc., and to him we may trace the origin of pieces designed to portray subjective and profound emotion".[24] Liszt's mentioning "Songs without Words" immediately calls to mind the music of Mendelssohn; the "Impromptus" evoke Schubert; the "Ballades" in this context suggest Chopin; the mood of the Nocturnes summons up Liszt's Consolations; and the very name and character of Field's Nocturnes conjure up the most important field of generic irradiation: Chopin's Nocturnes.

By the time Chopin composed his posthumously published early (1827) Nocturne in E minor, Field had already been widely known both as a perfect pianist and as an accomplished composer. The grandson of an organist and the son of a violinist in Dublin, the boy betrayed talent in music at an early age. In 1792, not yet ten years old, he played a concerto by his teacher, Giordani, with success in Dublin. In 1792 and 1793 he also started writing music, arranging for the piano an Irish air (Go to the Devil and Shake Yourself) and two rondos on Giordani's songs. In London, in 1794, he performed a sonata by Clementi, who gave him lessons and employed him as

salesman in his piano shop. Field's talent was acknowledged by Haydn, Dussek and Cramer.[25] In 1799, at the age of 17, Field already performed his own first Piano Concerto which was very well received. In 1802 Clementi took him to France, Germany and Russia, where Field gave concerts and earned acclaim. Field settled in St. Petersburg, led the actual life of "the fictional Irishman",[26] and soon became a bohemian, a teacher (one of his students being Glinka), a pianist, and a composer of fame. He did his best to keep his personal independence and artistic autonomy. When Count Orlov offered him the title of "Court Pianist", he refused the honour with a characteristic bon mot: "La cour n'est pas faite pour moi, et je ne sais pas lui fair la cour."[27] Field was certainly right: the court was not made for him, and he was not made to court it.

1811 saw the publication of Field's Divertissement avec Quatour No. 2 in A – Pastorale et Rondeau, whose Pastorale movement, somewhat shortened and reshaped, came to be resurrected as Nocturne No. 8. In 1814 Field's first three Nocturnes were published; in 1815 his Piano Concerto No. 1 in E flat with Classical tones and overtones and his Piano Concerto No. 2 in A flat with a Romantic fabric were printed. In 1816 his Piano Concerto No. 3 in E flat, Piano Concerto No. 4 in E flat and Romance in E flat (the later Nocturne No. 9) were seen in print. In 1817 Nocturnes Nos 4, 5 and 6 as well as Piano Concerto No. 5 in C appeared and soon became popular.[28] By 1822 Nocturnes No. 7 and No. 8 had been brought out; and in 1823 Field's Piano Concerto No. 6 in C was published.

Thus Chopin had a chance of knowing much of Field's work before 1827; and he, in fact, taught his pupils Field's Nocturnes and Concertos, and he himself often played Field's Nocturnes and Concerto No. 2.[29] In 1833 Chopin heard Field perform his Piano Concerto No. 7 in Paris.

The stylistic affinity between Field's and Chopin's Nocturnes – as David Branson has pointed out in a summarizing fashion and with polemic passion[30] – is conspicuous. It is not merely a matter of mood, sensibility, tone or the appearance of a cantilena melody over an arpeggio accompaniment (as in Field's Nocturnes Nos 5, 13 or 15 and Chopin's Nocturnes Op. 9, No. 1, No. 3, Op. 15, No. 2 and Op. 27, No. 1, No. 2, etc.): the pianistic equivalent of an operatic bel canto. The stylistic convergence also appears in the cumulative and increasingly imaginative effect of particular details.

The falling and rising melodic phrases of Field's Nocturnes No. 1, No. 10, No. 11 and No. 13 are paralleled by a comparable undulation in the opening theme of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27, No. 2. Like Field in his E flat

Nocturne No. 1, Chopin in his equally E flat Nocturne Op. 9, No. 2 also couples a descending passage with a chiming close. Both Field's Nocturne No. 1 and Chopin's Nocturne Op. 15, No. 1 are characterized by a yearningly open, Romantically conceived and song-like bel canto.[31]

Placing the melodic line under a repeated over-note appears in Field's Nocturne No. 2 and reappears in Chopin's Nocturne Op. 32, No. 1. The rhythmic figure, in Field's Second Nocturne, of a triplet with a lengthened (or rest-complemented) second note and a shortened third note followed by the same note also occurs in several of Chopin's Nocturnes (Op. 9, No. 3, Op. 32, No. 2, Op. 55, No. 2 and Op. 62, No. 1).

A decorative pattern repeated an octave higher (as in Field's Nocturne No. 5) is also heard in Chopin's Nocturne Op. 32, No. 1. The throbbing chord passage in Field's Fifth Nocturne has a parallel in the middle section of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 32, No. 2. A phrase in the ninth bar of Field's Nocturne No. 6 has its equivalent in the fourth bar of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9, No. 2. The descending phrase-ending of three chromatic notes cropping up in bar 6 of Field's Nocturne No. 8 is also present in bar 26 of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 55, No. 2.

Field's Nocturne No. 9 and Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9, No. 2 appear to be especially closely linked by the fall-rise of the opening theme, the key of E flat major, the melody starting on the note G (not counting the upbeat in the Chopin), the rising triplets of the accompaniment, the time signature six-eight in the Field and twelve-eight in the Chopin, the dolce character of both pieces, and by the fact that even the decorative turn embellishing the melody appears at the same place (between the fifth and sixth triplets of the bass). Field's Nocturne No. 14 (in Liszt's order No. 16) and Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27, No. 1 share a chromatic bias.[32]

Further examples could, of course, be quoted, but this much may suffice to suggest that Field did not simply hit upon the name of the nocturne; he also initiated a new way of feeling, a new kind of sensibility, and a new course of imagination: indeed a new norm and form of evaluation which Chopin developed, elaborated and brought to exquisite, elegiac perfection.

Field's imaginative originality also asserts itself in the treatment of the storm. To show the way in which his innovative Romantic fantasy worked, it is necessary to take a look at the Classical solution of the problem.

In Haydn's oratorio, The Seasons (1801), the storm is a formidable threat. Already Simon's,Lukas' and Hanne's recitative (No. 16) in "Summer"

expresses ill forebodings: Simon sings of "unusual darkness" and "wrathful vapours", Lukas of "the threat'ning storm" and "disaster", and Hanne of "fear" and "a deathlike silence". In No. 17 the full chorus and the full orchestra combine to render the fearful rage of the tempest. In the words of Gottfried van Swieten's libretto based on James Thomson's poem:

> Hark! the storm's tremendous voice,
> Heaven protect us!
> The mighty thunder rolls!
> The rushing tempest rages!
> Where shall we fly! away!
> Sheets of livid flame wrapping ether in a blaze!
> The fierce ragged lightning bursting the clouds,
> Now the flood in torrent descends.

The C minor key of the storm scene also performs its tonal function in conveying tempestuous tension. Between the G minor of the opening and the C major of the closing of the oratorio, the C minor key in the progressive tonality of the work "serves a function similar to that in The Creation; for Haydn it was the key that symbolized the world before light. Therefore it is used at the beginning of 'Summer' to describe the pre-dawn and later the storm during which the heavens are darkened. The lightless beginning of 'Winter', and the symbol of old age, is also expressed by C minor".[33] The chromatic notes in the fugue of Haydn, inspired by Händel, in the concluding phase of the storm also contribute to contrapuntal suspense.

Although unsupported by the evidence of words and expressed with the continuous personal presence of a tempestuous temperament, the storm in the fourth movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 6 (1807–1808) unquestionably transmits the sense of an even more fundamental threat. In Beethoven's work the storm appears in unsurpassed symphonic pomp in F minor with thundering drums, lightning flutes, running violins and the raging of the whole orchestra. Chromatic dissonance plays its part as it steps up the horrifying intensity of the tempest. When the storm is gone, the shepherds have a very good reason to rejoice and sing a hymn of gratitude in the last movement of the symphony.

In a branch of Romantic music (Schubert's Stormy Morning in the song cycle The Winter Journey 1827, Berlioz's Fantastic Symphony 1830, Mendelssohn's Scottish Symphony 1831–1842, Bellini's The Puritans of Scotland 1835, Wagner's The Flying Dutchman 1841, Liszt's Les Préludes 1848–1850, Berlioz's The Trojans 1855–1858, or Verdi's Otello 1887, etc.) the ominous character of the storm is maintained and in some respects is even sharpened.

The usual attraction of the Romantic imagination to the extreme found a natural medium in the storm: the extreme state of nature.

Field, however, was not content with this much. In his Piano Concerto No. 5 in C major, which he subtitled L'Incendie par l'Orage (1815–1817), he seems to have started in a different direction. The difference does not lie in Field's effort to reach a powerful effect: all composers depicting a storm have endeavoured to do so, and Romantic composers were especially keen on enlarging their resources to outdo their predecessors.

Field became acquainted with Daniel Steibelt's Piano Concerto No. 3 (L'Orage) as early as 1798, when it enthralled London audiences with its evocation of the storm in the middle of its final rondo movement. Steibelt's programme concerto also scored a great success in St. Petersburg even in the 1810s, and it was Field's ambition to outdistance Steibelt in a friendly rivalry. Accordingly, Field fortified his orchestra, added a bass trombone, used some extra percussion, employed a bell, and in the storm section even prescribed a second piano to obtain extra sonority and to reinforce the solo instrument without hammering inordinately the soft-toned and square-shaped piano of his day. As against Steibelt's L'Orage, Field evoked the impression of L'Incendie par l'Orage suggesting "not merely a storm but some kind of catastrophe resulting from it; though whether this was merely a fire caused by lightning or a symbol of some larger event (the burning of Moscow?) one can only guess".[34]

But Field's originality does not simply lie in the onomatopoeic depiction of lightning, thunder, wind and fire. His innovative spirit is chiefly revealed in his imaginative reinterpretation and revaluation of the storm. Changing the key to C minor lends the storm scene a passionate quality. Placing the tempest into the development section of the first movement of the concerto creates the conditions for a modification of meaning: the phase of development is the most unstable part of any piece in the sonata form. Field increases the impression of instability by large-scale modulation, intensive and inventive passage work, roaring tremolos in the bass range and sparkling ornaments in the high register, dynamic runs, chromatic effects, and ragged (dotted and syncopated) rhythms. The Romantic outcome of this climate of transformation is a veritable change of musical content: from an awful force the storm becomes an awesome power, an awe-inspiring, even sublime agent, the fantastic proof of creative fantasy. The peak of the process is the enormous fortissimo outburst of the orchestra and the piano, shrieking in ecstatic semitone friction, and submerging metric

stress in phrase accent in bars 379–382: an eruption of flames (not unlike the bursting "black rain and fire" of Shelley's Ode to the West Wind or Turner's image in The Burning of the Houses of Lords and Commons, October 16, 1834). It is a flashing fireband shooting up, curving down, sparkling up, dying down, and giving way to a scherzando passage in A minor.

This passage shows some melodic, metric and rhythmic similarity (though, of course, no identity) with the main theme of the last movement in Chopin's Piano Concerto in F minor (1829–1830), while the prolongued motif at the peak of Field's storm with its circular movement rising above, sinking below, and returning to the initial note foreshadows the shape of the central motif — appearing, as it were, in diminution — in Chopin's "Winter Wind" Study, Étude No. 11 in the Op. 25 set (1832–1836). What Field had begun, Chopin brought to full fruition. He did not do so in conscious imitation, but in creating a form which carried further Field's achievement in reinterpreting and revaluating the meaning and human significance of the tempest. The form used by Chopin developed the norm established by Field. Essentially this is the axiological basis of the stylistic affinity between their music.

Chopin's "Winter Wind" Study opens with a four-bar introduction. It was, in fact, a friend of Chopin's, Charles A. Hoffmann, who suggested to the composer that such a preparatory section might enhance the overall effect.[35] So the introduction was an afterthought; but what a thought! Chopin took the hint, and composed his musical preface with perfect autonomy and ingenuity.

When the haunting and singing phrase is first presented in the right hand part, it is immediately present in the alert consciousness of the listener; yet since it is played lento and piano, it is also distant and elegiac. The double curve of its gentle and fragile melodic line is entirely unaccompanied, so its key is mysteriously undecided: it can be both C major and A minor (bars 1–2). A fermata renders its musical gesture increasingly tentative.

When the phrase is repeated in bars 3 and 4, the riddle seems to be solved; the notes C, G and C under the melodic E set the tune in C major. Yet the initial duality persists on another plane: if the melody is now filled in and rounded off by chords which lend it a measure of corporeality and solemnity, it is also made more remote and enigmatic by the pianissimo mark. Its groping character is further emphasized by another fermata. The presence and absence of the phrase are simultaneously enhanced. Beauty is the object of Romantic yearning.

The third cell in the introduction is the last chord of bar 4. The D in the treble register and the B in the deep bass might — in isolation, and after the repeated alternation of tonic chords in C major and subdominant chords in F major — point to G major, which, as dominant, could prepare a return to C major. This, however, would be a platitudinous solution.

Under the note D the right hand also plays a G sharp (rather than G). Thus considered, the chord would suggest not the fifth degree of C major but the seventh degree of A minor; it would constitute a compound diminished fifth chord consisting of two minor thirds. It would be the closest relative of the diminished seventh chord (consisting of three minor thirds), which, as James Anderson Winn wittily remarks, was to Romantic music "what the adverbial clause beginning 'where' or 'when' was to Romantic poetry: a smoothly plausible way of continuing motion, a means to juxtapose and associate images or key-areas without committing oneself to one unequivocal grammatical relation between those elements".[36]

This, however, is not the full truth about the imaginative nature of this chord. The previous chord has a fermata over it and contains an E. Because of the fermata, the E is held long; since however, it is a minim, it also sounds long and, if ever so gently, losing even a part of its pianissimo volume, it affects the last chord of the introduction, making it tactfully and gracefully the dominant seventh chord of A minor. It also has a fermata, the third one in four bars, indicating that the phrase is feeling its way in an ambiguous course.

In bar 5 the storm breaks out vigorously (allegro con brio) in A minor, which proves to be the basic key of the study. The left hand plays the opening phrase of the introduction energetically, forte and risoluto. The dramatic shift in dynamics is not only a quantitative but also a qualitative change: the phrase has now lost its elegiac nature and has assumed a passionate quality, which is increased by the rapid chromatic action and counteraction of the right hand, indicating the fact that the contradictory principle in the introductory section is not lost but reproduced at a higher level as an energizing factor and explosive agent. "This study must be treated throughout as a polyphonic duet between the two hands with attention to the melodic writing implicit in most of the semiquaver figuration".[37] The piece is also made "virile, energetic and boisterous"[38] by the sectional return and dynamic increase of the basic theme; by a fantasy-driven range of large-scale modulations; as well as by the practice of joining "two entirely foreign harmonies by chromatic progressions in all

parts. Thus ... an E major and a C minor triad can be joined together... (bars 49 and 50)".[39] Such an imaginative joining of distant harmonic poles in Romantic music corresponds to the equally imaginative linking of distant linguistic poles in Romantic poetry (Shelley's similes and metaphors in Ode to the West Wind) as well as to the atmospheric fusion of diverse masses of whirling colour in Romantic painting (Turner's Snow Storm).

The enormous increase of tempestuous energy is also expressed by the changing range and shape of the basic phrase. The left hand starts playing it in the deep bass, but soon (already in bar 11) a treble clef notation crops up on the bass staff, and is repeated in bar 21; while in bars 41–44 the phrase rises to the treble range, is played by the right hand, and is counterpointed by the figurations of the left hand, which now also plays in the treble clef. The identical dotted notes of the first motif of the first phrase are either reinforced by repetition or are replaced by triplets (bar 10, etc.), which may be widely placed (bars 17, 18, 35, 36, 81 and 82) and often point upwards, sword-like (bars 11, 21, 29, 38, 39, etc.). If we also take into account the dynamic surge of the Étude from piano and pianissimo to forte, fortissimo and forte-fortissimo (fff); consider the summarizing last blasts of the crucial phrase with its second motif appearing heavily accented and in augmentation; and if we listen to the passionate and parallel run, ascending rush and upward thrust of both hands at the very end of the Study, then we have so many good reasons to regard it as a tour de force of Romantic imagination: a fantastic and cathartic reassessment of the tempest. The emphasis is not on onomatopoeic effects or tone-painting, but on the rendition of a tempestuous mood and an imaginative revaluation of that mood. Field's pioneering achievement is brought here to organic perfection.

The clue to understanding this miraculous transfiguration lies in Chopin's "Revolutionary" Study, Étude Op. 10, No. 12 in C minor, dedicated to Liszt. Composed in Stuttgart in September 1831, when Chopin was on his way to Paris and received news that the czar's troops had crushed the Polish revolutionary uprising and struggle for independence,[40] The "Revolutionary" Study expresses not only the composer's tragic shock, but also his "terrific defiance",[41] his cathartic transformation of an acutely painful experience. "The defeated Polish revolution was bound to be victorious in Chopin's music."[42] Such a thorough-going change could only be effected by the power of creative imagination. Chopin's Études are a far cry from the didactic exercises of Clementi, Cramer, Czerny and Bertini, and even from those of Dussek, Hummel, Moscheles or Kalkbrenner.

Chopin's "Winter Wind" and "Revolutionary" Études are related not only in mood, passion, their minor key, allegro tempo, dynamic contrasts, sharp accents, the flash and flicker of high treble notes against a deep, dark bass, a final augmentation,[43] the parallel motion of both hands in the closing run, the enormously wide-spread interaction between chromatically coloured, modulating, murmuring, roaring and rushing semiquaver figurations, and an eloquent, energetic, restated, reinforced and reshaped two-motif phrase, but to a certain extent also in some traits of the pattern of the seminal phrase itself: in the dotted rhythm of the first motif and the semitone step up and back in the second motif (which in The "Revolutionary" Study is also dotted). The motifs in The "Revolutionary" Study may be sharper, more pointed, dotted differently, thrusting upward and immediately sword-like, but the parallels between The "Winter Wind"Étude and The "Revolutionary" Étude are strong enough to transfer, "transpose" and warrant the claim of István Kecskeméti (made in a different context and comparing different études): "Chopin has written two Études in C minor: both are cycle-closing pieces, and, regarding their content and expressive form, both could be called either 'Storm' or 'Revolutionary' Études".[44] The tempestuous or revolutionary character is also the property of the B minor Study (Op. 25, No. 10) and of Nos. 3, 8, 22 and 24 of the Préludes (1838–1839) in the Op. 28 series.[45] The link, however, is the closest between The "Winter Wind" Étude and The "Revolutionary" Study. In The "Winter Wind" Étude "the left hand has a march-like theme and ... the right hand 'accompaniment' combines harmonic and melodic functions in a uniquely formulated and strongly characterised pattern, sweeping across the registers to create a dramatic and powerful counterpoint to the principle theme. It is the most impassioned of the later set, recalling the 'revolutionary' study in its heroic tone and its structural breadth".[46] This is why in Chopin's creative imagination the storm has changed its charge, sign and value: from a negative force it has become a positive power.

Such an axiological change, initiated by Field and completed by Chopin, can also be observed in the poetry of Shelley and the painting of Turner. Shelley was bound to know the threat of storm both in his life and death. He knew it and expressed it in his poetry as well (A Vision of the Sea, 1820). Yet when his imagination has given an impalpably sensuous form to his utopistically radical ideals, the tempestuous wind has become a value-bearing force of transformation and inspiration (Ode to the West Wind, 1819). The change from Autumn to Winter and from Winter to Spring (Sections

I and V), from calm to thunderstorm (II) and seastorm (III), from passivity to activity (IV), and from nature to society (V); the change of allegiances from things driven (a leaf, a cloud, a wave) to the phenomenon driving them ("Be thou, Spirit fierce, / My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!"); the change from long to short sentences; the change of subjunctive verb forms ("If I were a dead leaf") into imperatives ("Make me thy lyre", "Drive my dead thoughts", "Scatter... / Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind!"); the unexpected, uncustomary and at this time unusual change of the rhyme scheme in the last structural section from aba, bcb, cdc, ded, ee into aba, bc_1b, $c_2c_3c_2$, c_3dc_3, dd, using (in the pronunciation of "hearth" and "wind") contemporary vowel and diphthong variants as rhymes,[47] paralleling and contrasting, with sustained diminution, the augmented culminations of Field's and Chopin's storm scenes, and suggesting, with the "mighty harmonies" of a powerful closure, the musical magic of "the incantation of this verse" and "The trumpet of a prophecy"; the cumulative change of the overwhelming crescendo of sequential terza rimas, forceful alliterations, enormous enjambments and the leitmotif-like sectional recurrence of addressing the wind; and the general change of tone from the yearningly elegiac to the triumphantly tempestuous: all these imaginative changes of value and evaluation correspond to the process and progress of the storm in Field's Concerto No. 5 and Chopin's "Winter Wind" Study.

A comparable revaluation of the storm took place in Turner's oeuvre. Of his numerous stormy seascapes, the Calais Pier canvas, first exhibited in London at the Royal Academy in 1803, undoubtedly represents the tempestuous sea as the ominous medium of serious danger. "Nearly swampt",[48] Turner noted tersely in his sketchbook, recording the perilous experience of his risky arrival in 1802 at Calais, the first stage of his first tour abroad.

The painting is composed in dramatic contrasts. The walls of waves threaten the fragile sailing boats, and rush against the stiff structural line of the wooden pier, which protrudes into the raging sea and constitutes a slanting axis. The lurching set of struggling boats tossed by the stormy sea draws another slanting axis pointing precariously and ambiguously both forward, to the middle of the sea, and backward, to the pier. The dual use of the axis heightens the dramatic effect: the fishermen make an effort to move away from the pier, but the waves drift them back, and may easily knock them against the pier. Human endeavour and natural force fatefully clash. The partly lit up and slightly sinuous line of the horizon, where the sea

and the sky meet, create a third axis against which the diagonals of the composition are measured. A fourth axis is formed by the nervous line of variously tilted masts pointing upward, ending at differently placed, accented points, and reinforcing each other's position by what might be termed the visual equivalent of a syncopated staccato effect. The tempestuous drama is expanded from plane to space.

The spatial quality is further enhanced by the fifth axis embodied by the edge of the billowing clouds slanting from upper left to lower right, working against the direction of the masts, continuing, as it were, in the bending line and upright back of the pier, and supported by further diagonals of parallel beams of light.

All these variously placed but invariably dynamic axes unite in a vertiginous vortex and universalize, as formative principles, the movement of the voracious whirlpool circling around a cone of wave in the foreground, where a diamond-shaped ravine is carved out of the surface of the sea, ready to collapse and crumble into the circular swirl it holds.

The colour scheme of the painting is equally dynamic. It also suggests a circular pattern each stage of which represents a contrast. The wall of wave more or less parallel to the position of the viewer is white and bright with spuming froth, but it is also counterpointed by the dark brown and the dark green sea. The shaking and shivering sail of the boat in the middle is a bit darker than the white of the wave, but it is still light, even sunlit against the heavy mass of a dark rain-cloud. The sail to the left is russet brown and is contrasted by the light blue opening in the sky where the mast points. The extreme left of the picture is occupied by a deep dark mass of clouds and by whirling waves which lead the eye back to the white foam indicating that the colour scheme has come full circle.

The dramatic quality of the tempestuous scene is also increased by related opposites: the convex cone of wave in the foreground and the concave opening in the sky; the lit up sail in the middle and its luminous and vaporous mirror-image copied upon darker clouds. The sharp white of a waving flag and a flying gull, set against the huge dark surface of storm-clouds, strike the eye as a shrill shrike would the ear.

If in the early Calais Pier the tempest is definitely formidable, in the late Snow Storm (1842) it is positively sublime. The element of deep danger is a part of the sublime, a tense field of drama, the medium of cathartic triumph. In his crossing to Calais Turner was surprised by the storm. In the experience depicted in the Snow Storm he exposed himself to

the storm. He is reported as having said, "I whished to show what such a scene was like; I got the sailors to lash me to the mast to observe it; I was lashed for four hours and I did not expect to escape but I felt bound to record it if I did".[49] Some scholars query the authenticity of this claim,[50] but there can be no doubt about the fact that Turner made such a claim, subtitled his painting as "steam-boat off a harbour's mouth making signals in shallow water, and going by the lead. The author was in this storm on the night the Ariel left Harwich",[51] and the composition of the painting is such as if he had been lashed to the mast. It is an extraordinary evocation of a deeply personal experience.

If in the Calais Pier the movement of the tempest tends to be circular, in the Snow Storm it is circular.

While in the Calais Pier canvas the pier, the boats, the sea and the sky are separate entities, people and objects are clearly recognizable, circularity is emphasized at the thematic level (the swirling sea and the shape of ropes in the foreground) and generalized in form by the cumulative effect of the various axes, the Snow Storm presents a cosmic whirlwind, deletes dividing lines, and supprresses most details. This is why for the average contemporary eye it looked like a "mass of soap-suds and white-wash";[52] and this is the reason why for the modern viewer it is the internalized evocation of a crucial experience, an eternalized impression of a seething swirl captured with the anticipation of a modern sensibility which had a liberating effect on Monet and Pissarro twenty years after Turner's death.[53]

In his original, witty and erudite book, The Englishness of English Art, Nikolaus Pevsner supposes that "Turner's world of fantasmagoria", his "atmospheric view", "unplastic, cloudy or steamy treatment" were basically the consequences of English climate which brought about "the incorporeal tradition of English art".[54] While there can be no doubt about the fact that English moisture and mist, the frequent changes of atmosphere have had their fingerprints on Turner's art, it is also true that English climate did not change from Hogarth to Turner, but English art did; climatic conditions were the same in Turner's youth and old age, but his manner of representation became thoroughly modified; and Turner's influence on Monet was not the effect of British climate on French weather. The Impressionistic incorporeality of Turner's later art can be explained on an axiological, rather than meteorological, basis: as soon as the Industrial Revolution made it impossible for the Romantic artist to express his values through the

immediate forms of external reality, the imaginative transformation of that reality became a matter of paramount importance. In France a similar process took place later. This is the basis of the conspicuous modernity of the British Romantic Movement in poetry (Shelley), music (Field) and painting (Turner) alike.

In the Calais Pier, influenced by the seascapes of Willem van de Velde, even water is characterized by the solidity of glass. In the Snow Storm even solid objects possess the fluidity of water.

In the early seascape people are actual and, to a certain extent, even anecdotal figures. In the late picture no clear-cut figure is visible; however, configurations of vapour, light and cloud suggest the possibility of an impalpable spiritual presence on either side of the mast. Are these shapes like the symbolic angel in the middle of the equally circular painting, The Angel Standing in the Sun (1846)? They are less definite, but they certainly have symbolic overtones. Or are they rather like the mythical figure of Moses in the upper middle part of the experimental circular painting having the long title of Light and Colour (Goethe's Theory) — the Morning after the Deluge — Moses Writing the Book of Genesis (1843)? They are more impalpable, but they may have some mythical implications. Are they there at all? They may well be. The ambiguity of their presence is the ontology of the fantastic.[55]

In the Calais Pier the centre of the maelstrom is external to the sailing boats; it is placed at the bottom left corner of the composition. In the Snow Storm the centre of the cosmic turmoil is the mast of the ship, the real or fictional position of the painter "at the center of the landscape".[56] His body may be the target of the storm, but his fantasy is the power centre of the tempest. The movement of the sweeping whirlpool is centrifugal.[57] "Turner's painting is a work not of self-effacement but of survival and triumphant self-assertion."[58] Its energy is the positive power of creative imagination. Its source is the Shelleyan wish of "Make me thy lyre" and "Be thou me" (Ode to the West Wind), the imaginary and imaginative paradox of pantheistic identification (without, of course, Shelley's explicitly verbalized social message). Its gesture is the sensuous form of a positive value judgement. Its achievement — like those of Field, Chopin and Shelley — is the imaginative praise of human creativity.

At this point, a more quiet coda is in order. Even if Field's stature was admittedly smaller than Chopin's, Shelley's or Turner's, and his sense of structure and grasp on pattern was less sure than theirs, "in a rich age

of English poetry" and painting "Field was the only musician capable of uncovering a complementary vein of lyrical music",[59] whether elegiac or passionate. The fact that he can be compared to them at all is a measure of his signficance. But his importance is not simply historical. He was not only the inventor of the nocturne, the initiator of the Romantic revaluation of the storm, and not even merely one of the pioneers of Romantic music. He was more than that: an imaginative composer worth listening to. In his own right. Even today.[60]

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SPACE-TIME IN SALVADOR ELIZONDO'S FARABEUF

HILDEGARD MARTH

Budapest

On the basis of all that has been said so far it may fairly be argued that every sentence in the novel throws the reader's attention onto the tortured face in the photo; all the "elements" are built into the text in such a way that, expanding each other, they might, at the end of the novel, supply the final significance, the meaning of the sign – the sign that can be recognized right from the outset in the suffering and yet ecstatically radiant face. The picture, taken in China, is a snapshot of someone we do not even know the name of – hence it could be anybody. We see him at the particular moment of a ritual torture session when man exists in the intermediate state between life and death, but already in the radiance of an intuitive knowledge of the truth, and when, to him, the "profane world", and with it time, cease to exist; if his features reflect earthly pain and celestial light, it must be some novel experience, unknown to the uninitiated, that he undergoes. (See "Himmlische u. Irdische"; "Amor Sagrado – Amor Profano").

In the scrutiny of the novel's space-time, the "photo" is the most important "element", in that right from the outset (even if indirectly) it keeps alive the reader's interest in the event being enacted in China – in spite of the fact that it is not until Chapter VII that we are provided with detailed information on it.

There is a host of studies devoted to the roots of rites, their development and interpretation. All of them tend to suggest that rites – regardless of the particular geographical locations in which they occur – are invariably performed in accordance with a set of prescribed procedures. Their object is always to lead the community back to some pristine and primordial state, which, full as it is of suffering, ultimately carries in it, at the moment of arrival, the possibility of a "perpetual fresh start". Forming a part of all mysteries is the triad of suffering – death – fresh start; yet, only for everyday life, for profane existence is this death a frightening reality; it is, at the same time, a starting-point for the existence that the spirit wants to enter. Reading the novel, we witness

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

this "retracing of our steps". It is the memory images of the journey (B and B_1 motifs) and the omens that form the bridge which enables the WOMAN – obedient only to the laws of the interior stream of consciousness and shedding the coordinates of the accustomed profane space-time, yet always starting from those – to enter a sphere which, before our very eyes, emerges from the world of everyday life and its chronometrically recordable minutes to become something transcendental, a single eternity which, however, a life-time can fill with an infinite number of moments. A special merit and peculiarity of the novel's composition is the way in which the writer is able to make the reader accept the process as something natural and self-evident. From the very beginning, there in the consciousness of the WOMAN are the memory images that her other "self", the Man, by the perpetual duty of "concentration", by "remembrance", translates, in her, into genuine understanding and knowledge.

Recalling the three major units of the novel, i.e. the locale of the "events" enacted in the HOUSE (A motif), the SEASHORE (B motif), and the CHINESE COLOUR (B_1 motif), we might state the following: in all three locales we encounter descriptions of the locale one would normally find in any other novel set in a homogeneous space: in the HOUSE we are presented with a sketchy description of the path leading from the gate to the "room", and also of the odd paraphernalia of the completely locked room (the water, mixed in with chromium, in a small bowl on the iron table, with tufts of cotton-wool, reminiscent of rotting lotuses, the mirror, the door and the closed window, and, last but not least, the photo). The seashore description of the B motif comes across as just as realistic as the meticulous depiction of the ritual torture played out in China (B_1 motif). The novel is shaped through a series of associations in the "interior 'I'". The basis for that is provided by the two kinds of meaning carried by the individual "elements" and "memory images": the everyday meaning of the objects existing in the profane space and time (photo, mirror, window etc.) and also the selfsame objects in their interrelationship with other objects (starfish – photo – sign on the window) imperceptibly lead the WOMAN into a sphere where, at the level of fear – intuition, and finally at that of the "initiated", MAN learns something of the cosmic secret, that is, rises into sacred space.

The simultaneous presence of two levels in the experiences is attested by the A motif (HOUSE), which is worth recalling exclusively from this standpoint:

Farabeuf arrives at the "house" from the outside world, he crosses the THRESHOLD, and as he does so everything loses its former meaning, suggesting, instead, something else, whose real significance the reader does not yet understand. The frequent and emphatic mention of the threshold justifies the reader in attributing some meaning, special importance to the seemingly casual remark, which, however, is repeated several times. The threshold, just like the DOOR later on, definitely represents a dividing line. It may represent the gulf between the external and the internal, but equally — as in the case of the novel — it may represent the possibility of transition to the world of individuality; it suggests that, by entering the "house", he shuts out the external world with all its rules and laws — in other words, there exists every chance for the "I" to be at one with itself. Where Farabeuf arrives, there is nothing to measure time, we do not know the season, the year, or even the hour, — only the sudden fall of darkness and the light succeeding it informs us — not of the passage of time, but of the constant stream of thoughts, whether correct or incorrect in its course. Hence the "threshold" is not — as is usually the case — a symbol of one's arrival at one's home, but an image of the "I" arriving at loneliness.

The "house" still signals only a preexistent circumstance which may denote a profane or sacred locale, as the case may be. In short, the "house" represents the characteristics we were born with, which were allotted to us as our physical being, in which we can experience life in two different ways at one and the same time, at two levels, — i.e. the way we receive it, halfready, as it were, experiencing it with the memory of reason, and, conversely, with the peculiar memory of emotion, by taking into consideration the countless "signs" crowding our paths before us during our lives, — signs under whose impact the automatically recorded memories of the mind acquire their true meaning and the "sign" reveals its "significance".

Through entire chapters, the WOMAN is unable to tear herself away from the bits and fragments of memories, she is unable to find her bearings on her own, that is why she calls Farabeuf, waiting for him in the "PARLOUR". The "parlour" is the penultimate locale in the novel where the WOMAN still moves at once in a "celestial" and "terrestrial" locale, a "sacred" and "profane" locale; therefore the "parlour" proves that, for man, there is no pure "profane" existence in the novel", and there is no opportunity for the WOMAN and the MAN — i.e. the "I" — to experience a "sacred" space-time that is self-existent, which is not anchored in the real experiences undergone in the profane space, or which could be divorced from those.

It is the "omens" that enable the author to drive home to the reader that every experience can be absorbed in two ways: it is enough to have a "mirror" which always reflects the "door" never opened till now – a "glance" which strikes terror in you, making you show a craven front, or an "iron table", with tufts of cotton-wool floating in a bowl, reminding you of decay, or a "scalpel", and, finally, a "photo", which is frightening and incomprehensible in the first chapters – yet, the image of the "starfish", emerging in the B motif, already elucidates the meaning of the snapshot too, as in both the features of the "liu" can be recognized. The sense that the "operation" must be submitted to only becomes a certainty in the improvised performance, set in some dream chronology, of the Teatro Instantáneo, when the "spark", flaring up, illuminates for a moment the "totality", allowing a glimpse of the secret and thereby ending chaos and restoring ORDER, so that the Woman finds the "meaning" in herself.

Already in Chapter II the preparation for the "narcosis" begins; this provides an opportunity for recalling the events once experienced in China (B_1 motif). The movement made in the "parlour", where the Man touches the Woman's hand by accident, as it were, builds a bridge over the sea of associations to the experienced reality of the "walk on the seashore" (B motif). For the moment, only some images about the walk are triggered by memory, indicating, as it were, that they are the most important ones, which are absolutely essential for achieving the goal:

> That they were/are holding each other's hand;
> that on their way they saw/see a small boy building a sand-castle;
> that a woman dressed in black crossed/crosses their path;
> that pelicans were/are swooping down on the fish.

A perfect mirror-image of this chapter is Chapter III, which symbolically closes human life: in Chapter II, we see a departure from the "house", while Chapter III brings a return to the "house" – at high tide, which washes away everything.

The "past on the shores of the ocean", and also what the conscious mind makes of it as it tries to make sense of it in the "parlour", become timeless and spaceless realities, no longer bound to any particular location or chronology – they are only necessary insofar as they enable all that happened <u>then</u> to deliver a warning <u>now</u>, not yet at the paroxysmal point of the "torture"; so that the WOMAN might drift closer to participating in the cosmic experiences; they are needed, finally, to provide a gentler transition along the path at the end of which she will open the

"door", submitting, of her own accord, to the operation: at a mystical level, the "water", the "ocean" hold in themselves a sacral experience of existence, which, of course, is not conditional on any sort of religious conviction, but which does most certainly depend on an existential curiosity, the eternal desire to catch a glimpse of the primordial "secret", so that, for a moment, the "I" may forget about itself and sense the gulf between life and death, ebb and tide, building and destroying (sand-castle), the known and the unknown (the face you think you know and the one it is no longer possible to recognize in the "b" portion of the journey) — a gulf that is frightening and causes the WOMAN to "escape" both on the seashore and in the "parlour".

To break up the order of events for a moment, it is worth anticipating here the torture, which occurs much later (in Chapter VII) and is described in some detail in the "B_1" motif: the condemned person, tied to a stake, still has to endure all the minute details of preparation — the eager, inquisitive looks of the gathering crowd, the baskets packed with pigeons, placed there to deter the vultures that might want to feed on his body, so that nothing shall disturb the ceremony. The WOMAN receives, from the first chapter to the last, a more restrained, but just as frightening, slow initiation; her fear continually grows, and her resistance lowers, until, in Chapter IX, the "initiation", the "operation" is performed, enabling her to learn the true significance of the "sign", which, in its characteristic features, was there both in the "sign" drawn on the window and in the "starfish", as well as in the lineaments of the eternal HUMAN BEING in the photograph.

To sum up briefly what has been said so far: The THRESHOLD separates us from the outer world, still, it does not represent a gulf or even a dividing line between the profane and the sacred space. What it does represent is a sort of boundary in the sense that, on crossing it, we enter a realm that is the exclusive preserve of the "I", where all there is to be found of the external world is what "man" carries in his mind.

The HOUSE is a symbol of the "I", which, as regards the living of its experiences, may move in the profane as well as the sacred space. Within the "house", in the PARLOUR, the Woman, nearing the end of the novel, with failing strength, holds onto the profane space via her memories. Still, in inverse ratio to the sweeping current mentioned earlier, she is, at first, only moderately attracted to the secret to be unriddled, with the fascination growing stronger and stronger later on, taking her to the voluntarily

accepted "operation" and the "liu", which exists independently as a goal – to an experience of "totality", an experience she is not to achieve until her entrance into the ROOM, delayed over eight chapters. The DOOR leading into the "room" is an aperture that enables her to "pass" from one mode of existence to another; it represents the boundary between the "profane" and the "sacred". The "transition" is always attended by pain and suffering, but it also holds in itself the possibility of rebirth. This "initiation" (meditation), with all the pain it involves, is the price to be paid for the birth, in the eternity of a single "moment", of the "ethical 'I'".

About the ROOM it may be stated that it is, by now, totally cut loose from the "profane" world, to which the "I" is dead. In the "room", the WOMAN/MAN is enabled to realize that they are no more than a single "WORD"; beyond this point, the "incomprehensible" begins, where the profane space-time is finally cut loose from its moorings, resulting in genuine freedom for the "I".

What has been said above makes it, we hope, sufficiently clear that, from the first to the last chapter of the novel, we are witnesses of an initiation ritual. From the time the first warning "signs" are noticed right up to the last, the aim of the ritual is to pave the way for the "ritual" occurring in Chapter IX, so that the WOMAN may become an "initiate".

Besides the series of switches from the profane to the sacred "space", the simultaneous changes of "chronology" are also self-evident. As attested by the subtitle – "The chronicle of a moment" –, the "moment" is the only thing that matters; whether it embraces years or perhaps only days is immaterial.

What is important cannot be measured – unless, that is, one invokes the chronology of the "spark" of the Teatro Instantáneo, which is, however, the internal chronology of the "I". One of the morals suggested by the "moment" in the novel is that "man" should not wait for the last "spark" to light his way as he rises into the sacred sphere; instead, he should make the journey before that as, in this way, in the infinity of "moments", everyday life too can be rendered sacred, restoring ORDER, which exists independently of us, and yet within us – only it has to be recognized and remembered later on.

No nobler idea can be expressed by a work of art.

"Yang" - "yin" dialogue

After examining several aspects of the novel, we may state that the work, whose subject is the stream of consciousness of the "I", thinking in terms of a single person, cannot feature "dialogues", as defined in a conventional meaning. What we are presented with here is a dialogue of the "I", arguing within one and the same individual, — a dialogue which, based on the dualistic world-picture, stems from a cavalcade of objects and recollections. It is ostensibly realized in a dialogue between the "I" and the "you", as a result of which, in a single moment, the miracle happens: the "profane 'I'" swings into its opposite, the "sacred 'I'", which is the basis on which the ethical man is born, to the end that life, profane existence may continue by a multiplication of these "moments".

In the previous chapters I have already mentioned the strong influence that Eisenstein's work has had on Elizondo's writing; here let me just briefly recall how Eisenstein manages to visually express conceptually complicated ideas by transferring onto celluloid the essence of the hieroglyphic writing system: instead of symbols, he juxtaposes objects, so as to express the new idea by their combination, thereby creating the process of associative thinking.

Elizondo takes his cue from Eisenstein. What we get in the novel is not merely a juxtaposition of objects, but also a juxtaposition of the memories that the WOMAN has consciously entered into during her life, her crystallized "memory images". That is the directorial principle by means of which the writer keeps associative thinking active right up to the last sentence of the novel. If that were all we could say about the novel, we would have to state that it is nothing other than a verbal adaptation of Eisenstein's pictorial technique.

But the novel goes much further than that; it has the WOMAN move amidst "objects" and "memory images" which, if rightly construed, almost invariably represent one of the elements of pairs of contrasted concepts; just when, in which chapter they "find" their antitheses depends on the drift of the novel's development — even so, this does happen in Chapter IX at the latest.

If we accept the present paper's conclusions on the space-time of the novel, and conceive of the novel as indeed the description of an "initiation ritual", we cannot rule out the possibility that the author consciously resorted to "elements" (objects and memory images) that fall into two

contrasting groups. One of the proofs supporting the above statement is the fact that, throughout eight chapters, we have two "I"-s, that is, the situation experienced is elucidated from two points of view (WOMAN – MAN).

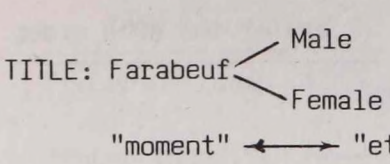
One of the characteristics of ritual behaviour patterns, obedient to strict laws, is that to every symbol within them a contrasting symbol may be assigned,a phenomenon known in the literature in the field as "binary opposition". Some of the features of binary opposition (right – left; man – woman) are to be encountered in all parts of the world, irrespective of geographical location and historical period, and as such may be regarded as universal. As to the interpretation of this "dual symbolic classification" – that is, whether "right" – "left" may be assigned the same order as the classification "man" – "woman" – there we find significant variations.

To return to the scheme employed in the novel, beyond the title ("moment" – "eternity"), the very first chapter provides some clues: the "nurse" tosses three coins – an odd number – and, depending on whether the result is an even or odd number, the writer labels the predicted events as "positive" or "negative", "favourable" or "unfavourable", referring to the "YANG" and "YIN" system, an ancient Chinese method of prediction, frequently featured in the novel as well. (The literature on binary oppositions mentions this Chinese method of predicting the future as the most ancient manifestation of "even" – "odd" opposition. That fact did not escape Eisenstein's attention, either, as attested by his essays written in the "yin" – "yang" language.)

Besides the ancient Chinese classification system, which employed the "right" – "left", "female" (yin) – "male" (yang) opposition, there existed another variant too, which was the exact reverse of the one just mentioned, in that it assigned the "favourable" outcome to the "male" (yang), and its opposite to the "female" (yin), making these the determinants of the two lines of the binary opposition.

The above digression was needed because Elizondo builds up his novel on the basis of the latter system, so coaxing words from the "I", incapable of communication with the "profane" world.

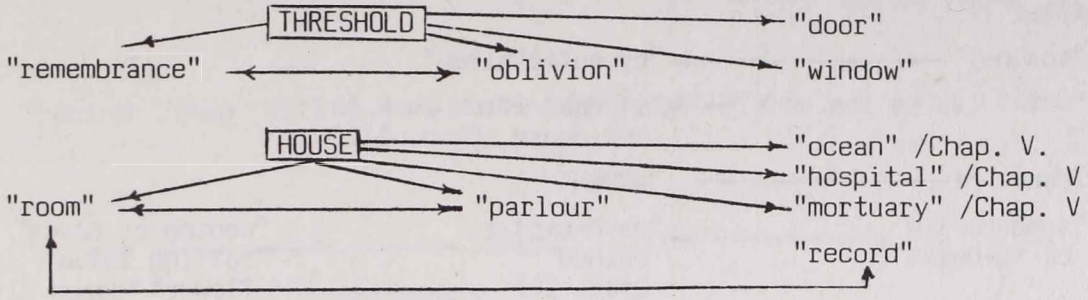
In what follows, I shall tabulate – from chapter to chapter, on the basis of the "elements" collected in the preceding chapters of the paper – the binary oppositions appearing in the novel. I shall indicate the cases where the elements in question are assigned their opposites elsewhere than in the chapter under review – and also, on occasion, the "elements" which correspond to one or another of the pairs of opposites, that is, carry the same sign-value as one of those.



"moment" ⟷ "eternity" — Chapter VI

YANG	YIN	are of the same order

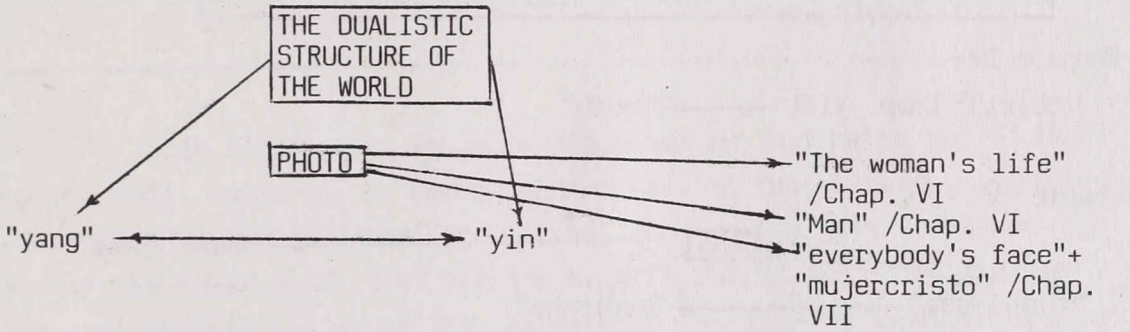
Chapter I

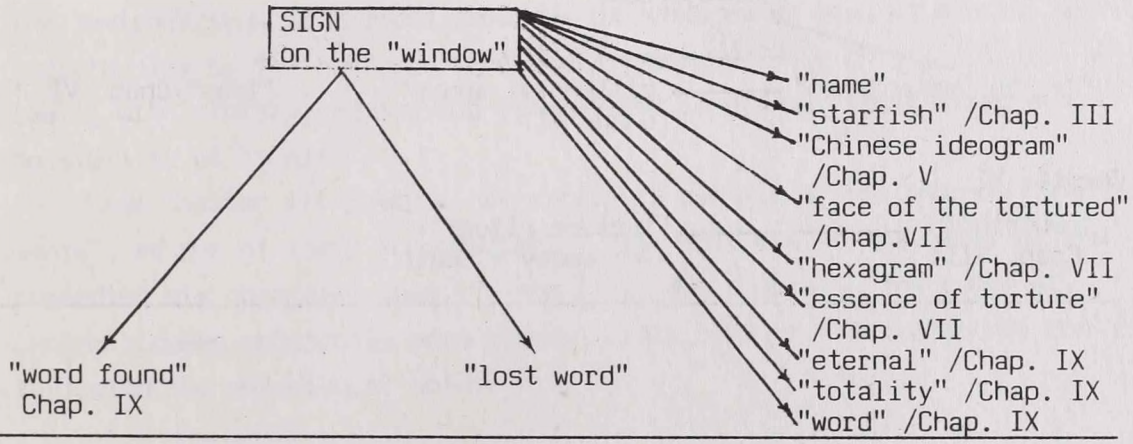


"even" ⟷ "odd"

"yes" ⟷ "no"

"continuous lines" ⟷ "jumbled lines"





YANG	YIN	are of the same order
"mirror that reflects everything"	"mirror that mists up"	
"answer" /Chap. IX	"question"	
"silence"	"cry"	
"nurse dressed in white"	"nurse dressed in black"	

Chapter II

"scalpel"	"hypnotic sleep"	
"walk" (up to the rock)	"escape" /from rock to the house, Chap. III	
"Man"	"WOMAN"	
"sand-castle being-built"	"send-castle ruined" Chap. III	"cooing of doves" "rotting lotus flower" "dazed fly" "decomposing starfish" Chap. III

Chapter III

"name" that we knew	"name" that we have forgotten	
"day" /Chap. VI	"night"	"spark"/Chap. VI

Chapter IV

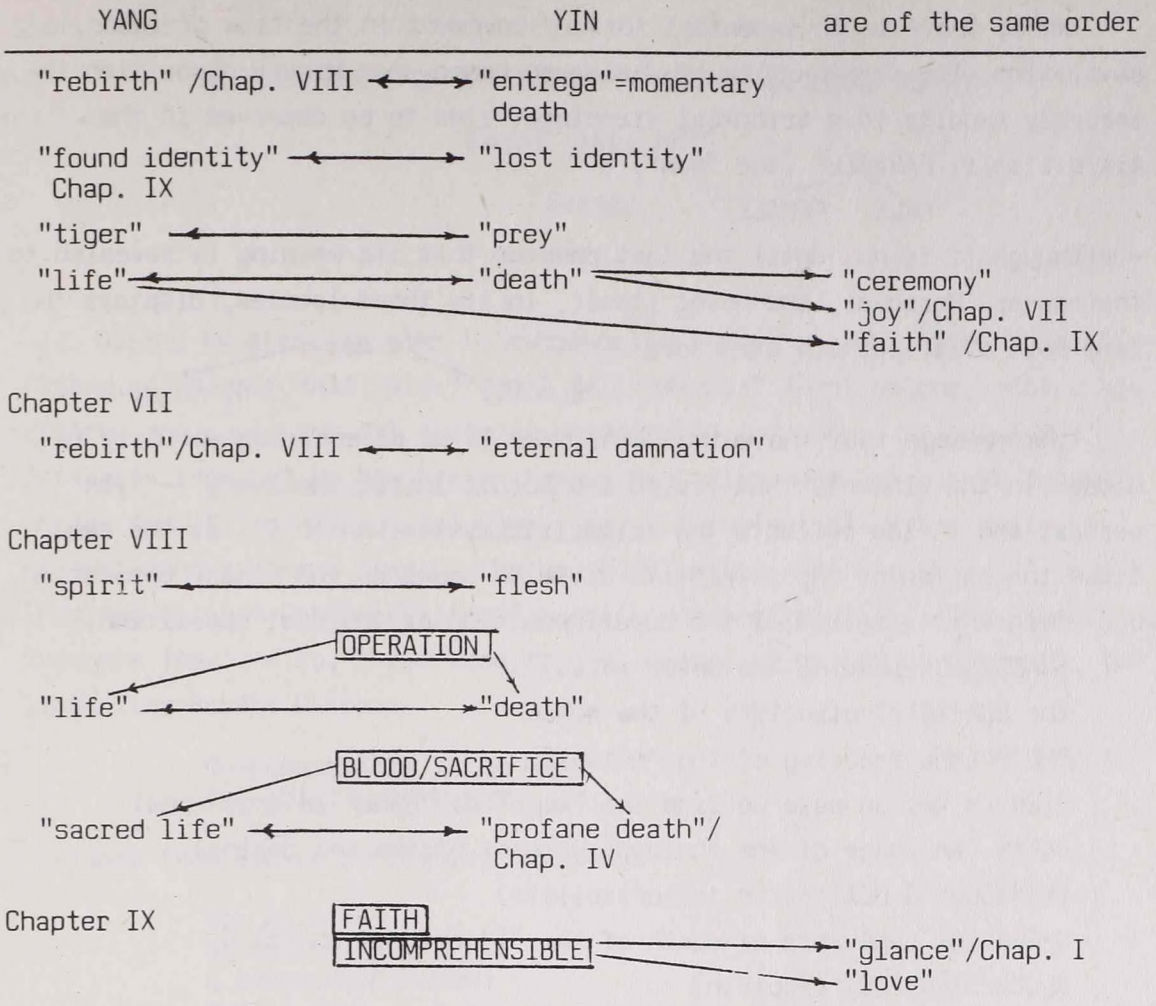
"rebirth"/Chap. VIII	"death"

Chapter V

OCEAN		"house"/Chap. I
"Himmlische"	"Irdische"	
everybody's DEATH		
"teatro Instantáneo"	"millennial agony" Chap. VI	"trap"/Chap. VI

Chapter VI

"rebirth"/ Chap. VIII	"torture ritual"= ="ceremony"="death"



The table illustrates the associative motion that helps the "I" transcend itself. Moreover, it testifies that only to those standing outside the "threshold" do the "silence" and "cries" of inward silence appear as passivity; in actual fact, they are the highest form of activity, the most original dialogue, which is the hallmark of none but the truly mature work. The juxtaposition of objects provokes thoughts; they may, at places, exist individually in the text, to find their analogues only chapters later, allowing with steadily decreasing force — and constantly restricting — the possibility of "choice".

From Chapter VII onwards, we virtually run out of the unknown "elements", as one of their "counterparts" fits into one or the other of the preceding six chapters. Thus, in the final two chapters, the range of choices becomes constantly more narrow, until, in the final chapter, one is left with the unequivocal solution.

Where there is an essential forward movement in the flow of ideas, a revelation, the construction of dialogues based upon binary opposition invariably results in a trinomial structure, also to be observed in the title itself: FARABEUF (the "man")

MALE FEMALE

— although it is not until the last chapter that its meaning is revealed to the reader. Moreover, the novel itself, in its three locales, displays the same sort of tripartite structure:

A motif

B motif B_1 motif

The message that the author considers to be of enduring validity is hidden in the elements that are on the borderline of the "yang" — "yin" series, and it too reflects the tripartite system, which is, at the same time, the series of the tripartite division based on the binary opposition, and emerges as a result of the superimposition of the dual opposition:

THRESHOLD (leaving the outer world)
the DUALISTIC structure of the WORLD
PHOTO (the freezing of the "moment")
SIGN (a key in case we find the "word" or "name" we once knew)
OCEAN (an image of the endless cycle of births and deaths)
EVERYBODY'S DEATH (its ineluctability)
OPERATION (the life or death of the "I" depends on it)
BLOOD/SACRIFICE (rebirth)
FAITH in the arrival at the
INCOMPREHENSIBLE, in the "I" not being alone, because it is accompanied by the "glance" and by "love", and all this, shrunk into a single "word", can be experienced in the eternity of the "moment". It is the "moment" of "birth", just as in the mysteries, when the initiates entered into contact with their gods by means of the "sacrifice" offered, that is, a momentary loss of their "self".

To sum up, when the "I" finds itself in a psychic state in which it is alienated from itself, the "I", thrown back at its own resources, expects help from the other half of its "I", namely, the "male". The interior discourse emerges, but at this point it experiences its own awareness at the plane of awareness of the "other person" — that is, the "dialogue", by virtue of its theme being fixed, is realized in "man" as the "true man" — in the present instance, in WOMAN.

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ON THE ETHICS OF ATTENTION IN MODERN AMERICAN POETRY

ENIKŐ BOLLOBÁS

Szeged

During my graduate year in Minneapolis I saw, on the office door of a friend, a sticker that said: "Don't fall asleep!" Then, as one entered his office, one could see all sorts of photographs and poems. Walker Evans' portraits from Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, close-ups one cannot forget; photos from Alfred Stieglitz' Camera Work, like that black and white shot of the young sycamore tree by the New York gutter, 'Spring Showers', which inspired William Carlos Williams' magnificent poetic still life, 'The Young Sycamore Tree'. Also, there were several poetry clippings on the wall; two lines from Robert Duncan:

> Responsibility is to keep
> the ability to respond.

A stanza from Denise Levertov's 'Marriage':

> You have my
> attention: which is
> a tenderness beyond
> what I say.

Edward Dorn's lines were there, about the responsibility, the moral obligation, of the poet:

> The common duty of the poet
> in this era of massive dysfunction
> and generalized onslaught upon alertness
> is to maintain the plant. ...

This friend was not in literature but in psychology, doing research in the nature of human attention; yet he taught me something very essential about American poetry. He pinned these photographs and texts on his wall because for him Walker Evans, Alfred Stieglitz, William Carlos Williams, Robert Duncan, Denise Levertov, and Edward Dorn were conveying one and the same message: that attention and alertness can never be taken for granted, and that attention is man's moral obligation. In the poetry clippings and photographs this message was more intricately phrased and more artistically put, but was essentially the same as that of the sticker on the door, 'Don't fall asleep'!

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

The poetics of attention has a long tradition in American poetry — from Emily Dickinson, through the imagists, to the postmoderns. It was turned into a complete philosophy by William Carlos Williams, and was picked up again by the Black Mountain poets such as Charles Olson, Robert Duncan, Robert Creeley, Denise Levertov, Edward Dorn. Emily Dickinson set an example for generations of poets to come when she taught concentration on minute details of the material and spiritual world. The Imagists considered "direct treatment" as the very first principle to revolutionize 20th century poetry; they insisted on "the direct treatment of the thing" — direct because of an intensive directionality, aiming at a maximum efficiency of expression.

> Suddenly discovering in the eyes of the very beautiful
> Normande cocotte
> The eyes of the very learned British Museum assistant.

Ezra Pound's 'Pagani's, November 8' shows the joy of attention leading to discovery in poetry, which discovery in this case is that intellectual and sexual passion are the same.

Pound's definition of the image is not restricted to the "intellectual and emotional complex" part, but also involves the "sense of sudden liberation"; "that sense of freedom from time limits and space limits; that sense of sudden growth, which we experience in the presence of the greatest works of art" (Pound 1912/1963, 130) "We are not a school of painters", Pound writes, "but we believe that poetry should render particulars exactly and not deal in vague generalities" (1915 'Preface', 135). In the Modernist conception, poetry is an exercise in attention and alertness, a way of teaching awareness. "Poetry endeavors to arrest you, and to make you continuously see a physical thing, to prevent you gliding through an abstract process", Hulme insists in his essay 'Romanticism and Classicism' (quoted in Pratt 1963, 29); it helps, as T.S. Eliot suggests, "to break the conventional modes of perception and valuation ... and make people see the world afresh" (Eliot 1933, 149). As if the people living on the seashore were taught to hear again, as they did when they first saw the ocean, the murmur of the waves. As Jean Cocteau puts it: poetry "takes off the veil ... it reveals ... the amazing things which surround us and which our senses usually register mechanically. Get hold of a commonplace, clean it, rub it, illuminate it in such a fashion that it will astound us all with its youth and freshness, with its primordial vigor, and you shall have done the job of the poet" (Cocteau 1926, 215–216).

When Ezra Pound adds notes to his poem 'The Jewel Stairs' Grievance', he is doing exactly this 'taking off the veil',- 'cleaning-rubbing-illuminating the commonplaces' and common words, so that their rich meanings should shine there afresh. Pound, with these notes, teaches us to take language seriously, to believe in words.

> Jewel stairs, therefore a palace. Grievance, therefore there is something to complain of. Gauze stockings, therefore a court lady, not a servant who complains. Clear autumn, therefore he has no excuse on account of weather. Also, she has come early, for the dew has not merely whitened the stairs, but has soaked her stockings.

William Carlos Williams is a major prophet of attention, perhaps the greatest in American poetry, and certainly one of the most original ones, demanding precision and clarity of thought, seeking beauty in the things nearest us, in those "starved and broken pieces", — listening to the language objects speak.

His is an ethical stand, celebrating the ordinary and obvious as the objects of poetic imagination. 'The Red Wheelbarrow', one of his most controversial poems, is such an attempt "to raise", as the Hungarian poet and critic Gyula Kodolányi suggested in his illuminating essay on the poem, "an everyday scene, a scene any of us may inhabit, to the imaginative level, to give the red wheelbarrow and the white chickens currency, that is, life, in the world of the mind" (Kodolányi 1984, 369). He conveys, as he does in 'Young Sycamore' too, "the feeling for the mystery of suchness, of presence in the trivial" (ibid.).

> so much depends
> upon
>
> a red wheel
> barrow
>
> glazed with rain
> water
>
> beside the white
> chickens

Or, in what I think is one of the most patriotic, and for that matter, one of the most beautiful patriotic, poems written by an American poet, 'Pastoral', we get a similar sense of presence, and ultimately a redefinition of beauty through an intense focussing of attention. The poem captures an everyday moment, that of walking back streets and admiring the houses of the poor, finding pleasure in what is before the eyes. This moment

flowers into a visionary experience as a sense of reality, a mystical sense of presence is communicated through the objects in front of the poet's senses.

> When I was younger
> it was plain to me
> I must make something of myself.
> Older now
> I walk back streets
> admiring the houses
> of the very poor:
> roof out of line with sides
> the yards cluttered
> with old chicken wire, ashes,
> furniture gone wrong;
> the fences and outhouses
> built of barrel-staves
> and parts of boxes, all,
> if I am fortunate,
> smeared a bluish green
> that properly weathered
>
> pleases me best
> of all colors.
>
> No one
> will believe this
> of vast import to the nation.

These poems are often still lives, and intentionally so. Williams had his deep allegiance with such contemporary painters and photographers as Marcel Duchamps, Charles Demuth, Charles Sheeler and Alfred Stieglitz, sharing with them the sense of mystery which everyday simple objects possess and which still lives can convey.

Charles Olson's objectism is also rooted in the morality of attention. This is how he defined the concept of objectism as the Black Mountain generation understood it:

> ... a sharp sure hunger of the senses that, if they pierce deep enough, if they ride this joy in mortal particulars, they will find a dimension, a "spiritual dimension" if you like, to satisfy the soul (unpublished essay, 'Mystery').

This objectism implies an awareness, a care for details, attention and humility towards the larger forces of nature of which man is participant. Objectism is the acceptance and acknowledgment of man's humble place in the universe; it is also the joy of this knowledge. When coupled with this humility of objectism, attention seems to become the faculty of true spirituality. Indeed, authentic attention demands Olson's humilitas, as he defined it the famous passage in 'Projective Verse':

> for a man is himself an object whatever he may take to be his advantages, the more likely to recognize himself as such the greater his advantages, particularly at the moment that he achieves an humilitas sufficient to make him of use (Olson 1950/1973, 156).

This humilitas, Kodolányi points out, is "our only chance for joy amid the threat of materialism, that is the consumer attitude, and the other threat, the schizoid hatred of the world as something alien, something irretrievably other" (371–372).

Many examples can be cited for this special concern for moralized attention; the first one, Edward Dorn's famous 'air-bag poem', seems to be more obvious, less subtle, in its message than any poem I can think of by Olson, Duncan, Creeley or Levertov.

> An Opinion on a Matter of Public Safety
>
> Air Bag sounds like eminent sickness
> This device should not be permitted
> General Motors was right to suppress it
> and wrong to have relented
> and Nader should stay out of it.
>
> Driving is based on alertness
> whether that be loose or tight
> Those who let their attention wander
> must not be encouraged to survive
> by a bag full of air.

Dorn is fighting for alert driving — for attention, awareness, authentic presence, for life without safety precautions. — Just what the sticker on Dan's office door reminded those who entered: Don't fall asleep!

This attention-mystique presupposes an audience, one that does not need the air-bag. A group of people of a shared mind, with a complete circuit of communication: Olson's ideal <u>polis</u>. The poets who belong to this polis have developed a special political concern, which stems from their moral concern, and is all the more authentic because it comes from poets as far as possible from actual political power. The poets belonging to this polis all share the conviction that involvement in power politics is forbidden for creative thinkers. In a paradoxical way, the poetry of the Black Mountain generation is intensely political, but in the sense Olson used the word in his Berkeley reading in 1965:

> Words are value, instruction, action; and they've gotta become political action. The radicalism lies from our words alone. ... poetics is politics, poets are political leaders today, and the only ones...

Which same thought I heard from Robert Duncan too: in connection with the unhappy but inevitable coincidence in Hungarian history of poets and politicians, he told me: "Poets are the real politicians everywhere — and not those who are elected or appointed. Real power seldom meets political power".

For an authentic commitment, the writer's moral stand has to be clear to the reader — the political program of this self-appointed politician. The poetics of attention necessarily entails an ethics of failure, failure which success-oriented American society so much dreads. Already Williams glorified failure and defeat in his well-famed poem, 'The Descent'.

> No defeat is made up entirely of defeat — since
> the world it opens is always a place
> formerly
> unsuspected. A
> world lost,
> a world unsuspected,
> beckons to new places
> and no whiteness (lost) is so white as the memory
> of whiteness.
>
> ...
>
> A descent
> made up of despairs
> and without accomplishment
> realizes a new awakening:
> which is a reversal
> of despair.

Success, Williams tells us, can easily turn into complacency: but defeat, by shaking this complacency, opens into alertness. It is like stability, Dorn says, one pays too high a price for it. "Some jobs of a tenured sorts (and I'm not speaking just of the unversity, but any kind of steadiness) afford a coziness with reality that might encourage lapses of mind or attention. If your option is this other one (that you have a job here and a job there, take your chances), you can't do that: you have to be on your toes" (Dorn 1978, 17–18).

Indeed, this seems to be very important: to evade this coziness with reality, and always to be on one's toes. "Don't fall asleep", as the sticker said. Always to keep up that active relationship of man to experience, without lapses of attention. The most important passage in Olson's 'Projective Verse' essay is, I think, the one defining this poetic humility necessary for the projective act:

> ... the use of man ... lies in how he conceives his relation to nature, that force to which he owes his somewhat small existence ... if he stays inside himself, if he is contained within his nature as he is participant in the larger force, he will be able to listen, and his hearing through himself will give him secrets objects share (Olson 1950/1973, 156).

... secrets objects share ... whe have returned here, to this knowledge attained by the sharp focussing of senses upon objects. To Emily Dickinson and William Carlos Williams. Yet poetry's trust in objects as conveyors of some mystical knowledge does not seem to be restricted to the American continent. Indeed, it is an essential part of modernity in Europe, and in Hungary, for that matter, too. I would only like to present two poems: the first one is by the Hungarian woman poet, Ágnes Nemes Nagy.

TREES

One must learn. The winter trees.
Frost covered to their feet.
Immovable curtains.

One must learn that streak
where the crystal begins to smoke,
and the tree swims into the mist,
as the body into memory.

And the river past the trees,
the wild duck's silent wings,
and the blind-white blue night
in which hooded objects stand.
One must learn the trees'
unutterable deeds.

(Translated by Albert Tezla)

Seeing the details of frost on trees, noticing and recognizing that streak where the crystal and tree swim into the mist, hearing and understanding the deeds of the trees — all this needs learning. These faculties are not given, as we must not take them for granted either, but have to be accepted as rewards for laborious exercises in attention. Not only the poet but all of us should make the effort towards fuller and more intensive perception, although poetry can help a great deal.

A similar celebratory tone pervades my other Hungarian example, Gyula Kodolányi's poem entitled 'I labor in the existence factory'.

I celebrate the blossoming acacias
— some years twice — and I would pick up each
thrown out bottle, as if nothing else
hurt my eyes, I'd let letters, the metered ones,
wait a few days on my desk, with my fist

I'd rub a round hole on the frosted bus window
in order to see through (and I'd never
regret the effort). I flip through pages of consumer
complaints, but never enter a complaint or
poem there. "out of silence,
the novel will arise" I encourage myself
while quietly taking shower, I am after the human
complexity of this place. Possessing this map
in my own pores, I am walking to the rhythm of unsuspecting
traffic lamps, and will reveal all these maps
when meaningful writing resumes. There is
so much joy to notice, "a pugnacious
little nose", "huge chestnut trees",
spontaneous exchanges of smiles,
and at daybreak light not yet adulterated. In brief:
"life is, in spite of everything,
more grandiose that it appears to human reason".

(Translated by Gy.K. and Clayton Eshleman)

Within this philosophical framework of modernity, the poet's task is to discover, with humility, the immanent meaning of the universe, to enact natural and cosmic orders.

> Central to and defining the poetics I am trying to suggest here is the conviction that the order man may contrive or impose upon the things about him or upon his own language is trivial beside the divine order or natural order he may discover in them (Duncan 1966/1973, 218).

"Often I am permitted to return to a meadow", a famous line of Duncan's reads. Indeed, this kind of poetry relies on such "permission" — which acknowledges the superiority of the force of memory — it relies on obeying these natural laws; it stresses listening, attention, focussing, allowing, discovering. The state of mind which the projective act of writing aims at is transparancy, allowing experience, memory and vision gain force. When the creative act becomes as humble as "a boat drifting"; when it "refuses to guide the boat" and finds joy in the act of permission, allowing these forces to come through.

The superiority of immanent laws, "the inner law", to imposed order is evident on the social scale too, Duncan testifies.

In this scene absolute authority
the great dragon himself so confronted
whose scales are men officized — ossified — conscience
no longer alive in them,
the inner law silenced, now
they call out their cops, police law,
the club, the gun, the strong arm,
gang law of the state,
hired sadists of installed mediocrities.

Where there is no commune,
the individual volition has no ground.
Where there is no individual freedom, the commune
is falsified.

And this is a warning to us all: man's responsibility in society is the same as the modern poet's responsibility: not to fall asleep, to remain on one's toes, to keep up attention and alertness, to listen to the language objects speak. For this the only possibility given to us for what is called the spiritual. This "joy for mortal particulars". This is our only reply to the threat of materialism and alienation, or to power plants and satellites — even if this is a reply, as indeed it is, in Williams' words, with "the bare hands".

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LES PRINCIPES DE L'"ANTEMURALE" ET DE LA "CONFORMITAS" DANS LA TRADITION HUNGARO-POLONAISE AVANT BÁTHORY

LAJOS HOPP

Budapest

L'épithète honorifique de "propugnaculum et clipeus Christianitatis" fut employée pour la Hongrie par le corps des cardinaux de Rome en 1417. Deux décennies plus tard, à l'occasion du couronnement de Ladislas Ier, dans une charte de chancellerie éditée avec un grand soin et qui fit mention des rapports hungaro-polonais "pro bono et salute horum duorum, Hungarie et Polonie regnorum", la formule solennelle du message philosophico-historique commun fut trouvée: "... praedicta regna, sibi confinancia et barbaris nationibus finitima, sunt murus et clipeus fidelium pro honore nominis divini et defensione fidei catholice".[1]

Dix ans encore plus tard, dans une missive envoyée au nom de Hunyadi au pape Nicolas V, János Vitéz recommanda à la bienveillance du Saint-Siège la Hongrie qu'il appela "bouclier de la chrétienté tourné vers les païens".[2]

Cette majestueuse idée, conçue sous l'égide de la solidarité chrétienne et fortement propagée par l'Eglise romaine, à commencer par Pie II (1458–1464) se propagea dès le 15e siècle. Callimachus écrivit, en se basant sur cette idée, son ouvrage historique faisant appel au passé récent Historia de rege Vladislav seu clade Varnensi. Diplomate du roi de Pologne et ancien ambassadeur à Buda, Callimachus soulignait non seulement l'idée de "la Hongrie, bouclier de la chrétienté", mais encore celle de "rempart protecteur de la Pologne" face à l'invasion des Turcs. Il cita dans son livre les propos du député hongrois venant demander de l'aide au souverain polonais: "(Hungaria) suis viribus, suis opibus multos annos veluti murus, ab aliis Christianis Regnis Turcorum impetum submovit." On verra dans le discours du député envoyé de Hongrie aux Etats polonais qu'il fallait non seulement donner l'aide au voisin et à l'allié, mais encore "(Hungariam) Regnum celeberrimum ac ditissimum non solum vicinum vobis et foederatum, sed tutelam etiam et munimentum vestrum".[3]

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Vers le tournant du siècle, les députés hongrois et polonais des rois Jagellon exigaient, en se référant à ce rôle historique l'aide contre les Turcs à l'assemblée des Etats de l'empire, à Fribourg (1498). Ceci resta sans résultat, tout comme la lettre adressée à Louis XII du prince-primat Tamás Bakócz, alors en séjour au Vatican chez Jules II: il implorait, au nom du roi de Hongrie et de Pologne, le roi de France qui était en guerre contre le pape, de mettre fin à toute hostilité entre ces souverains chrétiens et de combattre les Turcs en unifiant les forces.[4] L'appel à une nouvelle "croisade" lancé par le concile de Lateran resta également sans effet (1517). Au début de ce concile, la prédication d'un évêque rappela les dévastations par les Turcs, les luttes héroïques des Hongrois et des Polonais et les dangers qui guettaient l'Italie. Le prince-cardinal Jan Łaski et Bakócz, se rencontrant à Rome informèrent personnellement Léon X des préparatifs de guerre faits par les Turcs.

Au cours des guerres contre les Tartares et Turcs se forma, au sein des Etats, de la société des nobles et de la littérature de la cour des deux pays, une conception particulière qui était en rapport avec l'existence de la nation nobiliaire et avec la conscience de finalité de cette dernière. Werbőczy qui fit ses études à l'université de Cracovie le précisa de la façon suivante dans la recommandation de son Tripartitum: "... il ne fut de peuple ni de nation qui veillât avec plus de force et d'insistance à défendre et propager la république chrétienne que celui des Hongrois; ceux-ci (pour ne pas citer les anciens) faisant face pendant quelque cent quarante ans aux affreux Turcs, les attaquant ou en se défendant, se donnant beaucoup de peine contre toute la sauvagerie de cette saleté musulmane, livrèrent, fréquemment et pendant longtemps et dans des guerres douteuses, des batailles sanglantes, sécurisèrent et défendirent le restant de la chrétienté (pour empêcher l'ennemi de passer comme au-delà des digues brisées), en perdant leur sang et en sacrifiant leur vie, et tout cela avec autant de vaillance et un effort si naturel qu'ils passèrent leur vie sous les armes."[5]

La pensée humaniste de "la Hongrie comme rempart protecteur de la chrétienté" servait de base idéologique pour faire de la lutte pour l'existence du pays une conscience de finalité d'intérêt universel et la notion de la patrie fut liée à celle de la nation. Le contenu principal en était l'idéologie de la défense de la civilisation chrétienne occidentale ("antemurale v. propugnaculum Christianitatis") et de la culture ("cultura Religionis Christianae").

La tradition commune de la philosophie historique s'alimentait de la nécessité historique de la défense des frontières et des zones frontalières polonaises et hongroises. La constitution d'une ligne de protection contre les Turcs avait bien des fonds réels, car les campagnes du sultan Süleyman et les attaques turques n'avaient pas pour unique cible la Hongrie et la ville de Vienne, mais aussi, parallèlement aux invasions turco-tartares en Moldavie et en Transylvanie, les zones de la Pologne du Sud. La pensée d'une entre-aide mutuelle et l'idée d'une organisation et alliance contre le péril ottoman se firent jour chez Casimir Jagellon, et de Sigismond Ier (dit le Vieux) à Ladislas IV (Władisław IV Wasa), mais avaient peu de chance à être réalisées. Les papes (Léon X, Clément VII, Paul III, Pie V, Grégoire XIII, Sixte V, Clément VIII) s'efforçaient également à mettre sur pied une alliance antiottomane, efforts qu'entravaient les manoeuvres politiques anti-Habsbourgs des Français et des Turcs. Ce fut l'époque où Süleyman II, entama sa première campagne décisive contre l'Europe centrale et de Sud-Est.

Pendant le siège et après la prise de Belgrade, Louis II, qui était en correspondance suivie avec le roi de Pologne déploya pour Sigismond les nouvelles perspectives militaires et politiques de ce tournant dangereux aussi pour la Pologne: "Notre pays est dorénavant ouvert devant les Turcs par les eaux et les terres et vous ne pouvez pas être heureux et rassuré tant que Szabács et Belgrade restent entre les mains de l'ennemi."[6] Pour chasser les Turcs de cette forteresse qui subit plusieurs sièges, le roi de Hongrie n'eut pas d'aide étrangère. L'assemblée de l'Empire à Nuremberg (1522) et le conseil qui le suivit à Vienne restèrent sans résultat. Etant préalablement passé par Buda, le chancelier supérieur Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, lors de la réunion convoquée à Wienerneustadt, en automne 1523, fit un discours mémorable sur la volonté d'aide du roi Sigismond et le péril tartare et ottoman. L'orateur variait les frontières géographiques du dicton, selon les exigences des considérations politiques séculaires polonaises au sujet des zones moldaves, en disant que les Polonais pourraient apporter de l'aide contre les Turcs au besoin en Moldavie car "la Moldavie est le rempart de la Pologne et de la Hongrie".[7] En effet, un an plus tard démarra l'attaque des Turcs et des Tartares contre la Pologne.

Selon l'analyse de la situation du souverain polonais, la Pologne ne pouvait guère compter sur les exhortations et les promesses faites par le roi de France et l'empereur germano-romain, car, comme il écrivit en 1524 à Louis II, roi de Hongrie, "ceux-là n'ont pas moindre souci que notre

péril et celui de la chrétienté".[8] L'allié potentiel de la Hongrie, c'était le royaume de Pologne qui, après l'alliance franco-polonaise (1501) et par suite des complications d'ordre politique étrangère survenues avec l'Ordre de chevalerie allemande, la grande principauté moscovite et les Habsbourgs et à la base de l'évaluation réelle des relations de la diplomatie européenne, s'efforça d'assurer ses frontières de Sud-Est par voie diplomatique. par le traité de paix avec les Turcs (1525). Il conseilla au neveu de Sigismond Ier (le Vieux) de trouver un accord à tout prix avec la Porte. Mais Louis II, sous l'influence de son entourage, et encouragé par le nonce du pape et Ferdinand, dans sa réponse envoyée par l'intermédiaire du député polonais il prit position contre l'armistice et "la paix turque".[9] A défaut d'une évaluation convenable des différends européens, il essaya de dissuader son oncle de la conclusion de la paix dans la foi qu'on pouvait attendre une puissante aide, une fois l'alliance chrétienne mise sur pied, pour la campagne antiturque. La sainte ligue, conclue en mai 1526 avec la participation du pape, de François Ier, les villes de Milan et de Florence contre en principe les Turcs, mais en réalite contre Charles Quint, dans la lutte pour l'hégémonie européenne. Le nonce du pape en Hongrie signala, dans son rapport de juin[10] que les Turcs arrivaient à la frontière du pays et que les fortifications et les frontières sud restaient sans défense. La note de l'ambassadeur polonais à Londres caractérise bien la non-aide au christianisme européen et la compassion: Henri VIII à qui le roi Louis II s'était adressé depuis des années pour demander de l'aide, aurait "versé des larmes" lorsqu'on lui fit mention de la première grande catastrophe.

Ambassadeur de Hongrie auprès du pape, ancien chancelier, István Brodarics écrivit à l'instigation du roi Sigismond Ier (le Vieux) l'histoire de la perte de la bataille de Mohács et la conséquence catastrophique du gouvernement du pays à l'époque des Jagellon. Mais l'accusation contre les Hongrois de Cuspinianus, historien à la cour de l'empereur l'incita également à écrire ses mémoires historiques à volonté polémique. Dans son oeuvre ayant une valeur de source première sous le titre <u>De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis...</u>[11] il essaya d'expliquer la raison pour laquelle le roi de Pologne devait être absent de la bataille, comme ce dernier avait adressé une demande au pape de Rome et au conseil des cardinaux au sujet de l'aide à fournir au pays voisin et qu'il avait essayé de s'entremettre en faveur du cessez-le-feu. Il témoigna de la prudence lors des luttes des deux élections de roi au trône à l'issue de la mort de Louis II, et dans la question concernant les Turcs, car Ferdinand ne fit que promettre aux

Etats répartis de l'aide contre les Turcs, alors qu'il refusa la proposition de Zápolyai contre les Turcs; Charles Quint, son frère était occupé à vouloir rompre le pouvoir du pape Clément VII, centre romain de l'"antemurale".

Face à un Ferdinand ayant une supériorité militaire grâce à l'aide impériale reçue après l'occupation de Rome, Zápolyai cherchait à se mettre d'accord avec les Turcs. Après qu'il ait obtenu la "lettre de foi" du sultan, Süleyman II lui céda en automne 1529 la ville de Buda alors sous l'occupation turque. Après cet événement Zápolyai, ce propriétaire catholique élevé dans la tradition séculaire antiturque, cet oligarque devenu roi ayant réprimé l'insurrection des serfs fut obligé à une alliance avec la puissance osmano-turque terrible fâce à la force militaire prépondérante de Ferdinand. Des passages d'un roi à l'autre, la propagande viennoise s'attaquant à la politique turque de Zápolyai, les arguments politiques enveloppés de principes religieux rendirent difficile la position de politique extérieure et intérieure du roi Jean, même s'il essaya de faire passer les mesures forcées de Ferdinand, devant les Etats de l'empire allemand, comme une attaque rompant "l'unité du christianisme". Contre la propagande étrangère, il essaya de se justifier en disant qu'il avait fait un accord dans de "bonnes conditions chrétiennes" avec la Porte et, en considérant la situation de danger, il tenait ce mode de "la recherche de la vérité" juste, voire pour lui c'était le seul moyen de défendre la "respublica Christiana". En même temps il s'efforçait de relâcher sa dépendance de Süleyman dans un royaume difficile à gouverner, et ayant comme seul appui les perspectives incertaines des missions auprès de la Porte de Hieronym Łaski et de Verbőczy.

Il y avait des principautés allemandes protestantes qui, malgré les menaces du croissant turc ne voulaient pas entrer en alliance avec les pays qui s'étaient unis autour de l'empereur et des Habsbourgs, aussi cherchaient-ils à établir des liens avec Zápolyai.[12] Cette opinion publique allemande reconnut la vocation historique antiturque de la Hongrie et glorifia les héros de celle-ci, à commencer par János Hunyadi. Une communication d'information parlant de la bataille de Mohács ne se contentait pas de lamenter sur le sort des habitants du pays en proie aux Turcs païens, mais demandait aux princes allemands de ne pas laisser ce peuple en déclin définitif, car cela entraînerait des dommages pour la chrétienté entière.[13]

Une autre source de propagande d'information accusait les Hongrois, après la défaite de Mohács, en disant qu'il avaient fraternisé avec les

Turcs avant la bataille et qu'après ils avaient exterminé les Landsknechts de concert avec les Turcs. Pour répandre l'idée du pacte avec les Turcs, on essaya même de faire croire aux lecteurs que les Turcs avaient été invités dans le pays, et contre le roi Louis, par Zápolyai, "traître du sang chrétien" et "cet homme méchant sans Dieu"; c'était lui le mauvais conseiller du sultan qui encouragea, par sa traîtrise, ce paien a entreprendre le siège de Vienne.[14] Ainsi l'adversaire de Ferdinand passa-t-il dans le rang "des Hongrois méchants haïs et maudits" dans les informations des journaux allemands antimagyar et de quelques autres journaux étrangers, influençant par là la vision de l'histoire de l'époque. Selon cette vision la Hongrie et la Transylvanie ne remplissaient plus le rôle historique de "rempart protecteur de la chrétienté", cette tâche incombait dorénavant au royaume des Habsbourgs; par la suite, cette conception devint un moyen puissant de la propagande politique de Vienne et de l'Empire.

En réalité ce ne fut que le siège de Vienne (1529) qui ait suscité une grande alarme dans l'opinion européenne et surtout allemande. Les attaques du début des années 30 ont incité les pays voisins d'Autriche de tenir à l'esprit leur propre sécurité sous le signe de la défense des confins militaires de Hongrie et des intérêts chrétiens. Le roi de Pologne consentit au mariage de sa fille Isabelle avec le roi Jean (1539). Le député arrivé sous les ordres de Charles Quint fit l'offre suivante en 1540 à Zápolyai qui avait composé avec Ferdinand: son souverain se chargerait d'entreprendre la défense de Buda au cas d'une nouvelle attaque par la Porte et cela dans la conviction que "la Hongrie est le rempart avancé le plus fort de la chrétienté dont la chute causerait des pertes inimaginables au monde des chrétiens" et que la perte de Buda "signifierait le péril final non seulement pour la Hongrie et les pays voisins mais encore pour la chrétienté entière".[15]

Les Polonais furent secoués par la chute de Buda (1541) donc par le péril extrême de la couronne du rejeton Jagellon couronné en roi de Hongrie. L'écho polonais de l'invasion du château de Buda analysa le péril turc du point de vue de la situation militaire grave qui suivait la défaite totale des Hongrois et la répartition en trois partie du pays. Peu après la prise de Buda, Clemens Janicius (Janicki) exprima succintement tant l'inquiétude profonde issue de la démolition 'du rempart le plus fort de la Pologne' que la conscience du sort commun:

"Commoda Pannoniae sunt commoda vestra, Poloni,
Sarmata communi fertur et illa rate.

Dum fuit incolumis, vallum fuit illa Poloni.
Ut cecidit, quae non et nos ventura timens?"[16]

Lorsque la maison du voisin brûle, l'incendie risque d'anéantir celles qui sont à côté – parabolait Marcin Bielski dans son ouvrage historique Sprawa rycerska. Il décrivait la Hongrie après la défaite de Mohács dans ces termes: "Elle fut le bouclier de la chrétienté entière en Europe, mais par suite de l'imprudence et des luttes intestines des seigneurs chrétiens cette pomme d'or fut la victime des vers, au grand chagrin et dommage de la chrétienté entière."[17]

Vienne fut enfin obligé de passer à l'action: la politique étrangère des Habsbourgs fit de grands efforts pour faire participer la Pologne dans la guerre contre les Turcs. Sigismond Auguste, fils du roi de Pologne et son héritier, frère d'Isabelle reçut comme femme une princesse Habsbourg en 1543. Les diètes de Cracovie et de Piotrków (1543–44) furent des stations importantes de la campagne contre les Turcs. A cela se rapportait le renforcement du ton antiturc dans la littérature polonaise. A cette époque parurent les Turcica appelant à la lutte de Stanisław Orzechowski aussi bien que les poèmes des humanistes célèbres cracovites (Pannoniae luctus...) sur la situation sinistre hongroise après le péril de Mohács.[18] Mais la politique étrangère de Pologne, ne voulant pas pour alliée l'Autriche, se contenta de slogans diplomatiques et d'un programme nationale de défense contre les Turcs.

L'image de la Hongrie en tant que "rempart protecteur de la chrétienté" devint générale après Mohács dans les idées et écrits des humanistes polonais. Cette pensée sublime n'était pas prêchée par les seuls humanistes polonais et hongrois, mais aussi par des penseurs tels que Thomas Morus, Erasme, Melanchton, Macchiavelle, Juste Lipse. "Il existe en Hongrie également un petit cercle des amis et adeptes d'Erasme qui conçoivent profondément combien il est irraisonnable d'être en querelle pour des raisons religieuses, alors que les Turcs sont devant les portes et qui menacent après la Hongrie (Mohács, Buda) d'engloutir toute l'Europe".[19] Pendant que les erasmistes hongrois et polonais représentaient cette pensée historique, l'empire germanique s'était scindé en deux camps par suite de la Réforme; les protestants et les catholiques opposés ne pouvaient pas s'entendre dans la question turque lors de l'assemblée de Regensburg, en 1532. Il faut également prendre en considération qu'avant et pendant le premier concile de Trente (1545–1563), la question du pouvoir entre protestants et catho-

liques n'avait pas été tranchée; là, il y avait encore une chance pour l'égalité des nouvelles religions.

L'idée de l'"antemurale" de conception humaniste, philosophie histotorique en vigueur jusqu'au refoulement de l'empire ottoman et jusqu'à la disparition du règne séculaire du baroque et propagée par les jésuites également[20] contribua pour l'essentiel le même rôle à la Hongrie et à la Pologne qui avaient les mêmes structures de noblesse, et toutes deux constamment attaquées du fait de leur position géographique. Janusz Tazbir caractérise de la sorte la conscience de vocation de la noblesse de Pologne: "Szlachta polska uważała dość powszechnie, że nie tylko utrzymuje mieszkające na Zachodzie narody, ale broni najważniejszych wartości ideowych przez nie posiadanych, mianowicie wiary chrześcijańskiej. Była więc to służba jeszcze w interesie rzeczypospolitej chrześcijańskiej (nie tylko katolickiej, skoro Zygmunt III Wasa szukał pomocy przeciwko Turkom u króla protestanckiej Anglii, Jakuba I.), a nie na rzecz Europy."[21] Aux propagateurs appartenait l'excellent représentant de la poésie lyrique baroque précoce Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński (1550?—1581).[22] Roman Pollak dit que Piotr Kochanowski, dans son épopée Gofred (albo Jeruzalem Wyzwolona), c'est-à-dire dans sa transcription de Gerusalemme Conquistata de Tasso "ideologia wojny pobożnej i 'przedmurza chrześcijaństwa' znajduje tu swoją sugestywną poetycką wymowę".[23] Cette même formule poétique expressive caractérise la poésie antiturque en latin du jésuite Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595—1640). Prêtre à la cour de Ladislas IV, il exprima, dans son ode adressée à ses compatriotes Ad equites Polonos la pensée de la vocation historique commune.

Le slogan efficace du rempart protecteur de la chrétienté ("przedmurze chrześcijaństwa") a beaucoup contribué au renforcement de la conscience du sort commun des Etats polonais et hongrois, à la découverte "des traits communs" et à l'enracinement réitéré de la conscience historique de l'interdépendance.[24] Le programme militaire et politique de l'expulsion des Turcs était l'une des plus grandes idées de l'époque, touchant plusieurs peuples. La pensée de l'"antemurale" était non seulement une affaire hongroise et polonaise, mais elle servait de philosophie historique contemporaine depuis la Moldavie ou le Balkan jusqu'au Portugal. Même la France remplissait le rôle du "Bouclier du monde chrétien face à l'Islam" et le roi de France, "Rex invictissimus Gallorum" se disait "Roi Très-Chrétien, Sauveur et Champion de la Chrétienté", tout comme l'espagnol "Majesté Cahtolique" et les Habsbourgs "Sacratissima Ceasarea" et "Majesté Apostolique". L'idéo-

logie de "Bastione della Christianità" — "antemurale e balovardo di tutto il resto dei Christiani" pénétrait l'Italie et les seigneurs changeants de Venise, tout comme les Etats de l'empire germanique et de la monarchie des Habsbourgs; les ordres de la noblesse autrichienne aussi bien que les ordres allemands, saxons et bavarois. Le germanisme faisait sienne l'idéologie de "Verteidigung der Christenheit gegen der Türken" et de "Vormauer der Christenheit". Les orateurs des assemblées des Etats de l'empire considéraient la Hongrie dans cet esprit et les forteresses frontalières comme remparts directs de la nation germanique "die nächste Vormauer der teutschen Nation"; les chancelleries en faisaient mention dans les écrits de l'empereur.[25]

Les "bella turcica" servirent de base réelle au caractère contemporain durable de cette philosophie historique, mais les intéressés témoignèrent moins d'enthousiasme et de décision quant aux charges et frais de la défense. L'idée de l'antemurale n'avait jamais été exempte de la propagande politique et elle devint, dès le XVIe siècle, un moyen de lutte pour l'hégémonie européenne et de la diplomatie internationale, un slogan retentissant de la fiction qu'était "l'unité chrétienne" contre les Turcs, une dépendance de la politique de l'hégémonie franco-Habsbourg. Le monde chrétien n'eut l'espoir de repousser les Turcs des territoires de l'Europe centrale et de Sud-Est qu'après la victoire de la flotte unifiée vénitienne et espagnole à Lepanto (1571), mais cet espoir ne sera réalisé qu'au bout d'un siècle d'attente.

Les éléments du discours par le député pour recommander Báthory

Le principe de la "bona vicinitas" et l'idée de l'"antemurale" se présentent bien dans le document historique par lequel le député de István Báthory recommanda, devant la diète qui devait élire son roi en novembre 1575, le prince de Transylvanie au trône de Pologne. Après avoir salué les Etats polonais, il appela la glorieuse Sarmatie le rempart protecteur d'Europe: "... Respublica christiana, cujus, murus aeneus est Sarmatia". L'idée du "murus aeneus" établissant un parallélisme entre la vocation historique des États polonais et hongrois, le sort des deux pays, leur communauté d'intérêt et leurs relations de voisin était en fait le message sciemment répandu de la philosophie historique dans la rhétorique humaniste. Elle pouvait servir de protection pour Báthory face aux interprétations malveillantes selon lesquelles il serait le sujet des Turcs, propagées par les adversaires du prince de Transylvanie.

Les parties ultérieures du discours visant à gagner et à convaincre les Etats polonais étaient imprégnées de l'idéologie de l'"antemurale"; ces parties contenaient, à part les offres politiques de Báthory, des pensées relatives aux analogies de droit constitutionnel des deux organisations étatiques nobiliaires, aux similitudes des facteurs politiques de la vision des ordres et aux observations d'ordre belliqueux... "Ceterum, qua de re tota promptius iudicare regni ordines passent (possint), duo argumenta ab regnorum coniuctione et personae qualitate sumpta, obiter addemus. Prima est regnorum Hungariae et Poloniae conformitas, quae firmiorem reddet amicitiam, mores utriusque gentis, leges habitusque forme similes, arma vere (vera) militaris disciplina, religio, libertas et vivendi ratio plane communia; vetus praeterea societas, regnorumque facta vicissitudo perpetua concordia et suppe(r)tiarum ferendarum facilitas; quae omnia animos vehementer conciliare et regna stabilire solent."[26] Le discours ne se contentait pas d'énumérer les éléments assurant l'amitié de la "conformitas", mais aussi il soulignait les traditions politiques: "Les habitudes, lois, mode de vie et d'habit sont similaires chez les deux nations; leurs armes, organisation d'armée, religion, liberté et vie sociale sont les mêmes, leur rapports anciens: pour cette raison les deux nations pouvaient avoir des rois en commun,et pour cette même raison elles peuvent facilement entrer en alliance pour une entre-aide mutuelle."[27] Ce discours soigneusement élaboré par la chancellerie du prince de Transylvanie, la mention faite à dessein à la "perpetua concordia" et aux "traits similaires" dans beaucoup de domaines, tout cela renvoyait à une époque antérieure, donc la découverte des phénomènes analogues remontait aux temps avant 1575. Les pensées traditionnelles que les deux parties connaissaient bien revenaient sans cesse dans une phraséologie latine de conception stéréotypée, proche à l'ancienne, dans un but anti-Habsbourg.

De bons exemples se proposent, du temps du règne de Báthory pour faire sentir certains "traits similaires" dans le domaine du mode de vie et de l'organisation de l'armée touchant des couches non-nobiliaires. Le roi de Pologne avait surtout des artilleurs hongrois; la cavalerie polonaise fut organisée à la manière des hussards hongrois et l'infanterie à l'image des haïdouks et les changements dans l'armée polonaise furent gardés au cours du siècle suivant dans la nouvelle dénomination de cette dernière ("piechota węgierska"). Dans la conduite de la guerre, des tenues militaires hongroises, des habitudes et des expressions ainsi que des tournures militaires se sont implantées (beszte – beste kurva fia 'bête, fils de putain'; kopor-

szak — kópéság 'canaillerie'). La mode des tenues militaires hongroises influença même les vêtements civils (p.ex. bakiesza — 'pardessus double de fourrure'; kopieniak — köpenyeg 'paletot, vêtement ample sans manches, tenue favorite de Báthory en campagne'; batorówka — magierka — chapeau Báthory à la mode'; węgierka — 'casaque bordée d'agneau"). Dans les manoirs de la noblesse polonaise la garde à la hongroise, la faction se sont répandues ("sztaby węgierskie").[28] Dans la conversation de société à la cour des mots et expressions hongrois se sont infiltrés (uram bizum 'certes, monseigneur'; uram gazda 'monseigneur maître'); des prénoms à la forme hongroise se sont répandus (István, András, János etc.).

Dans la comptabilité de la cour royale ("rationes curiae" — "rachunki dworskie") on trouve des noms hongrois par centaines. Les comptes étaient dressés par le trésorier polonais qui devait écrire ou dicter les noms hongrois après écoute, souvent en les déformant, dans une écriture phonétique polonaise qui voulait fixer la prononciation hongroise: des variantes à la latine ou à la polonaise, et qui gardent plus ou moins la forme hongroise se succèdent. Le riche matériel concernant les noms hongrois des livres des comptes est bien complété par les différentes listes et relevés des soldes, ou encore par le registre de l'entretien de la cour royale, très remarquable du point de vue des Hongrois:[29] Regestrum Aulae Sacrae Regis Stephani, 1576—86. On trouve des noms hongrois dans presque toutes les fonctions de la cour et dans les services de caractère militaire. La valeur historico-culturelle de cette source qui correspond à la matricule de tout le personnel de la cour n'est pas à négliger, car ce registre présente une image fiable de l'entretien de la cour de Báthory, y compris les beaux-arts et l'art appliqué, l'indemnité des peintres et des sculpteurs, des musiciens, des relieurs de livre; le travail des étudiants (scholares, studiosi) et des précepteurs. La cour royale, plus grande et plus pompeuse que celle de Gyulafehérvár devint le lieu de rencontre des Polonais et Hongrois vivant ensemble dans les mêmes services, avec toutes les conséquences humaines possibles que cela entraînait. Il existe encore des registres militaires en manuscrits hongrois, par exemple le livre de camp des notaires militaires hongrois de l'année 1580—81, avec des milliers de noms de haïdouks et de hussards hongrois, correctement orthographiés.

Des événements nationaux servaient à connaître mutuellement la magnificence et les habitudes de la vie à la cour: p.ex. l'entrée en parade royale de Báthory d'abord à Cracovie, ensuite à Varsovie, ou l'arrivée à Cracovie du cardinal András Báthory revenant de Rome et suivi d'un cortège

somptueux. Plusieurs centaines de personnes participaient aux festivités, amusements, bals et chasses de l'aristocratie. Des descriptions pittoresques relataient le mariage dans le palais royal à Cracovie du premier chambellan à la cour Ferenc Wesselényi et de Anna Sárkándy, veuve jeune de Gáspár Bekes (1582), ainsi que les noces durant deux semaines du catholique Jan Zamoyski (hettman de la couronne à partir de 1581) et de la réformée Griseldis Báthory, réjouissance qui attira plusieurs centaines de notabilités polonaises et hongroises (1583). Le goût transylvain est reflété dans la cour à la hongroise de Wesselényi en Pologne, par l'aménagement du château de Lanckoron avec les époux qui figurent dans un poème de Kochanowski; par le château de Zamośc et les jardins de Griseldis, cousine du roi et par sa vie en manoir gardant les traces du pays d'origine.[30]

La Transylvanie continua d'être, au temps de Báthory, le tributaire des Turcs et resta en même temps sous le patronage du roi de Pologne. Pendant son règne, Báthory réussit à garder l'autonomie de la principauté de Transylvanie face aux Habsbourgs qui, après le couronnement de Báthory, prince de Transylvanie regardaient de mauvais oeil sa politique d'union. Il est vrai que les Etats mêmes de Transylvanie grognaient contre les impôts demandés à des fins belliqueux, sentant à leur peau les conséquences en Transylvanie de la politique étrangère du roi de Pologne et les ordres de la chancellerie hongroise en Pologne. En effet Báthory, une fois devenu roi de Pologne, eut l'idée de ranimer l'union. Dans sa lettre adressée à Sándor Lónai Kendy, il lui ordonna d'aller en Pologne pour voir clair la situation; il lui conseilla de trouver le moyen d'unifier les deux pays sans porter offense aux Turcs et d'en donner des nouvelles par les aristocrates "pour que lui même puisse proposer cette affaire devant l'assemblée générale". Si l'union n'avait pas lieu, "que le bon Dieu donne à la patrie un bon tuteur...".[31] Báthory était occupé de ses projets de portée européenne, grandioses du point de vue de la Pologne et de la Hongrie: il projeta une union d'Europe centrale et de l'Est, face aux Habsbourg, union viable du point de vue politique, économique et militaire, d'Etats polonais, hongrois, tchèque, morave, moldave.[32] Mais les efforts au pouvoir interne en Pologne l'écartèrent de son projet de rassemblement contre les Turcs; sa politique de défense et d'expansion vers l'Est le confronta au grand ennemi, la Russie de Ivan IV le Terrible. La diplomatie de Vienne y eut sa part, tout comme au déclenchement de la guerre russo-polonaise au temps de Sigismond Ier le Vieux. Mais la mort précoce de Báthory fit dissoudre ces projets dynastiques compromettant les intérêts Habsbourgs, les efforts de

confédération autonome transylvaine hungaro-polonaise élargie, efforts repris, sous une forme modifiée par rapport aux circonstances intérieures et extérieures changées au temps de István Bocskai, de Gábor Bethlen et des Rákóczi.

La Hongrie et la Transylvanie comme "le rempart de Sarmatie" — poésie et réalité

A la fin du siècle, dans les années qui suivirent la mort de Báthory, le nombre des héros de Pologne s'est accru sur la frontière saccagée des luttes contre les Turcs. Parmi eux était Adam Czahrowski, porteur de la pensée de l'"antemurale" qui, compagnon d'arme du poète hongrois Bálint Balassi, participa pendant des années aux luttes dans les confins militaires au Nord de la Hongrie. L'aristocrate Balassi était parent et lieutenant équestre de István Báthory, il connaissait les preux polonais; il passa plusieurs fois en Pologne et parlait polonais. Il devait rencontrer personnellement, pendant ses séjours en Pologne, Jan Kochanowski qui parla de la figure de Báthory et dont il put connaître les oeuvres, même si les recherches disposent de ce fait de peu de preuves concrètes. Le plus grand poète hongrois de la Renaissance, créateur de la poésie lyrique hongroise de rang européen garde pour la postérite, dans ses poèmes, le renom de ses compagnons d'arme à Eger. Lorsqu'il partit de nouveau, en 1589 pour la Pologne, il prit congé d'eux, sous le signe de l'"antemurale", dans son poème Valedicit patriae...:[33]

> Oh, ma douce patrie, chère Hongrie
> qui portes le bouclier de la chrétienté
> brandis l'épée souillée de sang païen
> Ecole des preux, adieu, maintenant.

Le petit noble de Galicie, A. Czahrowski, fut militaire en Hongrie de 1588 en 1596. Dans son recueil de poèmes Rzeczy Rozmaite de Treny (1597), il parlait non seulement du sort commun et de la vie des preux, mais encore de la destruction du pays jadis florissant, "rempart de la chrétienté": "Dieu miséricordieux, regarde le deuil sinistre de Hongrie... regardez, les princes voisins, le sol hongrois torturé où le peuple a eu à tenir bon contre les païens infâmes".[34] Et de formuler, dans son poème, le message philosophico-historique, exprimant la réalité sanglante: "Ses frontières sont vos murailles fortifiées, les pays du Sud, de l'Ouest et du Nord. Si ces murailles se penchent vers vous, elles vous écraseront misérablement." (No 13) Par la description de la dévastation, il exhorta à la lutte victo-

rieuse non seulement Rodolphe, roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, empereur germano-romain, mais il demanda au roi de Pologne de participer à la guerre de défense, pour son bon renom et pour celui de son pays (No 17). Dans son appel aux "Grands Seigneurs des Etats" polonais il mentionna la mort tragique du jeune Władisław Warneńczyk (No 18) et invita les preux polonais à la vigilance contre l'ennemi commun (No 19), et il ajouta que les Hongrois n'avaient d'espoir qu'en eux.

A l'époque resistait encore le château d'Eger dont écrivit, dans son Epicedium, János Rimay, ami poète de Balassi, un autre contemporain connu de Czahrowski, et qui mourut au siège d'Esztergom: "Eger, célèbre école des preux de toute la Hongrie, rempart de toute l'Europe, protège moins par un équipement naturel ou surtout inventé que par le bras d'hommes très forts et qui est décoré par tant d'insignes de guerre et tant de victoires retentissantes, gagna ses plus grands ornements de partla société, la splendeur et la renommée de ces hommes..."[35] Mais la chance tourna et Eger tomba devant la superiorité numérique. Il est possible que la nouvelle de la chute d'Eger (octobre 1596) qui se propageait comme un incendie eût atteint le poète militaire à son domicile. Le preux polonais qui avait participé lui-même à la défense du château, prit sa plume et s'adressa à nouveau aux ordres de son pays: Eger fut la porte la plus forte donnant vers la Pologne; après sa perte tous devaient tourner les yeux vers Cracovie et préparer la défense de la Pologne (No 22). Dans son poème suivant "Lamentation pour Eger et la célèbre prouesse d'Eger" (No 23), il continua d'exposer ses pensées tristes. Et s'il regrettait la perte d'Eger, porte qui donnait vers les frontières de Pologne, il s'affligea encore davantage au sujet des preux du château, "miroirs de la Hongrie", compagnons d'arme héroïques élevés dans cette "école des preux".[36] Il connaissait bien les Hongrois, leur langue, leur façon de combattre courageuse, leur vaillance en guerre; il écrivit un poème sur eux à la manière de Balassi ("Duma żolnierska") et il les plaignait et les vantait d'avoir sacrifié leur vie dans la lutte contre les païens. Lui-même arrosa le sol hongrois de "son pauvre sang" et retourna pauvre dans son pays, par suite de l'ingratitude des seigneurs.

On considérait en Pologne que la Hongrie et la Transylvanie étaient le rempart protecteur de la République Nobiliaire. Mais l'aspect politique du rôle de rempart protecteur historique n'était pas beaucoup influencé par les relations de force changeantes, avant tout les complications après la

mort de Báthory, que résultèrent les élections libres de roi en Pologne et les changements de la "perpetua concordia".

Après la dissolution de l'union polono-hongroise et la montée sur le trône polonais de Sigismond III Waza (1587–1632) la nouvelle se répandit en Europe que la puissante armée du sultan turc était prête à partir en guerre et qu'il était à craindre que cette puissante force ottomane ne s'abatte sur les confins militaires de Hongrie et de Transylvanie. "Le danger de la situation est encore augmenté par la situation confuse en Pologne qui permettrait aux Turcs de pénétrer encore davantage dans les pays que dominait l'Autriche."[37] – écrivit l'un des correspondants de Juste Lipse. Lipse fut informé des difficultés de la défense contre les Turcs par l'intermédiaire de ses correspondants en Hongrie. Lorsque le jeune baron Peter Révay, le futur intendant du département de Túróc, rentré à l'époque dans son pays après ses études à l'étranger le renseigna, il expliqua bien les fonds de la scène politique: "Car je trouve, et ce n'est pas un secret pour toi, ô mon Lipse, que notre pauvre petite Hongrie, et le Dieu immortel le voit, est cernée d'ennemi par devant, par derrière et des deux côtés, donc de toutes parts, harcelée, opprimée et ravagée par des attaques continues. Et moi je ne sais pas pourquoi nos voisins qui vivent toujours parmi des roses et des violettes, ne bougent toujours pas, à la vue de ce mal; pourquoi ils ne se rendent pas compte qu'il s'agit de leur propre affaire, lorsque la maison du voisin est déjà incendiée? Comment certains ne sortent pas de leur sommeil profond d'Endymion, tandis que d'autres cessent enfin de se ruiner, se déchirer dans des guerres et des effervescences intestines et d'affaiblir par là encore davantage leurs biens matériels et leur état blessé, de s'ébranler et de se briser: ceux-là affrontent enfin, dans une guerre ouverte et par des forces alliées, l'ennemi éternel du nom chrétien et ainsi ils apportent un soutien et une aide à cette Hongrie terrassée..".[38] Malhereusement, l'espoir humaniste atténuant les plaintes par des vers empruntés à Virgile ("cur non animadvertunt rem suam agi paries dum proximus ardet"), espoir alimenté par le déclenchement de la guerre de quinze ans n'est pas devenu réalité.

Lorsqu'en 1594 le prince Sigismond Báthory rompit l'union avec les Turcs et fit exécuter, en accord avec Bocskai, les dirigeants des ordres "turcophiles" (dont Kovacsóczy, Boldizsár Báthory), il conclut une alliance avec Rodolphe et envoya des députés chez le roi de Pologne. Devant la diète polonaise, l'évêque Demeter Náprágyi parla de la campagne en Hongrie du grand vizir Sinane et de la demande d'aide de la Transylvanie, demande qui

resta sans suite à la deputation de l'année précédente.[39] L'empereur Rodolphe lui aussi comptait sur l'aide militaire polonaise et s'adressa au roi de Pologne en se fiant à la promesse faite par le pape. En 1596 il envoya donc à Cracovie, et pour préparer une union contre les Turcs, avec l'entente de la diète, Miklós Istvánffy en compagnie de János Kutassy, archevêque de Kalocsa.[40] Comme l'écrivit Illésházy: Rodolphe "envoya des députés chez les Polonais pour leur demander de se ressusciter auprès de la chrétienté et de ne pas laisser les païens fouler aux pieds le nom du Christ; il se recommanda en tous les cas. Mais les Polonais n'y firent rien, ils conclurent une union pour cent ans avec les Turcs et demandèrent la Moldavie pour eux-mêmes en contrepartie d'un tribut payé au sultan."[41] Il remarqua à propos de la formation de la politique turco-polonaise, en se référant à l'ouvrage de l'historien Istvánffy ("N. Istv. lib. 20. foll. 649. 50.51.52."): "La république polonaise avec son roi Sigismond, a été sollicitée et encouragée par le conseil de Rome et par une députation solennelle de Rodolphe pour participer aux luttes communes, mais celle-là a déjà une paix et union avec la nation turque, et cette nation intelligente ne veut pas renoncer à cette union et attirer par une nouvelle union sur elle-même les armes et l'invasion de son puissant voisin...".[42]

La position des deux principautés au bord du Danube, voisines du pays était également difficile. Suivant la formation des rapports de force, les voïvodes de Valachie et de Moldavie s'approchaient des Habsbourgs, pour contrebalancer l'influence polonaise; par ailleurs ils cherchaient à coopérer avec le roi de Pologne et le prince de Transylvanie; lorsque les Turcs avaient une position militaire avantageuse, ils étaient passés à la lisière de la Porte, sans renoncer à leurs intérêts féodaux. Dans son Histoire de la Valachie, Stolnikul Constantin Cantacuzino exprime le sentiment du sort commun dans le passé: "Les Hongrois sont nos voisins; les Romains se sont fortement mêlés avec eux, et passaient avec eux par le passé. C'est en grande partie que ces pays se sont constitués, c'est-à-dire la Valachie et la Moldavie, lorsqu'elles se sont séparées de la Transylvanie. Ils étaient une arrière-garde et une aide pour les principautés, par contre celles-ci servaient également de forte muraille aux Hongrois contre les Turcs."[43] D'ailleurs aux Polonais également, comme cela avait déjà été exprimé un siècle plus tôt à propos de la sphère d'intérêts politique de la Pologne: "La Moldavie est le mur de devant de la Pologne et de la Hongrie". L'auteur de l'humanisme tardif met en lumière l'idée de l'"antemurale" du point de vue de la classe dominante féodale de Moldavie et de Valachie.

La constatation de István Magyari, en résumant le message philosophico-historique et politique de la Réforme hongroise, référait également à toutes les parts d'Europe centrale et de l'Est: le Dieu Jehovah "afflige la Hongrie, en compagnie des territoires chrétiens" par le fléau que sont les Turcs païens.[44]

Dans son oeuvre écrite Sur les causes des nombreux maux dans le pays, écrit qu'il recommanda à son protecteur Ferenc Nádasdy, le célèbre "bey noir", batteur des Turcs, préfet de police de Transdanubie, le prédicateur lutherien de Sárvár se faisait porte-parole de la pensée "de bouclier protecteur" des chrétiens antipapistes, loyaux envers l'empereur de la Hongrie de l'Ouest; sa manifestation était pareille, malgré les motifs différents à la conception des calvinistes de Hongrie et à celle de l'antemurale des protestants polonais de l'époque.

Le fait que les genres nationaux et les mémoires de littérature politique en Pologne, en Hongrie ou encore en Europe centrale et de Sud-Est reflètent d'une façon très variée le thème des luttes séculaires contre les Turcs prend son origine dans leur sort commun. L'écu composé d'un luth et d'une épée de Tinódi, chroniqueur célèbre des luttes contre les Turcs, tout comme le symbole de la "plume et épée" (szabla-pióro) renvoient à la lutte commune. Il y a deux exemples ultérieurs qui méritent d'être comparés du point de vue typologique dans la poésie épique hongroise et polonaise: Le désastre de Sziget de Zrínyi et Woja chocimska de Wacław Potocki: la date de création de ces deux oeuvres représentatives du baroque héroïque de l'Europe centrale est presque la même.

Notes

[1] 1440. I. Katona: Historia critica Regni Hungariae Stirpis mixtae. Tom. VI. Ordine XIII. Pestini 1790, 26.

[2] A Buda le 15 juin 1450. Lettres des humanistes hongrois, XVe–XVIe siècles. Réd. V. Kovács S. Budapest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1971, 163; Histoire de la littérature hongroise jusqu'à 1600. Réd. par T. Klaniczay. Budapest 1964, I. 209, 274.

[3] Historia... Augsburg 1518. Lett. 22. Callimachus Experiens (Filippo Buonaccorsi 1437–1496) séjourna dans la cour de Matthias en 1483–84; cf. encore son Historia rerum gestarum in Hungaria et contra Turcos per Vladislaum regem. Augsburg 1519; encore Ad Innocentium VIII de bello Turcis inferendo oratio. Cracoviae 1524 (et Hagenau 1533), son discours prononcé devant le pape en qualité de député de Pologne; de l'histoire de Ladislas De rebus ab Vladislao gestis libri III.

[4]V. Fraknói: La vie de Tamás Bakócz Erdődi. Budapest 1889, 124 (mars 1512), 136–137 (juin 1513); Acta Tomiciana II, Posnaniae 1852, 200.

[5]I. Verbőczy: Opus Tripartitum, Juris Consuetudinarii Inclyti Regni Hungariae. Vienne 1517. Dedicace. Cf. Anthologie de la littérature hongroise ancienne I. Red. par J. Barta et T. Klaniczay. Budapest 1963, 193; L. Terbe: Biographie d'une expression européenne. La Hongrie comme le rempart protecteur de la chrétienté. EPhK 1936, 297–351.

[6]Mohács, le 1er octobre 1521. Verhandlungen zwischen R. Sigismund I.R. von Pohlen, und Ludwig II. R. von Ungarn. Publ. J. Ch. Engel, Zeitschrift von und für Ungern de Ludwig von Schedius 1803, III, 293, 295–296; F. Szakály: La bataille de Mohács. Budapest 1978, 17; L. Kiss: La chute de Belgrade (1521). HK 1889, 389–440, 546, 604–612.

[7]E. Kovács: Des Hongrois et des Polonais dans le courant de l'histoire. Budapest 1973, 84; J. Pajewski: Stosunki polsko-węgierskie i niebiezpieczeństwo tureckie w latach 1516–1526. Warszawa 1930, 57; A. Brückner: Dzieje kultury polskiej. Kraków 1930, II, 206; Gy. Komoróczy: La pensée de la mission antiturque en Pologne et en Hongrie dans l'histoire des XVIe–XVIIe siècles. La Hongrie et la Pologne – Polska i Węgry. Red. par K. Huszár, Budapest–Warszawa 1936, 59; A. Krzewińska: Pieśń ziemianska, antyturecka i refleksyjna. (Studia nad wybranymi gatunkami staropolskiej liryki XVI i XVII wieku.) Toruń 1968, 29–40, 85–105: "Pieśń antyturecka".

[8]"... nihil minus habeant quam nostrum et commune rei christianae discrimen." Acta Tomiciana VII, 1857, op. cit. 82; L. Tokay: Le gouvernement de la Hongrie à l'époque des Jagellon. Békés 1932, 178–179.

[9]Acta Tomiciana VII, 1857, 306–307; Szakály, op. cit. 109–110; J. Dąbrowski: La Pologne et la péril turc avant 1525. En mémoire de Mohács. Réd. par I. Lukinich, Budapest 1926, 125–140; Tokay, op. cit. 176–177.

[10]Pour le rapport du nonce Burgio cf. Tokay, op. cit. 181; pour les notes du député polonais à Londres cf. ItK 1976, 234.

[11]I. Brodarics: De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis ad Mohatz verissima descriptio. Kraków 1527 (première édition perdue). Suivi par: J. Dantyszek (Dantiscus): Ad Clementem VII Pont. Max. etc. Carolum V Imp. Aug. De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus silva. Bolonia 1530 (et Kraków 1530), – également de la chute de Mohács.

[12]K. Benda: La littérature des journaux à l'époque turque. A la critique des sources des références à la Hongrie des journaux allemands des XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Budapest 1942, 63, 73.

[13]Benda, op. cit. 63; M. Horváth: Le péril turque dans l'opinion publique allemande. Budapest 1937, 44–46, 63–66.

[14]Benda, op. cit. 60–62; Horváth, op. cit. 77–82; B. Pukánszky: Mohács et l'opinion publique allemande de l'époque. In: En mémoire de Mohács, Budapest 1926; T.Thienemann: Mohács et Erasme. Pécs 1924.

[15]Le rempart de la chrétienté. Histoire de la civilisation hongroise. Red. par I. Lukinich, Budapest 1939, III 62–63; Pour un nouvel aperçu de presse contre les Turcs cf. C. Göllner: Turcica. Die europäische Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Berlin 1961.

[16]J. Waldapfel: Au reflet en Pologne du XVIe siècle du sort de la Hongrie. EPhK 1940, 197; K. Janicki (1516–1543) Tristia (Smutki) 1543; Janicki écrivit l'année précédente ses VII. Tristia pour un illustre erasmiste (Ad J. Antonium insignem medicum Budae à Turcis occupatae querela)

où il énumère, par la personnification de Buda, les plaintes de la ville passée aux mains des Turcs. Pour Janicki cf. J. Krzyżanowski: Historia literatury polskiej. Warszawa 1966, 103–104. – Sylvester qui fit ses études à Cracovie et à Wittenberg écrivit à cette époque son poème (De bello Turcis inferendo. Vienne 1544); J. Balázs: János Sylvester et son époque. Budapest 1958, 347; E. Kovács: Sur le chemin des peuples. Etudes choisies. Budapest 1972, 622, 624; Szerémi écrivit en 1545–47 son oeuvre Sur le déclin de la Hongrie, cf. Georgius Sirmiensis: Epistola de perditione regni Hungarorum. Red. par L. Erdélyi–L.Juhász. Budapest 1941; Gy. Szerémi: Sur le déclin de la Hongrie. Trad. par L. Erdélyi et L. Juhász. Intr. et notes par Gy. Székely. Budapest 1941.

[17]Waldapfel, op. cit. 1940, 204. M. Bielski (1495–1575) Sprawa rycerska (1569), cf. sur lui Krzyżanowski, op. cit. 1966, 118.

[18]Turcica de Orzechowski furent publiées en latin et en polonais (De bello adversus Turcas suscipiendo oratio. Kraków Ungler 1543. Ad Sigismundum Poloniae regem Turcica secunda. Kraków Vietor 1544 (aussi plus tard 1551, 1590 etc.) Cf. encore le manuscrit de la Cantio de Hungaria occupata de caractère épique (Bibl. Czart. 282) imprimé vers 1558: Pieśń o posiedzeniu i o zniewoleniu żałosnym ziemi Węgierskiej...) nouvelle édit. Pamiętnik Literacki 1912, nr. 4, 427) EPhK 1940, 202 et J. Waldapfel: Etudes littéraires. Budapest 1957, 97.

Pannoniae luctus quo principium aliquot et insignium virorum mortes deplorantur. Kraków H. Victor 1544; et Andrzej Lubelczyk: Bellum theologicum ex armario Omnipotentis adversus Turcas instructum et ordinatum. Kraków 1545. Katalog wystawy rękopisów i druków polsko-węgierskich XV i XVI wieków. Oprac. A. Birkenmajer i K. Piekarski. Kraków 1928, 32–35; J. Reychman: Dzieje Węgier. Łódz 1963, 27–34: "Walka o niepodległość przeciw niemcom i turkom (1526–1711). Rozbicie państwa węgierskiego." E. Kovács: L'université à Cracovie et la culture hongroise. Budapest 1964 et Uniwersitet Krakowski a kultura węgierska. Tłum. E. Mroczko. Wrocław–Warszawa 1964, 153–167; Krzyżanowski, op. cit. 1966, 94–96, 155, 212, 227, 291, 333, 367.

[19]L. Mátrai: Introduction. In: John Locke, Lettre sur la tolérance religieuse. Publié par R. Klibansky. Collection d'écrivains philosophiques tome XXXIV, Budapest 1973, 32.

[20]E. Villaret: Les congrégations Mariales. I. Des origines à la suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris 1947. (1540–1773)

[21]J. Tazbir: Stosunek do obcych w dobie baroku. In: Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej. Red. naukowy Z. Stefanowska. Warszawa 1973, 94; J. Tazbir: Świadomość narodowa. In: Rzeczpospolita i świat. Studia z dziejów kultury XVII wieku. Wrocław 1971, 38. Du rôle de l'Antemurale cf. Krzyżanowski, op. cit. 1966, 218 et 407; pour les seuls peuples slaves cf. J. Matl: Europa und die Slaven. Wiesbaden 1964, 24–25, 92.

[22]J. Błoński: Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński a początki polskiego baroku. Kraków 1967, 212–213.

[23]R. Pollak: Wśród literatów staropolskich. Warszawa 1966, 206 (première édit. de Gofred 1618).

[24]Krzyżanowski, op. cit. 1966, 306–307.

[25]J. Turóczi Trostler: Ungarns Eintritt in das literar-historische Bewusstsein Deutschlands. Deutsch-ungarische Heimatsblätter 1930; J. György: Le rempart de la chrétienté. L'image de la Hongrie dans la littérature française du XVIe siècle. Budapest 1933, Minerva (12) 69–124; Le rempart de la chrétienté. Histoire de la civilisation hongroise III, op. cit. 7–67

etc.; B. Hóman et Gy. Szegfű: Histoire de la Hongrie. III. Écrit par Gy. Szegfű. Budapest 1935, 101–167: "Le rempart de la chrétienté; l'organisation royale de la défense"; G. Galavics: La lutte contre les Turcs et nos beaux-arts de l'époque. Művészettörténeti Értesítő XXV, 1976, 1–40.

[26]Le discours écrit de György Blandrata fut présenté à la diète de Varsovie le 15 novembre 1575; lui-même le prononça de vive voix, avec Márton Berzeviczy, député plénipotentiaire de Báthory, non sans propagande d'élection, devant la diète chargée d'élire le roi: "Quum eo demum ventum sit, ut depositis verborum lenociniis, gravia consilia et naturae deliberationes necessario quaerenda sint, facereque nunc magis, quam dicere expediat, ne Respublica christiana cujus murus aeneus est Sarmatia, aliquid majoris detrimenti capiat, ego qui provinciam hanc viribus meis longe imparem coactus suscepi, mentem principis mei simpliciore et perspicus aperiam brevitate.

Quum igitur fortissimae genti Hungariae cum invictissimis Polonis ob summam conjunctionem, vicinitatemque utraque fortuna communis semper exisserit, sed subinde aequo jure utrique metuerent, ne pariete ardente alter quoque Flammis absumatur, Transylvanus princeps, qui non solum proximam, sed omnes, procul etiam sitas, Europas respublicas et salute liberrimi istius regni pendere non dubitat, pro zelo, non dicam metu quondam tactus perculsusque, hanc praeclaram de communi patria, in tantis posita difficultatibus, bene merendi, ac promptitudinis sui declarandae, oblatam occasionem praetermittere noluit..." cf. L. Szádeczky: L'élection de István Báthory en roi de Pologne. Budapest 1887, 316–317–318; cf. encore la lettre des créances du voïvode de Transylvanie pour ses députés envoyés à l'élection du roi, le 2 octobre 1575, Gyulafehérvár. (Le chapitre de Győr, Archives Nationales Cth. VI. N. 260).

[27]La traduction hongroise: K.L. Szádeczky: Relations polono-hongroises dans l'histoire, in Budapesti Szemle 1915, vol. 162, p. 208; E. Veress: Le roi István Báthory (Terror hostium). Bp. 1937, p. 40. Manuscrit de l'époque: Discours de Piotr Zborowski, capitain de la forteresse de Cracovie, en faveur de Báthory en décembre 1575 à la diète réunie pour élire le roi de Pologne (Bp. Ek Litt. orig. 134). Cf. A. Divéky: Synthèses historiques des relations hungaro-polonaises. Bp. 1937, p. 16; et Hongrie et Pologne. in Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie 1937, I. p. 499. Le déroulement de l'élection cf. Szádeczky, op. cit. 1887, pp. 198–224 et 320–322; A. Károlyi: Les missives hongroises sur l'histoire de la sédition de Gáspár Békés et de l'élection d'István Báthory, roi de Pologne. (Archives nationales de Vienne). TTár 1880; pp. 123–125: Lettre de Gábor Békés à J. Rhueber, datée du 25 déc. 1575. Persécuté par le "méchant" voïvode de Cracovie, il est sauvé par le pieux et noble sieur Lubomerszky: il insiste sur la prise de Cracovie par l'empereur face à Báthory. Cf. A Székely krónika, publié par S. Barabás, TTár 1880, p. 644: "Les compagnons de Báthory..."; Joachim Bielski: Istulae convivium in nuptiis Stephani regis Poloniae et Annae reginae Poloniae. Kraków 1576. Catalogue... op. cit. 1928, pp. 26-27.

[28]S. Barabás: Règlement militaire de István Báthory pour les hussards hongrois combattant dans l'armée polonaise. HK 1890, pp. 667-674; E. Véress: L'armée hongroise du roi István Báthory. In: Suppléments de Pologne à l'histoire de notre pays et surtout à celle de la Transylvanie à l'époque du XVe au XVIIIe siècles. ÉTT vol. XVI. numéro 9. 1896, p. 13, pp. 22-41. A. Divéky: Influences hongroises dans le passé polonais. Tirage spécial des Mémoires Békefi. Bp. 1912; Brückner, op. cit. II. p. 53, p. 342; W. Łoziński: Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach. Kraków 1969 (nouvelle édition), p. 110, p. 112, p. 128, p. 156; I. Kniezsa: L'influence du hongrois à la langue polonaise. Hongrie et Pologne. Polska i Węgry. Op. cit. pp. 114-116;

Gy. Erdélyi: L'organisation militaire des Hongrois. Bp. 1942, p. 186; I. Csapláros: Des Hongrois et des Polonais. In: Magyarország és Kelet-Európa, dirigé par I. Gál. Bp. 1947, pp. 70-71; W. Bethlen: Historiarum Pannonico-Dacicarum libri X. Red. Benkő J.: Historia de rebus Transsylvanicis. II. Cibinii 1782, pp. 399-400; Le récit de Farkas Bethlen relatif à l'époque de Báthory est traduit par J. Szilágyi: Héritage de Transylvanie II. Prologue: L. Cs. Szabó, pp. 45-46; Pál Abafáji Gyulai: Commentarius rerum, à Stephano rege, adversus magnum Moschorum ducem gestarum, anno 1580. Claudiopoli 1581. Trad. hongroise J. Koncz. HK 1897, pp. 467-483; nouvelle traduction: Gy. Szabó: Abafáji Gyulai Pál. Bp. 1974, p. 26, p. 30, pp. 74-82.

[29]Rationes curiae Stephani Báthory regis Poloniae historiam Hungariae et Transylvaniae illustrantes, 1576-1586. - Documents relatifs à la Hongrie et à la Transylvanie dans les livres de comptes de la cour de István Báthory, roi de Pologne, publié par E. Veress. Bp. 1918, Monumenta Hungarorum in Polonia 1575-1668, vol. I. (Fontes Rerum Hungaricum t. III.), pp. 236-305; cf. Księgi podskarbińskie z czasów Stefana Batorego. 1576-1586. W dwóch częściach. Wydał A. Pawiński. Warszawa 1881 (La série Źródła dziejowe vol. IX.).

[30]Veress, op. cit. 1937, pp. 78-81, 90-92 (1576), 181-184 (1582), 206-211, 216-222, p. 242 (1583), pp. 245-247-256, p. 309 etc. "Oratio convenable" de Lestár Gyulafi au mariage de Wesselényi, notes de Lestár Gyulafi. Annuaires et journaux historiques hongrois de l'époque du XVIe au XVIIIe siècles. Publiés par K. Szabó. Bp. 1881. MHHS XXXI, op. cit. p. 18. La première femme de Zamoyski: Anna Ossoliński, la deuxième: Krystina Radziwiłł. B. Paprocki: Herby rycerstwa polskiego. W Krakowie 1584. 1858[2]. (La description pittoresque des noces de B. Griseldis). Cf. Mateusz Piskorzewski: Ad Joannem Zamoiscum regni Poloniae... Kraków 1583; R. Heidenstein: De nuptiis illustrium Joannis de Zamoscio regni Poloniae cancellarii et exercitum praefecti ac Griseldis Bathoreae Christophori Transilvaniae principis filiae ad Georgium Fridericum marchionem Brandeburgensem in Prussia ducem epistola. Kraków 1583; Catalogue... op. cit. 1928, pp. 26—27; Kochanowski: In nuptias Ioannis de Zamoscio... ac Griseldis Bathoreae Christophori Transilvania principis filiae epithalamion. Kraków 1583; B. Nadolski: Łacińska poezja dworska Jana Kochanowskiego zwiczana ze Stefanem Batorym. In: Studia porównawcze o literaturze staropolskiej. Pod. red. Michałowskiej i J. Ślaskiego. Wrocław-Warszawa 1980, pp. 157-167; J. Nowak-Dłużewski: Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Pierwsi królowie elekcyjni. Warszawa 1969, pp. 190-191 etc.; A Székely krónika, op. cit. TTár 1880, p. 646.

[31]6 mai 1576. Ex arce Cracoviensi. Les archives capitulaires à Gyulafehérvár. Publié par A. Beke. TTár 1895, p. 254, des lettres de 1576-1586, pp. 252-259, pp. 407-411.

[32]L. Szádeczky: Le projet secret du roi István Báthory. In: Századok 1882, pp. 497-498; S. Smolka: Projekt ligi przeciw Turkom w roku 1583, Kraków 1890. Französisch kurz im "Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften" in Krakau 1890, pp. 50-56; L. Boratyński: Stefan Batory i plan ligi przeciw Turkom (1576-1584). W Krakowie 1903. Deutscher Auszug im Anzeiger der AW in Krakau 1902, pp. 98-103; Souvenirs historiques de István Szamosközy. 1542-1608. vol. IV. Miscellanées. Ed. S. Szilágyi Bp. 1880, MHHS XXX, pp. 17-18; Échange de lettres entre le roi István Báthory et le gouvernement de Transylvanie (1581-1585). Publié par E. Veress. MHH Bp. 1948, I. O. Okmánytárak 42. XL. p. 317; I. Lukinich: Bibliographie hongroise d'Etienne Báthory. In: Báthory István erdélyi fejedelem és lengyel király emlékezete. Red. I. Lukinich. Bp. pp. 513-524; Bibliographie polonaise d'Etienne Bathory. Op. cit. 1935, pp. 525-563; Szekfü sur la philosophie historique d'István Báthory sur le problème de Transylvanie-Hongrie-Turquie, op. cit.

III, pp. 311-312; J. Kertész: István Báthory dans la littérature. Pour le 350e anniversaire de sa mort. Bp. 1936, p. 19; J. Pajewski: Etienne Báthory. Roi de Pologne, Prince de Transsylvanie. Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis 1936, II. pp. 179-183; I. Sinkovics: L'union personnelle et le problème de la centralisation en Transylvanie à l'époque de la royauté polonaise d'Etienne Báthory. Annales USc Bp. VI. Sectio Historica 1964, pp. 73-108; E. Niederhauser: Báthory dans l'historiographie polonaise et hongroise. Slavica vol. IV, 1964, pp. 27–43; L. Bazylow: Siedmiogród a Polska 1576-1613. Warszawa 1967; Kovács, op. cit. 1973, pp. 138-140; Ikones książąt i królów polskich. Ks. Jana Gołuchowskiego. Wrocław 1979, Ossolineum PAN (Reprodukcja fototypiczna wydania z 1605r.), pp. 98-99 et 78-80, la représentation est absente; cf. Stefan Batory (Nieokreślony nalar, koniec XVI w.) Willanów; l'original de son portrait présumé le meilleur (huile) se trouvait dans la collection d'Ambras de l'archiduc Ferdinand de Tyrol, in Magyar Művelődéstörténet vol. III, p. 20.

[33] Brückner, op. cit. II, pp. 340-341; Oeuvres complètes de Bálint Balassi, tome I. Rédigé par S. Eckhardt, Budapest, 1951, pp. 118, 256-257. Ses séjours principaux: Cracovie, Debno, Braumsberg; cf. correspondence en Pologne; "Pour le Chancelier Zamojszki, dans l'affaire de la participation dans la guerre contre les Turcs", Debno, le 9 mai 1590 (loc. cit. 375.) "Lettre de recommendation à Ferenc Batthyány en faveur d'un vaillant polonais", Cracovie, le 11 novembre 1590. (loc. cit. 378.) À János Rimay, Braumsberg, janvier 1591 (loc. cit. 381.) etc. - Cf. Eckhardt: Bálint Balassi et la Pologne. Études dans le domaine des relations littéraires polonais-hongroises - Studia z dziejów polsko-węgierskich stosunków literackich i kulturalnych. Rédacteurs: I. Csapláros, L. Hopp, J. Reychman, L. Sziklay, Budapest-Varsovie, 1969, pp. 161-174 et 121-131; J. Ślaski: Balassi et la littérature polonaise de son époque. Bulletin d'Histoire de la Littérature 1976, pp. 702-705; Gy. Gömöri: Contributions au dernier voyage en Pologne et les relations polonaises de Balassi. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 1976, pp. 684–694; du même auteur: De nouvelles traces de Balassi en Pologne. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 1981, pp. 421–422; L'influence de Balassi sur Czahrowski, cf. Krzyżanowski, op. cit. 1966, p. 227.

[34] Waldapfel: Le poète polonais des confins militaires hongrois. Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny 1939, p. 81. La traduction des citations est de la nouvelle édition de T. Mikulski (Varsovie, 1936) qui se base sur la deuxième édition des poèmes d'Adam Czahrowski (Rzeczy Rozmaite Adama Czahrowskiego z Czahrowa Schlachcicia Polskiego Uczynione w Taborzech y w Ziemi Węgierskiej y Horwackiej tam z rozmaitym szezesciem mieszkając Poczawszy od Roku 1588 do Roku 1596. Przytym sa y Threny. Lwów 1599). La première édition, treny i rzeczy rozmaite, est parue dans peu de temps après le retour du poète dans son pays (Poznań, 1597); T. Mikulski: Rzeczy strapolskie. Wrocław 1964, pp. 137, 140.

[35] "Agria totius Hungariae celeberrima militaris Academia, Europaeque nostrae luculentissimum, idque non naturali, vel arte quaesita munitione etiam magis, quam fortissimorum virorum lacertis tutatum Propugnaculum, tot trophaeis, ac triumphis splendidissimarum victoriarum saepissime illustratum, tum cum maxime floret..." L'Apologie de Bálint Balassi adressée à Kristóf Darholcz, en forme de Prologue (écrite vers 1596). Oeuvres complètes de János Rimay. Rédigé par S. Eckhardt, Budapest, 1955, pp. 33, 36; et Anthologie I/1, op. cit. p. 773; Rimay fut délégué à la Sublime Porte en 1608.

[36] "Zaŕoba Egru". Waldapfel, op. cit. 1939, p. 82; cf. T. Csorba: Un poete soldat polonais dans les châteaux des confins hongrois au XVIe siècle. Irodalomtörténet 1938, pp. 199-201; du même auteur: Adam Czahrowski, poète

soldat polonais du XVIe siècle en Hongrie.Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny 1942, p. 211; et Hungarica, dans l'histoire du poète polonais des châteaux des confins hongrois. Magyarságtudomány 1942, pp. 339-349; Gy. Gömöri: La pétition d'Adam Czahrowski a l'archiduc Ernest de l'an 1590. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 1980, pp. 332-335; La lettre écrite en hongrois d'un grand seigneur polonais dans l'affaire de ses richesses hypothéquées. Le 29 septembre 1599. Lemberg. Történelmi Tár 1883, pp. 181-184 (Datae Leopoli perultima septembris Anno 99 Adam Czyahrowszky de Czyahrow manupropia.) La lettre fut envoyée à Cassovie.

[37]Carolus Clusus (Charles de l'Escluse) VII. Kal. Octobr. 1589. In: Burmann, Sylloges epistolarum... Leidae, 1727, I, ep. 312; A. Vargha: Justus Lipsius et la vie intellectuelle hongroise. Traités du domaine de la latinité en Hongrie 7. Budapest 1942, pp. 33, 66, 83, 116; J. Ślaski: Justus Lipsius et quelques problèmes de sa réception en Hongrie et en Pologne. Helikon VF 1971. 402-410.

[38]Ex arce nostra Holicz Ungariae, 27 Juli Anno aerae Christianae 1592. A. Coron: La correspondance de Justus Lipsius avec les Hongrois et la lettre inédite de Péter Lévay à Lipsius. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 1976, pp. 490-496. cf. antérieurement Bielski a aussi fait allusion aux vers virgiliens.

[39]Demeter Náprágyi: Hungariae periclitatis legatorum... ed Sigismundum tertium Poloniae... Regem... Oratio in comitiis generalibus Cracoviae habita d. 2. men. Martii 1595. Cracovie 1595. (Bibliothèque Nationale Széchényi, section Bibliothèque Hongroise Antique III, 857.) Et D. Napragi: Poselstwo węgierskich posłów do Zygmunta III króla polskiego w Krakowie na Seymie Walnym Koronnym d. 2. marca 1595 sprawowane. Tłum. Jan Januszowki. Kraków 1595. Katalog.. op. cit. 1928, pp. 32-35; E. Veress: La correspondance de Zsigmond Bathory dans des affaires polonaises, 1586-1594. Manuscrit 424 de l'Académie des Sciences de la Hongrie; Szamosközy, op. cit. IV., pp. 31-49, 65, 384; c'est Baranyai Decsi qui publie dans son Histoire des Hongrois la lettre de Clément VIII adressée à Sigismond III, roi de la Pologne, datée du 8 novembre 1595. La lettre, avec la vie de l'auteur, est publiée par F. Toldy, Pest 1866, Monumenta Hungariae Historica XVII, pp. 240-245; E. Bartoniek: Études sur l'histoire de l'historiographie hongroise aux XVI et XVII siècles. (Hors commerce.) Budapest 1975, p. 274.

[40]J. Holub: L'histoire de Miklós Istvánffy du point de vue de l'histoire militaire. Művelődéstörténeti Értekezések 35. Szekszárd 1909, pp. 28-29; Bartoniek, op. cit. p. 342.

[41]Les Mémoires du palatin le comte István Illésházy, 1592-1603. Publiées par G. Kazinczy, Pest 1863, Monumenta Hungariae Scriptores VII, pp. 36-37.

[42]La Chronique déployable des Hongrois de János Szalárdi. Rédigé et notes par F. Szakály, Budapest 1980, p. 83; M. Istvánffy: Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis. De l'histoire des Hongrois. Traduit par L. Juhász. Sélection, introduction et notes de Gy. Székely, Budapest 1962 (Morceaux choisis de 1492 jusqu'à 1607); Szamosközy, op. cit. IV, pp. 80-120; Gyulafi Lestár, op. cit. Monumenta Hungariae Scriptores XXXI, pp. 115-116; Szamosközy: Rerum Transylvanarum, L'Histoire de la Transylvanie. Traduite par I. Borzsák. Introduction d'I. Sinkovics, Budapest 1963 (sur l'époque entre 1598 et 1603); quant à la littérature s'opposant aux Turcs cf. "Polskie i w Polsce tłuczone turcyki" Katalog... op. cit. 1928, nr. 86-106 et 32-351.

[43]Stolnikul Constantin Cantacuzino (1650-1716); Istoria Ţarii Romîneşti. Cf. E. Pálffy: L'histoire de la littérature roumaine. Budapest 1961, p. 94;

A. Randa: Pro Republica Christiana. Die Walachei im "langen" Türkenkrieg der katholischen Universalmachte (1593-1606). München 1964.

[44] István Magyari: Sur les causes des ruines dans les différents pays. Rédigé par T. Katona, épilogue de L. Makkai. Budapest 1979, pp. 22, 28, 187 (première édition à Sárvár en 1602); cf. Gy. Rózsa: La représentation des événements historiques au XVIIe siècle. Budapest 1973, pp. 107-114, 121-141 (les plafonds de Sárvár, etc.). En ce qui concerne la situation de la Transylvanie comme bastion voir "La traduction de la pétition des États de la Transylvanie, adressée à la Sublime Porte" 1616. Les vestiges historiques de Dávid Rozsnyai, le dernier scribe turc. Édité par S. Szilágyi; Monumenta Hungariae Scriptores VIII, Pest 1867, p. 92: "... votre pays, la Transylvanie est située de telle façon que toute la chrétienté fixe ses regards sur elle"; le deuxième voyage de Tamás Borsos comme délégué à Constantinople. Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok tome II. Rédigé et édité par le comte I. Mikó à Kolozsvár en 1856, p. 59: ".. ce sera dangereux pour la chrétienté si les Turcs arrivent à occuper la Transylvanie" (1618).

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THE LITERARY-HISTORICAL PROCESS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE[1]

ISTVÁN FRIED

Szeged

There are two factors that we must consider before embarking on a discussion of our more strictly defined topic:

1) The literary-historical process implies a reconstruction; that is to say, by its very nature it is built up of the bits and pieces of information possessed by a late observer — of his experience that has only partial contact with the immediate environment of the original literary phenomena — which then combine to make up the kind of organic, more or less linear process that it has never been in reality. Added to that is the well-known fact that, in retrospect, even contrasting trends sometimes appear as parts of a unity.

2) In our region, East-Central Europe, — that is, eastern part of Central Europe,[2] — as a result of the real and assumed expectations of readers and the inner promptings of authors (and in the partial or total absence of democratic institutions), literature has had to play — not just on particular occasions, but on a regular basis — a non-literary-aesthetic role as well, with poets compelled to become national poets "par excellence" or, more rarely, popular leaders out to make history.[3] That fact undoubtedly enhanced, in certain periods, the effectiveness of the word, of the poetic work, it gave a boost to the poet's self-confidence, since he could always reckon on his readers, especially if he was in tune with the customs of reading and the dominant literary conventions. Having said that, it did not necessarily make for an acceptance of poetic works as preeminently such; much more, they could claim the dubious distinction of being political-historical documents, as it were, passages from textbooks, "required readings" etc. Consequently, it was not just the Establishment, the reading public, the critics, the proponents of schools setting themselves up as poets and aestheticians that erected obstacles in the way of bold experimentation, the unconventional personality and the method rejecting the validity of the traditional terminology; no; beyond all those, there was self-censorship was well.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Having established those two factors, there is only one more thing we should like to state in advance — namely, that it is high time we broke with the self-deluding and illusory view whereby one invariably seeks (and "successfully" finds) the cause of the discontinuity in unfavourable, external phenomena. Hungarian historiography has already demonstrated that Hungary's (and in general, our region's) failure to keep up with economic development can hardly be attributed exclusively to the Turkish advance and subsequent occupation; after all, that underdevelopment had begun earlier — namely, at the time when the "world trade" route had taken a considerable turn away from our region.[4] Moving on to literary problems, we venture the opinion that it would be wrong for us to try and explain the absence of particular genres in particular periods purely from a historico-political standpoint. Here we refer to Milan Pišút's essay, still relevant, in which he compared the peculiarities of the poetry of Sándor Petőfi and Janko Král', pointing at the difference in the genres cultivated by the two poets, who were, in many respects, similar in their habit of intelligence and in the attitude they represented; he discussed, for instance, the reason why Král' did not write wine songs, as Petőfi did.[5] And, for an example to refute the view outlined above, we can adduce not only Ibsen's dramas (Norwegian theatrical life at the time he started his career can even euphemistically be called nothing but provincial), but also Polish Romantic drama, which blossomed after the abolition of Polish national independence — indeed, apart from The Ancestors (Dziady) by Mickiewicz,[6] after 1830/31, when there was no hope of making an impact on a native Polish audience. As, indeed, Jirásek's "darkness" thesis, built upon an immense tradition,[7] has also proved untenable; for example, in the period of the Counter Reformation, the Czech Baroque created impressive achievements in architecture and music, but Komenský's life-work too falls on the period of "darkness".

After those introductory remarks — and moving on to the substantive part of what we have to say — we submit the thesis that the development of the complete literary system happened at different times in the various literatures of our region. And although it has not been sufficiently interpreted in literary typology so far, it must be noted as a fact that, as far back as the Middle Ages or the Renaissance, certain literatures possessed literary systems that came very near to relative completeness and possibly boasted a string of works whose standards equalled those of any European literature (let us cite here, as the most spectacular example, the coastal literature of the Croats). In the case of others, the medieval-ecclesiastic

beginnings were not followed by a similar flowering, with literature pushed back into verbality or into the manuscript format, where it was likewise hidden. That said, it is relevant to state here that the continuity of literary development is not necessarily identical with the continuous presence of poetry and prose narratives in the mother tongue (the vernacular). In the Middle Ages and also later on, Latin was used not merely by the Church; it became — and remained even in the 18th century — the idiom of highly important genres that occupied a prominent place in the list of values of national literature. The researches of László Szörényi[8] have taught us that the Latin-language narrative of the Jesuits is not simply an important chapter in Hungarian literary history, but it is also a moulding factor of the thinking relating to the Hungarian epic, an antecedent of the attempts at creating an epic of the Magyars' conquest of their country. It is quite another question that Slovak literary history, which has studied intensively Ján Hollý's epics, also dealing with subjects of ancient history, has not even attempted to think about the possible connections between 18th-century Latin-language poetry in Hungary and Hollý's poetry. Not to mention the fact that Polish poetry in Latin is an integral part of the history of Polish literature and literary thinking (we can think of the afterlife not only of Kochanowski, but also of Sarbiewski). Apart from Latinity, the works which, though written in another language (e.g. in German, Hungarian or Italian), are nevertheless considered to be part of the national literature are reminders that we should trace the development of national literature with more circumspection and in a wider context. Firstly, because the bilingual poet[9] is not an exceptional phenomenon in the history of our literatures, and secondly, because — beyond this bilinguality — we must bear in mind the consequences of the coexistence of peoples and literatures: a shared or kindred habit of intelligence and authorial attitude, the natural similarities in the approach to language, prosody, genre etc.

Whereas concerning the Middle Ages and early modern times, Tibor Klaniczay has expounded his views on the national affiliation of writers in a thought-provoking and, in its results, definitive study,[10] the "affiliations" of the writers of the 18th century — and of the 20th century, for that matter — have been the subject of bitter debates. This, however, can be linked with the narrowly national view of literary historians, with the absence of the evaluation and interpretation of — to use Dionýz Ďurišin's terminology — "the groups straddling several literatures" (medziliterárne

spoločenstva).[11] For if we bind the existence of such groups exclusively to ethnic and linguistic criteria, numerous existing literatures of our region will be left unaccounted for. To take just one example: let us not forget that Rilke, Werfel, Kafka, and Max Brod all grew out of Prague's German-language literature — but would it be satisfactory to call them Austrian or German writers or, to use a more neutral term, Bohemians?! It is also relevant in this connection to raise the question whether the literatures of the Monarchy belong together merely under the pretext of a badly organized, rather than well-organized, state; or whether there really exists a "mito absburgico" (Habsburg myth, to borrow a term that Claudio Magris used to describe modern Austrian literature), positive in certain authors of certain literatures, but negative in others.[12] If, for example, we compare the works of Joseph Roth, Liviu Rebreanu and Miroslav Krleža — namely, The Radetzky March, The Forest of the Hanged, Krleža's Diaries and his Glembay Cycle — can we observe, beyond the similarity in subject-matter, parallelisms in approach which can be regarded as literary variants of a similar "abreactional gesture"?

All these are questions that present themselves in connection with the literary development of our region; these questions, moreover, appear only here, in the analysis of only these literatures. The populist currents in "Western" literatures, the novels of Giono, Ramuz or earlier the German Heimatkunst have quite a different significance and meaning than the ruralist-popular movements and trend of our region — although, as regards the ideology, the thought, which can possibly be traced back to Rousseau and Herder, we could perhaps come across some parallelisms between the "Western" literary trends and those of our own region. Let me just remind the reader that, in the Slovak critiques of previous years, the comparison of the novels of Dobroslav Chrobák and Giono led to misinterpretations and subsequently to the necessary clarification,[13] — precisely because a section of the critics had seen there merely a repetition of a French beginning, an incorrectly interpreted "phase delay", instead of recognizing a new direction in Slovak prose. That the Slovak literary current called 'lyricized prose' is not an exceptional, unique phenomenon, but something that emerged in virtually all the literatures of our region, independently of each other — that is something that only we can reconstruct, from our retrospective vantage point. It is highly characteristic that, in Hungarian literature, Áron Tamási — a writer thoroughly tied to the region who depicted the life of a closed community in the idiom of that community, and

a writer, moreover, whose diction in short story writing was akin to balladry — entered the stage of Hungarian literature well before Gyula Illyés — who, incidentally, belonged to the movement of populist writers — translated Giono into Hungarian.

We close this portion of our train of thought by focussing on the problem of periodization. Literary history everywhere demands the kind of periodization that is based on literary-aesthetic criteria. Neither the highly convenient division into centuries, which has proved so useful in the history of art (out of legitimate respect for the Italian Renaissance and Baroque, it was adopted in Italian culture) nor the breaking up of the process according to historical periods has proved satisfactory; for what does a label like, for instance, 'the literature of the Age of Absolutism' say to you? But 'the literature of the Counter Reformation' is also an inadequate description of the essence of the period in several literatures. At the same time, there is some understandable resistance to the kind of periodization based on stylistic periods, given the relative delay with which the literatures of our region attained to the level of completeness comparable to French or English literature. Or, for instance, the Slovenian or Slovak literature of Classicism — or Czech Classicism, for that matter — are a long way behind the stratification, richness and significance of Polish literary Classicism. The other question, related to this, is that of belatedness or phase delay (Phasenverschiebung, décalage chronologique),[14] which has given rise to so much controversy.

What is more, this latter problem may hurt some sensibilities, because there is only a step between phase delay or belatedness and the cultural imperialism of the "cultural downward slide" proclaimed by Valjavec.[15]

What, then, is the point at issue?

If we conceive of the formation of literatures along these lines, that every literature has to traverse a given path; only, for various (external and internal) reasons, one or the other arrives at a particular section of the road belatedly, then we obviously have before us a mechanical concept of phase delay. Hence, according to this, there exists an ideal literary development that other literatures have to follow — at a quickened pace or belatedly. In certain periods the delay may involve a century, in others a decade.

Without getting lost in the details, let us point out that the development of the individual literatures is never completely regular in rhythm. There is no such thing as the ideal literary development. Elizabethan

English drama or the drama-writing of the Spanish golden century have no equals among the contemporary French late Renaissance or Baroque dramas; while compared to French Classicism, which reached its peaks with Corneille and Racine, and with Molière in comedy, the English or the Spanish Classicist drama seems somewhat flat and shallow. Slovak, Czech, Hungarian, Slovenian, and Serbian literature, in turn, have no dramas that could even begin to compare with those. It seems that this dramatic period was essentially skipped in the literatures of our region. Drama-writing in the mother tongue developed much later, with more difficulty, and it has, up to the present, produced fewer world-literary values. (As exceptions we mention Polish Romanticism, Čapek, and contemporary Czech and Polish plays.) When, during Romanticism, and later, under the impact of naturalism, already more dramas were written, it appeared, in many respects, an imitation of "Western" dramas — moreover, not always of the foremost Western dramas. Yet, the phase delay in itself does not explain the late development, and it particularly fails to explain the earlier development — not on the "Western" model — of other genres of literature, the arrival at the scene of important Romantic lyric poets, for instance, the early birth of humanity poems.[16] It is a fact that "Western" literatures offered possibilities, methods, genre configurations, and frequently verse techniques as well. Yet, from the appropriation of these, the assimilation of the "models" to make them national, to make them part of the tradition — from these alone we cannot reconstruct the national literary-historical process. Not even if we can report on thematic borrowings or sometimes extremely close and direct connections in the relationship between the literary works and authors considered as models, on the one hand, and those consciously following the model, on the other.

And to mention another pitfall of the sort of periodization based on the history of styles, this is connected with our previous remarks. For if we regard a trend emerging in the particular literatures in various, succeeding periods as a late realization built up elsewhere according to a model — perhaps in a variant of it —, it is precisely the process that we deny, the series of literary periods and currents which combine to make up the history of the national literature. It is true that the French surrealist manifestoes were formulated in the 1920s — and it is also true that Slovak surrealism did not start life until the second half of the 1930s; and probably it would never have been born without the French antecedents. But we must see clearly that

1) What was born in Slovakia in the latter half of the 1930s was Slovak

surrealism, rather than a Slovak version of French surrealism; moreover,

2) This Slovak surrealism emerged out of opposition to earlier and contemporary Slovak — rather than earlier French — trends and poetic attitudes; as, indeed, after 1938, one of its functions and values lay in its repudiation of the Slovak literature that accepted the situation as Slovak reality.

By that example we wished to indicate that it is not the stylistic periods that are at fault, but the absolutization of the phase delay and belatedness, the unwarranted extension of its range of validity. It is never because of its aesthetic or evaluative aspects that the chronological question is important; the delay in time must have some role to play in the periodization, but it cannot determine the character and quality of our literatures.

Moreover, a stylistic period never reveals the affiliations of all the authors active in a given period. In addition to the style of the age, in the older periods too there exist some other currents, other literary "schools" as well. Whereas, in the older periods, we may witness considerable delays in the appearance in national literatures of the styles of particular periods, from the beginning of the 19th century forward the degree of the delay shows a gradually decreasing trend. In spite of that, the new styles and new poetic attitudes are not necessarily realized on the model of "Western" literatures — in fact, in some cases they rarely follow that pattern; there may emerge poet types and types of poetry — and, sure enough, they do emerge — which can rarely, if at all, be encountered in "Western" literatures. This is associated with the fact that it is mostly in a form reinvigorated by the impulses of other currents — sometimes enriched by other than "Western" intellectual stimuli — that the East-Central European versions of the individual stylistic trends form unique configurations. It is evident that the Classicist period of the literatures of our region was considerably determined by the circumstance that this was generally the period which saw the attempts made at creating a uniform literary language.[17] Where this process was protracted, there — parallel with Classicism and the creation of a uniform literary linguistic norm — the period of the kind of normativity that bases itself on aesthetic criteria was likewise prolonged; and the Romantic period — apart from the rights of the personality and creative imagination — can also be characterized by an enforced self-limitation. Which also entailed that a certain type of poet and poetry, which did not fit into that normativity, had to face formidable

obstacles blocking their development. A typical example in this respect is the changing fortunes of Janko Král's poetry in 19th-century Slovak literature — or, for that matter, the reception given to the poems of Sándor Petőfi by the camp of those with more conservative tastes; but the solitude of the Slovenian Prešeren is also a case in point. Continuing this chain of thought, we must consider that it was precisely the aesthetic and social conditioning of the attitude of the national poet that hampered the breakthrough, at the beginning of the 20th century, of the new type of — usually symbolistic — literature that acknowledged the more modern trends as its own. For the concepts and expectations that had deep roots in society and normative aesthetics formed a system to which — according to the prevailing notion — the national poet had to conform. The concepts, the traits determining the characterologies of nations and peoples that could serve as guiding principles for national poetry were forged in the first half of the 19th century, in the heat of national conflicts and struggles between nationalities. In this way, the national — or supposedly national — ideals, the evaluation of the past, built on legend, rather than on historical reality, and, in this connection, the interpretation of the concepts of people and nation — all those developed according to the Romantic view. That view was at most only coloured by the poetic method which, having discovered folk-poetry, nevertheless lifted it into literature only in a strongly stylized form, blurring the borderline between the popular and the old — the poetic method which Hungarian literary scholarship, using János Horváth's accurate description, calls literary popularism.[18] This kind of poetry and poetic concept — which, in the first phase, that is, in the first decades of the 19th century, virtually up to 1848/49, did, in all conscience, excel in the preservation of tradition, but subsequently raised its own methods to the level of an unalterable canon — aimed at a monopoly, displaying a proprietorial attitude towards national poetry. This out-of-dateness is evident not just in comparison with "Western" literatures, but also in comparison with the poetry of all those who, in the latter half of the 19th century, at the time of the decline of the Romantic trend, sought other points of orientation in the national literatures. In Hungarian poetry, János Vajda, for example, and in Slovak literature, Hviezdoslav — both of them poets who had to wage a struggle to gain acceptance for their poetry and concept of poetry — are good examples. And the advent of Art Nouveau, symbolism, and other trends at the turn of the century divided the cultivators and readers of literature expressly into two, sharply opposing camps. "Moderna" broke

through in Slovenian literature with as much difficulty as in Hungarian literature; and this "Moderna", in its confrontation with those claiming to represent the official school of thought — a rather dubious role to play —, reached back to the misunderstood and misinterpreted Romantic predecessors. It is quite another matter that behind symbolic poetry (to quote Miroslav Krleža's words: "late Verlainism") slowly and gradually the most recent trends too were already requesting admittance, and the literary conquest of these also was anything but smooth.

The social and national commitment of the literatures of our region also gave rise to debates of a different kind. Milan Rúfus[19] writes in one of his essays that the so-called "Occidentalist" orientation, on the one hand, and the literary school looking to domestic horizons, on the other, have always been present in Slovak literature, especially in the 20th century. In other words, this could also be formulated by saying that the assimilation of the results of literatures other than that of the native language generally met with unequivocal approval when it conformed to the poetic canon regulating the conduct of the national poet. All this is not contradicted by the fact that, in our region, artistic translation is a much more integral part of national literature than is the case in "Western" literatures — or even by the circumstance that, with regard to the literature of the past, this poetic canon is far more liberal than it is with regard to present-day literature.

Finally, we can only touch upon the problems stemming from an imprecise definition and interpretation of the concepts of national literature and nationalities' literature. The researches carried out so far have revealed that the history of the national literature is not just the history of the literature written in the native language; for example, Latin-language authors also belong here. The range of the literature of the nationalities is normally easy to define geographically; its characteristics, however, have yet to be described with the required exactitude. (Is it — to use Charlier's term — "littérature séconde"?)[20] Language is the material of literature; definitions of 'nation' were once predicated primarily on the linguistic community. And even if we now disregard the example of Switzerland or Spain, come to that, and stay with the literatures of our region, we have to declare that purely monolingual states have never existed. Consequently, the geographical boundaries of native-language literatures are not identical with the linguistic boundaries. Nor can we ignore the literatures produced by exiles, whether people were driven overseas by economic

hardship or were prompted to change their citizenship by political reasons; we can hardly leave out of the national literatures the literary works of art produced under such circumstances. In this way, the reconstruction of the national literary-historical process could begin first of all with conceptual clarification. Secondly, we must examine the narrower and wider context in which our literatures were born. But even at the outset, we must not forget about the comparative approach.

Notes

[1]The paper was originally written to introduce a debate at the Slovak-Hungarian conference on literary theory. In its present form, it differs in essential details from the verbally presented version. The conference was held in Veszprém between June 24-26, 1987.

[2]Fried, István: Zur Frage der ostmitteleuropäischen Region, Studia Slavica Ac. Sc. Hung. 31, 1985, 3-60; By the same author: Kelet- és Közép-Európa között (Between East and Central Europe), Budapest, 1986.

[3]The greatest personality of the Hungarian Baroque, Miklós Zrínyi, was a distinguished politician; while Sándor Petőfi rose through the ranks to become a major. Ľ. Štúr and J. M. Hurban led irregular units in 1849; and the Bulgarian Botev served with his sword in his people's War of Independence against the Turks; not to mention the Bishop Prince, the Montenegrin poet P. P. Njegoš, who attempted to modernize his country.

[4]Histoire de la Hongrie des origines à nos jours, publié sous la direction de Ervin Pamlényi. Budapest, 1974, 160-164; Pach, Zsigmond Pál: Európa a 16-17. században (Europe in the 16th-17th Centuries), In: Magyarország története 1526-1686 (The History of Hungary 1526-1686), Ed.: R. Várkonyi, Ágnes, Budapest, 1985, I: 74-83; Szücs, Jenő: Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról (An Outline of the Three Historical Regions of Europe), Történeti Szemle (Historical Review) 1981, 338-339.

[5]Pišút, M.: Sándor Petőfi a Janko Král', In: Dejiny a národy, Literárne-historické studie o československo-mad'arských vztazích, Praha 1965, 123-131.

[6]Mickiewicz wrote his work Dziady (The Ancestors) in several instalments; the second and the fourth parts were published in 1823, the third in 1832. The first remained a fragment, and it was not published until the end of the 19th century.

[7]Jirásek, Al. (1851-1930), the author of influential Czech historical novels, portrayed the Czech Baroque, the early part of the 18th century, in a novel called Temno (Darkness). He paints a dark picture of it too, with little regard for historical veracity, guided as he was by the Czech political (anti-Habsburg and anti-Catholic) views of the years 1913-15. Cf.: Antonín Městan: Geschichte der tschechischen Literatur im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Köln-Wien 1984, 142-143.

[8]Szörényi, L.. A jezsuiták és a magyar honfoglalási epika fordulata (The Jesuits and the Watershed in the Epic Genre Dealing with the Magyars' Conquest of Their Homeland), In: Irodalom és felvilágosodás (Literature and Enlightenment), Eds: Szauder, József - Tarnai, Andor, Budapest 1974, 567-645.

[9]On the role played by bilinguality in East-Central European literatures cf.: Sziklay, László: Együttélés és többnyelvűség az irodalomban (Coexistence and Polyglottism in Literature), Budapest 1987.

[10]Klaniczay, Tibor: Que faut-il entrendre par littérature nationale: Actes du IVe Congrès de l'AILC, The Hague 1966, 287-294; By the same author: La nationalité des écrivains en Europe Centrale: Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes 10, 1972, 585-594; By the same author: Die Nationalität der Schriftsteller in Mitteleuropa, In: Renaissance und Manierismus, Zum Verhältnis von Gesellschaftsstruktur, Poetik und Stil, Berlin 1977, 223-235.

[11]Dionýz, Ďurišin: Teória medziliterárneho procesu, Bratislava 1985, 172-223; By the same author: Spezifische Formen interliterarischer Gemeinschaften, In: Komparatistik, Theoretische Überlegungen und südosteuropäische Wechselseitigkeit, Festschrift für Zoran Konstantinović, Hg.: Fridrun Rinner und Klaus Zerinschek, Heidelberg 1981, 63-70.

[12]Magris, Cl.: Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur, Salzburg 1966.

[13]Bob, J.: Moderný tradicionalista Dobroslav Chrobák, Bratislava 1964; Ján Števček: Lyrizovaná próza, Bratislava 1973.

[14]Fried, I.: Phasenverschiebung, Zu Periodisierungproblemen in den ostmitteleuropäischen Literaturen: Historische Kulturbeziehungsforschung, Mitteilungen des Studienkreises für Kulturbeziehungen in Mittel- und Osteuropa (Lüneburg) 1, 1983, 4: 3-9.

[15]Valjavec, F.: Der deutsche Kultureinfluss im nahen Südosten, München 1940.

[16]Fried, I.: Eposz és/vagy emberiségköltemény (Epic and/or Humanity Poem), Dunatáj (Szekszárd) 9, 1986, 1: 25-29.

[17]Auty, R.: Párhuzamosság és eltérés a magyar, a szerb-horvát és a szlovén irodalmi nyelv történetében (Parallelism and Divergence in the History of the Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian Literary Languages), In: Szomszédság és közösség, Délszláv-magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok, tanulmányok (Proximity and Community, Southern Slav-Hungarian Literary Relations, Essays), Ed.: Vujicsics D. Sztoján, Budapest 1972, 135-151.

[18]Horváth, J.: A magyar irodalmi népiesség Faluditól Petőfiig (Hungarian Literary Popularism from Faludi to Petőfi), Budapest 1927.

[19]Rúfus, M.: A költő hangja, esszék (The Voice of the Poet, Essays), Selected and translated by Koncsol, László, Bratislava 1981, 37.

[20]Charlier, G.: Les Lettres Française de Belgique, Esquisse Historique, Bruxelles 1944.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

VERS UNE LITTERATURE GLOBALE?

Le monde se rétrécit à vue d'œil: ficelé par des fils électroniques, épié par des satellites qui renvoient au même moment la même image sur la surface du monde entier, sillonné par l'homme et les marchandises transportés à la vitesse du son d'un continent à l'autre. Cette seconde moitié du vingtième siècle à laquelle nous nous apprêtons à faire des funérailles solennelles a rétréci le monde, a dangereusement agrandi l'homme et rendu caduques toutes nos conceptions sur les distances. Mais le voyageur qui chemine à pied ne peut couvrir par jour qu'une vingtaine de kilomètres et de tout l'univers la beauté et l'importance se condensent pour lui en un bel horizon, dans la beauté ou l'étrange particularité d'un arbre ou d'un pierre; ainsi en est-il du lecteur pour qui la vaste jungle qu'est la littérature du monde entier apparaît sous le forme du livre, de l'auteur individuel, et c'est déjà une réussite, s'il arrive à percevoir les processus, les courants et les effets d'une littérature nationale.

Sans nous en rendre compte, nous parlons en fait de littératures au pluriel et jamais — ou très rarement — de littérature au singulier, englobant tous les spécimens de ce phénomène particulier. C'est juste et injuste à la fois: juste du point de vue du marcheur émerveillé, et de plus en plus injuste si nous imaginons cet œil de satellite qui pourra englober de son sommet sidéral tous les phénomènes du globe réunis sous le même signe.

Ce problème se pose actuellement avec une acuité accrue, mais n'est pas pour autant un problème nouveau. Au contraire: il émerge presqu'au moment où les littératures nationales commencent à prendre sérieusement conscience de leur existence et de leur spécificité. Le moment limite, c'est 1831, lorsque Goethe, le grand vieillard de la littérature allemande et déjà de plus en plus de la littérature européenne, à l'issue de la lecture d'un roman chinois, parle à son interlocuteur fidèle, Eckermann, d'une "Weltliteratur", d'une littérature mondiale, qui perce les ténèbres et se construit un peu partout, enseignant modestie au créateur individuel et aux nations fières de leur succès littéraires.

Le mot, le concept ont été forgés par Goethe, impliquant l'exigence

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

d'une vue, d'une conception globales; mais le temps de l'accomplissement de cette exigence est encore loin — car le mot ("weltliteratur") est né en Europe au moment de la plus grande vigueur des littératures nationales, au moment où — selon la plupart des auteurs et des critiques — il n'y a de littérature que nationale. La vue globale, celle qui peut embrasser plusieurs littératures — et même leur totalité — n'appartient pas à l'histoire littéraire, mais à la philosophie, à sa branche d'esthétique, ou à la discipline aux contours floues, qu'est la "litteraturwissenschaft" ou science littéraire. C'est celle-ci qui a la capacité et la responsabilité de dégager les lois générales de la création littéraire, et — partant de là et de considérations purement théoriques — d'établir les lois des genres etc.

Que reste-t-il de la "Weltliteratur"? Elle devient bientôt, dans la main des universitaires, l'étude de la littérature comparée. Mais ici nous devons faire un petit tour en arrière. N'oublions pas que la science et la littérature européennes sortent de la "letteratura" du Moyen-Age, d'une époque où ce mot a englobé tout ce qui s'écrit, que ce soit science, poésie, philosophie ou alchimie. Et tout ce qui s'écrit s'écrit en latin, dans cette langue supra-européenne qui n'est plus la langue maternelle de personne, mais qui est la langue de tous les hommes de culture, sans exception.

Nous ne pouvons pas entrer dans le détail du processus qui a rendu caduc le latin et a instauré le règne des langues nationales. Constatons simplement que ce fut un développement inévitable et nécessaire, salutaire même — tout en laissant une empreinte de nostalgie, chez les intellectuels de tout bord, de l'époque où ils avaient tous œuvré dans la même langue, pour le royaume de l'esprit.

La prise de conscience de la langue nationale parfois devance, parfois accompagne, parfois suit la prise de conscience nationale pure et simple; en tout cas et toujours elles sont liées entre elles et l'une ne peut aller que très rarement sans l'autre. C'est ainsi que la langue nationale devient apte à exprimer les phénomènes du monde moderne, et que les œuvres poétiques conservées dans la tradition orale font irruption sur la scène littéraire écrite pour enrichir la conscience nationale et affiner les goûts tout en exaltant le sentiment patriotique. Ce fut la grande euphorie de la fin du 18ème et du début du 19ème siècles — au moment même où Goethe commençait à parler de littérature mondiale. Il est clair que le vieillard sage voyait juste, mais clair aussi que ses vues, à ce moment, ne pouvaient conduire qu'au malentendu.

Malentendu qui devait se répandre à foison. La littérature comparée est

tombée, dès le début de son existence, dans les deux pièges théoriques qui s'ouvraient immédiatement sous ses pieds: le chauvinisme et le cosmopolitisme. Pour les uns, la comparaison n'a servi que d'outil pour prouver la magnificence de leur propre apport national, son ancienneté et son rôle primordial dans tout ce qui se fait en littérature dans le monde entier; pour les autres la comparaison est devenue la négation de l'originalité: chaque motif, chaque solution, chaque tournure ou circonlocution, chaque personnage ou intrigue avait un modèle quelque part ailleurs. Et par cette méthode l'œuvre fut vidée de son contenu artistique, dépouillée de sa beauté aussi bien que de son originalité: les littérateurs pouvaient se bercer en revanche de l'illusion qu'avec leurs œuvres l'étude de la littérature s'approchait de plus en plus des sciences exactes.

Ces illusions et ces méthodes sont peut-être définitivement derrière nous. Elles nous ont permis d'amasser une quantité considérable d'informations et de connaissances, mais en cours de route nous avons découvert combien une telle démarche ne sert qu'à rassembler des données et non pas à élaborer des structures valables. Avec la deuxième moitié du vingtième siècle nous sommes arrivés à un point décisif dans cette branche de science, ou plutôt dans cette branche de connaissance.

De quoi s'agit-il? Au lieu de définir, il est plus simple d'illustrer. Dans la théorie et dans la pratique du comparatisme sinon classique du moins traditionnel, on a toujours parlé d'influence, de pays ou de créateurs "émetteurs" et d'autres "récepteurs", avec entre les deux parfois les "transmetteurs". Il est inutile de dire, tellement cela saute aux yeux, combien ce système est calqué sur le modèle de la radio, grande nouveauté technique quand le comparatisme a forgé et systématisé ses outils. Actuellement ces termes sont de moins en moins utilisés, ils tombent en désuétude sans qu'on leur livre une guerre idéologique ou lexicologique. Au lieu d'"influence", le mot-clé du comparatisme est devenu de plus en plus "interaction". Et la différence n'est pas simplement dans l'expression — bien que cela ne soit jamais sans importance — mais dans le point de vue et la méthode. Au lieu de littératures "maîtres" et de "disciples", de majeurs et de mineurs, c'est entre elles une égalité de fait et de droit qui s'instaure dans la conscience de la science littéraire, et une véritable interaction, changeant de densité et de direction selon les époques et les courants.

Nous nous approchons peut-être quelque peu de cet idéal de la "Weltliteratur", mis en lumière par Goethe à la fin de sa vie; mais nos pas sont parfois hésitants, assez souvent égarés. A travers la démarche de la récep-

tion mutuelle des diverses littératures dans l'opinion d'autres pays de langues différentes, nous pouvons étudier la prise de conscience européenne. D'abord ce sont les grandes littératures européennes qui commencent à se connaître, à remplacer les préjugés et les superstitions par la connaissance et le jugement de valeur. C'est ainsi qu'à la fin du 18ème et dans la première moitié du 19ème siècles les littératures anglaise et française, puis allemande s'interpénètrent. Le milieu de 19ème siècle apporte une connaissance — ou plutôt une reconnaissance — de la littérature italienne, la fin du siècle l'irruption des russes et des scandinaves. La lutte de préséance n'a certes pas perdu toute influence, mais le fait est indiscutable: ces littératures commencent à se connaître de mieux en mieux, elles ne restent nulle part affaire d'initiés, mais pas à pas deviennent mutuellement la nourriture spirituelle du grand public.

Mais le monde n'est pas uniquement l'Europe; comme l'Europe n'est pas uniquement faite de ses grandes nations. Les petites langues et les petites nations attendent leur tour d'être incorporées dans la conscience littéraire. Ce processus passe d'abord par l'exotisme: c'est ainsi par exemple, que la littérature nord-américaine ne fut au début qu'un phénomène étrange, insolite, pour les gens de lettres européens — E.A. Poe aussi bien que W. Whitman. C'est seulement Henry James — le plus anglais dans ses manières, même littéraires, porteur d'un message nouveau d'un nouveau monde — qui a, le premier, gagné droit de cité individuel; à travers la brèche ainsi ouverte les autres écrivains américains sont entrés lentement, eux aussi, dans la conscience littéraire européenne.

Certains écrivains non-européens ont alors pu obtenir droit de cité dans la conscience européenne après la première guerre mondiale — je pense particulièrement à Dos Passos, un peu à Thomas Wolfe — mais à l'époque il n'y avait dans la littérature rien de semblable à ce qui se passait dans les autres arts, notamment dans les arts plastiques, où d'abord les Japonais, puis les Africains ont dépassé une vogue éphémère pour susciter une transformation profonde de la vision et de la technique: ces artistes ont été les révélateurs d'une part de l'art décoratif, d'autre part de l'abstraction figurative. Pour que la même évolution intervint en littérature, il fallait attendre une génération, celle de la période suivant la deuxième guerre mondiale.

Depuis la deuxième moitié de notre siècle nous sommes vraiment témoins d'un changement radical et profond en ce qui concerne la conscience et la connaissance littéraires. Tout d'abord, l'Amérique du Nord — Etats Unis et

Canada — entrent de plein droit dans notre conscience: leurs auteurs — de Dos Passos à Faulkner, à Kerouac, à Burroughs etc., de O'Neill à T. Williams, à A. Miller etc. — élargissent énormément l'horizon européen et — ce qui est significatif — ne sont plus considérés comme exotiques, sont membre à part entière de la communauté littéraire européenne.

En même temps ou un peu plus tard, mais à un rythme accéléré, d'autres mondes littéraires se révèlent également à notre conscience ou connaissance. La décolonisation a eu pour effet l'irruption de la voix des nouvelles nations dans les littératures, langues et civilisations "mères"; un essaim d'auteurs maghrébins de langue française, d'auteurs africains et indiens de langue anglaise apparaissent et gagnent non seulement droit de cité, mais aussi appréciation d'excellence. Ce phénomène, d'ailleurs, est égal en intérêt du point de vue de la langue et du point de vue de la création littéraire. Ces auteurs écrivent tous une langue châtiée sans se couper pour autant de leur langue maternelle; le français, l'anglais de leurs écritures est enrichi de tournures, de solutions lexiques et grammaticales trahissant leur langue, leur culture d'origine et enrichissent souvent d'une façon insolite celle dans laquelle ils s'expriment avec tant d'aisance.

Si nous nous attachons plutôt à la chronologie, nous découvrons que l'horizon de l'Europe va en s'élargissant dans des directions nouvelles, on pourrait dire en assimilant de nouvelles cultures, de nouveaux centres d'attraction. Chronologiquement les années quarante et cinquante étaient les années de la découverte de la culture et de la littérature de l'Amérique du Nord; les années soixante celle de l'Amérique Latine; les années soixante-dix celle du monde africain, arabe aussi bien que noir. Et ce rythme est tout aussi valable, avec certains décalages, pour les langues et littératures des plus petits pays de l'Europe elle-même.

Il est évident que ce processus n'a pas encore pris fin. Il y a de vastes mondes — l'Inde, la Chine, le Japon — qui ne sont pas encore intégrés dans ce courant organique. Ce n'est pas manque de traduction d'œuvres importantes et excellentes, dont certaines ont même eu un succès de librairie. Néanmoins, ces littératures ne sont pas encore sorties de leur étrangeté spécifique, de leur "exotisme". Même leur succès plus ou moins durable en est plutôt le signe que la négation. C'est l'insolite qui frappe et non pas la démarche similaire sous des dehors inaccoutumés; c'est plutôt le décor qui attire que le vrai sens derrière la parure. Si l'on ose prophétiser, c'est la littérature japonaise moderne qui serait au plus près d'être acceptée non pas comme similaire mais comme pair; elle semble au moins être sur le seuil de ce devenir.

Evidemment, la question de la langue est plus complexe et c'est encore compliquée depuis que le processus s'est engagé. Au 19ème, au temps de l'exaltation des langues nationales, la solution était simple: on écrivait dans sa langue maternelle, l'écrivain ne pouvait s'exprimer qu'ainsi puisque l'œuvre d'art est ipso facto l'émanation du génie national qui ne peut trouver sa forme adéquate que dans la langue nationale. Il y eut déjà à cette époque des fait troublants: comme le génie des écrvains anglais d'origine irlandaise, comme l'œuvre de Joseph Conrad. Mais ces cas étaient les exceptions qui confirmaient la règle. Cela a fourni également un prétexte comfortable à l'échec: si les autres comprenaient notre grand écrivain comme nous le comprenons, nous, qui saisissons tous les sous-entendus de sa langue richissime, il n'y aurait plus de problème. Mais avec les traducteurs...

Les choses se sont encore compliquées après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Tout d'abord la traduction littéraire est devenue partout dans le monde une sorte d'industrie artisanale, qui travaille avec des outils perfectionnés et avec des normes de fidélité et d'esthétique toujours plus élevées. Le faux-fuyant de la traduction trahissant une oeuvre de maître devient de moins en moins valable. D'autre part le phénomène de l'écrivain s'exprimant dans une autre langue que celle qu'il a apprise au berceau devient de plus en plus fréquent. Que saurions-nous de Wole Soyinka s'il n'écrivait qu'en yorouba, ou de Tchingiz Aïtmatov s'il écrivait seulement dans son khirgize maternel? Peut-être beaucoup, peut-être rien; mais il est plus que probable qu'ils n'auraient pas pu avoir le succès qu'ils ont eu et mérité s'ils n'étaient pas eux-mêmes leurs propres interprètes. Et chez Aïtmatov comme chez Soyinka le charme, la valeur même de leur oeuvre est multipliée par le va-et-vient de la pensée et de l'expression entre les deux langues; et le russe ou l'anglais s'enrichissent sous leur plume de beautés insolites et gagnent en souplesse et en nuances. Ce ne sont que deux exemples parmi d'autres; le phénomène de l'écrivain bilingue, qui a été entre les deux guerres troublant et isolé, est devenu de nos jours un phénomène presque quotidien.

Donc, l'intégration d'une œuvre ou d'un écrivain dans la conscience littéraire européenne n'est pas une question de langue ou de traduction; mais bien plus une question de rapprochement des sensibilités. De toute façon, nous pouvons constater que le public littéraire européen est devenu beaucoup plus ouvert, plus perméable aux phénomènes extra-européens que jamais auparavant. Et il est à supposer que c'est seulement le début d'un processus qui va gagner ampleur et dimensions.

Il est évident aussi que pas mal d'autres littératures — particulièrement les littératures des langues peu répandues ou de petites nations — attendent d'être incluses dans ce processus spontané d'intégration. Parmi celles-ci la mienne, la littérature hongroise notemment. Mais le mouvement qui se dessine nous donne de l'espoir: tôt ou tard, cela se produira pour nous aussi. Jamais une littérature ne pourra entrer dans cette ronde internationale avec ses seuls titres historiques: c'est le présent, et le présent seul qui compte. Les grands écrivains, les grandes œuvres du passé ont leur valeur pour l'historien de littérature et pour l'esthète — mais pour le public, pour la critique vivante, le seul arbitrage de cette intégration ou de cette exclusion, repose sur les œuvres contemporaines dans leur actualité et leur vitalité.

On peut être fier ou déçu selon le sort réservé à sa propre littérature par ce juge anonyme, et sinon infaillible, du moins sans appel; mais on doit accepter son verdict, en espérant en d'autres temps, en d'autres œuvres, en d'autres juges. Et je crois que ce n'est pas le cas particulier qui compte mais le mouvement, le processus: c'est cet élan qui est tout nouveau, jamais vu auparavant. Chacun reste dans sa nationalité tout en devenant de plus en plus international; la communication, les médias, l'appareil de propagande de plus en plus puissant aidant, nous assistons à une globalisation du succès littéraire qui n'était même pas imaginable un demi-siècle auparavant. Que cela comporte des succès éphémères? Que parfois le brouhaha de la propagande couvre la musique intérieure de l'œuvre? Tant pis; ce qui est éphémère disparaîtra de soi-même en peu de temps; la vraie valeur se défend à travers les générations et les âges. La grande nouveauté réside, à mon avis, dans cette internationalisation, cette globalisation des littératures, dont l'horizon devient, — à certaines différences près — similaire d'un continent à l'autre.

Qu'en résulte-t-il pour l'étude et l'histoire littéraires, pour la littérature comparée? Le changement de climat implique de leur part un changement radical d'attitude. L'histoire littéraire restera certainement confinée pour un temps prévisible dans les frontières nationales; mais même à l'intérieur de ces frontières il n'est pas possible — ce qui était encore le cas un siècle, ou même un demi-siècle auparavant — d'ignorer les attaches, les interactions entre les littératures du monde entier et chaque littérature nationale, de ne pas sentir ce dialogue subtil qui s'établit de créateur à créateur, indépendemment des langues et des continents.

Pour les écrivains, évidemment, ces considérations sont et resteront

étranges ou même étrangères. Ils font ce qu'ils peuvent, ce que leur génie ou talent leur dicte et en ce qui concerne les influences et les interactions, ils s'en moquent éperdument: comme déjà Molière, ils "prennent leur bien où ils le trouvent". D'ailleurs c'est leur droit et leur devoir à la fois.

C'est pour les commentateurs, critiques et professeurs que le climat a radicalement changé. L'opportunité, la possibilité même de tout chauvinisme littéraire ou artistique a disparu: si quelqu'un voulait s'y abandonner, il serait considéré à juste titre comme un revenant de temps révolus. Mais c'est à eux de rendre conscient et pour le créateur et pour son public ce qui se passe dans l'individu, et dans la collectivité littéraire; et tout en aidant à cette prise de conscience, de contribuer à l'établissement des ordres de valeur, au dépistage des vrais issues ouvertes vers l'avenir et des impasses, si brillantes qu'elles soient pour le moment.

Par ce travail quotidien, à demi conscient nous aidons avec nos moyens à l'établissement de ce grand courant qui commence à se dessiner mais pour la réalisation duquel il faut encore travailler dur et dans un climat toujours plus favorable, espérons-le, d'échanges intellectuels et de coopération internationale à tous les nivaux dans le domaine de l'art comme dans celui des lettres. Cette globalisation de la littérature, que nous avons abordée d'entrée, n'est pas encore imminente; mais pour qu'elle se réalise dans un proche avenir, il faut œuvrer, chacun dans son domaine, avec assiduité et espoir.

Pour conclure, quelques mots d'excuses personnelles. Il est évident que l'auteur de ce qui précède n'est pas sorti pour l'occasion de sa peau d'Européen; même s'il l'avait voulu, il ne l'aurait pas pu. Tout ce dont je viens de parler se présente certainement sous une autre lumière, probablement avec de grandes différences dans le temps et dans l'accent en Asie. Si je n'ai pas pu intégrer cela dans ma perspective, ce peut être en partie ma faute personnelle, mais cela revêt une signification plus large et marque les bornes qui jalonnent encore notre route envers cette globalisation qui est à prévoir et à souhaiter. C'est seulement le temps et le travail conscient qui pourront d'abord diminuer, puis abolir les barrières; qu'il nous soit donné le temps et la possibilité d'y travailler d'un commun accord.

Péter Nagy
Budapest

ROMAIN ROLLAND EN TANT QU'HISTORIEN DE LA GRANDE REVOLUTION FRANÇAISE

> "Mes vrais amis français... sont surtout... les âmes d'actions: de Saint-Louis et de Jeanne d'Arc à la Révolution. Ceux-là sont incomparables. Ce sont les vrais poètes français"
>
> (R. Rolland)

"Ce serait une tâche vaine, écrivait R. Rolland en 1932, de prétendre enfermer Goethe dans le cadre d'un portrait. Comment donc prendre sa mesure?" Cette perplexité apparaît aussi devant les chercheurs qui se vouent à l'étude de la conception du monde de R. Rolland. Ceci dit, il convient de démontrer et de constater que R. Rolland était un penseur conséquent, enrichissant, sans cesse, sa pensée. Cette affirmation concerne aussi ses jugements sur la personnalité et l'activité de Robespierre. Comme les savants continuent de discuter la question le parti de qui, de Danton ou de Robespierre, prend R. Rolland dans son drame "Danton", citons une lettre intéressante de l'écrivain du 7 novembre 1898 adressée à Malwida von Meysenbug. Cela est d'autant plus justifié que cette lettre renferme déjà, avant que "Danton" prenne forme, plusieurs idées qui se retrouveront dans celle du 25 octobre 1927 adressée à Medemoiselle Anna Maria Curtius que nous publions in extenso plus bas. "Vous n'êtes pas juste pour Robespierre, et je le pensais bien, écrivait R. Rolland à Malwida von Meysenbug, car on ne saurait être juste pour ce malheureux homme qu'après avoir suivi de près sa vie et ses discours... Non seulement c'était la tête la plus forte de la Révolution, la seule capable d'établir un ordre nouveau et d'avancer l'humanité de plus d'un siècle... Non seulement c'était (contrairement à l'opinion courante) un plus grand orateur que Danton, qui n'a que quelques traits de génie, quelques mouvements enflammés, mais qui ne bâtit point de ces puissantes architectures, intelligentes, logiques, solidement grandioses, et qui reposent sur le fond des choses, sur des méditations profondes. Mais Robespierre était encore un coeur très humain, intimement pénétré des souffrances de l'humanité, et bien plus préoccupé d'y compatir que les autres. Il n'a point fait la Terreur; il y a été contraint; il l'a subie, dirigée, et il est mort d'avoir voulu l'enrayer... Ce n'est pas à dire que je n'admire aussi profondément l'emphase héroïque de Danton, les maximes lapidaires et profondes de St. Just, et la grâce, l'entrain, l'esprit mordant de Camille Desmoulins".[1]

Nous voyons un lien indissoluble établi par R. Rolland entre ce que les idées de Robespierre reposent sur "le fond des choses" et le fait qu'il a été contraint à employer la violence. La thèse de la nécessité historique sera toujours présente dans "Le Théâtre de la Révolution" de R. Rolland. Dans le cas contraire, l'auteur du "Théâtre de la Révolution" ne serait pas censé affirmer dans "L'introduction" qu'il y avait "cherché à mettre en pleine lumière les grands intérêts politiques et sociaux, pour lesquels l'humanité lutte depuis un siècle".

Ainsi, en faisant se heurter, dans "Les Loups" (1898), les plus impérieux devoirs de l'humanité, c'est-à-dire la fidélité à la justice et la fidélité à la Patrie, à la Patrie dans le feu révolutionnaire, R. Rolland en appelait à la raison humaine. Voilà comment le dramaturge lui-même commente la conclusion de son drame. "... Moralement, c'est Teulier qui a raison, écrit-il le 22 mai 1898 à Malwida von Meysenbug. — Mais il y a, pratiquement, des cas où le juste est sacrifié, au nom d'un autre idéal, moins pur, mais également puissant, idéal non de l'individu, mais de la collectivité".[2]

Il est conforme au but de citer aussi le Robespierre de R. Rolland, dans le drame "Danton", qui dit à Saint-Just: "Mon ami, tranquillise ton âme. Les orages d'une Révolution ne sont pas soumis aux lois ordinaires; ce n'est pas avec la commune morale que l'on juge la force qui transforme le monde et recrée la morale sur des bases nouvelles. Toutefois, il faut être juste; mais la mesure de la justice n'est pas ici la conscience individuelle; c'est la conscience publique. Dans le peuple est notre lumière; son salut est notre loi. — Nous n'avions qu'une question à poser: à savoir si le peuple veut la ruine de Danton".[3]

Pourtant même dans sa lettre à Mademoiselle A.M. Curtius R. Rolland ne partage pas l'idée de la violence révolutionnaire. Il faut préciser que la forme verbale "ne partage pas" ne réflète pas toujours l'état réel des choses. Il serait plus exact de dire que R. Rolland, parfois, est enclin à partager, d'ailleurs très rarement, la violence révolutionnaire, mais il ne la fait jamais sienne, pour sa part, avant la fin des années vingt. Il y a tout lieu de croire que l'exemple de Robespierre qui "avait une lucidité de regard politique" et que "servait une admirable conscience du devoir social" et les réalités sociales et politiques de la Russie révolutionnaire poussaient R. Rolland de plus en plus à l'acceptation de la dictature du prolétariat. Ce n'est pas le fait du hasard qu'il fait assez souvent des comparaisons, toutes proportions gardées, des jacobins et des bolchéviks.

En prenant, dans sa lettre à J.-R. Bloch du 24 octobre 1918, nettement parti pour le bolchévisme (qui "inspire une si sainte épouvante à la bourgeoisie de toute Europe") et contre la presse bourgeoise (qui se laisse aller, en parlant des bolchéviks, "aux injures grossières"), en expliquant pourquoi il ne peut être bolchevik, R. Rolland souligne: "Mais je suis un homme qui aime à voir, à comprendre, à juger, et à comparer. Et les hommes qui dirigent le mouvement bolchévique me semblent de grands jacobins marxistes, qui tentent héroïquement une expérience grandiose. Je comprends qu'on les combatte. Je ne comprends pas qu'on les méconnaisse aussi aveuglément... Mais la bourgeoisie française, américaine, anglaise, mondiale, a peur de jouer avec le feu. Elle ne veut rien changer à l'état de choses existant chez nous".[4] Le professuer Sven Stelling-Michaud cite une lettre intéressante de R. Rolland à Paul Seippel, du 7 janvier 1919, dans laquelle il écrit: "Quant à désavouer la Révolution russe, n'y comptez pas, cher ami, avant que vous n'ayez désavoué la Révolution française! Relisez donc la Conquête jacobine de Taine. Il est bon de se rafraîchir la mémoire, de temps en temps, et de voir au nom de quels saints la bourgeoisie qui acclame Clémenceau et M. Deschanel flétrit vertueusement les Bolchéviks. Vous parlez de brigandages? Est-ce que les châteaux et les propriétés n'ont pas été brigandés après 89, et la société d'aujourd'hui ne s'est-elle pas installée confortablement dans ces rapines?... — Pourquoi donc voulez-vous que les horreurs de la Terreur bolchéviste, déchaînée après l'attentat contre Lénine, représentent un des plus puissants mouvements sociaux de l'humanité, depuis plus d'un siècle? Je n'ai pas deux poids et deux mesures. L'historien, en moi, est inaccessible aux passions et à la crainte; il fait crédit, et se refuse à juger, avant d'avoir toutes les pièces en main".[5] Mais réfléchissons aussi sur ce que dit R. Rolland au sujet de la violence révolutionnaire dans sa lettre inappréciable du 3 mai 1921 à l'écrivain hongrois Louis de Hatvany: "Encore un mot, à propos du bolchévisme et de la dictature de la violence. Je ne crois pas que vous jugiez équitablement le grand mouvement social, qui s'essaie tumultueusment dans le monde et surtout en Russie. Mais je ne veux pas entrer ici dans des discussions qui demanderaient plus de temps que je n'en puis donner. — Qu'il me suffise de vous dire que (tout en m'efforçant toujours de comprendre la nécessité en quelque sorte matérielle de ce qui est et de ce qui sera) je suis toujours resté, pour ma part, un libre individualiste, opposé à toute dictature et à toute violence".[6] Pour apprécier à sa juste valeur ces idées rollandiennes, il faut tenir compte de ce que l'écrivain hongrois, en envoyant à R. Rolland son

livre "Das verwundete Land", s'appela le 5 avril 1921 "un Clérambault des Balkans".[7] C'était juste la période où Clarté en trois numéros de son journal combattait, sans courtoisie, R. Rolland pour ses idées exposées dans "Clérambault". Dans une lettre du 30 mars 1921 adressée au comte Lucidi, directeur de la "Rassegna Internazionale", R. Rolland répéta catégoriquement qu'il répudiait "les moyens de dictature et de violence provisoires..."[8]. Pour contrebalancer sa pensée ou, plus exactement, pour y apporter une précision importante, R. Rolland en fait révéler, dans sa lettre à Louis de Hatvany, une autre facette: la nécessité de recourir à la violence dans les cas inévitables. Et cela, quoiqu'implicitement, pour ne pas laisser s'accréditer l'opinion qu'il s'identifie avec son héros Clérambault. Il faudrait ajouter que tout en prisant hautement la valuer idéologique et artistique du livre de Louis de Hatvany,[9] R. Rolland avait ses vues à lui sur le grand mouvement social de ce temps.

Il est à noter que la "triste nécessité" (paroles de Robespierre dans "Danton") afin de sauver la République par la violence, est présente dans les drames de R. Rolland. En renseignant l'interprète de Robespierre sur les multiples aspects de ce personnage principal de son drame "Danton", R. Rolland écrivait dans sa lettre du 1er november 1900: "Il faut donc qu'on sente constamment en vous, à travers la variété des expressions, dans le ton, dans l'œil, dans le port de la tête, et du corps, l'homme qui dirige la pièce — qui se sert des autres qui leur est supérieur. Ceci est le premier caractère général, constant du rôle: la Domination silencieuse... Robespierre n'est pas un des Rôles principaux du second acte, il est le Rôle principal. Il mène tout, il faut qu'on le sente".

Tout en comprenant, en historien, et subissant, comme dramaturge, cette triste nécessité, R. Rolland n'en qualifiait pas moins la violence d'inhumaine, d'où qu'elle vînt. Voici ce qu'il écrivait dans sa réponse à Albert Mathiez publiée dans "Clarté" (No. 14 du 1er juin 1922): "J'admire Robespierre, et je l'ai toujours admiré, et (j'étonnerais sans doute M. Mathiez), déjà, quand j'écrivais Danton, je regardais Robespierre comme un bien plus grand homme que Danton, comme le plus grand homme de notre Révolution... Mais cet hommage rendu, il n'en reste pas moins qu'en 1922 comme en 1900, si demain Robespierre redevenait maître de la France, j'irais mourir avec Chénier, et non pas avec Robespierre".

Souvent, on lie le rejet de la violence révolutionnaire par R. Rolland avec l'influence tolstoyenne. Mais cette conception fut combattue par R. Rolland lui-même dans sa lettre du 1er septembre 1917 adressée à J.-R. Bloch:

"Le Tolstoyisme n'a été pour moi, dans ces années, que la forme de ma pensée que je pouvais exprimer avec le plus de bienfaits et le moins de dangers pour ceux qui me lisent et m'écoutent. A des hommes conscients, comme je le suis, de leur responsabilité, il est moralement impossible de publier maintenant leur pensée tout entière... Mais je porte en mon esprit bien des pensées brûlantes que je ne laisse point échapper...".[10] On ne prend pas en considération que R. Rolland était historien de carrière connaissant les thèses essentielles du Programme du Parti ouvrier français. Or le Congrès d'Epernay définit de la manière suivante la tactique: "Le Congrès rappelle: Que, par conquête des pouvoirs publics, le Parti ouvrier français a toujours entendu l'expropriation politique de la classe capitaliste, que cette expropriation ait lieu pacifiquement ou violemment".[11] Une des sources où R. Rolland avait pu et dû prendre connaissance de cette thèse était "Les Cahiers de la Quinzaine" dont il fut, avec Charles Péguy, un des fondateurs. Sous ce rapport il importe de tenir compte de ce qu'écrit R. Rolland, ce véritable dialecticien, après sa conversation avec Gandhi: "Le but est net: il faut la victoire du peuple humain, du Travail. C'est le seul ordre juste et nécessaire. — Par quels moyens y arriver? Non-violence ou violence? — Le moyen le meilleur sera celui qui obtiendra l'ordre juste".[12]

Mentionnons que selon la doctrine marxiste-léniniste la dictature du prolétariat est une lutte sanglante et non sanglante, violente et pacifique contre les forces du vieux monde. Il est conforme au but de constater que R. Rolland, dans sa lettre à M. Parijanine du 17 janvier 1929, répète, à vrai dire, sa conception de la violence révolutionnaire incarnée dans "Danton": "Je ne chicane pas la Révolution sur la violence de son action. Elle n'en est pas maîtresse. La violence lui a été imposée, du dehors, par les obstacles qu'il lui faut briser, par le passé. Je lui reproche de se l'imposer à elle-même, du dedans, de s'être fait une vanterie de ce qui est une triste nécessité".[13] Cette conception et l'étude des réalités en Union Soviétique permettent à R. Rolland de prévoir, au début des années 30, des actes illégaux et des répressions. "Je suis inquiet. Hélas! je passe à ces jours de 1793, où la Révolution, dans sa fièvre, frappait pêle-mêle ses ennemis et ses plus fidèles serviteurs. Je tremble que des erreurs funestes ne soient commises, écrivait-il à M. Gorki le 22 octobre 1930. — Mais je ne le confie qu'à vous. Car j'aime, comme vous, la Révolution, et je veux, comme vous, la victoire de l'U.R.S.S.".[14]

Pour comprendre l'attitude de R. Rolland envers la violence révolutionnaire ou, plus exactement, les causes du rejet de la violence révolution-

naire, il faut, à notre avis, se pencher sur les agissements des trotskistes qui misaient partout et toujours sur la violence. Les citations tirées du "Journal inédit 1919-1921" de R. Rolland, publiées dans "Le Figaro Littéraire" du 7 décember 1974, attestent: R. Rolland nota le 16 mars 1921 les paroles de Noël Garnier, "secrétaire de rédaction de l'Humanité (et la cheville ouvrière de Clarté)" communiquées à Jacques Mesnil: "Quand nous aurons fait la Révolution, une des premières choses que nous devrons faire, ce sera d'enfermer Romain Rolland" (p. 6). R. Rolland ne pouvait savoir que Noël Garnier se séparerait plus tard du Parti Communiste et qu'il n'incarnait qu'un signe de mauvais augure de la future orientation gauchisante et trotskiste de "Clarté". Ces paroles de Noël Garnier et la critique "sans courtoisie", dans les numéros successifs de "Clarté", de "Clérambault" que nous avons déjà mentionnée, avaient de l'emprise sur R. Rolland. Ajoutons que les trotskistes prenaient pour cible non seulement R. Rolland, mais également M. Gorki. Dans sa lettre à son ami soviétique du 12 octobre 1922 R. Rolland écrivait: "Nous voici tous les deux sévèrement sermonnés par nos amis communistes. J'ai eu l'honneur d'être éreinté, dans le dernier N^{O} de Clarté, par l'auguste main de Trotsky en personne, et même une seconde fois encore, dans l'Humanité, tandis que vous l'étiez par celle d'un Français qui signe "Parijanine", et qui vous remontre doctement que vous ne connaissez pas le peuple russe! (Lui le connaît, naturellement! C'est admirable!)".[15]

Les Archives Nationales de Hongrie possède une lettre peu ou pas connue de R. Rolland du 12 février 1937 à Michel Károlyi, personnalité sociale et politique hongroise en vue, lettre où l'écrivain français condamne les menées idéologiques des trotskistes en qualifiant le trotskisme en général de nuisible tant dans le domaine politique que dans celui de la littérature. La lettre en question démontre que la forme verbale qu'emploie le professuer Jean Pérus dans sa monographie "Romain Rolland et Maxime Gorki" (p. 248) pour définir l'attitude de R. Rolland envers les trotskistes en général ("il n'a pas d'estime pour...") devrait céder sa place à "se déclarer contre les trotskistes" bien avant les procès de Moscou.

R. Rolland connaissait à fond l'historiographie de la Révolution Française ce qu'il importe de souligner à l'approche du bicentenaire de la Révolution. Dans sa lettre à A.M. Curtius du 25 october 1927, on relève un aveu digne d'attention: lorsque le dramaturge écrivait son "Danton", il "ne connaissait qu'Aulard et Jaurès". A. Mathiez n'avait pas encore rien publié. Mais à cette époque R. Rolland avait déjà le soupçon que F.A. Aulard n'avait pas vraiment connu Robespierre. R. Rolland remarque que c'est en la personne

de l'historien marxiste d'A. Mathiez, fondateur de la "Revue d'Etudes Robespierristes" que F.A. Aulard a trouvé "un rude rival". Ce dernier, malgré "son apparente objectivité", est, selon R. Rolland, "le plus partial des historiens, quand il s'agit de Robespierre et de Danton". Signalons que R. Rolland avait déja employé, au sens le plus large, le terme "esprit de parti" dans son ouvrage "Le Théâtre du Peuple".

Dans sa lettre à Mademoiselle A.M. Curtius, R. Rolland mentionne déjà "la honteuse vénalité" de Danton. Cela revient à dire qu'il avait lu les ouvrages suivants d'A. Mathiez: "Autour de Danton" (Paris, Payot, 1926) et "La Vie chère et le Mouvement social sous la Terreur" (Paris, Payot, 1927).

R. Rolland, ne se trompe-t-il pas lorsqu'il affirme qu'il connaissait déjà l'"Histoire Socialiste" de Jean Jaurès, quand il écrivait "Danton"? Il est exclu que le texte de "Danton", publié dans "La Revue d'Art Dramatique" (N^{O} 12 et 13 du décember 1899 et N^{O} 14 et 15 du janvier et du février 1900) ait pu subir l'influence de l'"Histoire Socialiste" dont les premières "livraisons illustrées à dix centimes" publiées par les soins de la maison d'édition Jules Rouff et Cie commençaient à paraître à partir du 2 février 1900.[16] Mais on peut affirmer que R. Rolland a profité des premières livraisons de l'"Histoire Socialiste", y compris de l'"Introduction" écrites par J. Jaurès, pour apporter de sérieuses modifications au texte de la seconde édition de "Danton", qui fut fini d'imprimer le samedi 9 février 1901 par les soins de Ch. Péguy et publiée dans le sixième cahier de la deuxième série des "Cahiers de la Quinzaine" (pp. 3-176). Le fait que R. Rolland signa sa pièce "novembre 1898", ne doit induire en erreur. Le dramaturge a entièrement refait le 3e acte en y accordant, sous l'influence de J. Jaurès, un plus grand rôle au peuple. Les grandes affiches rouges sur les murs de Paris annonçant la parution des premières livraisons de l'"Histoire Socialiste", ne sauraient "laisser indifférents aucun homme politique, aucun penseur et même aucun homme, au sens général autant qu'élevé du mot", écrivait dans "Le Matin" du 11 février 1900 le journaliste jacques Grandchamps.[17] Il n'est pas difficile de démontrer l'influence de J. Jaurès aussi sur l'auteur du "14 Juillet", cette "action populaire", publiée dans le onzième cahier de la troisième série des "Cahiers de la Quinzaine".

En guise de conclusion signalons que la lettre de R. Rolland envoyée à Mademoiselle A.M. Curtius, si riche en idées, visait un but concret: aider la jeune chercheuse en tant qu'auteur de l'étude historique, de l'analyse de "Danton" et des annotations dont elle se proposait d'accompagner la version française de "Danton" éditée à Hannover.[18]

Après avoir consulté ce livre, paru en 1928, et l'étude historique due à la plume de Mademoiselle A.M. Curtius et signée par elle le 22 juin 1927 à Paris, il est bien difficile de dire si l'auteur n'a pas pu prendre en considération la teneur inappréciable de la lettre de R. Rolland ou bien elle n'a pas voulu en tenir compte. Il est fort probable que Mademoiselle A.M. Curtius ait apporté dans son texte initial quelques changements (par exemple, F.A. Aulard "glorifie Danton et condamne Robespierre"; "Mathiez place Robespierre sur un autel et condamne Danton").[19] Mais cela ne change aucunement sa conception souvent erronnée de la Révolution Française. L'auteur croit, par exemple, que Robespierre "crée des prétextes et accumule de soit-disantes preuves pour miner l'influence de Danton et le rendre suspect".[20] Et encore: "Jaloux de l'immense popularité de Danton due à son amour passionné pour le peuple français. Robespierre prépara la condamnation et la mort de son collaborateur".[21]

Il est clair que la lettre de R. Rolland du 25 octobre 1927 adressée à Mademoiselle A.M. Curtius a non seulement une valeur historico-littéraire; ses idées essentielles resteront "für alle Zeit".

Notes

[1]Rolland, R.: Choix de lettres à Malwida von Meysenbug. Cahier 1. Paris, 1948, p. 245.

[2]Ibid., p. 230.

[3]Rolland, R.: Théâtre de la Révolution. Le 14 Juillet - Danton - Les Loups. Sixième édition. Paris, Ollendorff, 1909, p. 227.

[4]Deux hommes se rencontrent. Correspondance entre Jean-Richard Bloch et Romain Rolland (1910-1918). Cahier 15, Paris, 1964, p. 379.

[5]Cité d'après: Sven Stelling-Michaud. Romain Rolland et son temps. - Romain Rolland par Pierre Abraham... Neuchâtel, 1969, pp. 113-114.

[6]Cité d'après: László Dobossy. Lettres inédites de Romain Rolland à ses amis hongrois. - In: Acta Litteraria Ac. Sci. Hung. Tome III, Budapest, 1960, p. 301.

[7]Le Figaro littéraire du 7 décember 1974.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ib id.

[10]Deux hommes se rencontrent, p. 367.

[11]Lafargue, P.: Le Socialisme et la conquête des pouvoirs publics. Lille, imprimerie ouvr. P. Lagrange, 1899, p. 2.

[12]Rolland, R.: Inde. Journal (1915-1943). Paris, Lausanne, Bâle, 1951, p. 257.

[13]Pérus, J.: Romain Rolland et Maxime Gorki. Paris, 1968, p. 229.

[14]Les Archives Centrales d'Etat de l'U.R.S.S. de Littérature et des Arts. Fonds N°1303, Description I, Unité de conservation 584, p. 140.

[15]Ibid., Fonds N° 1303, Description I, Unité de conservation 584, p.24.

[16]Grandchamps, J.: Histoire Socialiste. - Affiches rouges... In: Le Matin du 11 février 1900.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Voir R. Rolland. Théâtre de la Révolution. Danton. Drame avec une notice biographique et littéraire, une étude historique, une analyse de la pièce et des annotations par Anna Maria Curtius. Hannover, 1928, pp. 1-23.

[19]Ibid., p. 14.

[20]Ibid., p. 16.

[21]Ibid., p. 17.

Gustave Cvengroš
Lvov

Appendix

Copie sur original de la lettre de Romain Rolland du 25 october 1927 adressée à Fräulein Anna Maria Curtius, Deutschland Leipzig 50 Nordstrasse

Chère amie (je vous prie de m'appeler de ce nom). - Je vous remercie d'avoir bien voulu me communiquer vos pages. Puisque vous désirez avoir mes impressions toutes franches, je vous dirai que ce que vous avez écrit sur Desmoulins est excellent, — sur Danton, que c'est le beau côté de la figure, sans ses ombres, — sur Robespierre, que c'est malheureusement inexact et injuste, d'un bout à l'autre.

Il faut que vous sachiez que les passions et les partis de la Révolution de 93 subsistent encore aujourd'hui. Je ne connais pas un seul historien qui n'y appartienne corps et âme.

Et M. Aulard, malgré sa grande érudition révolutionnaire et son apparente objectivité, est le plus partial des historiens, quand il s'agit de Robespierre et de Danton. Il a, d'une façon inouïe, idéalisé Danton et calomnié Robespierre. — Depuis une quinzaine d'années, il a trouvé un rude rival pour lui répliquer, dans l'histoire révolutionnaire: c'est Mathiez (actuellement professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon), qui a fondé la Revue d'Études Robespierristes et qui s'est consacré presque uniquement à l'étude de ce très grand homme (je parle de Robespierre). Actuellement, il est impossible de parler de Robespierre, sans connaître une partie au moins des publications de Mathiez. Et tout en faisant la part des exagérations contraires, où la passion de son sujet a poussé Mathiez, qui traîne le cadavre de Danton aux gémonies, et qui place Robespierre sur un autel, il faut bien proclamer que dans l'ensemble, son argumentation, solidement documentée, est victorieuse sur presque tous les points. Je vous en résume l'essentiel, qui, comme vous le verrez, s'oppose formellement à vos jugements exprimés.

Un premier point, incontestable, c'est le génie politique de Robespierre. Il a été — de beaucoup — le plus grand homme politique de la Révolu-

tion (avec Mirabeau, dont la divination a été prodigieuse, et qui eût peut-être changé le cours des événements — si sa scandaleuse jeunesse passée ne l'eût discrédité. Mais, entre parenthèses, vous ne pouvez parlez des Orateurs de la Révolution, sans prononcer le nom de Mirabeau. Il est le seul orateur qui puisse être égalé aux plus grands de l'antiquité grecque et romaine: il possède tout: la maîtrise parfaite et la richesse du style, une culture magnifique à la fois française, gréco-latine et germano-anglaise, des passions de feu, une expérience complète de la politique Européenne, une raison pratique infaillible, et une énergie sans limites. On n'évoluera jamais assez haut le génie de Mirabeau, et le désastre de sa mort prématurée — pour la France et pour la Révolution).

J'en reviens à Robespierre. Doué de tout autres qualités, et surtout d'un tout autre tempérament que Mirabeau, — à l'abri de ces terribles passions qui ont dévasté Mirabeau, — d'un sentiment moral vraiment très haut, très pur (sans aucun hypocrisie), naturellement révolté par l'incroyable cynisme des moeurs et du langage du temps, — au fond —, religieux, bien que dégagé des formes de toute Église, — le plus fervent des disciples de Jean-Jacques, sans avoir connu la jeunesse dévoyée du petit Genevois, — Robespierre avait une lucidité de regard politique, qui l'égale au seul Mirabeau, et que servait une admirable conscience du devoir social, un labeur surhumain. Il serait trop long ici de montrer combien de ses vues ont été prophétiques et quelle avance elles marquaient sur leur temps. Mais, pour me limiter à une question qui tient une place importante dans ma pensée, comme elle la tiendra dans l'ensemble de mon cycle Révolutionnaire, — il ne faut pas oublier que Robespierre a été l'opposant le plus décidé à la guerre déclarée par la Révoltuion à l'Europe: il y voyait la ruine certaine de la Révolution, — au dedans par l'exaspération des passions qui fatalement devaient mener au terrorisme, — aux armées par l'établissement plus ou moins proche de la dictature impériale, du Napoléonisme avant la lettre. (C'est le sens, dans mon Danton, de la scène avec Westermann: Robespierre et St Just ont la conscience aiguë du danger permanent de ces généraux démagogues dans une démocratie encore enfant; et ils ne laissent aucune occasion d'humilier leur outrecuidance, de les briser: — ils ont raison). C'est aussi la cause de la rancune amère avec laquelle Robespierre et St Just ont implacablement poursuivi, écrasé les Girondins, qui ont été les promoteurs exaltés de la guerre, où ils voyaient (imprudemment) un moyen de mater la démagogie parisienne, et de détourner son ardeur révolutionnaire contre l'étranger. (C'est une singulière erreur de se représenter les Girondins comme des politiciens de la douceur, par opposition au terrorisme de Robespierre: ils ont été dix fois plus violents et plus haineux que lui; et certains, comme Louvet, réclamaient la tête de Robespierre, comme "Autrichien", comme vendu à l'ennemi, — parce qu'il s'opposait à la guerre)!

Une autre injustice est de parler dédaigneusement de l'éloquence de Robespierre. Elle est la seule (après la mort de Mirabeau) qui ait conservé, jusqu'à nous, des titres à notre admiration. Car tandis que les discours de Danton (publiés récemment par André Fubourg) déçoivent par la laideur boueuse du style et des pensées, au milieu desquels éclate, de loin en loin, un coup de tonnerre, — les discours de Robespierre atteignent, en certaines pages, à la plus haute éloquence écrite, plus proche de Cicéron que de Démosthène, mais réellement noble, nourrie, intelligente, émouvante. J'avoue que je ne puis encore relire le discours du 8 thermidor (si je ne me trompe), la veille de sa mort, sans être saisi par le tragique de l'esprit, qui prévoyait non seulement sa chute prochaine, mais l'acharnement de tout un siècle contre sa mémoire. Rien n'est plus contraire à la réalité des faits que de représenter la parole de Robespierre comme "glacée". C'est oublier qu'elle provoquait souvent des crises de larmes, et que son public le plus

enthousiaste fut toujours composé de femmes et de jeunes gens. La bonté, la tendresse de coeur de Robespierre dans l'intimité n'est pas niable. Il a été et est resté adoré de braves gens qui l'ont connu intimement: on le savait déjà par la famille Duplay (dont Lamartine put encore connaître et interroger une survivante, Mme Lebas qui lui fit modifier tout l'esprit de son admirable Historire des Girondins); les lettres, publiées depuis par Mathiez, le montrent encore mieux.

Comment ces hautes vertus se sont-elles conciliées avec les perfidies et les crimes où l'action politique l'a entraîné? C'est une de ces immenses énigmes de l'âme humaine, que seul le génie d'un Shakespeare pourrait arriver à faire sentir dans une oeuvre d'art. Je n'ai point ce génie; mais j'ai toujours conservé le dessein d'écrire un Robespierre, qui fasse suite et pendant à mon Danton: tel que je le conçois, ce serait un drame bien autrement poignant et profond.

J'aurais infiniment à vous dire encore sur l'action de Robespierre, qui en fait n'a point du tout été renversé par les champions d'une politique plus modérée, — mais par une monstrueuse coalition des "pourris" et des plus sanguinaires (Billaud, Colot, etc.). Robespierre et St Just se sont usés dans la lutte contre les massacreurs de Lyon, de Nantes et d'Arras. Et leur exécution n'a nullement mis fin à la Terreur, — mais à la République, qui n'a plus fait qu'agoniser jusqu'à l'arrivée de Bonaparte, — avec des sursauts de violences, de coups d'Etat, de proscriptions, de massacres, — et le pouvoir livré aux exigences des armées affamées et de leurs chefs de bandes.

Il me faudrait aussi indiquer que l'âme de Danton ne fut pas une énigme moins insondable que celle de Robespierre; puisqu'aujourd'hui la honteuse vénalité de ce tribun n'est plus niable. Comment son héroïsme et sa généreuse nature ont-ils pu se concilier avec tout un amas de turpitudes, aujourd'hui avérées? (Mais ce mélange infernal se trouvait déjà chez les Mirabeau, avant la Révolution! Toute cette seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle est une gestation monstrueuse de la Nature: elle accouche de formes hybrides, où la bête et le génie se trouvent accouplés.)

Imagines maintenant un esprit pondéré, lucide, un homme élevé dans les habitudes d'intelligence et de vie réglées et régulières de la bonne bourgeoisie de province française, — comme était Robespierre! Et représentez-vous son saisissement, au milieu de ce bouillonement de la nature, de cette fermentation de boue et de feu, qu'offrit subitement le spectacle de ce Paris déchaîné par la Révolution, de ces Mirabeau, de ces Danton, de ces Marat, de ces Hébert, de ces Talien, etc. (Je ne compare point ces hommes, bien différents!) Ne comprenez-vous pas la contrainte, le masque de froideur et d'impassibilité, qu'il a dû s'imposer, pour résister — non seulement politiquement mais physiquement, physiologiquement, — à ce spectacle affolant, à cette promiscuité? Les ébranlements intérieurs ont dû être terribles. En fait il tomba malade au début de 94, disparût quelques semaines du Comité; et ses derniers portraits montrent les ravages inscrits sur ses traits. St Just, plus jeune, était plus bronzé. Mais lui aussi devait être parvenu à un désespoir intime. Car cet homme d'action héroïque, dès le début de la tempête soulevée à la Convention, le 8 thermidor, se croisa les bras, et ne dit plus un mot jusqu'à sa mort. Quel drame, dans ce silence stoïque du jeune héros, pendant ses dernières 24 heures!

— Tout ceci est écrit, en coup de vent, sans livres (donc, avec la possibilité de quelques petites inexactitudes matérielles), mais je crois vous avoir donné ici l'impression générale aussi juste et vraie qu'on le peut, à cette heure de l'histoire.

Quand j'ai écrit Danton, Mathiez n'avait encore rien publié; je ne connaissais qu'Aulard et Jaurès. Mais j'avais déjà un soupçon qu'Aulard n'avait pas vraiment connu Robespierre; Lamartine (dont je m'étais nourri,

enfant) en avait été beaucoup plus près. J'ai tâché d'esquisser l'énigme de cette nature contradictoire. Mais surtout, je m'étais promis de la traiter à fond dans un drame consacré à Robespierre. Le Danton n'est qu'un panneau du diptyque. Puissé-je compléter L'oeuvre!

Veuillez croire, chère amie, à mon cordial dévouement

Romain Rolland

Excusez cette suite de papiers inégaux! Je ne pensais pas en écrire aussi long.

Acta Litteraria Acad.Sci.Hung. 31(1–2), pp. 181–189 (1989)

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Tibor Klaniczay: Renesans - Manieryzm - Barok

Choix et postface par Jan Ślaski. Trad. par Elżbieta Cygielska.

Warszawa 1986. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 381.

Une série consacrée aux différentes époques de la recherche scientifique, aux problèmes théoriques et historiques a été lancée il y a quelques années par les soins de l'Edition Nationale des Sciences de Pologne (PWN). Le premier ouvrage de cette série d'actualité était celui de H. Markiewicz (Polska nauka o literaturze), en 1981. Cette publication traitant des sciences de la littérature a été suivie par une dizaine d'ouvrages aux différents sujets dans le domaine de recherches modernes (p. ex. Dramaturgia Mlodej Polski; Polska lewicka literacka; W kręgu "Kuznicy") ou plus anciennes (Klasycyzm postanislawowski; Horyzonty wyobrazni; Co to jest klasycyzm?; Wyobraznia symboliczna, etc.). Le thème de Renesans - Manieryzm - Barok est représenté par le recueil d'articles d'un savant hongrois. Et si nous ajoutons à cela que dans cette série de PWN un volume d'articles traitant de la littérature et de ses interprétations (réd. par Lajos Nyírő) va bientôt être publié, on se rend compte que le programme de l'éditeur polonais assure une présence honorable aux sciences hongroises de la littérature. Nous soulignons par là un fait par soi-même mémorable, car il peut être considéré comme une nouvelle étape dans la connaissance mutuelle des recherches littéraires hongroises et polonaises.

Jan Ślaski, qui a sélectionné les articles et a écrit la postface (355-365), mentionne à ce propos plusieurs difficultés. Il met en lumière les raisons pour lesquelles les sciences hongroises de la littérature sont mal connues en Pologne. Il mentionne entre autres la négligeance dans le passé des traductions, les difficultés linguistiques, les opinions sur les différences profondes entre les littératures hongroise et autre (polonaise), l'orientation déterminée des recherches comparatistes polonaises dans une direction slave ou ouest-européenne. Mais ces derniers temps il s'est manifesté un intérêt envers les sciences littéraires hongroises, et un désir de la connaissance des nouveaux résultats. Spécialiste d'études polonaises qui s'occupe également de hungarologie et de recherches comparatives, Ślaski ajoute à cela deux remarques. D'une part la littérature hongroise — pour un bon nombre de caractéristiques de son évolution — semble être très proche de la littérature polonaise dans cette partie d'Europe, quelquefois plus proche que les littératures slaves. D'autre part les problèmes passés dans le champ d'investigation des sciences littéraires hongroises qui ont pris un essor vigoureux sont proches des orientations de l'intérêt scientifique polonais. Ceci est manifesté par les écrits de l'auteur hongrois publiés à l'étranger ou en langue étrangère, écrits que souligne dans sa postface Ślaski: certains en polonais même: Problem renesansu w literaturze i kulturze węgierskiej ("Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce" 1961), Style i historia stylów ("Pamiętnik Literacki" 1969), la grande synthèse dont Klaniczay fut co-auteur Historia literatury węgierskiej (1966), ou encore son article publié en italien dans les Mélanges Brahmer Niccolò Zrínyi, Venezia e la letteratura della ragion di stato (Warszawa 1967). Cette fois-

ci les lecteurs polonais ont accès au recueil d'articles traduits en polonais de Klaniczay. La postface présente l'auteur hongrois, caractérise les résultats de ses recherches, esquisse les orientations d'intérêt du savant hongrois et mentionne les points de vue du choix des articles.

J. Ślaski souligne comme premier point de vue du choix le fait qu'il a concentré son attention sur les études relativement nouvelles de Klaniczay. Il a réussi de la sorte à former un sujet relativement organique à partir des articles conçus dans la période allant de 1970 à 1982, et ceci dans le domaine de la renaissance, de l'humanisme et de la Réforme ainsi que du maniérisme. Y appartient le problème du baroque, chronoligiquement le plus ancien (1964), mais continué depuis. Ce matériel d'études correspondait très bien à l'intention du sélectionneur qui a voulu que les oeuvres et la littérature spécialisée traitées dans les articles et les études qui allaient être traduits soient fondés sur des sources accessibles au public polonais et aient un intérêt ouest-européen. Par conséquent, les renvois de caractère hongrois ne se présentent que sporadiquement, tout comme les renvois polonais auxquels on s'attendrait quand même par moments. Ślaski voit la cause principale de leur absence dans le caractère insuffisant de la propagation en langues étrangères des résultats des sciences polonaises de la littérature. Il souligne enfin le point de vue essentiel du choix, à savoir qu'il s'efforçait à mettre dans le recueil primordialement les études relatives aux sujets intéressant les spécialistes et les chercheurs en Pologne.

Les études prises dans la première publication et qui avaient été publiées surtout dans des revues ont formé approximativement une unité structurale et thématique dans la partie 'patrimoine de la renaissance' d'un des précédents volumes de Klaniczay. La répartition en époques et l'interprétation de la renaissance, le rôle de la Réforme dans le développement des littératures en langues nationales, la philosophie de la beauté et de l'amour du néoplatonisme dans la littérature de la renaissance et les articles traitant du sujet de l'esthétique du maniérisme sont placés ensemble. Cette composition est bien complétée par les sujets du culte humaniste des grandes personnalités au XVe siècle et de la crise de la renaissance et du maniérisme. Voilà le grand choix des problèmes qui correspondent aux recherches du passé historique polonais par les différentes branches scientifiques. Toute nouvelle constatation, mais aussi toute proposition de solution peut être particulièrement intéressante et stimulante dans le travail de découverte même si certaines questions semblent être loin de la "réalité sarmate". Selon l'opinion de J. Ślaski, il n'est pas exclu que l'écho le plus retentissant, et non sans aucune discussion, sera déclenché par les deux études sur le maniérisme. Ce sujet est déjà connu d'après les publications en langues étrangères (français, allemand, italien) de l'auteur et est en même temps un sujet de discussion de portée internationale. Plusieurs chercheurs polonais se sont déjà occupés de plus d'un aspect et de la notion polémique du maniérisme, aussi les écrits de Klaniczay trouveront-ils un terrain préparé; ils peuvent susciter l'intérêt avant tout parmi les historiens de la littérature (361-364). Ceci risque de concerner moins le chapitre traitant du problème du baroque, sujet qui est à la fin de l'ouvrage et qui, pendant la période de deux décennies depuis sa création, donne plutôt une image sur la période précoce de la renaissance dans les recherches hongroises sur le baroque et qui n'est pas complété par les résultats des nouvelles recherches sur le baroque de l'auteur.

A l'occasion de la publication de ce volume il n'est pas notre propos de juger les études qui y sont traduites en polonais. Celles-ci sont bien connues comme les résultats reconnus sous un angle international des sciences hongroises de la littérature. Les questions posées dans la postface

de J. Ślaski à propos de la présente publication sont d'actualité et le fait même de les avoir posées contribuera à frayer le chemin de la connaissance mutuelle des résultats récents des recherches dans le domaine des sciences de la littérature. Une des garanties en est la traduction fiable, compétente à laquelle le travail soigné de la traductrice E. Cygielska fournit un bon exemple. En faisant le bilan de la publication du présent volume, l'initiative de la PWN mérite notre reconnaissance.

Lajos Hopp

Littérature mondiale au XXe siècle

Ed. Gondolat, Budapest, 1987

MIKLÓS SZABOLCSI

L'histoire de la littérature mondiale de Miklós Szabolcsi est une entreprise très moderne, pleine de bravoures. Elle offre d'une façon unique: sous forme de livre de poche, la quasi-totalité de la littérature de notre siècle.

L'auteur met dans cet ouvrage aux petites dimensions des connaissances énormes; il les agence, évalue d'une aisance imposante de savant, et le tout dans un style élégamment concis, mettant en valeur l'essentiel. Bien qu'il n'exige pas, comme il dit dans la préface, que cet ouvrage soit considéré comme un manuel, il crée quand même, à partir de son matériel un système clair qui offre une orientation bien disposée et facilement utilisable tant aux spécialistes qu'au grand public, amateur des lectures. Son but est de présenter la littérature qu'il a "vécue" lui-même, son opinion personnelle, son propre goût, amis c'est une opinion unique qui "s'adapte d'une façon organique dans le processus de la critique littéraire hongroise et de l'histoire de la littérature", et qui nous donne en même temps un tableau fiable sur les différents arts et qui se ramifient de toutes parts.

Szabolcsi évolue essentiellement dans les littératures des langues européennes, mais il considère les littératures un peu mises à l'écart antérieurement d'Europe centro-orientale, méridionale, d'Amérique latine et des Antilles comme appartenant à la littérature mondiale. Il s'efforce de montrer l'unité de la littérature mondiale dont il envisage avant toutes choses les principaux "courants", "noeuds", "motifs" et "genres". Il mentionne toute tendance importante, tout auteur et toute oeuvre, tout comme les correspondances historiques, philosphiques, esthétiques et poétiques des oeuvres. Dans ce cadre il offre une conception et un évaluation particulièrement nouvelles et un point du vue moderne sur la littérature.

Il place au centre de son intérêt d'une part les groupes d'influences qui créent les courants littéraires, et d'autre part les phénomènes de sociologie du goût agissant dans le sens du récepteur. Par suite de cette double exigence il considère la "littérature basse" comme appartenant à la littérature: les lectures, les oeuvres plates, les romans-feuilletons, les pièces radiophoniques et télévisuelles etc. donc à vrai dire toute création littéraire qui caractérise et définit la culture d'une époque. On peut critiquer cette pensée mais on ne peut pas laisser de côté ses arguments et faits pesants. Le roman est pour lui le genre dominant du siècle dans la mesure ou c'est ce genre qui est capable de représenter au maximum le présent, d'exprimer l'image de l'avenir, la totalité et le particulier. Renouvelé et changé, le roman passe tout le long du siècle, il est présent dans toutes les tendances et tous les efforts.

L'essentiel de la conception de Szabolcsi, c'est que la littérature et les arts du XXe siècle sont fondamentalement définis par les différents courants en -isme, l'avant-garde et les nouveaux courants réalistes faisant synthèse avec eux. Au centre du siècle il y a de toute façon l'avant-garde qui transforme toute la littérature et tous les arts de l'époque. Cette avant-garde a été préparée, selon lui, par le réalisme tardif et le symbolisme de la fin du siècle dernier et du début de ce siècle. Les grands synthétiseurs de cette époque sont pour lui le français M. Proust, le tchèque F. Kafka et le poète hongrois Endre Ady.

Dans sa critique sur l'avant-garde classique sa conception s'accorde avec celle des chercheurs européens connus dans ce domaine. Avec tout de même une grande différence, c'est que Szabolcsi analyse et présente les courants et les phénomènes présents dans les différentes cultures, liés les uns aux autres, influançant les uns les autres par rapport à la totalité de la littérature mondiale. Il met ainsi en évidence par exemple le rôle et l'importance des tendances de l'avant-garde d'Europe centrale et orientale, tendances qui représentent des variantes particulièrement complexes et quand même uniques par le biais des changements de fonction et de caractère des tendances en -isme européennes. Une nouvelle forme leur est rendue possible d'une part par leur rapport avec les mouvements ouvriers de gauche et d'autre part par leur rencontre avec les traditions folkloriques, encore vivantes dans les cultures de l'Europe de l'Est. Mais Szabolcsi croit découvrir les exemples les plus purs du "sort populaire" de l'avant-garde internationale dans les littératures espagnole, antillaise et africaine tout en soulignant l'influence libératrice exercée par le surréalisme français sur les cultures en question ou en réalité sur toute la culture du siècle.

Tout comme le surréalisme français dans son jugement sur l'avant-garde, toute la culture française qu'il présente par au moins quatre-vingts auteurs lui sert plus ou moins ouvertement de mesure déterminante pour sa vision littéraire qui évalue les phénomènes du siècle et qui détermine les traits caractéristiques. Même s'il présente les tendances et les auteurs qu'il juge importants sans parti pris et avec une objectivité de savant, on peut quand même palper ses sphères d'intérêt personnelles. Une des forces attractives jouant un rôle important dans l'oeuvre du savant, c'est la poésie d'Attila József dont l'évoulation lui fait prendre conscience de l'apparition d'un "réalisme synthétique" qui met en valeur l'apport de l'avant-garde: "Sa poésie lyrique — celle d'Attila József — résume pour ainsi dire les problèmes de l'existence des années 30 non seulement dans le sens européen, mais encore dans le sens de l'Europe centro-orientale — écrit l'auteur. Les débuts expressionistes, populaires, ensuite surréalistes de sa période précoce, et ultérieurement sa période ludique-expérimentale appelant à la révolution directe sont relayées à partir de 1932 par un nouveau style d'époque qui est caractérisé par un langage poétique particulier, succint et intellectuel, riche en images et en pensées, une constitution poétique de structure solide, élaborée dans tous les détails". (Littérature mondiale au XXe siècle, p. 131.)

Un autre pilier de la conception de Szabolcsi, c'est la reconnaissance du "réalisme synthétique" qui définit les années 30 à 60 et la définition de ses caractéristiques. C'est lui qui introduit cette catégorie dans la littérature et il fait valoir que l'époque en question "est représentée par l'avant-garde et le réalisme qui fait l'alliage des résultats de périodes antérieures" (ibid. p. 105). Il se peut bien qu'il soit arrivé à reconnaître cela par le biais d'Attila József, poète lyrique, il considère quand même comme les plus caractéristiques, parmi les différentes variantes du réalisme synthétique, "le grand roman philosophique", les romans "psychologico-analytique", "réaliste socialiste", etc. c'est-à-dire le genre épique. Il

découvre par contre le déploiment du nouveau "réalisme lyrique" dans les tendances contemporaines du "nouveau style appelé populaire". Par contre, l'examen de l'évolution, de la transformation du roman en tant que genre caractéristique du siècle s'étale tout le long de son Histoire de la littérature de façon qu'il puisse faire sentir, arrivé à nos jours, "la fin de la lyrique?", la fusion de celle-ci avec la prose. On peut également remettre en question cette sorte de pensée, comme lui-même mentionne la fin de la lyrique par un point d'interrogation, mais l'approchement de la poésie lyrique de la prose, sa transformation en poèmes parlés, au langage quotidien ou bien son intégration dans le roman constituent un phénomène indubitable de notre époque.

Szabolcsi voit en la période de 1960 à 1975 l'époque de la "néoavantgarde". Cette tendance est née d'une crise qui remet en question la raison d'être de l'artiste et de l'art même, pris dans le sens traditionnel. Selon lui, le fait que l'art devienne problématique fait exploser les nouveaux mouvements néoavantgarde; l'art du signe, le "nouveau roman" français, les nouvelles formes théâtrales complètement différentes du genre littéraire; les différentes variantes du "néosymbolisme", du "magisme", du "nouvel irracionalisme" ou bien de la néoavantgarde choquante, politique. Il souligne par contre que pendant ces décennies subsistent encore, et même florissent les tendances du réalisme synthétique, du réalisme socialiste et de l'existentialisme, etc. De même que les romans, les mémoires, les souvenirs, les chroniques qui ont une structure et un style apparemment traditionnels dont l'auteur dit que "ces derniers répondent vraiment aux grandes questions de l'époque".

Le mérite principal de la Littérature mondiale au XXe siècle de Miklós Szabolcsi est d'avoir souligné les traits dominants de l'art très compliqué de notre époque non moins compliquée et d'avoir attiré l'attention sur la transformation de la vision traditionnelle de la littérature et des catégories littéraires. Dans cette oeuvre ce n'est pas uniquement le savant bien connu qui se manifeste, mais aussi l'homme qui interroge et comprend ce monde compliqué, l'homme qui sait s'adresser à la communauté de ceux qui se sentent responsables pour la culture générale internationale. Cette attitude rend l'oeuvre authentique; il serait utile de la publier en plusieurs langues, en particulier en français.

Rózsa Kocsis

Chekhov and O'Neill. The Uses of the Short Story in Chekhov's and O'Neill's Plays

PÉTER EGRI

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1986, pp. 183.

Péter Egri has already published a number of works comprising comparative analyses where the study of parallels had manifold results in a wide perspective. His new volume focusing on shared qualities in Chekhov's and O'Neill's plays is an important contribution to that line. György Lukács was the first to point to the inspiration O'Neill drew from Chekhov, but "to accuse him of imitation" (Lukács: "The Meaning of Contemporary Realism") would be a glaring mistake. The Chekhovian atmosphere in O'Neill's late plays is the peak of his autonomous artistic development. In the present book parallels are detailed in the interest of establishing a comprehensive critical approach to the study of O'Neill's development as playwright.

Egri's point of departure is the examination of the connections to be found between the short story and drama. The epistemological similarities are well known: both have a plot. Referring to Lukács, Egri also underlines that while in the short story the particular and accidental gain emphasis, the drama is dominated by the general and necessary (p. 10). This, however, does not contradict the fact that the short story often has a dramatic charge. In the novellas of the Decameron, for instance, one finds metabasis, a change of things into their opposite. Intensive though these turns may be, they do not make a drama without the story being presented through the dialogue of figures instead of being narrated. When the set of problems crystallized into artistic form is important and characteristic of a given era, the demand to put emphasis on the necessary and general might inspire dramatic re-presentation, provided that other conditions are fulfilled as well. The necessary in drama can be grasped at through the representation of changing relationships among people, where the denouement unfolds from the initial situation (cf. Tamás Bécsy: What is the Drama?).

In the respective developments of the short story and drama Egri distinguishes three major trends: 1. The short story of dramatic charge is transformed into a dramatic pattern (e.g. in the Renaissance). 2. The drama takes up epic qualities, episodes, impressions and moods become dominant in it. (E.g. the naturalistic and symbolist plays at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.) 3. The short story is integrated into the dramatic pattern — this happens in the art of Chekhov and O'Meill.

The middle chapters of the book detail ways of the above integration comparing certain works by the two dramatists.

1. The short story turns into a one-actor, the turning point of the former converging or coinciding with the culminating point of the latter. One-actors of this kind by Chekhov and O'Neill are not yet substantially similar with the exception of O'Neill's late one-actor, "Hughie", in which the tension between illusion and reality results in a distinctly Chekhovian atmosphere.

2. The cascade connection of narrative-dramatic units becomes typical in long plays. According to the book, this form, to be found in Chekhov's "Ivanov" and O'Neill's "A Moon for the Misbegotten", reflects uncertainty and the inner conflict of the alienated and feeling selves in matching emotional undulations.

3. In multiple-act plays the dramatic climax coincides with the narrative turning point. The tragicomic becomes prominent since the explosion does not lead to a change, everything remains the same as before. (E.g. "Uncle Vanya".) In O'Neill's "A Touch of the Poet" the tragicomic tone is the surface manifestation of the underlying opposition between false ideals and petty reality. The resulting tension finds an outlet at the turning point of the story which thus becomes the dramatic climax.

4. Mosaic structure: short story-oriented elements and epic fragments are fully integrated in the dramatic pattern. An unmistakable Chekhovian example is "Three Sisters" where the mosaic pieces are often confronted and the tragic and the comic are juxtaposed. (For instance at the very end of the play: Chebutykin: "Tarara-boom-dee-ay!... It doesn't matter, it doesn't matter" Olga: "If we only knew, if we only knew!") In the case of "The Iceman Cometh" there are short story roots as well. O'Neill knew Joseph Conrad's "Tomorrow" (Which Conrad turned into a one-actor later) and himself wrote a story of the same title early in his career. "The Iceman Cometh" abounds in grotesque elements while reflecting the tragicomic contrast of the pursuit of illusions and the occasional but bitter confrontation with reality. Several references and accounts of events slow down the dramatic unfolding but, as the author points out, quoting Lukács, these elements do

not make the drama epic because they are indispensable in the representation of the given human relations. The detailed analysis of parallels supports the author's conclusion to the effect that in O'Neill's plays the objectively comic and subjectively tragic sides of the human predicament are juxtaposed.

The last quarter of the book is devoted to the discussion of "Long Day's Journey Into Night", entitled "VI. Conclusion: Chekhov and O'Neill". A number of typological parallels prove that this late masterpiece of O'Neill's is the most Chekhovian in his whole oeuvre. In "Long Day's Journey", on the other hand, all that the book has said about the integration of epic elements into drama can be seen summed up because it uses all the possible approaches. Artistically this phenomenon must have its roots in the fact that the tension becoming felt in present actions and in the far-reaching recollections of the past has several sources. The material gain over spiritual loss, the conflicts of illusion and reality, the oscillation of emotions and the confrontation of human aspirations and fate are typical of 20th century American life as well. Complex problems can best be rendered by the polyphony of the mosaic structure as is proved in the analysis of "Long Day's Journey into Night", mapping out also the network of character-relations. The mosaic pattern makes it possible for the dramatist to draw his figures from the outside as well as the inside. The fog as leitmotif in O'Neill's play, similarly to the seagull and the cherry orchard, adds to the creation of a Chekhovian atmosphere. In "Long Day's Journey" there is a vicious circle where starting afresh is impossible because there is no solid road for the steps to be taken towards one another. Both dramatists present the loss of values, the failure of basic relationships. It is the flow of turns that suggests what human forces could gain momentum unless they were destroyed by the above. One can come to the conclusion that O'Neill is most American when he is most Chekhovian because in this way he manages to portray a varied and complete picture of the tensions of his own world.

Having read Péter Egri's thought-provoking book there is a temptation to ask the question why the integration of epic elements into the drama became so prominent in Chekhov's and O'Neill's plays and also in later American dramas, for example with Odets. One reason must have been the complexity of the experimental material, that could not be rendered by the one-dimensional presentation of actions and relations. Complexity was highly increased by the outer and inner movements being intertwined and co-producing new qualities. Returning to the relationship between the particular and the accidental (in the short story) and the general and necessary (in the drama): they can be found more inseparable than ever in the given decades. Epic elements in the drama became bricks in building up intricate relations among the characters. The sequence of mosaic patterns reflects also the fragmentation of the world view.

In sum, the importance of Péter Egri's book can be seen in the following: 1. It discusses the genetic and generic connections between the short story and the drama in a thought- and discussion-inspiring way. 2. In international scholarship it is the first to pay detailed attention to parallels between Chekhov and O'Neill. 3. At the same time it is the farthest-reaching Hungarian study of the evolution and peak of O'Neill's art in drama.

Mária Kurdi

Rivista di Studi Ungheresi

Red. G. CAVAGLIA, A. DI FRANCESCO, P. SÁRKÖZY

Roma 1986, no. 1, 165.

The Italian Review of Hungarian Studies is the journal of the Centre for Hungarian Studies in Italy — Centro Interuniversitario per gli Studi Ungheresi. Its first number was published in Rome in 1986. Its editors are Gianpiero Cavaglià, Amadeo di Francesco and Péter Sárközy, the latter of whom — at present a Hungarian visiting professor at Rome University — was particularly instrumental in helping launch the journal. When looking at the background to the founding of the Italian-language journal of Hungarian studies, we have to take into account — beyond the immediate antecedents — the earlier Italian-Hungarian cultural contacts, the traditions of Italian studies and comparative research in Hungary and the 19th and 20th-century Italian traditions of earlier Hungarian teaching and research on the Magyars. In our own days, the appearance of Rivista di Studi Ungheresi reveals the results of a long-term endeavour.

The opening announcement of Antonio Ruberti, President of Rome's "La Sapienza" University, refers to the antecedents. In the spring of 1985, at the recommendation of Rome University, the Centro Interuniversitario per gli Studi Ungheresi was set up, with the purpose of promoting the study of Hungarian language, literature, and culture. The Centre of Hungarian Studies was joined by universities (Bologna, Florence, Naples, Padua, Pavia, Rome, Turin, Udine, Venice) that ran departments of Hungarian language, literature and philology; in addition, the universities of Milan and Trieste joined in too. In that connection, A. Ruberti recalls that the first Hungarian language and literature department in Italy was also set up at Rome University, in 1927. Owing to the work of the instructors and visiting teachers from Hungary and the Italian masters (Emilio Teza, Paolo Emilio Pavolini, Carlo Tagliavini and others), as well as that of the Italian-born teachers of Hungarian language and literature who had grown up in the generations of students and pupils, the number of Hungarian philology departments has grown many times over in the past half a century. What made possible the gradual development of these workshops is the fact that — as G.B. Pellegrini writes in one place — Italy's school of Hungarian studies "produced, thanks primarily to the Hungarian or Italian-Hungarian masters, several students whose knowledge of the Hungarian language enabled them to take up posts in Hungarian institutes as language masters". In addition to their teaching jobs at universities, they also carry out scholarly research. The Centro Interuniversitario..., headquartered in Rome, started its institutional functioning in the university year of 1986/87. In the meantime, the Centre for Hungarian Studies, whose importance can be measured by European standards, had completed no. 1 of its first, groundbreaking publication. The notable enterprise can be regarded as continuing and renewing the traditions of the recent past — also from the standpoint of the well-known publications of "Annuari dell'Accademia d'Ungheria di Roma" and "Corvina" (Società Mattia Corvino). The launching of the journal testifies to the existence of an independent Italian school in Hungarian studies. That, incidentally, was also indicated by the Italian (Carla Corradi, Giovan Battista Pellegrini, Danilo Gheno) lectures delivered at the First International Congress of Hungarian Studies of the International Hungarian Philological Society. (In: Hungarológiai oktatás régen és ma /Education in Hungarian Studies, Past and Present/. Budapest, 1981, 117-130).

No. 1 of the Italian Review of Hungarian Studies, with a length of 165

pages, publishes the writings of predominantly Italian authors. The column of studies — as the President of the University's opening announcement stresses — is opened by the paper Literature and Nationality (The Role of Hungarian Literature in the Literature of the Peoples of the Danube Basin), by the Secretary-General of the International Hungarian Philological Society and a former visiting professor at "La Sapienza" University, Tibor Klaniczay. Three additional studies centre on and inventory the Italian literature and state archival sources (Bologna, Florence, Lucca, Mantua, Modena, Naples, Rome, Siena, Turin, Venice) of the anti-Turkish battles relevant by their association with the liberation of Buda (Silvano Cavazza, Raoul Gueze, Zsuzsanna Fábián). The column of shorter reports is opened by a writing on Kodály (Massimo Mila) and continued with the topics of Ungaretti and Hungary (Mario Petrucciani), the Chinese tales of Béla Balázs (Anna Bujatti), Aurelio Millos's ballet dramaturgy (Mario Verdona) and a report on the Budapest Cultural Forum (Gianni Vattimo). Tomaso Kemény's critical observation on the translations of poems by Dezső Kosztolányi and Miklós Veress, published in parallel, has been put in the documentary column. Of the rich review, book column and chronicle material we single out the reviews (Magda Jászay, Ilona T. Erdélyi) of the volumes of a Hungarian-Italian cultural-historical publication series run by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Venice's Cini Foundation.

Péter Sárközy's review-like aperçu entitled The Past and Present of Hungarian Studies in Italy provides a historical survey of all that, through many years' individual and official efforts, through the activity of selfless Hungarian and Italian experts, pertains to the antecedents, worthy of respect. It contains a detailed account of the circumstances of the setting up of the Centre for Hungarian Studies in Italy, its programme, and the fruition of its first successful initiative — i.e. the publication of the Italian Review of Hungarian Studies.

Lajos Hopp

— MAGYAR —
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[1] Faas, Egbert: Toward a New American Poetics. Santa Barbara, Black Sparrow Press, 1978. p. 62.

[2] Davis, Murray: The Virginian: social Darwinist pastoral. In: Acta Litteraria, Vol. 23, 1980 (Nos 3—4) pp. 271—279.

[3] Schorer, Mark: Technique as discovery. In: Twentieth Century Literary Criticism; A Reader. Ed. by David Lodge. London, Longman, 1972. pp. 387—400.

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DEMOCRACY: THE TRANSCENDENTALIST VISION

Aladár Sarbu

Budapest

Nature: "Appendix to the Soul"

It is an established fact now that Emersonian Transcendentalism as well as the movement connected with it was as much a native development as it was anything else. Henry James's rather condescending remark calling it "that remarkable outburst of Romanticism on Puritan ground", in which he echoed John Eliot Cabot's book which he was reviewing[1], sounds shallow and unfair today. In a way, it was unfair in its own day, too, as the movement had a strong consciousness of its Americanness right from the beginning. The European inspiration was crucial: without Kant, Schelling, Cousin, Coleridge and Carlyle — to name only the most influential — key concepts, such as nature, spirit, soul, fancy, imagination, reason, understanding, beauty and truth, would have been given different meanings from those they now have, or might not have been needed at all. It is equally obvious that Plato and Platonism, and all that at the time was associated with or read into it[2], whether directly or through the mediation of the philosophers named above, left their stamp on Transcendentalism. The American philosophers are probably indebted to their European contemporaries and predecessors for the methodology of their inquiry; whatever advances in the application of dialectic they made must be due to the European influence[3]. But there is truth, even if it is not the whole truth, in Orestes A. Brownson's claim that "the movement is really of American origin, and the prominent actors in it were carried away by it before ever they formed any acquaintance with French or German metaphysics"[4]. The catalyst which precipitated Transcendentalism and gave direction to it was the religious crisis of the early decades of the century, in which Unitarianism, after having successfully undermined the position of orthodox Calvinism in New England, and weakened the appeal of historical Christianity, came under attack from a new school of thought which rejected historical Christianity altogether[5]. The Emerson of the eighteen-thirties — the most important phase of his intellectually always agile life — is, with good reason, described as a young

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idealist attacking the strongholds of tradition[6]. The tradition in question is larger than the immediate issues which crystallized Transcendentalist positions; important though miracles, supernatural revelation, the divinity of Christ may be, the debate about them goes well beyond considerations of dogma. This is a question of philosophical orientation: by rejecting the Unitarian doctrine that Jesus was commissioned by God to teach ignorant humanity how to achieve happiness, the Transcendentalists also rejected the Lockean philosophy underlying it, according to which man was born with no innate ideas and all knowledge was deduced from perception[7]. Of the two forms of religion, the one under attack was the more amenable to materialist interpretations of the sensual world; its antagonists, on the other hand, were revolted by the total absence of spirituality (which was often synonymous with mysticism, despite the fact that Emerson criticized Swedenborg, one of his "representative men", for lapsing into mysticism)[8]. Sampson Reed's early (1826) maxim: "the mind must grow, not from external accretion, but from an internal principle"[9], Brownson's defence, in 1838, of democracy and commonsense as the most telling evidence against the delusion of the Lockean tabula rasa, are well-argued positions indicating the philosophical bias of Transcendentalism. Paradoxically, Unitarianism was the religion (largely in Eastern Massachusetts, and chiefly in and around Boston) of a predominantly business culture based upon the observance of the proprieties which furthered a materially successful and prosperous life; in this capacity it was responsible also for the strong hold the genteel tradition had on the New England mind. Transcendentalism, for its part, emphasized democratic equality; if a religion at all, it was a levelling kind of religion, and to that extent, a revolt against business ethics and the business mentality. The drift of Emerson's claim, made most provocatively in "The Divinity School Address" (1838) is the same: Jesus was divine only in the sense in which every man is divine; he spoke metaphorically when he called himself the incarnation of God; he was God only to the extent to which every man is an incarnation of God; his meaning was equally metaphorical when he was speaking of miracles, as the greatest of miracles is man's life (NAL pp. 81-82)[10]. It follows naturally from such premises that Transcendentalism rejected "historical" or institutionalized forms of religion and established churches, and regarded the former as necessary stages in the evolution of Christianity, in the course of which the forms were also bound to change, while the essence was not. Whatever progressive role in loosening petrified ways of worship Transcendentalism may have played, there was also a reac-

tionary element in its critique. By insisting that traditional organizations of worship and the principles on which they rested were historical, that is, subject to changing interpretations, and by upholding that the spirit of Christianity was impervious to historical analysis, it explained away the by then far too obvious contradictions between the Bible and science[11] and effectually salvaged that form of idealism in America in a rather critical phase of its history. My choice of the word "phase" is deliberate: the movement from Unitarianism to Transcendentalism was indeed not a great crisis, but a gradual transition, from a dogmatics to a poetics of religion as Lawrence Buell has convincingly demonstrated[12]. That gradual transition, however, is part of a likewise gradual decline, the weakening not simply of the appeal of religion, but also of Christianity as a value system and a guide to, an explanation of, existence. Great as sometimes the degree of kinship between American Transcendentalism and European -- mainly German — idealism of the early nineteenth century may seem as far as ideas and conceptual frames are concerned, the alien inspiration would have fizzled out without lasting consequences if conditions had not been favourable, and the American mind had not been susceptible to the foreign influence. As Brownson said, interest in French and German literature was the effect and not the cause[13]. But even the antecedents, the inspiration and the models, and not only the actual conditions which called for such a change in thought, were eminently American. There is a tendency to overestimate the importance of the native background in much recent writing about nineteenth-century American literature, but Joel Porte certainly has a case when he points to a possible connection with the antinomianism of the seventeenth century (culminating with the Antinomian Crisis of 1636-38). The source of Emerson's "self-consciously antinomian posture", Porte contends, was his father's Historical Sketch of the First Church in Boston (1812), in which a good deal of attention is paid to that early American form of heresy (a challenge to the reigning Puritanism of the time). William Emerson's summary description of the antinomian position — "(i)t was maintained that the Holy Ghost dwells in a believer as much, as he dwells in heaven; that a man is justified before he believes; that faith is no cause of justification" — may reverberate in "The Transcendentalist" (1841) of the son[14], but where opinions and influences are concerned the verbal echoes are less important than the antinomian belief that "the Holy Ghost dwells in a believer as much, as he dwells in heaven". The concept of man as partaking of divinity and standing above the restrictive laws of religious insti-

tutions anticipates the basic Transcendentalist tenet as much as German idealist philosophy does. Which is not meant to imply that the Puritans did not acknowledge the primacy of personal faith; they did; only, to guard against subjectivism, they accorded absolute authority to Scripture.[15] The individualism inherent in the concept is thus only in part the result of foreign influence; much of it is thoroughly American. Sources and influences are of secondary importance, however, where American reality itself is concerned. Without a long tradition of individualism in various forms, there would have been no need for a theoretical formulation of the doctrine of self-reliance. There would have been no possibility, either.

But self-reliance is not the primary question here; more important is the dualism that underlies the Transcendentalist vision of reality (society or nature). After all, as Sacvan Bercovitch writes, when Emerson "internalizes the American experience as a Romantic journey of the soul", he acknowledges no less than the failure of America, at the level of institutions, to live up to its ideals;[16] the social thus takes precedence over the personal.

Whether dualism is the right term is also open to debate, as it permeates all the writings not only of Emerson, but of the others as well. It is possible to arrange the Emersonian entities in a triad of <u>object</u>, <u>self</u> and <u>spirit</u>, where object is Nature, self the perceiving consciousness, and spirit, the noumenon behind the phenomenon, is what in the seminal essays is called soul, oversoul, God, and quite often just spirit.[17] From my particular point of view, however, the self — which, according to Emerson, is in mediate relation both to Nature and the Spirit — is an obviable entity, as in subsequent discussions of <u>appearance</u> and <u>reality</u> I do not assess the agents — fictional heroes and heroines — in terms of the theme. The very opposite is in fact the case; my point of departure, if not my approach, in evaluating their experience is identical with theirs; this means that it is identical with their creator's in so far as they represent him. We might indulge in some philosophical hair-splitting on account of the singularity of the perceiving consciousness, that is, on account of the fact that for another observer the perceiving consciousness is fully a part of Nature; yet it is wiser to leave the problem where Emerson left it:

> Philosophically considered, the universe is composed of Nature and the soul. Strictly speaking, therefore, all that is separate from us, all which philosophy distinguishes as the NOT ME, that is, both nature and art, all other men and my own body, must be ranked under this name, NATURE (NAL p. 8).

The essential thing here is that NATURE in its capitalized occurrence comprises both the natural world (nature, all other men and my own body) and the man-made world (art, all other men and my own body, in so far as men live in social formations created by themselves). This is further defined in contradistinction to the Soul: the palpable, material, that is, the phenomenal, as opposed to the inpalpable and spiritual. But opposed is appropriate in a formal analysis only: Emerson is outspokenly contemptuous of traditional religion which puts nature underfoot when it declares that "(t)he things that are seen, are temporal, the things that are unseen, are eternal", and says, "contemn the unsubstantial shows of the world" and "seek the realities of religion" (NAL p. 35). Temporal and eternal, show and reality are antonyms and imply opposition. Nature, according to Emerson, is "an appendix to the soul" (NAL p. 34), in other words, the relationship (where it is explicitly presented) is a relationship of correspondence and not of opposition. "(T)he noblest ministry of Nature is to stand as an apparition of God", implying that, fully comprehended, the visible world functions as an image of, and also as a way of access to, the spiritual (NAL p. 39). He who is at one with Nature is at one with God. Here Emerson goes well beyond tradition and religion, and he goes beyond such a mentor as Coleridge,[18] although not Schelling, in whose Transcendental Idealism nature is posited as objectively real. The philosophy, as its premises suggest, owes a good deal to the philosophy of nature, that late blooming branch of German (objective) idealism; but the advocates of the American inception of the movement could draw attention to the overall design of "Nature" as well as related essays where the adaptation of apparently borrowed ideas to conditions conspicuously local is far too evident, so much so that sometimes the original ideas are changed almost out of all recognition. It is one thing to say that Transcendentalism spiritualizes Nature, and quite (if not wholly) another to point out what that term comprises. In the subsections of the essay in question there is a dual tendency at work: the author's mind is very much the mind of an American of the early nineteenth century in that he is concerned with the uses of Nature; the self-same tendency, if viewed from another angle, may appear as an attempt to spiritualize a morally depraved commercial civilization. In an early review Samuel Osgood was quick to sum up Emerson's essay as an assertion of the truth that Nature should be valued not only as a supplier of material resources, but also as a manifestation of the Divine Spirit.[19] The tell-tale headings Emerson employs to denote the kinds of service nature

renders to man quicken the perception of this intent; "Commodity", "Beauty", "Language", "Discipline" are all associable with use, with application: nature working for the soul as well as the profit of man, even though many may be aware only of the latter. The criticism becomes particularly pointed, although not explicit, in section IV (Language), where thought and symbol are connected and a direct relationship is assumed between the appropriacy of symbol (linguistic expression) and life; in urban life, as it is characterized by the preponderance of secondary desires (money, praise, power), falsehood takes the place of the simplicity of truth. As a result, language is corrupted, words cease to be fastened to visible things, and lose their pictorial and metaphorical quality. This is all the more regrettable as the world which words are meant to reflect is emblematic (NAL pp. 17-23). The relevance to America of that first and most influential statement of Transcendentalism becomes unmistakable at the conclusion:

> At present, man applies to nature but half his force. He works on the world with his understanding alone. He lives in it, and masters it by a penny wisdom; and he that works most in it, is but a half-man, and whilst his arms are strong and his digestion good, his mind is imbruted and he is a selfish savage. His relation to nature, his power over it, is through the understanding; as by manure; the economic use of fire, wind, water, and the mariner's needle; steam, coal chemical agriculture; the repairs of the human body by the dentist and the surgeon. This is such a resumption of power, as if a banished king should buy his territories inch by inch, instead of vaulting at once into his throne. Meantime, in the thick darkness, there are not wanting gleams of a better light, — occasional examples of the action of man upon nature with his entire force, — with reason as well as understanding. Such examples are: the history of Jesus Christ; the achievements of a principle, as in religious and political revolutions, and in the abolition of the Slave-trade; the miracles of enthusiasm... (NAL pp. 42-43).

Understanding and reason are cast here in the Coleridgean rather than the Kantian mould; the former — according to Coleridge — denotes the faculty man has for perception of the phenomenal world, the latter is his organ of the "highest and most certain knowledge"[20] — the knowledge of the supersensuous. Emerson is closer to Coleridge than to Kant in that he also regards the supersensuous as accessible through experience; thus it may be, to a limited extent, the concern of the understanding as well.[21]

Such are the philosophical assumptions on which Emersonian Transcendentalism and the slightly different varieties of the same creed were erected and grew, if not into a system, into a conglomerate of closely related ideas. Reality — but universe would be more in key with what has

been said above — is composed of matter (nature, the phenomenal world) and spirit (soul, God); American civilization or, more appropriately, democracy is chastised for its exclusive preoccupation with matter and for its neglect of the spirit, but, characteristically, as early as 1836 Emerson is as much of an apologist as of a critic — his readiness to find an excuse for American practices is no less striking than his attack on the more revolting of those practices. This may be viewed as yet another attempt to heal the gap between the two halves of the divided American consciousness (Edwards and Franklin, "high ideals" and "catchpenny realities" according to Brooks,[22] the "inherited" and "native" mentality according to Santayana[23]). "Nature", seminal as it is, is only the foundation, a declaration of intent; in the years to come Emerson will refine or make explicit many of the ideas that get only a passing notice in this essay. What is of particular relevance from our point of view is, of course, not the (metaphysical) speculations of Emerson, but how those speculations function as tools for the analysis of American reality. Nature as "an appendix to the soul" may sound too abstract and too removed from everyday concerns, but as soon as we have realized that society looms large in that concept, much of the abstract quality evaporates. The more direct allusions to the social context in which the ideas of Transcendentalism were conceived and put to use demonstrate the primacy of the social (I have half a mind to say practical) reasons for the emergence of the movement.

Nature: "All Other Men and My Own Body"

Emerson may have had his head occasionally above the clouds, but his feet were always firmly on the ground. His independent personal income, although moderate, was sufficient to provide him with a buffer against the world — a circumstance that may have made him insensitive to some of the sufferings that the system geared to the pursuit of material aggradisement produced; this may weaken the appeal of some of his rosier convictions even today. Still, Santayana was blatantly unfair when, emphasizing only the intelligent and impressionable bookworm in Emerson, he wrote that "(r)eality eluded him; he had neither diligence nor constancy enough to master and possess it; but his mind was open to all philosophic influences, from whatever quarter they might blow".[24] Emerson had a good grasp of history, both past and present. It says something for him that in "American Civilization" (1862) he deems that "there is no interest in any country so imperative as

that of labor" for the simple — Lockean — consideration that the labourer "turns his day, his strength, his thought, his affection into some product which remains as the visible sign of his power" (M p. 297). But his dialectical approach is more fruitful in analysing the past than in interpreting the present. "Feudalism has been good, had broken the power of the kings.... Trade was the strong man that broke it down and raised a new and unknown power in its place", he declares in "The Young American" in 1844. "It is a new agent in the world, and one of great function; it is a very intellectual force. This displaces physical strength, and installs computation, combination, information, science, in its room. It calls out all force of a certain kind that slumbered in the former dynasties. It is now in the midst of its career" (NAL p. 233). The only part in the passage (but not in the essay) where the idealist gives himself away (and that only to the initiated) is the sentence "it is a very intellectual force"; intellectual, with some widening of the context, being interchangeable with spiritual. Emerson only shares this historical sense with his fellow-Transcendentalists: some, like the immensely more radical Brownson, go even further. Brownson's insightful equation of Protestantism with Materialism (that is, with the rise and growth of the bourgeoisie) anticipates what is today known as the "Protestant Ethic". "Properly speaking", he writes, "Protestantism has no religious character. With Protestantism, religion has existed; but as a reminiscence, a tradition.... But Materialism modifies their rites and dogmas. In the practice of all (i.e. the Protestant Churches — A.S.), there is an effort to make them appear reasonable." The clinching remark is that "(i)ndustry has received in Protestant countries its grandest developments".[25] No less insightful and bold is Brownson's dismissal of Unitarianism as "the last word of Protestantism",[26] his own Transcendentalism providing the necessary equilibrium between the Spiritual and the Material (with which, unfortunately, the whole line of reasoning comes very near to collapsing into a heap of idealistic fragments). What we might call the "secular" element in Transcendentalism is thus a more or less objective view of history as a process, a succession of different types of society, which are described in a more or less factual way until, in the final analysis, the motive power is identified as something emanating from God. But there is a real danger of the secular element being subsumed within the overall idealistic design, and being explained in terms set by that design. Hence the eulogies, in so much Transcendentalist writing, of commerce and manufacture as being instrumental in the realization of some benevolent scheme.

Theodore Parker's "A Sermon of Merchants" (1846)[27] or, more notably, Thoreau's A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers (1848) are cases in point.

But where does Emerson stand when personal considerations evidently do not hem him in? Admitting that he was not at all as ignorant of life as Santayana thought, we may still fall victim to another delusion: that he knew life well enough but shrank from it and took refuge in the realm of ideals, insisting that the ideals were the reality.[28] After all, he made statements to this effect ("a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds"). Yet no one can deny Emerson's unflagging interest in the actualities of the times. The world of thought was his proper sphere, but he was not conceited as to the relation of thought to life. "What help from thought? Life is not dialectics.... Intellectual tasting of life will not supersede muscular activity. If a man should consider the nicety of the passage of a piece of bread down his throat, he would starve", he wrote in "Experience" (1844) (ES p. 34). But, to dispel the false impression this may have created about his own position, he observes almost in the same breath that "(w)e may climb into the thin and cold realm of pure geometry and lifeless science, or sink into that of sensation. Between these extremes is the equator of life, of thought, of spirit, of poetry, — a narrow belt" (ES p. 62). One feels tempted to conclude from the high praise Emerson lavished on life as well as thought, spirit and poetry, that for him they are of the same order; the implication, however, is that life as normally lived has an intellectual side, just as thought, spirit and poetry are concerned with life and not only with abstractions. Even stronger is the temptation to suppose that Emerson personally felt the appeal of a life of action which, eventually, he was wise or lucky enough not to try. In the essay on "Fate" (1860) the distinction between fate and power, the gods most people worship, is in fact the distinction between the private and the public sphere of life; characteristically, power, that is, the public sphere, is associated with business, industry and politics, while fate belongs with family, arts, religion and love. The picture Emerson draws of the former is too repellent for us (as it must have been for him) to think it likely that he could have made the necessary adjustments. At a cursory glance, his position is, if not exactly on the sidelines, certainly on the periphery, close enough for observation, but at a safe distance from the ugly scenes in the theatre of action.

As observer, he is sympathetic. There is hardly a more eloquent docu-

ment of this than "The Young American". In a way this essay tells us more about how Emerson felt at the spectacle of economic expansionism than do his more expressly philosophical writings. As the title indicates, he addresses himself to specific American problems, and from the stance of a patriot. On the evidence of this title we may assume that he felt more than a modicum of affinity with the Young America Movement, that radically chauvinistic group within the Democratic Party. The specific American problems — from the stance of a patriot — call for evaluation from a patriotic, or what was believed to be a patriotic, viewpoint, and this is exactly what we get in the essay. The note is set by nationalism; as material growth furthers the growth of political influence, Emerson accepts it with little criticism and all the more zeal. There are quite a number of instances in which even the label "nationalist" seems inadequate, "imperialist" appearing to be more pertinent. Yet it would be misleading to accuse Emerson of being "imperialist", as the word, with its twentieth-century connotations has become almost synonymous with "colonialist", and suggests the use of economic power and political might by one nation against other nations for ultimately selfish ends. Emerson's "imperialism", like that of the Young America Movement, was inspired by the belief that, being the product of enlightened social engineering, the United States had the historic mission to lead the world. "It seems so easy for America to inspire and express the most expansive and human spirit; new-born, free, healthful, strong, the land of the laborer, of the democrat, of the philanthropist, of the believer, of the saint, she should speak for the human race" (NAL p. 230). An attitude and an ideology assured of a long career and, occasionally, of vehement rejection, as in this ironic question of Santayana's: "But can it be that all Latins and Slavs, all Arabs, Chinamen and Indians, if they were not benighted in mind and degenerate in body, would be model Anglo-Americans?"[29] Having established the necessary qualifications, Emerson proceeds to make the larger American claim, never abandoned since: "In every age of the world, there has been a leading nation... whose eminent citizens were willing to stand for the interest of general justice and humanity.... Which should be that nation but these States?" (NAL p. 239). A cheerfully confident prospect, were it not for the fact that, in all likelihood, it reflects a passing mood which may return, but never to rise to the same pitch. Even in "The Young American" the nationalist inspiration is combined with, and has to be reinforced by, the Transcendentalist, accentuating the more controversial elements of the nineteenth-century liberal mind. What is unfolding

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on a grand scale on the American scene is presented as part of the general scheme of the universe, which must be accepted without criticism. There is a touch of inhumanity in Emerson's blind enthusiasm for material progress: "(i)t is because Nature thus saves and uses, laboring for the general, that we poor particulars are so crushed and straitened, and find it so hard to live.... Our condition is like that of the poor wolves: if one of the flock wound himself or so much as limp, the rest eat him up incontinently" (NAL p. 231). After celebrating the aristocracy of trade ("the result of merit of some kind") Emerson describes trade as "the instrument in the hands of that friendly Power which works for us in our despite" (NAL p. 234). "That friendly Power" is, of course, the Spirit; the assurance its presence gives in the bustle of life preoccupied with the creation of wealth and thus with the fulfilment of the destiny of the nation is invoked throughout Emerson's career, usually with the overt intent of ennobling man's economic activity, the ultimate objective being, as in "Art", for instance, "to find beauty and holiness in new and necessary facts, in the field and roadside, in the shop and mill...,to raise to a divine use, the railroad, the insurance office, the joint-stock company, our law, our primary assemblies, our commerce, the galvanic battery, the electric jar, the prison, and the chemist's retort, in which we seek now only an economical use" (EF 218). His determination to believe is unshakeable, whatever the odds are; even in the essays cited there is evidence enough to make plausible the contention that Emerson approved of the go-getters and the rising industrial bourgeoisie, rejected as futile every interference with the iron laws of circumstance,[30] and held that despite appearances to the contrary history is beneficent. The conviction is so strong that in "Montaigne; or, The Skeptic" (1846) it even leads him to reject the scepticism of his beloved philosopher. "The appearance is immoral; the result is moral.... (B)y knaves and by martyrs the just cause is carried forward.... (A)lthough society seems to be delivered over from the hands of one set of criminals into the hands of another set of criminals, as fast as the government is changed, and the march of civilization is a train of felonies, — yet, general ends are somehow answered" (RM p. 185). In the more mundane essays of The Conduct of Life (1860), more particularly in the piece on "Wealth", we find further confirmation; money is invested with a sanctity as the foundation of civilization: "a dollar is not value, but representative of value, and, at last, of moral values" (CL p. 103), which makes the moralist's denunciation of wealth sound feeble and ridiculous. The justification is offered not so much on a metaphysical as on a

"scientific" basis, and somewhat in the manner of the Emersonian law of compensation ("(y)ou cannot do wrong without suffering wrong"):[31] wealth brings with it its own checks and balances which eventually may all come under "the self-adjusting meter of supply and demand" (CL p. 105). All of which may point towards the grand dictum of "Civilization" (1862, 1870): there is in the world "a tendency to combine antagonisms and utilize evil which is the index of high civilization" (SS p. 23).

"Evil, according to old philosophers..."

I have now come to the most controversial aspect of Emerson's Transcendentalism: the question of evil in the world; especially when the meaning of world is limited to society. On a purely theoretical or metaphysical level there is no place or use for evil in this form of idealism. If nature is the symbol of spirit, how could there be? To suppose the contrary would amount to questioning the perfection of God. Does Emerson's formula, "there is a tendency to combine antagonisms and utilize evil" really mean "that ripe unconsciousness of evil" which Henry James attributed to him?[32] Was James right in stating as the essential difference between the vision of Emerson and that of Hawthorne that the eyes of the former "were thickly bandaged" to the evil and sin of the world?[33] Was he, along with Whitman, superficial, as Yeats charged, because he lacked the Vision of Evil?[34] Did Emerson, by his conviction that the laws of the universe were sacred and beneficent, "surrender the category of better and worse, the deepest foundation of life and reason", as Santayana would have us believe?[35] These queries touch on cardinal points of Emerson's worth as a philosopher and may affect his elevated position as the fountainhead of what for lack of a better name I would call the American national ideology. The presence of evil is far too obvious in the operations of man to be ignored, and it would indeed create a very awkward situation and cast more than a shadow of doubt on the depth or validity of any philosophy which does not take account of it. So, perhaps, it was only expected that after the Second World War there would be a tendency to focus attention on this problem, to reevaluate the accepted stereotype of Emerson as a cheerful optimist and confident sage. The arguments centre around the awareness of evil to be found in his philosophy. But is the evidence convincing?[36] It is easy but not really decisive to cite references to evil from his work which confirm what has been suggested already: that Emerson does not ignore the lessons of his own experience,

neither does he dismiss the evidence supplied by history, and takes (some) cognizance of injustice and suffering in the world. One could document his readiness to explain away the dark and tragic side of existence by fitting all manifestations of it into the grand design of a benevolent universe by such proverbial formulations as "Evil, according to old philosophers, is good in the making. That pure malignity could exist is the extreme proposition of unbelief", on which ground he rejects Swedenborg's vision of Hell in Representative Men (1850) (RM p. 138). Still, the overall picture would not change. More recent research, however, besides relying heavily on the eminently personal Journals and correspondence, has produced important new evidence by shifting attention to essays overshadowed by the ones on which Emerson's reputation has traditionally rested.

Two of these — both dating from 1844 — are particularly instructive. "Experience" can, in part, be traced to the year 1842, when Emerson's son, Waldo, died at the age of five;[37] "The Tragic" was originally published in Emerson's own periodical and reissued posthumously. Both are key documents in the controversy about the depth of Emerson's understanding of the human condition. The latter does indeed strike a note which we are accustomed to hearing in Melville, as Newton Arvin aptly observes.[38] "He has seen but half the universe who never has been shown the house of Pain. As the salt sea covers more than two-thirds of the surface of the globe, so sorrow encroaches in man on felicity" (NHI p. 405). In the course of the argument, however, this yields to propositions of the Transcendentalist persuasion; tragedy, which in the mature Melville is unrelieved by any mitigating circumstances, and is an inevitable curse upon greatness, is no more here than the consequence of ignorance: "(t)he law which establishes nature and the human race, continually thwarts the will of ignorant individuals", from which it follows that once man has recognized the dialectical truth that freedom is the consciousness of necessity, the tragic cause will be eliminated (NHI pp. 408-09).

What then is certain is not that around 1844 Emerson takes a different, more sceptical view of existence, but that he accords a more important place to evil in the affairs of man without significantly changing his interpretation of the context in which evil operates. There is nothing to modify this conclusion either in "Experience" or in the closely related "Illusions" (1851, 1860). Both essays attempt to answer basic ontological and epistemological questions, and rightly so, as, according to Emerson, philosophy must seek the Final Cause (First Cause, Finalities) of all life, which means the

acquisition of reliable knowledge. When its complexities are sufficiently simplified, the main problem in "Experience" can clearly be seen as the difficulty of acquiring knowledge, and the subjectivity of that knowledge. The greatest danger, it suggests, is to regard partial, subjective knowledge as complete: "(t)he partial action of each strong mind in one direction, is a telescope for the objects on which it is pointed. But every other part of knowledge is pushed to the same extravagance, ere the soul attains her due sphericity" (ES p. 46). Emerson's term for the partial knowledge, which, owing to its partiality, is always incomplete, therefore not the final truth, is illusion. He compresses this into a succinct formula: "A subject and an object — it takes so much to make the galvanic circuit complete..." (ES p. 46). Which means that subject and object are separate entities, but the concept of reality (the "galvanic circuit" of the metaphor) comprises both, neither being capable of having an independent reality. Experience, which is another word for knowledge, represents the interaction of the two. But in the final analysis the balance is tipped in favour of a doubly idealistic solution. The object (nature), which is the manifestation of spirit, acquires meaning, thus reality, when the subject (human consciousness) takes cognizance of it: "(t)hus inevitably does the universe wear our color" (ES p. 45).[39] Other people's experience should not fundamentally alter ours: "(i)t is a main lesson of wisdom to know your own from another's. I have learned that I cannot dispose of other people's facts; but I possess such a key to my own, as persuades me, against all their denials, that they also have a key to theirs" (ES p. 46). But, as has been declared earlier in the essay, and is consistent with the reasoning, the Final Cause, "this unbounded substance", is unknowable: "(t)he baffled intellect must still kneel before this cause, which refuses to be named, — ineffable cause, which every fine genius has essayed to represent by some symbol", such as water, air, thought, fire and love (ES p. 42).

Significant though the above arguments may be for the understanding of Emerson's epistemological and ontological concerns, from our point of view they acquire special relevance where they supply the basis for a description of life as it actually appears in the mind or, to use a more appropriate phrase, as it is mirrored in the consciousness. "Sensations and states of mind", that is, sensory perception and what it produces in the consciousness: moods, in another word, illusions — this is what life amounts to. "Dream delivers us to dream, and there is no end to illusion. Life is a train of moods like a string of beads, and, as we pass through them, they

prove to be many-colored lenses which paint the world their own hue, and each shows only what lies in its focus.... It depends on the mood of the man, whether he shall see the sunset or the fine poem.... Temperament is the iron wire on which the beads are strung" (ES p. 30). Or even more explicitly, by changing the metaphor: "(t)emperament also enters fully into the system of illusions, and shuts us in a prison of glass which we cannot see. There is an optical illusion about every person we meet.... Some modifications the moral sentiment avails to impose, but the individual texture holds its dominion..." (ES p. 31). Even later, in another form: "(w)e live amid surfaces, and the true art of life is to skate well on them" (ES p. 35). As Spiller notes, relativity and pragmatic acquiescence could hardly go further.[40]

If we see in this an anticipation of the modernist approach to reality, we are not wide of the mark. "Illusions", a far less complex work, corroborates all that "Experience" says about the nature of existence and of knowledge, although it does not deepen either. But then it throws out one hint which adds substantially to the meaning of the term illusion. When considering the very human need for some certainty in this "kingdom of illusions", his recommendation is that "(t)here is none but a strict and faithful dealing at home and a severe barring out of all duplicity or illusion there" (CL p. 322). This is no less than a call for the cultivation of "the simple and childish virtues of veracity and honesty", that is, Truth and Right — an intellectual and a moral concept. The full meaning of the two words can best be comprehended in the light of their opposites: "(a)t the top or at the bottom of all illusions, I set the cheat which still leads us to work and live for appearances" (CL p. 323). On the one hand we have the terms duplicity, illusions and cheat, on the other, veracity, honesty, Truth and Right. Illusions, then, can be eliminated in man's most private sphere. Home means being face to face with ourselves, not as social but as strictly private beings; and, as much of our life is spent in society, the chances of finding "stays and foundations" (CL p. 322) are very limited. The point of the argument is that illusions are a necessary and inevitable part of life in society, but are avoidable and indeed to be avoided in the private sphere. Hence the equation of illusion "at home" with duplicity and cheat. Illusion of this kind, which arises when we are not sincere with ourselves, is appearance, an unambiguously negative value.[41]

Does this in any way modify Emerson's view of evil? In my opinion it does not. There is a measure of agnosticism in his line of thought, but even

"working and living for appearances" falls short of suggesting that he has doubts about the confident description of the world he has been advancing. His formula for evil as "good in the making" is anticipated in the more categorical wording of "Experience": (s)aints are sad, because they behold sin... from the point of view of the conscience, and not of the intellect; a confusion of thought. Sin seen from the thought, is a diminution or less: seen from the conscience or will, it is pravity or bad. The intellect names it shade, absence of light, and no essence. The conscience must feel it as essence, essential evil. This it is not: it has an objective existence, but no subjective" (ES p. 45). Evil is thus dismissed as a concept produced by improper thinking, by a confusion of the intellectual and moral domains. Scepticism and agnosticism are attitudes of Emerson when he is "at home", that is, when he is at his most sincere: in the Journals. "The universe is like an infinite series of planes, each of which is a false bottom", reads an entry for the autumn of 1845 (J IX p. 295). This image, or something very like it, will also be used by Melville, but with different conclusions. "Fate" (1852, 1860) even opens with Melvillean images of cruelty and violence, death and disaster as constituting an all too conspicuous part of existence, which is essentially predatory in character: "(y)ou have just dined, and however scrupulously the slaughterhouse is concealed in the graceful distance of miles, there is complicity, expensive races, — race living at the expense of race" (CL p. 7). A little later, even more bluntly: "the forms of the shark, the labrus, the jaw of the sea-wolf paved with crushing teeth, the weapons of the grampus, and other warriors hidden in the sea, are hints of ferocity in the interiors of nature" (CL p. 8). Providence, which "has a wild, rough, incalculable road to its end", is designated "that terrific benefactor"; this is but a preamble to a review of the operations of Fate, where the conclusion, as always in Emerson, is acquiescence, much in the manner of St. Paul (and anticipating T.S. Eliot) in that it posits "that Law rules throughout existence... — it disdains words and passes understanding" (CL p. 49).

"Works and Days" (1857, 1870), in which the problem is given some attention again, fails to get beyond previous positions. While "Illusions" suggested that "stays and foundations" should be looked for "at home", this essay claims that illusions are in fact "stays and foundations", "(a)s if, in this gale of warring elements which life is, it was necessary to bind souls to human life as mariners in a tempest lash themselves to the mast and bulwarks of a ship, and Nature employed certain illusions as her ties and

straps..." (SS p. 172). When the mask falls ("seldom and slowly"), life turns out to be the same under the painted surface (SS p. 173).

Transcendentalist philosophy rests on the dualism of nature and spirit, which are separate entities, even though the former is only the manifestation of the latter. With the introduction of the illusion-reality dichotomy yet another dualism is created by Emerson. A third comes into use, although never to prominence, with the choice of the word appearances for illusions in one's own private life when that private life is subordinated to the exigencies of the public domain.

In his mature essays Emerson constantly hovers over the point of acknowledging the existence of evil as an objective fact of life, but when he has just skirted this possibility he swerves away from it and lapses into the confident mood that has characterized him from the beginning and is consistent with his original premises. He is a child of the nineteenth century: whatever ills may be produced by the evolution of the bourgeois order, he persuades himself (and his public) that those ills are transient by-products of an unfolding benevolent design, whose ultimate source is spiritual. Like his European contemporaries, he has an unshakeable faith in progress; there is, however, a time-lag between the Old World and the New; the new order in the former culminates much earlier than it does in America, where, for this reason, the conflict between progress and reaction is less painful. It is possible, and perhaps even justified, to accuse Emerson of blindness and even of callousness, but there is some evidence, admittedly very slight, that he did not remain fully optimistic. The very fact that he so often felt the need at least to try and come to terms with this problem points to some lingering or perhaps suppressed doubt. In some pertinent cases, as in the passages of "Fate" I have already cited, the most effective vehicle of the meaning is the imagery. "Race living at the expense of race", "the forms of the shark", "the jaw of the sea-wolf paved with crushing teeth" — all "hints of ferocity in the interiors of nature" -- reveal a mind deeply disturbed by a kind of evidence which it could not easily fit into the pattern of a benevolent universe. The sleight of hand by which all manifestations of evil, natural, personal as well as social, are transmuted into aspects of good is not convincing. This imagery, as I have argued, is like Melville's; at the same time, it anticipates Henry James's use of images in The Golden Bowl, a product of a similarly divided state of mind. This novel comes from the pen of a writer who, like the Concord philosopher, did not quite have the courage of his convictions. "Everything, cara, is terrible

in the heart of man", Prince Amerigo tells his young wife, as if by a slip of the tongue. This is all there is in the way of making explicit a very dark vision, and most of the work of conveying the author's awareness of horror is done by the imagery; in Stephen Spender's words: "beneath the stylistic surface, the portentous snoberry, the golden display of James's work, there lurk forms of violence and chaos....(B)eneath the stretched-out compositions there are abysses of despair and disbelief...."[42] What in fact I am saying is what Richard Poirier, for slightly different reasons, has only recently stressed: that there is no "unprecedented break in cultural continuity" between modernism and romanticism, or indeed between modernism and even earlier movements than romanticism as "the feelings associated with modernism... are, from an Emersonian perspective, part of the human condition itself".[43] It remains for the twentieth-century writer to allow to obtrude onto the surface all that is here submerged into almost inaccessible depths of the imagination. The only exception is Melville, but then this is exactly what makes him the great writer that he is.

Self-Reliance

Few of Emerson's concepts are as central and as controversial as self-reliance. It has been controversial from the very time he first propounded it in 1841 in the essay so named. Its popularity has been balanced by powerful criticism — sometimes oblique, more often direct. It is the acme of his version of individualism (all that he is going to write on this subject later will be only a restatement), which many have seen as a challenge to the romantic conventions within which American thought and literature were evolving. Very perceptively, Theodore Parker hailed Emerson as the incarnation of the virtue of self-reliance.[44] The essay was indeed conceived as a largely personal affair: Emerson was trying to clarify his place in an increasingly commercialized world.[45] Over the one and the half centuries, however, it has come to be read as a classic description of the American national character. Not surprisingly, those who are critical of the American ethos reject it; those who identify themselves with that ethos accord it a distinguished place in the history of ideas in America. Orestes A. Brownson called it immoral; Melville was fascinated as well as revolted by it as his own versions of the self-reliant man (Ahab, Pierre) show. Henry James also judged it impracticable and absurd, witness the tragedy of Isabel Archer.[46] Parrington's label for Emerson — "the apotheosis of individualism" —

suggests a hostile view of the divine sufficiency of the individual man, and thus of self-reliance.[47] Henry B. Parkes is unequivocally critical: Emerson's philosophy gave too much encouragement to the worst tendencies of the time, such as anarchical individualism, the unchecked pursuit of wealth, and contempt for public spirit.[48] His observation that Emerson's idea of self-reliance is only God-reliance is unobjectionable, but his damning conclusion that as a prophet of that doctrine Emerson contributed to the destruction of all moral standards, is not shared by most fellow-Emersonians.[49] Harold Bloom goes so far as to blame Emerson — more particularly the doctrine of self-reliance — for all that is obnoxious in present-day America, including "Reagan's large share of the Yuppie vote."[50] Most members of the scholarly community, however, treat the doctrine as a positive reaction to the commercialization and the vulgarity of America. For my own part, I can only anticipate: putting the blame on Emerson because he extolled the individual above all else is just as questionable as blaming Whitman ("Nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's self is") for the same.[51] Moreover, we have enough evidence that the cult of self-reliance and the glorification of individualism is a phase, a very significant one, in a long tradition which may be traced as far back as the first Puritan settlements in the wilderness.[52]

For good or for ill, the concept is subject to conflicting interpretations. My own proposition is that while I do not believe in unqualified acceptance of Emerson's stand on individualism, I see more in this and related concepts than the more critical analyses are willing to concede. It is obvious that far from contributing to the destruction of moral standards, as Parkes held, self-reliance was a defensive reaction for the preservation of moral standards in a society "wallowing in its wealth, yet grovelling for more, seeking only money".[53] It is true that Emerson makes a virtue of the individual's independence of society, but he also defines the kind of society he has in mind, and this should not be left out of account, either. "Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of everyone of its members. Society is a joint-stock company, in which the members agree for the better securing of his bread to each shareholder, to surrender the liberty and culture of the eater. The virtue in most request is conformity" (EE p. 29, emphasis added). The attack on property is made in the same spirit: "the reliance on Property, including the reliance on governments which protect it, is the want of self-reliance. Men have looked away from themselves and at things so long, that they have come to esteem the re-

ligious, learned, and civil institutions, as guards of property, and they deprecate assault on these, because they feel them to be assaults on property. They measure their esteem of each other, by what each man has, and not by what each is" (EF p. 49). With typical Emersonian inconsistency he offers as an example of the American variety of self-reliance "a sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont" who, having tried his hand at a series of jobs and occupations, eventually makes it and "buys a township" (EF p. 43). This only highlights what has already been noted: his divided attitude to America and the power of each of the contradictory impulses his thought received from the spectacle of rapid industrial and commercial expansion. But even at his most critical, Emerson, unlike Thoreau, does not advocate a complete rupture with society; self-reliance is unthinkable without a measure of isolation, but the isolation he envisages is elevation, that is, not mechanical, but spiritual. It requires courage and character, both of which are positive moral qualities, for "(i)t is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midts of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude" (EF p. 31). Somewhat later the terms become more explicit: "(t)he populace think that your rejection of popular standards is the rejection of all standard and mere antinomianism"; they are mistaken, as it is exactly by fulfilling our "round of duties" that we are enabled "to dispense with the popular code" (EF p. 42). Still, the concept as outlined above is far from democratic. We must not forget, however, that the democracy Emerson's great man is at odds with is the society of joint-stock companies and shareholders where conformity is the order of the day. There is no inherent enmity in this against democracy as such, nor against the idea of democracy. The parable of the sot and the duke in which the sot is treated like a prince (EF p. 36) embodies Emerson's vision of the actual and possible state of man; for the possible to become the actual "greater self-reliance must work a revolution in all the offices and relations of man" (EF p. 44). What he propagates here is, as an offshoot of Transcendentalism, consistent with the basic assumptions of his philosophy. Each man being the repository of the spirit, each man has to be awakened to his divinity and the whole world will change. A great society through individual salvation — an idea which in different forms will long outlive Transcendentalism and will transcend the frontiers of America. By a peculiar coincidence, in the very same year as "Self-Reliance" was published, Marx, in the Preface to his completed doctoral dissertation, defined the task of philosophy as the assertion of "man's self-consciousness as the highest divinity".[54]

"Uses of Great Men"

Self-reliance, although recognizably the adaptation to American conditions of the romantic idea of individual and society, was only one of several ways in which Emerson grappled with the problem. As he was in the habit of varying his terminology, often giving different names to the same things or very similar things, we may in good faith assume that hero, genius, representative man, which become central in the decade that follows "Self-Reliance", are different terms for more or less the same concept, and certainly different terms for the great man.[55] There is evolution in the Emersonian idea of the great man, and the different names suggest different emphases. In a way it is all a reaction -- rather ambivalent -- to Carlyle's On Heroes and Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History (1841), the sheets of which Carlyle sent to Emerson as they were leaving the press. Studies comparing the two philosophers often claim that the American remained faithful to the ideas of democracy while the Scotsman ended up with proposing the leader-principle. Carlyle, wrote Maeterlinck, "drives us into the profoundest depths of darkness, which he has discovered with joy, and where shines alone the intermittent and passionate star of heroes, and there he abandons us, with a mischievous laugh, to the vast reprisals of mysteries". Emerson on the other hand

> came for many just when he should have come, and just when they had extreme need of new explanations. Heroic hours are less apparent, those of abnegation have not yet returned; there remains to us only our daily life; and even then we are not able to live without greatness. He has given an almost acceptable meaning to this life which no longer has its traditional horizons, and perhaps he has been able to show to us that it is strange enough, profound enough, and great enough to have need of no other end than itself.[56]

Maeterlinck's characterization of Emerson's concept of greatness contains in a nutshell all that has recently been hailed as a radically new view of the matter. Sacvan Bercovitch's argument that the Emersonian hero differs from the chauvinist (that is, Carlyle's hero) by his romantic self-reliance, from the antinomian by his reliance on the national goal is essentially the same,[57] where the only objectionable point is the total rejection of the antinomian element in the concept. I already answered this question when I called attention to the contradictory impulses in Emerson, his revulsion at as well as acceptance of American democracy; the antinomian inspiration is there, particularly where the idea of self-reliance is concerned; later — and this is what I am going to address now — his concept

does indeed evolve into that of the great man who identifies himself with the national goal. It is Jeffrey Steele who places the problem in the philosophical frame that alone can assure coherence in the work of a thinker who looked upon inconsistency as an unmistakable sign of greatness. Emerson, writes Steele, sees through personality to a transcendent source beneath; Poe, Hawthorne, and Melville "view the self as an opaque mask that refracts social demands and unconscious impulses", consequently, the human face in their fiction is imagined as a disguise.[58] For Emerson, the outward world corresponds to the inward (just as nature is a true reflection of the spirit), hence his use, in his early writings, of instinct and spirit as synonyms.[59] To which I would add that the equation means not the degradation of spirit to the level of instinct, but the elevation of the latter to the position of the former. And as man is thus made out to be the same refraction of the spirit as the rest of the universe, the inevitable conclusion — which Emerson does not reach quickly and easily — is that the great man represents, more than do ordinary mortals, the power at work also in society.

For all this, Carlyle's influence was far-reaching, and Emerson — like Melville somewhat later — came within his sway. As is more than implied by Maeterlinck, he allocates a decisive role to the hero in human affairs, and indeed, in true idealistic (Transcendentalist) fashion Carlyle defines history as "the biography of great men",[60] meaning thereby that the prime mover of history is the outstanding individual who understands and obeys the will of God. Poet and Prophet — two of the six incarnations of the hero — have one thing in common: that both of them penetrate into the sacred mystery of the universe, into "the Divine Idea of the world". As the incarnations for different historical periods change only in form and not in substance, we have no reason to suppose that the other four — divinity, Priest, Man of Letters, King — are not endowed with similar powers. As Carlyle also saw the world in dichotomous terms — Nature, Reality, fact (vestures of spirit) on the one hand and Appearance, unreality, sham, shape, formula on the other[61] — penetrating into "the Divine Idea of the world" is no more and no less than penetrating through appearances and arriving at the realities or facts of life. Hence the importance attached to sincerity as "the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic"[62] and the only true sign of originality.[63] And to return to the starting position, the outstanding man as the prime mover of history, all social explosions in ancient and modern

times, including the French Revolution, teach the same lesson: that "(y)ou have put the too Unable man at the head of affairs".[64] The great man with special powers of penetration is of necessity a vehicle of the divine will, and, as very few of the race of man belong to that class, the rest of humanity, yielding to that "noble inborn loyalty" that cannot be destroyed, worship him. The hero thus exemplifies the workings of the leader-principle as well.[65]

Still, before we label Carlyle undemocratic, as has often been done, we should consider another of his definitions, according to which the hero is "the realized ideal of everybody" — something that will find its way into Emerson's speculations about the same problem. We should also consider the nature of Carlyle's critique of democracy. That critique was retrograde in that he was attacking a form or stage of social evolution which — less so in England than in the United States — had not yet reached the zenith of its development. What is more, the attack was made from a position associable with the values which the new order had destroyed; liberty and equality, electoral suffrages, independence were to Carlyle as so many appearances, and he could only hope that humanity, as always in the past, would return to fact (emphasis added). Yet this return will not be the end of hero-worship; instead of a world of isolated, lonely great men we shall have "a whole world of heroes".[66] Taking into account the definition, just cited, of the hero as "the realized ideal of everybody", the ideal society that Carlyle envisages is a familiar one of "greatly living individuals", the cherished ideal of the best minds in nineteenth-century America. If this is too abstract and theoretical, in Past and Present (1843) Carlyle considers at greater length the pragmatic aspects of such a development. This romantic critique of laissez-faire capitalism, so full of idealistic exhortations about the evils inherent in the system, strikes a peculiar note of hope at the end: the toiling millions of mankind will cast away democracy and their mock-superiors, and will establish government by real superiors (another name for the hero) whom they may find in the leaders of industry, captains of the world. The eulogy of this class comes rather abruptly after the derisive antecedents. The true fighters, Carlyle writes, are not the mediaeval knights (however successfully they may have idealized fighting), but the leaders of industry, "Fighters against Chaos, Necessity and the Devils and Jötuns, and lead on Mankind in that great, and alone true, and universal warfare".[67] Yet, to fulfil the mission that their historic position entails, they will have to obey the god-like stirrings in their hearts. "(I)f there

be no nobleness in them, there will never be an aristocracy more".[68] The naiveté of the appeal is somewhat tempered by the proposition that the employer will grant his workers permanent interest in his enterprise, turning it from a private into a collective concern; this, however, is no more than a feeble acknowledgment of the practicalities which stand in the way of realizing any such vision.

As has been anticipated, the hero is not a stable concept; there are at least three distinct phases in the evolution of the idea. The first of these is more or less conventionally romantic; the second and third bear easily identifiable Emersonian traits. These phases are also distinguished by terminology: genius, hero, great person (or man) are the terms commonly employed in the first two, respectively, while the most typically Emersonian image is conveyed by representative man. One's superficial impression, on considering the first phase, is that there is no fundamental difference between the ways in which Emerson and the romantic writers in general use these terms; there seems to be no difference, either, between his definition of the hero and Carlyle's. The essays throwing most light on the problem are "The American Scholar" and "Heroism", both of which belong to the year 1837 (the latter was delivered as a lecture in the winter of 1837-1838). Anticipating self-reliance, the quality most closely associable with heroism, is "self-trust" ("adhere to your own act") (EF pp. 149, 154). The hero appears larger than life; he may be unaware of his greatness, which does not mean, however, that "other souls are of one texture with it". Even more curiously, those "other souls", that is, ordinary people, "are content", according to the "American Scholar", "to be brushed like flies from the path of a great person" (NAL p. 65). But the romantic elevation of the hero to the status of demigod turns out to be a fairly implicit condemnation of the paltry present in which men are bugs, spawn, and exist in the mass and the herd. In such a situation the great man, of necessity, serves as an approximation "to the right state of every man" (NAL p. 65), which justifies both the servility and the pride. The legitimacy of what Carlyle was to call hero-worship is not yet called into question by Emerson, although his concept of the hero is almost identical with the Carlylean "realized ideal of everybody".

The second phase in the evolution of the concept is represented by such essays as "The Over-Soul" (1841) and "The Method of Nature" (1841). In this phase the anatomy of self — particularly in the latter essay — is even more emphatic. "When Nature has work to be done, she creates a genius to do it. Follow the great man, and you shall see what the world has at heart in

these ages." These lines clearly indicate that for Emerson, in contrast to Carlyle, history is not "the biography of great men." Not only because his great man represents "what the world has at heart in these ages", and not only because "what strikes us in the fine genius is that which belongs of right to everyone" (NAL p. 128), as this, like "(g)enius is its own end, and draws its means and the style of its architecture from within" (NAL p. 134), may still be no more than Emerson's peculiar wording for the hero as "the realized ideal of everybody". I do not mean to belittle the idealistic premises of Emerson's view of history, such as "all history (is) but the work of ideas" (NAL p. 134), but there is a very definite shift here from the earlier view of the relationship between the hero and ordinary people. Genius or the great man, as "The Over-Soul" demonstrates, is "more like, and not less like other men. There is in all great poets, a wisdom of humanity, which is superior to any talents they exercise. The author, the wit, the partisan, the fine gentleman, does not take the place of the man" (EF p. 170). So, whatever positive role the great man performs, he can only lead, but cannot by himself fulfil the task that history ("the work of ideas") has set. Anything lasting or grand was done not by any man "but all men: it was the prevalence and inundation of an idea" ("The Method of Nature", NAL p. 135). We may be puzzled by the substitution of "great poets" for "genius" or "great man", but there is no mystery here. Unless one accepted its commercial ethos, as Emerson repeatedly observed, it was by no means an easy matter to find outlets for action in his own time. And as he also associated heroism not only with action but also with thought and art ("there can be no scholar without the heroic mind", "The American Scholar" claims, NAL p. 59), the substitution of one class of men for the other was only natural. As early as "Nature", poet and philosopher (scholar) are classified as basically the same; they both animate nature with their own thought, differing only in their ends: the poet searches for beauty, the philosopher for truth (much in the manner of Keats's "Beauty is truth, truth beauty") (NAL p. 33). That more than disturbing subordination of ordinary human beings to the great person is missing from "Method"; in fact, anything approximating "hero-worship" is dismissed with outright condemnation. In his own way every man is a (potential) genius; "(w)hy then goest thou as some Boswell or listening worshipper to this saint or to that? That is the only lese-majesty" (NAL p. 129).

Representative Men (1850), a volume of six essays on the type so named, is based upon the lectures that Emerson delivered in 1845-46, a few years

after the publication of Heroes and Hero-Worship.[69] It is a response not only to Carlyle, but also to some of his earlier queries about the hero. It supersedes the earlier concept and proposes not merely a richer, but also a radically different view. Significantly, out of the six men chosen for demonstration (Plato, Swedenborg, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Napoleon and Goethe), only one, Napoleon, is a man of action; all the others are thinkers or writers, which suggests a shift in Emerson's sympathies towards the realm of ideas, or at least towards the life of contemplation. By this I do not mean that there are no individual differences between the five who represent the world of thought.[70] The more noteworthy change, however, is that the great man designated representative, unlike the hero, does not impose himself on others; he is indeed, as Spiller says, "the best representative of a man's vocation at the highest point of its development, one kind of humanity at its best."[71] Both self-reliance and heroism implied a considerable measure of antagonism between the individual and society; representative man is a product of its creator's increasing reconciliation with society.[72] The very title of the first chapter — "Uses of Great Men" — sets the direction of the argument: great men serve one or another purpose of history which — the idealist foundations are as firm as ever — is an unfolding of the divine will. The great man — or historical personality — concentrates in his own person the qualities common to all men, not because he wants to abuse, but because he wants to employ them to everybody's advantage. Plato is described as the great average man, "one who, to the best thinking, adds a proportion and equality in his faculties, so that men see in him their own dreams" (RM p. 61). This statement has a critical edge as well: the Greek philosopher, like the other five characters here included, reveals "only one way to try",[73] thus fails to achieve complete excellence in his own person. But there is a difference between the various exemplars of excellence, depending on where they reach for the ideal, whether in the world of thought and art or in action. Plato, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Swedenborg or Goethe stand for (attempted) perfection, which is inherent in human personality. What does Napoleon, the man of action, represent? Apparently, he represents the same. Napoleon became "the idol of common men because he had in transcendent degree the qualities and powers of common men" (RM p. 227). Earlier Emerson already used the word class with certain connotations; "common men" in this particular case are a class — the bourgeoisie — which "desires to keep open every avenue to the competition of all, and to multiply avenues: the class of business men in America, in England, in France and throughout

Europe; the class of industry and skill. Napoleon is its representative. The instinct of active, brave, able men, throughout the middle class everywhere, has pointed out Napoleon as the incarnate Democrat" (RM p. 224). Declared "no hero", Napoleon comes very close in this estimate to the Marxian concept of the great historical man or personality, who is shaped (and called on to act) by history, and who, in turn, shapes history. Yet he falls short of this ideal in that in his person he represents common aspirations (the gratification of certain tastes, cravings and ambitions), thus the emphasis is only indirectly on history and on the great man's historic mission: the consolidation of the positions of one particular class.

Yet Emerson is fully aware of what it means for the great — or common — man to be hemmed in by the conditions which constitute phases of history. Allusions to it occur in the essays of Representative Men, but we find a clearer and lucider explanation in "Fate" (1852), one of the essays in The Conduct of Life (1860). The historical character (or should we borrow Hegel's term, "world historical man"?) possesses, as was already implied in the previous book, qualities latent in all men, only he has them in a greater measure. But what interests Emerson now is the way in which the great man's historic mission is fulfilled. Undeniably, there is a touch of fatalism in his idea of history (which, considering the title, should not surprise us). History manifests itself as "a breath of will" which "blows eternally through the universe of souls in the direction of the Right and Necessary", implying irresistibility; we may either act in accordance with it, and our reward will be success, or we may fail to recognize the "direction of the Right and Necessary", and will be crushed by it (CL p. 27). It is in the light of this perception of history that the role of the great person should be interpreted. "Always one man more than another represents the will of Divine Providence to the period" (CL p. 28). Divine Providence is a friendly power, but "where they have not experience", men "run against it and hurt themselves. Fate then is a name for facts not yet passed under the fire of thought, for causes which are unpenetrated" (CL p. 31). This is in fact synonymous with "freedom is the consciousness of necessity", never mind the idealistic underpinnings. Fate is a name for causes which are unpenetrated: consequently, they can be penetrated, and indeed, "every jet of chaos which threatens to exterminate us is convertible by intellect into a wholesome force" (CL p. 32). The great man is he who understands what is and is not possible historically. (By implication, the tragic hero is he who attempts what historically is not yet possible.) Thus a certain intellectu-

ality is always inseparable from the historical or representative man, which explains why, for Emerson, artists and scholars are so eminently cast for the role.

Notes

Page numbers in the text refer to the following editions of Emerson's works:

NAL Nature, Addresses and Lectures. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1971. The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vol. I. Introduction and Notes by Robert A. Spiller. Text Established by Alfred R. Ferguson.

EF Essays: First Series. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1979. The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vol. II. Introduction and Notes by Joseph Slater. Text Established by Alfred R. Ferguson and Jean Ferguson Carr.

ES Essays: Second Series. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1983. The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vol. III. Historical Introduction and Notes by Josepht Slater. Text Established by Alfred R. Ferguson and Jean Ferguson Carr. Textual Introduction and Apparatus by Jean Ferguson Carr.

RM Representative Men. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903. Centenary Edition. The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vol. IV. With a Biographical Introduction and Notes by Edward Waldo Emerson and a General Index.

CL The Conduct of Life. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904. Centenary Edition. Vol. VI.

SS Society and Solitude. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904. Centenary Edition. Vol. VII.

M Miscellanies. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903-1904. Centenary Edition. Vol. XI.

NHI Natural History of Intellect. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904. Centenary Edition. Vol. XII.

J IX The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vol. IX. 1843-1847. Ed. Ralph H. Orth, Alfred R. Ferguson. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1971.

[1]Henry James, "Emerson" (1887), Selected Literary Criticism, ed. Morris Shapira (London: Heinemann, 1963) p. 81.

[2]The joint effect of Plato and Hindu philosophy on Emerson would alone deserve a longer study; all the more so as Emerson himself was well aware of the relationship of the two schools of thought and connected them, most explicitly in "Plato; or, the Philosopher" in Representative Men.

[3]American philosophers are probably indebted to their European contemporaries for the methodology of their inquiry; the advances they made in the application of dialectic is largely due to this influence. More about this problem can be found in Barry Wood, "The Growth of the Soul: Coleridge's Dialectical Method and the strategy of Emerson's Nature", PMLA 91.3 (May 1976) pp. 385-397.

[4]Orestes A. Brownson, "Two Articles from the Princeton Review", The Transcendentalists: An Anthology, ed. Perry Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1950), p. 243. This title of the articles was given by Miller.

[5]Some of the controversies the crisis precipitated are documented by Miller in The Transcendentalists; particularly relevant is the section on "Miracles", pp. 157-246.

[6]Cf. Robert Spiller, "The Four Faces of Emerson", Four Makers of the American Mind: Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, and Melville, ed. Thomas Edward Crawley (Durham, N.C.: Durham Univ. Press, 1976) p. 4.

[7]A point made by Henry B. Parkes in "Emerson" (1941), Emerson: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Milton R. Konvitz and Stephen E. Whicher (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1962) p. 124.

[8]"Modern psychology offers no similar example of a deranged balance. The principal powers continued to maintain a healthy action, and to a reader who can make due allowance in the report for the reporter's peculiarities, the results are still instructive, and a more striking testimony to the sublime laws he announced than any that balanced dulness could afford" RM p. 119. The norm by which Emerson assessed Swedenborg seems to have been his own essentially healthy nature.

[9]Sampson Reed, "Observations on the Growth of the Mind" (1826), The Transcendentalists p. 54.

[10]It is worth noting that Emerson, while lashing out against historical Christianity, is occasionally aware of a decline, rather than of a transformation, of religion: "The Puritans... found in the Christ of the Catholic Church, and in the dogmas inherited from Rome, scope for their austere piety, and their longing for civil freedom. But their creed is passing away, and none arises in its room" NAL p. 88.

[11]Cf. Theodore Parker, "A Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity" (1841), The Transcendentalists pp. 267-69; the piece was originally a sermon.

[12]Lawrence Buell, Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1973) p. 116.

[13]Brownson, "Two Articles...", The Transcendentalists p. 243.

[14]This connection is made by Joel Porte in Representative Man: Ralph Waldo Emerson in His Time (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979) pp. 99-103; further evidence of the antinomian legacy is supplied by the sermons; the spirit of rebellion that the antinomian "heresy" represented was fascinating to Emerson despite the fact that he was imbued with the basic values of Puritanism as well; for details see Wesley T. Mott, "Emerson and Antinomianism: The Legacy of the Sermons", American Literature 50.3 (Nov. 1978) pp. 369-97.

[15]Sacvan Bercovitch, "Emerson the Prophet: Romanticism, Puritanism and Auto-American Biography", Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1985) p. 33.

[16]Bercovitch, "Emerson the Prophet..." p. 38.

[17]For this see Elizabeth A. Meese, "Transcendentalism: The Metaphysics of the Theme", American Literature 47.3 (March 1975) pp. 1-20.

[18]A very clear indication of how Coleridge saw the relationship between

spirit and nature is to be found in "The Destiny of Nations":

For all that meets the bodily sense I deem
Symbolical, one mighty alphabet
For infant minds; and we in this low world
Placed with our backs to bright reality
That we may learn with young unwounded ken
The substance from its shadow.

"Shadow", as opposed to "substance", suggests negative associations, which is not the case with Emerson's version of the duality.

[19]Samuel Osgood, "Emerson's Nature", The Transcendentalists p. 165.

[20]Cf. J. Shawcross's "Introduction" to his edition of Biographia Literaria (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1907) p. xlviii.

[21]Shawcross, "Introduction", p. xli.

[22]Van Wyck Brooks, America's Coming-of-Age (New York: Huebsch, 1951) pp. 3-8.

[23]George Santayana, "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy" (1913), The Genteel Tradition: Nine Essays by George Santayana, ed. Douglas L. Wilson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967) pp. 38-44.

[24]George Santayana, "Emerson" (1900), Emerson: A Collection of Critical Essays p. 32.

[25]Orestes A. Brownson, "New Views of Christianity, Society, and the Church" (1836), The Transcendentalists pp. 117-18.

[26]Brownson, "New Views" p. 121.

[27]Theodore Parker, "A Sermon of Merchants" (1846), The Transcendentalists pp. 449-57.

[28]Larzer Ziff takes this position in Literary Democracy (New York: The Viking Press, 1981) p. 27.

[29]Santayana, "The Genteel Tradition at Bay" (1931), The Genteel Tradition: Nine Essays... p. 194.

[30]Daniel Aaron, "Emerson and the Progressive Tradition", Emerson: A Collection of Critical Essays pp. 91-92.

[31]But then Emerson also admitted that the law of compensation did not work perfectly, as there was no compensation, for instance, for the victim of a murder. This observation is made by Frederic I. Carpenter in his Ralph Waldo Emerson: Representative Selections (New York: American Book Company, 1934) p. 445.

[32]James, "Emerson", p. 71.

[33]James, "Emerson" p. 85.

[34]Mentioned by F. O. Matthiessen in his American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman (1941; London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968) p. 181.

[35]Santayana, "Emerson" p. 37.

[36]Some of the more relevant discussions of the question are to be found in Newton Arvin, "The House of Pain: Emerson and the Tragic Sense" (1959), reprinted as "The House of Pain" in Emerson: A Collection of Critical Essays; Joel Porte, Representative Man: Ralph Waldo Emerson in His Time; Stephen E. Whicher, "Introduction" to his Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson: An Organic Anthology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960); Eric Cheyfitz, "Foreword"

to Maurice Gonnaud's An Uneasy Solitude: Individual and Society in the Work of Ralph Waldo Emerson (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1987; original publication in French, 1964) pp. vii-xxv; Irving Howe, The American Newness: Culture and Politics in the Age of Emerson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Unio.Press, 1986).

[37]Emerson lamented the death of Waldo in one of his most powerful poems, "Threnody" (1846), but, characteristically, this personal grief, according to the poem, was relieved by his awareness of God's benevolent scheme.

[38]Arvin, "The House of Pain" p. 50.

[39]On this see Frederic I. Carpenter's "Introduction" to his Ralph Waldo Emerson pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

[40]Spiller, "The Four Faces of Emerson" p. 19.

[41]As a matter of interest it is worth noting that the word appearance is used in this sense, too, in "Self-Reliance".

[42]Stephen Spender, "The Golden Bowl" (1936), The Question of Henry James, ed. F.W. Dupee (London: Alan Wingate, 1947) p. 252.

[43]Richard Poirier, The Renewal of Literature: Emersonian Reflections (New York: Random House, 1987) pp. 96-97.

[44]Theodore Parker, "The Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson" (1850), The Transcendentalists p. 420.

[45]See Whicher's editorial note to his Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson p. 481.

[46]On Brownson and Emerson see T.L. Morozova, "Uchenie Emersona o 'doverii k sebe' i problema individualizma v amerikanskoy obschestvennoy i duchovnoy zhizni", Romanticheskie traditsii amerikanskoy literatury XIX veka i sovremmennost, ed. Ja.N. Zassursky, A.M. Zverev, T.L. Morozova (Moskva: Izdatelstvo "Nauka", 1982) p. 145; the question of James and self-reliance is discussed at somewhat greater length in my "Utószó" (Afterword) to the Hungarian translation of The Portrait of a Lady -- Egy hölgy arcképe (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1985) II: pp. 307-11.

[47]Vernon Louis Parrington, The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860 (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1927) p. 390.

[48]Parkes, "Emerson" p. 134.

[49]Parkes, "Emerson" p. 134.

[50]Harold Bloom, "Mr. America", a review of John McAleer's Ralph Waldo Emerson: Days of Encounter, The New York Review of Books 31.18 (November 22, 1984) p. 19.

[51]As does Buell in Literary Transcendentalism p. 263.

[52]See Morozova, "Uchenie Emersona o 'doverii k sebe'..." pp. 101-159.

[53]Parker, "The Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson" p. 420.

[54]Karl Marx, "Preface" to his doctoral dissertatation The Difference between Democritus' and Epicurus' Philosophy of Nature, cited by S.S. Prawer in Karl Marx and World Literature (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967) pp. 262-63.

[55]One of the peculiarities of the fate of this concept is that its gradual democratization, apparent in the way it changes its meaning in

Emerson, is halted and reversed by Nietzsche, whose Übermensch represents a return to the most extremely aristocratic notions of the high romantic mode. Nietzsche, as is well known, influenced both Yeats and Shaw, and possibly Joyce, in shaping their imaginative alteregos (as for instance the Irish airman, Saint Joan, Stephen Dedalus). Which only highlights the fact that whatever progress there is in art, it is seldom straight, and more often crooked.

[56]Maurice Maeterlinck, On Emerson and Other Essays: Three Transcendental Thinkers, Emerson, Novalis, Ruysbroeck, trans. Montrose J. Moses (1912; Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1967) pp. 45-46.

[57]Bercovitch, "Emerson the Prophet..." pp. 38-39.

[58]Jeffrey Steele, The Representation of the Self in the American Renaissance (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1987) p. 2.

[59]Steele, The Representation pp. 24-25, 39.

[60]Thomas Carlyle, On Heroes and Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History (1841), Sartor Resartus, Heroes and Hero-Worship, Past and Present (London: George Routledge and Sons, n.d.) p. 28.

[61]Carlyle uses these terms in Sartor Resartus (1833-34), The French Revolution (1837), Heroes and Hero-Worship, Past and Present (1843).

[62]Carlyle, Heroes and Hero-Worship p. 43.

[63]Carlyle, Heroes and Hero-Worship p. 104.

[64]Carlyle, Heroes... p. 160.

[65]Carlyle, Heroes... p. 18.

[66]Carlyle, Heroes... p. 105.

[67]Carlyle, Past and Present p. 203.

[68]Carlyle, Past and Present p. 203.

[69]Cf. Spiller, "The Four Faces of Emerson" p. 19.

[70]On Emerson's representative men Spiller writes that "each revealed only one way to try and thereby offered a possible answer to the question of how to live in the real world while reaching for the ideal. Emerson was now fully engaged in his quest for an alternative to self-reliance", "The Four Faces of Emerson" p. 20.

[71]Spiller, "The Four Faces..." p. 20.

[72]On this question see Gustaaf Van Cromphout, "Emerson and the Dialectics of History", PMLA 91.1 (January 1976) pp. 54-66.

[73]Spiller, "The Four Faces..." p. 20.

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DER WEG DURCH DIE WÜSTE - THEODOR FONTANES DRAMENTHEORIE

Gábor Kerekes

Szeged

Theodor Fontane ist in erster Linie als Romancier des deutschen poetischen Realismus bekannt, so dass der Hinweis auf eine Dramentheorie Fontanes zunächst etwas überraschen mag. Zugleich wäre er nicht der einzige Prosaschriftsteller von Rang, der — bevor er in der Epik seine eigentliche Heimat fand — auch mit der Dramatik geliebäugelt hatte, man denke z.B. nur an Balzac. Problematisch ist bei Fontane, dass er seine Theorien, ganz gleich ob es sich um Epik, Dramatik, Lyrik oder andere Gattungen der Kunst als die der Literatur handelte, in keiner zusammenhängenden grösseren Abhandlung oder Studie zusammenfasste. Paul Heyses sicherlich arroganten Vorwürfe, Fontane wittere "im Erhabenen stets etwas wie Pose", sei begrenzt und dem "Gemeinen" verhaftet, sind bei allen Vorbehalten, die man heute beim Lesen dieser Meinung empfindet, nicht ganz unbegründet, da es in der Tat zahlreiche Themen gab, die Fontane nicht oder in verschiedenen seiner Werke und Briefe nur sehr kurz anschnitt und behandelte, so dass der Eindruck, er sei kein "philosophischer Kopf", durchaus entstehen konnte.[1] Ob es sich dabei tatsächlich um Unverständnis handelte oder einfach nur darum, dass Fontane das Thema nicht erörtern wollte, weil er etwa die Erörterung als "ungehörig" oder das Thema als zu pathetisch empfand, muss jeweils von Fall zu Fall entschieden werden.[2]

Eine "Dramentheorie" Fontanes ist aus seinen Briefen, den Theaterrezensionen, den theoretischen Schriften und seinem Prosawerk rekonstruierbar, wobei — selbstverständlich — als massgebliche Quelle die Theaterkritiken dienen, die er im Vierteljahrhundert von 1870 bis 1894 als gewissenhafter Rezensent der "Vossischen Zeitung" verfasste.

So erstaunlich eine Beschäftigung Fontanes mit dem Theater auf den ersten Blick auch erscheinen mag, so handelt es sich bei ihm nicht um den einzigen deutschen Nichtdramatiker, der sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, also sagen wir von 1848 bis zum Auftreten Ibsens und der Naturalisten auf den deutschen Bühnen intensiv mit der Gattung des Dramas auseinandersetzte. Schon allein die Aufzählung der Namen und Werke, in denen damals intensiv über das Drama nachgedacht wurde, ist imposant: Robert Prutz

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

"Das Drama der Gegenwart" (1851); Rudolf Gottschall "Das neue deutsche Drama" (1852); Hermann Hettner "Das moderne Drama" (1852); Friedrich Theodor Vischer "Ästhetik oder Wissenschaft des Schönen, Band III." (1857); Rudolf Gottschall "Poetik. Die Dichtkunst und ihre Technik" (1858); Adolf Stahr "Aristoteles und die Wirkung der Tragödie" (1859); Eduard von Hartmann "Aphorismen über das Drama" (1870); Friedrich Nietzsche "Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik" (1871); Johannes Prölss "Geschichte des neueren Dramas" (1880-83) — um nur Kunsttheoretiker zu nennen. Doch auch Autoren mit Bühnenpraxis veröffentlichten ihre Überlegungen, so etwa Richard Wagner ("Über moderne dramatische Dichtkunst", 1851), Joseph Eichendorff ("Zur Geschichte des Dramas", 1854), Ferdinand Lassalle (Vorwort zu "Sickingen", 1859), Gustav Freytag ("Die Technik des Dramas", 1863) sowie Otto Ludwig ("Shakespeare-Studien", 1872), um von den Äusserungen Hebbels und Grillparzers ganz zu schweigen.

Abgesehen von den beiden letztgenannten Dramatikern kann man noch Nestroys Namen erwähnen und damit sind dann alle Bühnenautoren genannt, die in dem oben bereits genannten Zeitraum Originalität für sich in Anspruch nehmen können. Dafür sind die angeführten Namen der Theoretiker des Realismus um so beeindruckender: Prutz war zeitweilig Redakteur der Zeitschrift "Deutsches Museum", die ebenso wie die Zeitschriften "Blätter für die literarischen Unterhaltung" (Gottschall als Redakteur) und "Die Grenzboten" (Freytag als Redakteur) sich um die Erarbeitung der Grundsätze einer realistischen Kunst bemühten. Hettner gehört mit Danzel und Gervinus zu den Schöpfern der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland, war Briefpartner Kellers, und Vischer, die unbestrittene Autorität unter den deutschen Literaturtheoretikern nach 1848, kann in seiner Bedeutung gar nicht überschätzt werden. Mit Ludwig und Freytag haben wir es nicht nur mit Literaturtheoretikern zu tun, sondern auch mit Autoren, die sowohl Prosawerke schufen als auch über Bühnenpraxis verfügten.

Der Umfang der Beschäftigung mit dem Theater in jener Zeit ist — im Vergleich zu den auch heute noch als wertvoll angesehenen Bühnenwerken, die damals entstanden waren — erstaunlich gross. (Während die damalige intensive Auseinandersetzung mit der Gattung der Novelle heute — angesichts der bedeutenden Schöpfungen des deutschen Realismus im Genre der Novelle — als durchaus plausibel erscheint.) Sicherlich hat hierbei auch die tradierte Vorstellung, die schliesslich zum Diktum erstarren sollte, vom Drama als der "höchste(n) Stufe der Poesie und der Kunst überhaupt" (wie es u.a. Hegel zusammenfasste) eine Rolle gespielt.[3] Dies führte u.a. auch dazu, dass der als

etwas "anrüchig" geltende Roman durch seine angebliche Nähe zum Drama (Hettner) bzw. als Nachfolger des Epos im modernen bürgerlichen Zeitalter(Vischer) legitimiert werden sollte. Aber nicht nur die frühen Realisten wie etwa Ludwig bemühten sich — vergeblich — um eine Erneuerung des Dramas, sondern selbst Autoren des späten Realismus gingen immer wieder vom Drama und vom Epos aus, man denke nur z.B. an C.F. Meyer, der seine Novelle "Der Heilige" (1879/80 in der "Deutschen Rundschau") zunächst als Drama konzipiert und an Keller, der sein "Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe" zuerst als Versdichtung zu verarbeiten versucht hatte.

Trotz dieser intensiven Beschäftigung der deutschen Realisten mit dem Drama können zwei Dinge eindeutig festgestellt werden: das Verdienst des Realismus ist in erster Linie die poetische Rehabilitierung der Romanform, jedoch versagte der Realismus auf dem Gebiet des Dramas völlig. Es gibt nichts, das der deutsche Realismus zu dem modernen deutschen Drama beigetragen hätte, vielmehr stellt die Epoche zwischen Hebbel und dem Auftreten der Naturalisten einen Tiefpunkt in der Geschichte des deutschen Theaters im 19. Jahrhundert dar.

In Fontanes Äusserungen zum Theater, zu verschiedenen Epochen der Dramenkunst, zu sowohl allgemeinen Fragen des Kunstschaffens als auch bis hin zu den ganz banalsten Problemen der Schauspielkunst, des Spiels der Schauspieler zeichnet sich eine festumrissene Dramentheorie des deutschen Realismus ab, die zugleich die Unsicherheit der Realisten im Umgang mit dem Drama mit all ihren Widersprüchlichkeiten zeigt.

Zunächst müssen wir aber noch erwähnen, dass Fontane selbst 1848/49 an einem Drama gearbeitet hatte, das den Titel "Karl Stuart" tragen sollte, jedoch unvollendet blieb.[4] Zwei Szenen daraus trug er am 21. Oktober 1849 in Berlin im literarischen Verein "Tunnel über der Spree", dessen Mitglied Fontane war und an den er sich auch später noch gern erinnerte, vor. Der Verein sollte sich, nach den Intentionen des Gründers Moritz Gottlieb Saphir, den Fontane selbst persönlich nicht kennenlernte, "alle religiöse, politische und finanzielle Tendenz ausschliessend, sich bloss mit humoristisch-literarischen Arbeiten beschäftigen".[5] Und dieser Grundsatz besass 22 Jahre nach der Gründung des Vereins, als Fontane die beiden Szenen vorlas, noch durchaus Geltung. Deshalb konnte es auch nicht weiter verwunderlich sein, dass der Dramenentwurf auf wenig Gegenliebe stiess. "Was dem Journalisten frommen mag, steht unter dem Dichter. Er diene der Kunst, nicht der Partei!", warf ihm damals das angesehene Tunnel-Mitglied Wilhelm von Merckel vor,[6] denn Fontane hatte unverkennbar ein Tendenzstück in Vorbereitung. Das das

Schicksal des 1649 hingerichteten englischen Königs Karl Stuart nachzeichnenden Drama behandelte eigentlich zeitgemässe deutsche Probleme und die Titelgestalt trug Züge Friedrich Wilhelms IV. von Preussen. Den Grund dafür, dass das Werk unvollendet geblieben ist, muss man wohl darin suchen, dass sein geplantes Lehrstück über England und darüber, "warum die englische Luft des Jahres 1640 revolutionsschwanger war",[7] durch die Ereignisse und Entwicklungen in Deutschland überholt worden war, weder sein Ansatz noch seine Absichten im Deutschland nach 1848/49 noch aktuell waren. Man kann zwar den Grund für den Abbruch der weiteren Arbeit am Stück sicherlich nicht nur formalen künstlerischen Problemen zuschreiben, doch ist auch Tatsache, dass Fontane selber — bis auf eine zu seinen Lebzeiten nich publizierte Hamlet-Übersetzung und eine von ihm später erwähnte Übersetzung des "Sommernachtstraumes"[8] — nie mehr Hand an ein Stück legen sollte.

Fontanes Ansichten über das Kunstschaffen und die Kunst an sich wandelten sich im Laufe der Jahre. Befand er sich mit einzelnen Formulierungen seines Aufsatzes "Unsere lyrische und epische Poesie seit 1848" aus dem Jahre 1853 noch ideell an der Seite der "Grenzboten", so stand er mit seinem späten Prosawerk in krassem Gegensatz zu den Programmrealisten à la Freytag, Auerbach und Ludwig, denn empirische Psychologie und kritische Darstellung waren dem frühen Realismus, der nicht die gesellschaftliche Realität wiederzugeben versuchte, sondern vielmehr das Bild, das sich das liberale Bürgertum nach 1848 von der Realität machte, so gut wie vollständig fremd.

Die wichtigste Wandlung vollzog sich in Fontanes Ansichten in der Grundfrage, was denn überhaupt darstellungswürdig sie. So schrieb er 1853, im gleichen Jahr als Stifters "Vorrede zu Bunte Steine" erschien, über den Realismus:

> Vor allen Dingen verstehen wir nicht darunter das nackte Wiedergeben alltäglichen Lebens, am wenigsten seines Elends und seiner Schattenseiten. Traurig genug, dass es nötig ist, derlei sich von selbst verstehende Dinge noch erst versichern zu müssen. Aber es ist noch nicht allzu lange her, dass man (namentlich in der Malerei) Misere mit Realismus verwechselte und bei Darstellung eines sterbenden Proletariers, den hungernde Kinder umstehen, (...) sich einbildete, der Kunst eine glänzende Richtung vorgezeichnet zu haben. Diese Richtung verhält sich zum echten Realismus wie das rohe Erz zum Metall: die Läuterung fehlt.[9]

Diese Grundhaltung klingt aus vielen Rezensionen und Bemerkungen Fontanes heraus. Einem Stück Paul Heyses warf er vor: "Von wirklicher Kunst, deren Aufgabe darin besteht, verklärtes, aber nicht verzerrtes Leben darzustellen, kann dabei (...) nicht die Rede sein."[10] Schönheit führt Fontane immer wieder als ein hohes Kunstgesetz an, die man in Kleists "Prinz von Homburg" vergeblich sucht:

Unter allen Gestalten, die ich kenne, erinnert dieser Prinz zumeist an den Grafen Arthur in Hermann Grimms "Unüberwindlichen Mächten". Ich glaube, dass es solche Arthurs gibt; und solche Prinzen von Hessen-Homburg gibt es wenigstens beinah (einzelne Situationen halt ich für absolut unmöglich), aber sie interessieren mich nicht und dürfen überhaupt keinen gesund empfindenden Menschen interessieren. Es sind eitle, krankhafte, prätentiöse Waschlappen, aber keine Helden; Kerle, die in Familie, bürgerlicher Gesellschaft, staatlichem Leben immer nur Unheil gestiftet haben und die immer nur in kranker Zeit oder von kranken Gemütern gefeiert worden sind.

Ein Prinz, ein Reiterführer, ein Held — wenn das Vaterland einem übermächtigen Feinde gegenübersteht, der 50 Jahre lang Europa mit seinem Kriegsruhme gefüllt hat, und der nächste Tag die blutige Entscheidung bringen soll — ein solcher Prinz und Held knüpft die Ohren auf, wenn der Feldmarschall die Dispositionen für den Angriff gibt, und steht nicht schlafwandelnd, geistesabwesend daneben, bloss weil eine Prinzessin, für die er eine Neigung empfindet, in der Nähe steht und einen verlorengegangenen Handschuh sucht. Ich halte solche Situation, zur Ehre der Menschheit, überhaupt kaum für möglich; ist sie aber möglich, so gehört sie in das Zeitalter der Sardanapale, der entnervten Tyrannen alter und neuer Zeit, aber nicht nach Kurbrandenburg, und unter allen Umständen hört ein solches unwürdiges Mitglied der menschlichen Gesellschaft auf, mir irgendwelches Interesse einzuflössen.

Er ist ein Schürzenjäger, aber kein Held; eine in kleinster Selbstsucht befangene Natur, die kein Gefühl hat für das Grosse und Allgemeine, dem für die nächsten 24 Stunden jeder Blutstropfen gehört.

Und nun im weiteren Verlauf! Er hat gegen den Befehl gehandelt, er ist vor ein Kriegsgericht gestellt worden, er ist zum Tode verurteilt. Der Kurfürst hat es bestätigt. Welche Stimmungen nun! Erst leichtfertig drüber hin; die Sache erscheint ihm als eine Komödie, während ein Kriegsoberst wissen muss, dass ein Kriegsgericht immer eine verteufelt ernsthafte Sache bleibt. Endlich setzt sich vor der Nähe des Todes, ja er erklärt: "Verheiratet die Prinzessin, an wen ihr wollt; nur leben, leben."

Ich halte dies für doppelt verwerflich. Diese Jammerstimmung, selbst wenn sie mit der Heldenschaft vereinbar wäre, gehört nie und nimmer auf die Bühne, es wirkt direkt hässlich; aber diese Jammerstimmung ist nicht mit der Heldenschaft vereinbar, sie ist unwahr. Pflicht, Ehre, Gewissen bekämpfen in jeder edleren Natur die an- und eingeborene Liebe zum Leben und bekämpfen sie siegreich. Die Schwäche beschleicht das Herz, aber sie wird niedergekämpft und ein Ausdruck in Worten wird ihr nicht gestattet. Ein Prinz und Held und Reiteroberst kann so nicht sprechen, hat er aber so gesprochen, so ist Vergessenheit das Beste, was ihm widerfahren kann. Die Schaustellung solcher Kleinheit und Misere, in Gestalten, die erheben sollen, gehört nicht in die Kunst.[11]

Schönheit, Verklärung, zugleich aber Beachtung der Wirklichkeit forderte Fontane von der Kunst. Die poetische Verklärung der Wirklichkeit, die als Begriff auch bei Stifter, Keller, Storm und Raabe vorhanden ist, meint so auch kein Verschönern oder Verschleiern der Realität, sondern ist die Voraussetzung für die Eigenständigkeit der durch die Kunst geschaffenen Wirklichkeit.

Acht Jahre später räumt Fontane dann schon ein: "Es kann alles wahr

sein, und schiesst doch vorbei. Jedes Stück, das etwas Berechtigtes oder auch nur Zulässiges will, und mich durch seine Situationen und Charaktere von Anfang bis zu Ende fesseln weiss, ist in meinen Augen ein gutes Stück. Ich will nichts gegen das ästhetische Gesetz sagen, aber wichtiger ist das in unserer Brust."[12] Die Intention und Aussage des Stückes, wenn diese berechtigt und wahr ist, erhebt Fontane also über formale Gesichtspunkte. Am Ende dieses Umdenkens steht dann die bemerkenswerte Erkenntnis des damals 69jährigen, artikuliert in seiner Besprechung von Ibsens "Wildente":

> Das Gebäude der überkommenen Ästhetik kracht in allen Fugen, und auch von ihrer grossen Mittelsäule darf gesagt werden: "auch diese schon geborsten etc" — Es ist wahr, ein Stück wie die "Wildente" entlässt uns ohne Erhebung; aber muss es denn durchaus Erhebung sein? Und wenn es Erhebung sein muss, muss sie den alten Stempel tragen? Sind nicht andere Erhebungen möglich? Liegt nicht — des erschütternden Waltensehens unerforschlicher Schicksalsmächte ganz zu geschweigen — liegt nicht auch in der Unterwerfung eine Erhebung? Ist nicht auch Resignation ein Sieg? Und wenn das alles verneint werden sollte, haben wir in diesem Stücke nur ein Niederdrückendes? wird nur Menschenelend demonstriert und nur Verzicht auf Freud' und Glück in den Vordergrund des Daseins gestellt? Bei längerer Betrachtung jedenfalls weniger, als es auf den ersten Blick erscheint.[13]

Dementsprechend ist auch eine Wandlung in Fontanes Einstellung gegenüber den klassischen Werken des Theaters und den Werken, die den traditionellen ästhetischen Anforderungen entsprachen, zu beobachten. War für ihn die Egmont-Gestalt zunächst "einfach ein Greul, eine historischen Sünde",[14] da Goethe nicht nur von der historischen Wahrheit abgewichen war, sondern die Hauptgestalt für seinen Geschmack zu herausragend gestaltet hatte ("Liebhaber, Fürst, Held. Wer hat das alles?! Er muss sogar einen langen Hals haben."), so argumentierte der Realist Fontane 7 Jahre später über Byrons sicherlich erheblich "wirklichkeitsfremderen" "Manfred":

> Mit der Schul-Elle, mit der Frage, ob alles stimmt und ob das Exempel aufgeht, an eine Dichtung wie diese herantreten zu wollen, in der in genialer Einseitigkeit dem Rätsel des Daseins nachgespürt und die mutmassliche Wirklichkeit der Dinge von der durch Macht und Last der Jahre ehrwürdig gewordenen Phrase geschieden wird, ist ridikül. Es gibt poetischen Schöpfungen wie dieser gegenüber nur ein Kriterium: ergriff es mich? trug es mich durch alle Höhen und tiefen? gab es mir Versöhnung?[15]

(Allerdings kann auch nicht übersehen werden, dass sich Fontane nichtmimetischen, deshalb dem programmrealistischen Kunstverständnis eher fremden Stücken angelsächsischen Ursprungs, d.h. in erster Linie Shakespeares, viel offener zeigte als etwa denen aus der Feder deutscher Autoren, was sicherlich auf den tiefen Eindruck seines Englandaufenthaltes zurückzuführen ist.)

Zugleich muss man Fontane hoch anrechnen, dass er sich nicht nur seines Umdenkens bewusst war, sondern seine Meinungsänderung auch zur Sprache brachte. Auf seine 1878er Rezension einer Aufführung von Grillparzers "Der Traum ein Leben" nahm er 1884 in seiner Rezension der erneuten Aufführung des Stückes bezug:

> Der Kern des Stückes ist, wie angedeutet, nur ein Traum, was mich bei früherer Gelegenheit aussprechen liess, "die dramatische Wirkung verliere durch die Vorstellung von der Unwirklichkeit des sich vor unseren Augen vollziehenden". Ich sagte damals: "dass dies alles nur Traum ist, ist ein Übelstand. In dem Augenblicke, wo wir uns zu Hass oder Liebe hingerissen fühlen, erinnern wir uns oder werden daran erinnert, dass die 'ganze Fülle der Gesichte' eben nur als Schemen anzusehen sind. Das beeinträchtigt aber den Effekt. Der Macbeth ist auch eine Ehrgeiz-Tragödie. Und denke man sich den ganzen Macbeth geträumt. Die Hexen und Banquo und die nachtwandelnde Lady wären von dem Augenblick an nur noch halb sie selbst."
>
> So damals. Ich stelle mich heut einigermassen anders zu der Frage. Die Wirklichkeit spricht von der Bühne her überhaupt nicht zu uns, sondern nur ihr Schein, und ob dieser Schein das Widerbild von Leben oder Traum ist, ist ziemlich gleichgiltig. Nicht die Genesis des "schönen Scheins" ist das Entscheidende, sondern sein Kolorit, seine Leuchtkraft, und nicht auf die Zwischenstufen seiner Entwickelung kommt es an, sondern auf die Intensität seiner selbst. Es gibt weniges, was so rührt und erheitert, so hinnimmt und entzückt wie gute Märchen, und doch ist es eine erdichtete Welt oder was dasselbe sagen will, eine Traumwelt, in die das Märchen uns einführt.[16]

Eine dritte Wandlung vollzog sich in seiner Meinung über das seichte Lustspiel, dem er zuerst jegliche Daseinsberechtigung auf der Bühne abgesprochen hatte, es "nur ein Vergnügen für Kinder und für jene oberen Theater-Schichten, die in aesteticis ewig Kinder bleiben werden"[17] nannte, später aber durchaus seine Existenzberechtigung zugestand:

> Es ist bare Philisterei, sich diesen Sachen gegenüber die Frage vorzulegen: ob das sein kann? ob das alles stimmt? oder wohl gar, ob die höheren Gesetze der Kunst innegehalten seien oder nicht? Der Dichter, wenn wir ihn so nennen dürfen, will uns einige Kunststücke vormachen und uns dadurch unterhalten. Das ist alles. Er schlägt die Volte mit einer unglaublichen Geschicklichkeit, schiesst die Treff Sieben aus der Pistole und nimmt die grosse Glasvase mit Goldfischen aus der Bildermappe. Man lacht und staunt. Und der einigermassen Eingeweihte staunt am meisten, deshalb am meisten, weil er besser als das Publikum, das sein Vergnügen als selbstverständlich hinnimmt, die Schwierigkeiten erkennt, die auch hier zu überwinden waren. Denn man glaube doch ja nicht, dass solch anscheinend schlottriger Tanz von jedem schlottrigen Tänzer getanzt werden könne. Ihn so zu tanzen, dazu gehört gerade Festigkeit und allerbestimmteste Controle jedes Augenblicks. Der kleinste Fehler bestraft sich schwer und führt sofort zur Indifferenz oder auch wohl zum Degout des Publikums. All diesem burlesken Wesen gegenüber, das die Wirklichkeit der Dinge mit souveräner Verachtung behandelt, ernsthaft von Kunst sprechen zu wollen, wäre Torheit, und doch repräsentiert dieser Übermut auch eine Kunst. Die der Unterhaltung.[18]

Diese Komödien unterhalten zumindest und setzen wenigstens ein handwerkliches Können voraus, während "die herkömmliche Hohenstaufen- oder Caligula-Jambentragödie (...) von jedem Obersekundaner gemacht werden kann".[19] Natürlich seien Komödien Dinge, "die längst aufgehört haben Kunst zu sein und blosse Kunstfertigkeit geworden sind", so dass man auch nicht mit "Kunstgesetzen an sie herantreten" könne. Unbestritten stehe aber "wohl allgemein fest, dass Werke voll grosser technischer Geschicklichkeit mittelmässigen Kunstwerken vorzuziehen sind".[20] So wird es der Ästhetik, der es gelungen ist, "das Recht der Posse nachzuweisen, (...) auch gelingen, für das Amüsementsstück einen Zulassungsschein durchzusetzen".[21] Doch stand für Fontane bei aller Toleranz gegenüber dem Unterhaltlichen jederzeit fest: "Hoch und Niederig hat eben sein verschieden Mass und Gesetz, und so weit sind wir noch nicht, dass nach der in der Untersphäre vielleicht vollkommen zulässigen Anschauung: 'es braucht nicht zu stimmen wenn es nur wirkt', auch die Schöpfungen aus der Obersphäre der Kunst gestaltet werden dürften."[22]

Wie Theaterstücke, die der 'Obersphäre' der Kunst angehören sollen, nach Fontanes Ansichten beschaffen sein müssen, wollen wir nun im weiteren näher betrachten.

Fontane ging davon aus, dass die Wiedergabe der Realität im Kunstwerk nicht eine blosse Kopie der Wirklichkeit sein kann, denn durch den schöpferischen Akt, der die Voraussetzung für die Entstehung eines Kunstwerks ist, erfolgt auch die Veränderung, die Verklärung der Wirklichkeit. "Das Leben ist doch immer nur der Marmorsteinbruch, der den Stoff zu unendlichen Bildwerken in sich trägt (...). Der Block an sich, nur herausgerissen aus einem grössern Ganzen, ist noch kein Kunstwerk, und dennoch haben wir die Erkenntnis als einen unbedingten Fortschritt zu begrüssen, dass es zunächst des Stoffes, oder sagen wir lieber des Wirklichen, zu allem künstlerischen Schaffen bedarf."[23] Der Künstler, der sich "mit einer Riesenpapierschere an das sich wandelbildartig vorbeiwegende Leben" herantritt, löst seine Aufgabe nicht, wenn er willkürlich dieses oder jenes Stück aus dem Leben herausschneidet, sondern es ist vielmehr so, "dass es (...), was den 'Schnitt' angeht, auf eine glückliche Stellenwahl, hinterher aber auf eine geschickte Retouchierung ankomme. Und sie werden hinzusetzen dürfen: In dieser Wahl und dieser Retouchierung steckt eben die Kunst. Vielleicht alle Kunst!"[24] So ist auch die Verarbeitung, die künstlerische Gestaltung eines Stoffes wichtiger als die Tatsache, ob ein Werk auf Personen und Ereignissen fusst, die tatsächlich gelebt bzw. sich tatsächlich ereignet haben. Insofern ist es klar, dass die Kunst "eine Welt des schönen Scheins (ist), die schliesslich schwindet".[25]

Die Bedeutung der künstlerischen Verarbeitung, d.h. der Form des Kunstwerks war für Fontane ein unerlässlicher Gesichtspunkt. Er ging sogar so weit, im Zusammenhang mit der Lyrik auszuführen, "dass der Dichter eher der Gedanken als der Form entbehren kann. Sie ist es vor allen Dingen, die das Gedicht von der Prosa unterscheidet; auch die Dichtkunst ist eine Kunst, jede Kunst aber verlangt ihre Technik, und erst durch diese wird sie — sie selbst."[26] Doch kann diese Technik — und zwar vor allem beim Drama —, kann der Stil des Autors und die Verarbeitung des Stoffes nichts retten, wenn der Rohstoff, der Grundstoff falsch gewählt worden ist. Nicht alle Vorkommnisse der Wirklichkeit eignen sich nämlich laut Fontane gleicherweise zur künstlerischen Verarbeitung. Grundsätzliches führte Fontane in Zusammenhang mit Zola aus:

> Ich glaube, dass dergleichen vorkommt (es kommt alles vor), aber doch sehr selten; es ist durchaus Ausnahmefall. Nun sind zwar Ausnahmefälle das Verlockendste für die Darstellung und auch durchaus zulässig, aber doch nur die tatsächlichen Ausnahmefälle, nicht die persönlichen. In gewissem Sinne, wenigstens nach der Moral-Seite hin, verlangen wir Durchschnittsmenschen, die nur durch eine besondre Verkettung von Umständen in "Ausnahmefälle" hineingeraten. Wir müssen den Menschen begreifen und als einen der unsren anerkennen, das ist erste Bedingung, und zweite Bedingung ist, dass, wenn der "Ausnahmefall" eintritt, wir ihn zwar als Ausnahmefall empfinden aber doch zugleich auch fühlen müssen: wir, in gleicher Lage, hätten denselben Ausnahmefall eintreten lassen. Darstellungen, die durchweg einen "Ausnahmefall" zeigen, in denen uns alles fremd berührt, Charakter wie Tat, gehören nicht in die Kunst. Ihnen gegenüber fällt unsre "Mitleidenschaft" fort: das absolute Gute und Böse lässt uns kalt, weil es nicht mehr menschlich ist.[27]

Diese über Zolas Romankunst getroffenen Feststellungen Fontanes stehen in Einklang mit dem realistischen Konzept von Literatur, weichen aber — wie wir das noch sehen werden — in einigen Punkten von den Forderungen ab, die Fontane an das Drama stellt.

Neben der künstlerischen Verarbeitung ist selbstverständlich die Idee, der gedankliche Inhalt jedes Werkes von Bedeutung, und für diesen trifft zu: "der gedankliche Inhalt jedes guten Dramas lässt sich fast ausnahmslos auf ein simples Sprichwort zurückführen. Das ist kein Nachteil, das ist ein Vorzug. Das Aparte ist selten wahr, und nur das Wahre wirkt."[28] Und gerade "ein echtes ganzes Kunstwerk kann ohne Wahrheit nicht bestehen, und das Willkürliche, das Launenhafte, so reizvoll, so geistreich, so überlegen es auftreten mag, tritt doch dahinter zurück."[29] Aber auch mit dem gedanklichen Inhalt des Dramas, den man als Fundamentalsatz zum Ausdruck bringen kann, ist es wie mit den Stoffen — es kommt auf die Verarbeitung an:

> Auf die vom Dichter herangezogenen oder zur Erscheinung gebrachten Fundamentalsätze kommt es im Drama niemals an, es kommt nur darauf an, was er daraus gemacht, oder mit andern Worten, mit welcher dramatischen Neu-Gewalt er den alten Satz verkörpert und verlebendigt hat.[30]

Vom Drama forderte Fontane in erster Linie Wahrheit. Mit dieser Forderung unterscheidet er sich in nichts von allen anderen literarischen Strömungen des 19. Jahrhunderts, die ebenfalls an die Erkennbarkeit und Darstellbarkeit der Wahrheit geglaubt hatten. "Verklärtes, aber nicht verzerrtes Leben darzustellen" ist die Aufgabe der Kunst,[31] so auch die der Dramatik, denn "ohne diese Verklärung gibt es aber keine eigentliche Kunst, auch dann nicht, wenn der Bildner in seinem bildnerischen Geschick ein wirklicher Künstler ist".[32] Hieraus folgte auch ganz logisch Fontanes Forderung, die dargestellten Figuren, Personen, Situationen und Epochen sollten — zwar verklärt werden, aber auch — in jedem Fall dem Leben entsprechen. Bemerkungen wie etwa: "so waren die alten Rektoren nicht",[33] bringen Fontanes höchstgradige Missbilligung zum Ausdruck. Beinahe einem Rezept kommt Fontanes Bemerkung gleich: "Wer Stücke schreiben will, der muss, wenn er nicht zu jenen Ausnahme-Geistern gehört, denen alles Höchste und Herrlichste durch Inspiration kommt, das Leben kennen, und die Menschen wenigstens insoweit, um einen Charakter eingermassen konsequent zeichnen zu können."[34] Zugleich bleibt aber immer zu bedenken, dass Kunst nicht die einfache Wiedergabe der Realität ist, weshalb auch "das Richtige im Leben (...) bekanntlich nicht immer das Richtige in der Kunst" ist.[35] "Die Kunst erheischt freilich noch ein weniges mehr, nicht Kopie, sondern Spiegelbild, nicht Abschreibung, sondern Vertiefung oder Verschönung des Daseins."[36] Gegen ein seiner Ansicht nach schlechtes Stück führte Fontane seine Überlegungen zu Schillers "Wilhelm Tell" ins Feld, die das Ergebnis eines langen Umdenkungsprozesses waren und aus denen deutlich zu ersehen ist, dass er nunmehr der künstlerischen Verarbeitung gegenüber der Nachzeichnung der Realität eine noch grössere Bedeutung beimisst. Natürlich spielt die Wirklichkeit für ihn noch immer eine Rolle, doch keinesfalls mehr eine primäre, wenn nur in einem Werk "Wahrheit" zum Ausdruck kommt. Dies bedeutet zugleich, dass Wahrheit losgelöst von historischer Wahrheit bzw. Detailgenauigkeit vorgeführt werden kann — womit Fontane wiederum der Dramentheorie der Klassiker sehr nahe steht.

> Da haben wir den Schillerschen Tell, ein Stück, das einer gewissen Unwirklichkeit seiner Gestalten bezichtigt wird; ich will nicht sagen von mir, aber doch von vielen. Und doch, wie wahr ist alles darin, gleichviel wie man sich zu der Frage von der Wirklichkeit oder Nichtwirklichkeit aller darin auftretenden Personen auch stellen mag. Ich

> glaube durchaus, dass Tell den Baumgarten rettet, ich glaube, dass sich die dreissig Männer auf dem Rütli versammeln, ich glaube, dass Tell den Hut nicht grüssen mag, ich glaube, dass Gessler den Apfelschuss von ihm verlangt, ich glaube, dass Tell zielt und trifft (auch in vor-Ira-Paineschen Zeiten), ich glaube, dass er seiner Banden los und ledig aus dem Boote sich rettet und dass er auf Küssnacht zugeht und den Tyrannen aus dem Sattel schiesst. All das glaube ich, weil alles, auch das scheinbar Heraufgeschraubteste, der menschlichen Natur entspricht. Der menschlichen Natur und den Verhältnissen des Landes und der Zeit. Und so fehlt denn auch, einer höchsten und vielleicht etwas zu weit gehenden Idealität unerachtet, nicht <u>das</u>, was man das historischen Gepräge nennt. Nicht das Wort, aber alles, was in dem Worte lebt, entspricht der Wirklichkeit der Dinge. Und diese höhere Form der Wirklichkeit ist die Wahrheit.[37]

Kunst soll dem Aufnehmenden Leser oder Betrachter "Schönheit, Poesie, Frieden und Versöhnung" bieten,[38] während Pessimismus nicht in die Kunst gehört, sondern vielmehr sollen wir durch die Kunst das Gefühl vermittelt bekommen, "unser wirkliches Leben fortzusetzen, und dass zwischen dem erlebten und erdichteten Leben kein Unterschied ist, als der jener Intensität, Klarheit, Übersichtlichkeit und Abrundung und infolge davon jener Gefühlsintensität, die die verklärende Aufgabe der Kunst ist".[39] Ein Problem ist bei all dem, inwieweit in der Kunst das Hässliche eine Existenzberechtigung besitzt, "wie weit die Kunst und speziell die Bühne in verurteilender Widerspiegelung des Hässlichen gehen darf".[40] In diesem Punkt ist Fontane häufig -- und manchmal auch willentlich -- missverstanden worden. Er bestritt nicht, dass das Hässliche in der Kunst dargestellt werden darf, sondern dachte über das Mass nach, das dem Hässlichen eingeräumt werden könne. "Nicht die Schilderung dieser Dinge ist an und für sich zu beanstanden", sondern nur, wenn das Mass nicht stimmt, wenn das Hässliche überwiegt.[41] Das Leben ist nämlich nicht hässlich, sollte es aber dennoch so sein, "so müsste der verklärende Schönheitsschleier dafür geschaffen werden. Aber dies 'erst schaffen' ist gar nicht nötig; die Schönheit ist <u>da</u>, man muss nur ein Auge dafür haben oder es wenigstens nicht absichtlich verschliessen. Der <u>echte</u> Realismus wird auch immer schönheitsvoll sein; denn das Schöne, Gott sei Dank, gehört dem Leben gerade so gut an wie das Hässliche. Vielleicht ist es noch nicht einmal erwiesen, dass das Hässliche präponderiert. Die Beimischung von Kleinlichem und Selbstischem, die selbst unsre besten Empfindungen haben, schafft wohl die sogenannten 'Menschlichkeiten', aber nicht die nackte Gesinnungsgemeinheit..."[42]

In einem Drama dürfen nach Fontane keine unmotivierten oder unglaubhaften Brechungen im Ablauf des Geschehens vorkommen. Die vorgezeichnete und natürliche Entwicklung der Dinge habe sich auf der Bühne zu vollziehen, jede

Handlung der Figuren muss entsprechend motiviert sein. Alle Komponenten eines Stückes müssen ein Gesamtbild ergeben. Wird auch nur eine von diesen Voraussetzungen nicht erfüllt, so ist das Stück unbefriedigend. In Hebbels "Herodes und Mariamne" sah Fontane aber diese Forderungen nicht erfüllt:

> Im Drama soll uns das, was geschieht, zu menschlich-herzlicher Teilnahme stimmen. Wir müssen, damit dies möglich wird, der Empfindungsweise derer folgen können, die uns zur Teilnahme an ihrem Geschick einladen. Das vermochten wir diesen beiden Gestalten gegenüber nicht! (...)
>
> Der Aufbau, der sonst so klar und kunstvoll ist, und in mehr als einer Beziehung als meisterhaft bezeichnet werden darf, hat es, nach unserem Gefühl, doch in einem wichtigen Punkte versehen: die Exposition greift nicht weit genug zurück. Das Stück wirkt wie der zweite oder dritte Teil einer Trilogie; der erste fehlt. Dieser ist aber, wie hier die Dinge liegen, unerlässlich. Wir müssen, sei es in einem vorausgehenden Stück, oder doch mindestens in einem breit ausgeführten 1. Akt, Herodes und Mariamne im Vollbesitz einer leidenschaftlichen, glücklichen und in ihrem Glück menschlich-schön motivierten Liebe gesehen haben, um in dem was kommt, den eben diese Liebe zur Voraussetzung habenden Kampf zu verstehen, der sich in dem Herzen Mariamnens vollzieht. Haben wir auch eine einzige Szene nur miterlebt, die uns am eigenen Herzen fühlbar machte: "sie muss ihn lieben", so begreifen wir, dass sie den Mord ihres Bruders ignorieren, das tückisch gegen sie selbst gezückte Schwert verzeihen und in Erinnerung unendlichen Glückes, die Wiederkehr desselben immer nur erhoffen kann; aber dies Glück müssen wir vorher mit Augen gesehen haben, wir müssen Zeuge desselben gewesen sein. Dies fehlt. Das Stück setzt gleich mit Abstossendem ein, und auch Mariamne lässt keine Empfindung in unserm Herzen für sich aufkommen, weil sie sich, ziemlich von Anfang an, zu einer hochgemuteten und opferbereiten Liebe bekennt, für die wir kein Motiv ausfindig machen können. Einen Mörder lieben, der vorher ein Gott war, kann selber göttlich sein; aber einen Mörder pur et simple als solchen lieben, ist widerwärtig. Bis zur Mitte des zweiten Aktes hat sich Herodes (übrigens darin fortfahrend) lediglich als ein Puppenspiel- und Jahrmarkts-Scheusal vor unsern Augen präsentiert, und diesem Oger zu Liebe hören wir die von ihm selbst bereits "unter das Schwert gestellte" Mariamne den Schwur leisten, dass sie sich töten werde, sobald die Nachricht seines Todes bei ihr einträfe. Dies könnte, wenn wir unter dem Eindruck eines voraufgegangenen Liebesglückes wären, grossartig wirken; hier aber wirkt es nur degoutant oder mindestens unverständlich. Im 5. Akt erfahren wir aus einer Art testamentarischer Beichte, dass ein solches Glück allerdings vorhanden gewesen sei, erfahren es aus dem Munde derjenigen, die es am besten wissen muss, aus dem Munde Mariamnens selbst, — aber es ist zu spät.Diese Confessions können keine rückwirkende Kraft mehr üben, und in dem Momente wo der Vorhang fällt, haben wir das Gefühl, einen an Bildern und Sentenzen reichen, zu den mannigfachsten Betrachtungen anreizenden, aber im ganzen doch unerquicklichen, aus fünf Märtyrer-Stationen bestehenden Abend hinter uns zu haben.[43]

Nicht nur muss sich alles auf der Bühne vollziehen, damit der Zuschauer "Zeuge" jeder Handlung und Regung sein kann, sondern die Erwartungen der Zuschauer müssen vom Gang und der Lösung des Stückes befriedigt

werden. Deshalb muss auch in der Tragödie aus der Schuld, die über die ersten vier Akte vorgeführt wird, im fünften Akt ide Sühne hervorwaschen.

Held eines Stückes kann nur eine Figur sein, meinte Fontane zunächst, die es im Leben gibt, doch sind nicht alle tatsächlichen Figuren als Held eines Dramas geeignet. "Ein unklarer Durchschnittsmensch allerneuesten Schlages" kann dem Zuschauer nicht "lieb und wert gemacht werden".[44] Phraseure, inkonsequente und überspannte Menschen gibt es im Leben, "die man auch, sei es im Roman, sei es im Drama darstellen mag, die man aber nie und nimmer zum Helden stempeln darf. (...) Solche Figuren, wir wiederholen es, kann man zeichnen, aber man muss sie im Lustspiel der Lächerlichkeit, im bürgerlichen Trauerspiel ihrer Schuld unterliegen sehen, — das Zeug zu einem Helden haben sie nie und nimmer."[45]

Der Zuschauer bzw. der Leser muss nämlich zu den Figuren im Drama eine eindeutige Stellung beziehen können. Deshalb eignen sich fragliche Gestalten nicht als Helden in Dramen, auch wenn ihnen Lebenswahrheit keinen Augenblick lang abgesprochen werden kann. "Aber die Abkonterfeiung des wirklichen Lebens, die in der Erzählung nahezu alles ist, reicht für das Drama nicht aus, oder muss doch die entgegenstehenden Schwierigkeiten durch Auswahl unter der sich darbietenden Fülle von Gestalten von vornherein zu beseitigen wissen. Das Drama verlangt bestimmte Charaktere, zu denen wir, sei es in Liebe oder Hass, wiederum eine bestimmte Stellung nehmen können."[46] Unbestimmte oder fragwürdige Charaktere gehören nicht auf die Bühne. Die Tragödie soll eindeutige Figuren zeigen, die um ihrer Schuld willen tragisch enden. Deshalb fand Fontane das Operieren mit — wie er es nannte — "Misch-Charakteren" unstatthaft, "mit Figuren, die an ihren Fehlern nicht, wie früher, altmodisch zu Grunde gehen, sondern nur den Vorteil daraus ziehn, vom Publikum als 'wirklich lebendige Gestalten', im Gegensatz zu blossen Dichter-Fiktionen, angesehen zu werden. (...) Solche Gestalten gehören in den eine breite Motivierung gestattenden Roman; das Drama aber ist der Schauplatz für ein Entweder-Oder".[47] So ist für Fontane in Georg Siegerts Tragödie "Klytämnestra" die Hauptgestalt solch ein "Mischcharakter":

> Dass der Dichter sie klar und bestimmt vor der Seele gehabt habe, davon hab' ich mich nicht überzeugen können. Sie hat sich ihm, gleichviel mit oder ohne seinen Willen, als Misch-Charakter dargestellt, und als solchen hat er sie gebildet. Solche Mischgestalten erträgt aber die Bühne nicht. Wer einen Gatten mordet oder morden lässt und dann den Mörder heiratet, zu dem wollen wir eine klare Stellung nehmen. Wir wollen vor allem wissen: um was geschah der Mord? Und wenn es das Schlimmste, das Schnödeste war, was die Untat heraufbeschwor, wir söhnen uns damit aus, wenn nur die Sühne folgt. Aber wir verlangen eine richtige, klare, zugestandene Schuld; ist die da, so bleibt unser Mitleid, unser Teilnahme, auch dem Schuldigsten gesichert. Tritt an die

> Stelle solcher richtigen Schuld aber eine unrichtige, wird, wie hier, von der Schuldigen selbst immer marchandiert und abgehandelt, macht sie sich selbst in ganz moderner Weise Mätzchen vor, so geht unser Mitleid und Interesse zuletzt verloren. Es kommt dann etwas Kleines und Lügnerisches hinein, das dem Stil der grossen Tragödie durchaus widerstreitet. All das, was uns hier von vornherein zur Milde stimmen soll, alles was die Kolossal-Schuld mit allerlei Tugend- und Anstandsflicken behängen und bemänteln möchte, macht uns bloss unwirsch und ungeduldig und erfüllt uns mit einer wahren ästhetischen Sehnsucht nach einem aufrichtigen Verbrechen. An dieser Siegertschen Klytämnestra dagegen ist alles vertuschelt. Zu der Tat bekennt sie sich; aber in Bezug auf die Motive wirkt sie wie eine Steuer-Defraudantin an der Grenze, die, während sie Leinwand angibt und dienstfertig ihren Koffer aufschliesst, rundum mit Brüsseler Spitzen beklebt ist. Je mehr sie die liebend-empörte Mutter spielt, je mehr sie versichert, "es um Iphigeniens willen getan zu haben", desto weniger glaubt man ihr. Und hierin steckt der Hauptfehler der Figur und des Stückes selbst. Drei Motive lösen sich beständig untereinander ab und lassen einen in Zweifel darüber, ob Agamemnon aus verbrecherischer Neigung zu Ägisth, oder aus Eifersucht (der Briseïs bez. der Kassandra halber) oder aber wie zum Ausgleich für seine Hinopferung Iphigeniens ermordet wird. In allen drei Motiven kann man sich mit einigem guten Willen zurecht finden, aber eins von den dreien muss es sein, und nur eins. Gewinnt man dagegen den Eindruck, dass Klytämnestra, um das Wort ihres eigenen Sohnes Orest zu zitieren, "aus niedrer Lust" gehandelt habe, während sie beständig uns glauben machen will, "dass alles um Iphigeniens willen geschehen sei", so wird man irr und wirr, ärgerlich und missmütig, und sieht sich an jene Väter erinnert, die sich mit 60 Jahren "ihrer drei Töchter halber" wieder verheiraten. Klytämnestra spielt kein ehrlich Spiel; sie hat nicht den Mut des vollen, freien Bekenntnisses, sie beschönigt das Geschehene vor sich selbst, macht Ausflüchte, fährt hier hin und dort hin und bringt sich dadurch um unsre Teilnahme. Sie rührt uns nicht, sie verdriesst uns nur.[48]

Eine eindeutige Stellungnahme sollen die Figuren im Drama ermöglichen, "denn alles nachhaltige dramatische Interesse haftet nur an ganzen, klaren, ungemischten Figuren",[49] zugleich sollen sie aber auch individuell dargestellt sein. Letzteres ist deshalb wichtig, weil es ohne entsprechend lebenswahr gezeichnete Figuren nicht geht. Zwar kann alles "den Schein des Dramatischen gewinnen, kann an lauter Wirkung ihm momentan gleichkommen, oder, gegebenen Falls, es überflügeln; in Wahrheit aber ist und bleibt es undramatisch, weil das Drama Menschen und Handlungen verlangt".[50]

Gleich der Tafel der Veterinärmediziner, auf der alle Krankheiten einer Kuh aufgeführt sind, führt Fontane am Beispiel der Tragödie "Tiberius" von Julius Grosse noch einmal alle seine Forderungen aus, denen ein Stück entsprechen muss — das Grossesche Stück aber nicht tut. Das Drama hat — trotz der 28 Rollen — nur einen einzigen wirklichen 'Charakter' aufzuweisen, nämlich Tiberius selbst, der

als eine psychologisch gut entwickelte Gestalt gelten könnte, wenn dem Zuschauer alles das was ich in Vorstehendem übersichtlich zu geben trachtete, auch wirklich übersichtlich entgegenträte. Dies ist aber keineswegs der Fall. Es wird einem nur das Material gegeben, mit dessen Hilfe man, unter Anwendung häuslichen Fleisses, es zu dem vorgezeichneten Charakterbilde bringen kann, aber es lässt sich nicht behaupten, dass einen dieses Charakterbild aus dem Stücke selbst in aller Bestimmtheit anschaute. Man findet sich allerdings in dem äusserlichen Gange der Handlung sehr wohl zurecht, und entdeckt auch bei allem was geschieht, den Zusammenhang von Ursache und Wirkung, aber der innerlichen Entwicklung fehlt es an Physiognomie und es bleibt dem Zuschauer überlassen, sich von Szene zu Szene die Punkte herauszurechnen, bis zu denen die seelische Krankheit des Tiberius gediehen ist. Summa: ein gutgewolltes und gutgesehenes, aber an Schärfe und Klarheit nicht überall gutherausgebrachtes Bild.

Als problematisch empfand Fontane auch die vorgeführten Situationen.

Wir glauben es alles nicht recht; irgend etwas ist immer überschraubt. Da vermählt sich der älteste Sohn des Germanicus, Nero, mit der Tochter des Drusus, Julia. Welche Hochzeit! Drusus ist schon vorher von Sejan und seiner eigenen Gemahlin Livilla vergiftet worden, aber er kann nicht sterben. Da proponiert Sejan der mitschuldigen Livilla, durch einen Griechen "nachhelfen" zu lassen. Als sie schwankt, verspricht er ihr "Teilnahme an der Weltherrschaft", und als auch dieses Versprechen versagt, wechselt er rasch die Rollen, und bietet die "Weltherrschafts-Teilnahme" der schönen Agrippina, der Witwe des von ihm ebenfalls aus dem Wege geräumten Germanicus an. Inzwischen stirbt Drusus, aber wohlverstanden nicht an Gift, weder an altem noch an neuem, sondern an einer grossen, ihm beigebrachten Freudennachricht. Zuletzt erscheint Tiberius und rast in Schmerz über den ihm zu früh entrissenen Sohn. Und das alles in einer Viertelstunde Zeit. Es ist äusserlich und innerlich zuviel. Und zu allem noch die "beigebrachte Freudennachricht" als eigentlicher Todestropfen!

Was aber das Stück für Fontane unannehmbar macht, das ist der Geist, ist die Gesinnung, die aus ihm hervorscheint -- und das ist das wichtigste!

Und welcher ist dieser Geist? Die Welt ist ein Narrenhaus; je früher man es verlässt, desto besser, und der einzige Spass in diesem Narrenhause ist der, einen Erznarren als Hauswart und Doktor zu hinterlassen. Tiberius geht, aber Caligula bleibt. (...) So sollen Tragödien nicht enden, so sollen wir nicht von einer Stätte scheiden, die dazu da ist, das Schöne zu pflegen, dem Idealen ein Hüter zu sein. Freilich ist es jetzt Mode geworden, bei dem blossen Worte "Idealität" zu lachen. Aber was kommt dabei heraus! Überhandnahme jeder äusseren und inneren Verwilderung. Entchristlicht ist die Welt bereits; entgöttert man sie auch noch von dem, was uns die Griechen hinterliessen, so werden wundervolle Tage anbrechen. Ich mag sie nicht mehr sehen. Zu keiner Zeit, ich bin alt genug, um das zu wissen, ist die Weltgeschichte mit Lavendel- und Rosenwasser gemacht worden, immer hat das äusserlich Grobe den Tag bestimmt, aber das innerlich Feine bestimmte die Zeit. Und jene Zeit hat das Bedürfnis nach Gerechtigkeit, nach Ausgleich, nach Versöhnung. Das ist eine schöne Dreiheit, auf der sich die Tragödie aufbauen soll. Wir wollen nicht fünf Akte lang durch Blut waten, um schliesslich den Trost mit nach Hause zu nehmen, dass Tiberius sel. Erbe da sei, und mit

> frischem Cäsarenwahnsinn das Geschäft fortzusetzen gedenke. Wir wollen wissen, dass "Fortinbras klirrend einrückt" und dass der wüste Skandal endlich ein Ende nimmt. Selbst Richard III, in dem das "Kopf herunter" wie Morgen- oder Abendsegen mitklingt, entlässt uns mit der Gewissheit, dass ein hellerer Tag heraufzieht und dem Streit der Friede und dem Fieber die Genesung folgt. Nur hier lautet der Text: auf Tiberius folgt Caligula. Historisch ist das richtig, poetisch ist es falsch. Vor zwanzig Jahren wurde eine Herodes-Tragödie aufgeführt; Greuel häuften sich auf Greuel wie hier; aber am Schlusse zog ein Stern herauf und stand über dem Hause von Bethlehem. Das Stück hielt sich nicht; aber dieser Schluss war richtig empfunden.[51]

Die Gesinnung, die sich in jedem Kunstwerk spiegelt, war für Fontane das wichtigste Kriterium geworden.

> Je länger man lebt, desto klarer erkennt man, dass in allem Geschaffenen der Geist seines Schöpfers lebt, und dieser Geist ist es, der anmutet oder widerstrebt, der tötet oder lebendig macht. Was in sich krank und hohl ist, das degoutiert zuletzt, wie vollkommen auch das Kleid sein mag, in dem es einherstolziert; was aber umgekehrt aus einem gesunden Keime spross, das bewahrt, allen zufälligen Störungen, allem im einzelnen Misslungenen zum Trotz, eine gesunde Innerlichkeit. Über die Höcker hinweg oder durch sie hindurch erkennt der Schärferblickende jenes Endgiltige, das zum Guten oder Schlechten scheidet. Und dieses Endgiltige ist die Gesinnung, die aus einem Kunstwerk ebenso deutlich wie aus dem Leben spricht.[52]

Fontanes eigene Sicht der Welt, des Lebens und der Geschichte war geprägt vom Optimismus, dass "trotz alles Sünden-Elends, das uns durch die Jahrhunderte hin begleitet und sich selbstverständlich auch in unsrem intimsten Leben in hundertgestaltiger Hässlichkeit betätigt hat, dass trotz all dieses Elends, trotz entnervter Männer und entarteter Frauen, trotz Schein, Komödie, Lüge die Welt nicht rückwärts, sondern vorwärts gekommen ist".[53] Deshalb war für ihn u.a. auch die Übernahme des Schopenhauerschen Gedankengutes ebenso unmöglich wie die Identifizierung mit der naturalistischen Grunddoktrin, ausgeführt in den Werken von Max Kretzer.

Im Zusammenhang mit Ibsens "Gespenster" erläutert Fontane seine Überzeugung auch am Beispiel der Ehe — ein Thema, das in seinen Romanen und Novellen so gut wie immer eine wichtige Rolle spielte:

> Solange die Welt steht oder solange wir Aufzeichnungen haben über das Gebaren der Menschen in ihr, ist immer nach den "Verhältnissen" und nur sehr ausnahmsweise nach Liebe geheiratet worden. Die vorchristliche Zeit kannte den Luxus des Nach-Liebe-Heiratens kaum, jedenfalls war es Ausnahme, nicht Regel. Jacob, der Rahel liebte, begann, wohl oder übel, mit Lea; Ruben, Simon, Levi, Juda und zwei andere noch (schon die Zahl imponiert) wurden ihm aus dieser vergleichsweisen Gleichgiltigkeits-Ehe geboren, Hervorbringungen, die hinter Benjamin und selbst hinter der ägyptischen Exzellenz Joseph in nichts, am wenigsten in Kraft und Gesundheit, zurückblieben. Ist anzunehmen, dass die Spartaner nach Liebe geheiratet haben? Vermählen sich die Fürsten, in der grossen Mehrzahl

der Fälle, nach Liebe? Heiratet man in den reichen Bauerndörfern aus purer Passion? Umgekehrt, alles ist Pakt und Übereinkommen. "Die Liebe findet sich" und wenn sie sich nicht findet, so schadet es nicht. Die Herrnhuter schlossen, bis vor wenigen Jahrzehnten, ihre Ehen nach dem Los, und nirgends, soviel ich weiss, ist Degenerierung die Folge davon gewesen. Im Gegenteil, die Herrnhuter sind nicht nur ehrenfeste, sondern auch feste, gesunde Leute. Beaconsfield, befragt, weshalb er nach Geld geheiratet habe, gab zur Antwort "um Ruh' und Friedens, also um Glückes willen", denn alles "aus Liebe" geschlossenen Ehen habe er mit Tätlichkeiten oder Untreue enden sehn. Das ist scherzhaft zugespitzt aber sehr ernsthaft gemeint, und es verlohnt sich wohl, diesen Satz des berühmten englischen Staatsmannes dem Satz des berühmten norwegischen Dichters gegenüber zu stellen. Hie Welf-Beaconsfield, hie Waibling-Ibsen. Wenn ich mich entscheiden soll, bin ich, in diesem Fall, ein entschiedener Welf. Unter allen Umständen aber bleibt es mein Credo, dass, wenn von Uranfang an, statt aus Konvenienz und Vorteils-Erwägung, lediglich aus Liebe geheiratet wäre, der Weltbestand um kein Haarbreit besser sein würde, als er ist.
(...)
All das, womit wir in diesen "Gespenstern" geängstigt und zum Wechsel unserer sittlichen Anschauungen gedrängt werden sollen, ist uralten Datums. Sardanapale, kleine und grosse, historische und private, sind, durch alle Jahrhunderte hin, auf Thron und Lotterbett aufeinander gefolgt, ohne dass es die Menschheit sonderlich geschädigt hätte, sie hat es überdauert und wird es weiter überdauern. Alles ruht in einer ewigen, immer neue Lebensströme spendenden Erhaltungshand, der es ein leichtes ist, die Sünden eines norwegischen Kammerherrn, und noch vieler anderen Kammerherrn, aus ihrer Kraft- und Gnadenfülle wieder wettzumachen. Das alles ist nur der schwarze Fleck am Apfel, der in der Weltenwaage nicht aufwiegt. Unsere Zustände sind ein historisch Gewordenes, die wir als solche zu respektieren haben. Man modle sie, wo sie der Modlung bedürfen, aber man stülpe sie nicht um. Die grösste aller Revolutionen würde es sein, wenn die Welt, wie Ibsens Evangelium es predigt, übereinkäme, an Stelle der alten, nur scheinbar prosaischen Ordnungsmächte die freie Herzensbestimmung zu setzen. Das wäre der Anfang vom Ende. Denn so gross und stark das menschliche Herz ist, eins ist noch grösser: seine Gebrechlichkeit und seine wetterwendische Schwäche.[54]

Fontane beschränkte sich aber nicht nur auf grundsätzliche Bemerkungen zu Dramen und Aufführungen, sondern gab auch ganz konkrete Hinweise, was ihm gefallen bzw. missfallen hat. Von den Schauspielern forderte er, dass sie möglichst lebensecht spielen sollten, jedoch dabei auch niemals vergessen, dass zwischen dem Leben und der Schauspielkunst ebenfalls ein Unterschied besteht. Anlässlich einer "Tasso"-Aufführung hat Fontane seine Bedenken gegen die eine Schauspielerleistung "schon durch die Wahl des Wortes 'Gemurmel' angedeutet. Vornehme Leute haben allerdings oft diese Sprachweise und Herr Wünzer hat ihnen dies gut abgelauscht. Er macht es aber zu echt",[55] wodurch ein Anflug von Komik nicht zu übersehen war, was aber der Aufführung abträglich sein musste. Zu einem anderen Stück merkte er an: "Ein Bühnen-Tiroler braucht nicht spezifisch tirolerisch zu sprechen; aber freilich

seine Sprache darf uns nicht entgegengesetzt Spezifisches bringen. Tritt dieser Fall ein, so wirkt es halb komisch, halb provozierend."[56]

Die Sprache der damaligen Gegenwart sagte Fontane mehr zu als die Versprache des traditionellen Dramas. "Alles, was der Epoche unseres modernen Lebens näher steht, glückt besser als der hohe Gang Schillerscher Verse."[57] Gegenüber der traditionellen bilderreichen Bühnensprache hatte er sehr schwerwiegende Bedenken:

> Man kann nicht bloss sehr gute, sondern auch sehr reizende Stücke schreiben ganz ohne Poesie, namentlich aber auch ohne das, was der Philister Poesie zu nennen beliebt. Das Unglück fängt erst an, wenn die ledernsten Kerle von der Welt, die von Jugend anstatt mit dem Robinson mit dem Shakespeare zu Bette gingen, ins Hoch-Drama hineingeraten und in Nachahmung jener Sprache, die selbst bei dem immortal William oft nur unter seiner alles deckenden Flagge hinzunehmen ist, in jedem Bilder-Wust einherstolzieren, der mit Unverständlichkeit und Langerweile gleichbedeutend ist. In jenem Bilder-Wust, der dem Philister als "schöne Sprache" gilt, dem Eingeweihten aber das Schrecken aller Schrecken bedeutet. Eine wirkliche Bildersprache, die den Gedanken leuchten lässt, statt ihn zu verdunkeln, ist eine grosse Gabe; Hebbel und Grillparzer haben sie, vielleicht auch noch ein paar andre; die meisten Shakesperiaden aber haben sie nicht. Es muss der Gedanke gleich im Bilde geboren werden, dann kann das Bild schöner und frappanter sein als das einfache Wort; wird das Bild aber erst als Extrakleid genäht und dann angezogen, so sitzt es nicht und ist eine Last, aber kein Schmuck.[58]

Er meinte sogar, "die Vorzüge des Lyrischen auf der Bühne (vielleicht die höchste Form der Tragödie abgerechnet) sind sehr karg bemessen und meist mehr mittelbarer als unmittelbarer Natur".[59] Allerdings räumte Fontane in Zusammenhang mit den "schönen Stellen" ein, "dass sie das Leben eines Stückes um keine Stunde verlängern können; aber sind sie nur wirklich schön, so hat sich ihnen die Liebe des Dichters doch nie ganz umsonst zugewandt, und ob er nun siegt oder unterliegt, eines erblüht ihm mit Sicherheit aus seiner Mühe: der Respekt vor seiner Arbeit".[60]

An die Bühnendekoration und die Kostüme stellte Fontane Forderungen, die vollkommen mit seinen bisher vorgestellten Ansichten in Einklang standen. Dekorationen und Kostüme sollen der Zeit und dem Ort entsprechen in der und an dem das jeweilige Stück spielt:

> Die letzten 30 Jahre haben nach der kunsthistorischen Seite hin unsere Anschauungen so weit gefördert, dass man sich ein Durcheinanderwerfen von korinthischen Säulen, Gotik, Tudorstil, Heckenwänden und Holzbalkonen nicht mehr gern gefallen lässt. Solange das allgemeine Kunstverständnis an diesen Dingen keinen Anstoss nimmt, solange sich das Publikum in einem gewissen, Wilhelm-Lübke-losen Zustand architektonischer Unschuld befindet, ist dies absolut gleichgiltig, von dem Moment aber, wo man das Unwahre und Unmögliche dieser Vorführung empfindet, stört es sehr erheblich.[61]

Auch sollte man nicht übersehen, dass "das Theater ein Bildungsmittel sein und die Schule unterstützen soll",[62] zugleich aber auch die Tatsache nicht vergessen, dass "das Kulturhistorische als solches, wenn es mehr als Hintergrund sein, mehr als Lokaltöne geben will, (...) für das Drama absolut unverwendbar" ist.[63]

Über das Theater seiner Gegenwart war Fontane keiner guten Meinung. Die Klassiker der deutschen Bühne würden "leblos, wie unberührt vom Geiste der Dichtung"[64] aufgeführt, das moderne Schauspiel sei "mehr auf die Sinne als auf das Verständnis brechnet".[65] Fontane rang sich schliesslich zur Erkenntnis durch: "Die Wahrheit geht nicht mit der Menge",[66] denn "das Gewöhnliche, das ganz Alltägliche wird immer das grösste Publikum haben; es ist eben nicht möglich, Millionen auf eine ästhetische Kunsthöhe zu heben. Das kann keine Schule leisten. Ist auch nicht nötig."[67]

Fazit:

Theodor Fontane hat sich in seinen Ansichten über die Dramenkunst im Laufe der Jahre — bei Beibehaltung einiger grundsätzlicher Ansichten — immer wieder zu neuen Positionen durchgerungen. Ausgehend von den Masstäben der programmatischen Realisten hat er — sicherlich durch die allabendliche Theatererfahrung — sich schliesslich nicht nur gegenüber der überlieferten Dramatik geöffnet, sondern sich auch gegenüber dem naturalistischen Theater und dem damaligen Lustspiel aufgeschlossen gezeigt, wobei er die Möglichkeiten des letzteren zur Erneuerung der damals unbefriedigenden Theaterverhältnisse überschätzte. Fontanes Einstellung ist durch die Empfindung geprägt, dass er in einer Epoche lebt, die langsam ausklingt. Alt und Neu, Vergängliches und Erneuerndes, Brüche und Übergänge sind Begriffe, die ihn immer stärker beschäftigen sollten, je älter er wurde. Das Bewusstsein einer Übergangszeit verband sich für ihn auch mit dem Theater. Er lebte in einer Zeit, in der "die klassischen Aufführungen ... seit geraumer Zeit das Seitenstück zu den leeren Kirchen darstellten", und in der sich die Suche nach dem "Kunstheil", dem "Garten des Lebens" vollzog. "Auf dem nach diesem Ziel hin eingeschlagenen Wege hat es für manchen ein Verweilen an Stellen gegeben, daran vorüberzugehen vielleicht besser gewesen wäre." Doch Fontane war optimistisch und davon überzeugt, dass diese Suche, die verschiedenen Versuche in der Dramatik zum Ziel führen werden: "Zuletzt aber, nach mancher Irrfahrt, wird auch auf diesem Wege, davon bin ich überzeugt, das Schöne gefunden werden, und wenn es gefunden ist, so wird es eine schärfere Darstellung finden als vordem, weil das Auge mittlerweile schärfer sehen lernte. Nenne man meinetwegen den jetzigen Weg den Weg durch die Wüste. Nach der Wüste kam gutes Land."[68]

Anmerkungen

[1]Paul Heyse: Jugenderinnerungen und Bekenntnisse. Band 1: Aus dem Leben. Stuttgart/Berlin 1912, S. 95.

[2]So tat sich Fontane z.B. schwer mit Friedrich Paulsens Buch über I. Kant, dem er gerecht zu werden versuchte, doch schliesslich eingestehen musste: "Aber damit bin ich in der Hauptsache gescheitert." (Theodor Fontane: Briefe. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin 1987, Band IV. S. 722) Andererseits sind aber Fontanes Reflexionen über Spielhagens erzähltheoretische Ausführungen letztlich knapp — doch wer könnte Fontane vorwerfen, dass er von der Kunst der Prosaerzählung nichts verstanden habe? Eine genauere Untersuchung von Fall zu Fall ist also — wie bereits gesagt — unerlässlich.

[3]Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik, hg. v. R. Bubner. Stuttgart 1971, 3. Teil S. 259.

[4]Hans-Heinrich Reuter: Fontane. Berlin 1968, S. 926.

[5]Ebenda S. 178.

[6]Ebenda S. 193 u. 225.

[7]Siehe Anm. 2. Band I. S. 81. (Im weiteren: Briefe)

[8]Theodor Fontane: Theaterkritiken. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Wien 1979, Band III. S. 105. (Im weiteren: Kritiken)

[9]Theodor Fontane: Aufsätze zur Literatur. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Wien 1979, S. 42f. (Im weiteren: Aufsätze)

[10]Kritiken Band I. S. 42.

[11]Theodor Fontane: Aufzeichnungen zur Literatur. Berlin/Weimar 1969, S. 36ff.

[12]Kritiken Band III. S. 96.

[13]Ebenda IV. S. 160.

[14]Ebenda I. S. 16.

[15]Ebenda II. S. 90.

[16]Ebenda IV. S. 23.

[17]Ebenda I. S. 190.

[18]Ebenda III. S. 79f.

[19]Ebenda IV. S. 156.

[20]Ebenda IV. S. 157.

[21]Ebenda III. S. 241.

[22]Ebenda III. S. 201f.

[23]Aufsätze S. 43.

[24]Kritiken Band III. S. 58.

[25]Aufsätze S. 80.

[26]Ebenda S. 51.

[27]Ebenda S. 349.

[28]Ebenda S. 150f.

[29]Ebenda S. 495.
[30]Kritiken BAnd III. S. 239.
[31]Ebenda I. S. 42.
[32]Aufsätze S. 502.
[33]Kritiken Band I. S. 8.
[34]Ebenda II. S. 13.
[35]Ebenda I. S. 70.
[36]Ebenda I. S. 98.
[37]Ebenda III. S. 177f.
[38]Aufsätze S. 295.
[39]Ebenda S. 371.
[40]Kritiken Band I. S. 103.
[41]Aufsätze S. 252.
[42]Ebenda S. 508.
[43]Kritiken Band I. S. 193ff.
[44]Ebenda I. S. 33.
[45]Ebenda I. S. 33.
[46]Ebenda II. S. 16f.
[47]Ebenda II. S. 17.
[48]Ebenda III. S. 205f.
[49]Ebenda II. S. 65.
[50]Ebenda II. S. 62.
[51]Ebenda II. S. 142f.
[52]Ebenda II. S. 68.
[53]Ebenda IV. S. 97.
[54]Ebenda IV. S. 96 und 98.
[55]Ebenda I. S. 152.
[56]Ebenda III. S. 159.
[57]Ebenda I. S. 8.
[58]Ebenda III. S. 121.
[59]Ebenda IV. S. 172.
[60]Ebenda III. S. 204.
[61]Ebenda I. S. 25.
[62]Ebenda I. S. 109.
[63]Ebenda I. S. 193.
[64]Ebenda I. S. 187.
[65]Ebenda I. S. 122.
[66]Ebenda I. S. 144.

[67]Ebenda III. S. 170.
[68]Ebenda IV. S. 193f.

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HUNGARIANS IN THE MONARCHY

Gabriella Hima

Debrecen

Although the Hungarians lived for centuries in a joint state with the Austrians, very few traces of that coexistence survive in Hungarian literature — and still fewer in our literary history. We have yet to perform the task of seeking out those traces, providing an explanation of their absence, and admitting the fact — left unmentioned for a long time — that the Hungarians were not only victims, but also beneficiaries of that coexistence. One of the most important topics of this historical review will probably be the literary portrayal of the last period of the Monarchy in those novels which were written already in the post-monarchic period, between the two World Wars — for their authors were born in yet the common homeland; their personality and artistic thinking were still shaped in the "palmy days of peace"; while the destruction of their homeland fell on their most fruitful creative years. For an understanding of the spirit and culture of this final period it would probably be enlightening to compare the styles of vision and modes of presentment of the great "natives" — Musil and Kafka, Broch and Roth, Kosztolányi and Krúdy —, their thinking on genre and their "philosophical" thinking, as well as the "denotatum" of their novels, the reality-segments serving as the subjects of their portrayals. This task is, of course, long-term, for a comprehensive examination of this complex of questions would require a monograph-length essay. On this occasion, I should like to discuss just one phenomenon — namely, a characteristic literary portrayal of the two ruling nations' attitude towards each other. In particular, how Hungarians appear in Joseph Roth's two novels Radetzkymarsch and Die Kapuzinergruft, how the role performed by the Hungarians in the Monarchy was perceived by Austrian eyes in the '30s.

* * *

Around the turn of the century, the model which had gradually evolved in Central Europe during the reign of the Habsburgs was at once anachronistic

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

and prophetic. It is a fact that the Habsburgs had created a state machinery which, based on (ostensibly) supranational principles, was, in spite of its smaller or larger hitches, capable of functioning — enabling, too, for a long time, a relatively peaceful coexistence — based on a recognition of their interdependence — of the multiplicity of peoples living along the Danube. As Musil puts it in his ironical characterization of Kakania, "meanwhile, the vanished state, never understood ... was exemplary, if unrecognized, in so many things".[1] "... without the world knowing it, it was already the most advanced state"[2] — almost a model of the future common Europe. True, in this multinational empire, rallying "firmly as rock" around its ruler (as Count Leinsdorf, chairman of the "parallel action" says, where he really wanted to talk about two "firmly rallying" rocks, a Hungarian and an Austrian one, hinting at the relative measure of "firmness" and "rallying"), the relationship between the particular nations and nationalities was by no means free from tension: at times there raged in it struggles that aroused "the curiosity of the whole of Europe". "Their violence proved so incredible that on several occasions they caused the state machinery to fail and grind to a halt; in the intervening periods and during the enforced pauses, however, the parties got on like a house on fire, with everybody pretending that nothing had happened. And, in fact, nothing had happened." Nothing, that is, except that "the antipathy against a fellow countryman" here intensified to "public sentiment".[3]

Musil gives a witty definition of the "curious phenomenon" that might be termed "Austro-Hungarian state sentiment" or "patriotism": "... it did not consist, as we might be led to believe, of an Austrian and a Hungarian part mutually complementing each other; instead, it consisted of a whole and a part — namely, of a Hungarian and an Austro-Hungarian state sentiment, with the latter native to Austria, as a result of which the Austrian state sentiment itself proved homeless. An Austrian man existed only in Hungary, and there too only as an object of antipathy; at home, such a person looked upon himself as a citizen of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's kingdoms and countries represented in the Imperial Council — which means the same as: Austrian plus Hungarian minus this Hungarian; and all this he did not because he was so enthusiastic about it, but for the sake of an ideal, which was against his grain, since he was just as averse to Hungarians as they were averse to him..."[4]

Roth's heroes too call the patriotic feelings of the peoples of the Monarchy "strange":

"'These Slovenes are a strange lot', the young Festetics observed. 'The Hungarians deprive them of their most elementary rights, they try to defend themselves, sometimes they even rebel or pretend to rebel, but they do celebrate the king's birthday.'

'Nothing is strange in this Monarchy', Chojnicki said... '... with us, in Austro-Hungary, the strange is natural... only here, in this demented Europe of national states and diverse nationalisms is the natural regarded as strange...'"[5]

The tensions between the nations "might easily have led to serious consequences — writes Musil — had their development not been preempted well before its time by the catastrophe that happened."[6]

But the catastrophe does happen in 1918, hitting primarily the two ruling nations, for it is to them that the earlier minorities present the bill. The peace dictate had a traumatic effect on the Hungarians because of the unprecedented carving up of the country's territory, which also meant the separation of millions belonging to the nation. Nothing drives home the gravity of the Habsburg debacle better than the deep crisis which, in the southeastern portions of the one-time Monarchy, has been threatening disaster ever since. The wound inflicted on the nation seventy years ago is still bleeding.

Nor can the Austrians have been much happier. During the "gigantic close-down sale" of the Monarchy, Austria became what had remained after the establishment of the national states newly emerged from the perpetual dominions: "a rocky, barren mountain range" and a metropolis proportioned to a mammoth empire — one whose supporting base was destroyed with the collapse of the Empire.[7] Roth's above quoted hero, Chojnicki, called the real Austrian parts of the Empire "periphery": "Austria, in fact, is not the centre, but a periphery. Austria is not in the Alps — there you will find only chamoix and edelweiss and gentian; but as for the double eagle, it may not even have been heard of. Austria's real essence is kept alive by the perpetual dominions, it is from those that it recharges itself again and again".[8] The new national state, losing its nourishing sources, believed itself to be unable to survive.

Although it was the western big powers that, in their fear of a strong Central European empire, brought down the Monarchy, the tensions between the nations making up the Empire were also a major factor in the debacle. Seeking for the causes of the disintegration, the writers who, having survived the catastrophe, were filled with nostalgia for the past attached great

importance to these antagonisms, especially to those existing between the two state-forming nations.

Joseph Roth's hero who has been mentioned several times, the Polish Chojnicki, lays the blame for the consequences fairly and squarely at the door of the German-speaking population: "You refused to notice how those alpine dodderers and Sudetans, these softheaded Nibelungs kept insulting and reviling our nationalities until they came to hate the Monarchy and betrayed it. It was not our Czechs, Serbs, Poles and Ruthenians who betrayed it, but our very own Germans, the very backbone of the state".[9] His brother, Josef Chojnicki, who went mad during the war, and who, in Radetzkymarsch, still featured under the Christian name Wojcech, expresses a similar opinion in the lunatic asylum already on the eve of the Anschluss: "'...I hear we are Poles. We have always been Poles. And why shouldn't we be? And we are Austrians. Why shouldn't we be that? But these ideologues have a special idiocy too: the Social Democrats have declared that Austria is part of the German Republic — as, indeed, they are the repulsive discoverers, too, of the concept of what they call nationality.And the Christian alpine dodderers demand the Social Democrats. Stupidity dwells in the mountains — I, Josef Chojnicki, said that here, sir.' And they consider this man to be insane — Chojnicki said... — If the Monarchy hadn't fallen apart, he wouldn't have lost his wits, either" — that is how he explains the cause of his brother's illness, and, sure enough, Josef, "ever since he has been in the asylum, has been knitting with indefatigable zeal.

'I am knitting the Monarchy', he sometimes explained."[10]

Josef Roth, who, of Galician Jewish extraction, was one of the most significant Austrian novelists of the post-monarchic period, does not explain history — he simply describes it. Capturing the last phase of the Monarchy, the moment before the disintegration, he nonetheless provides an authentic and realistic picture of the most diverse locales, events, and figures of the vanished world.

In both his novels, the principal hero is a member of the Trotta family, which, of Slovenian extraction, has become Austrian; and though the two youths represent different branches of the clan, they both embody their creator's concept of the ideal Habsburg subject. They are both "adopted" or "appointed" Austrians (Doderer), and, as such, are better patriots than the trueborn Austrians.

The main hero of Radetzkymarsch, Carl Joseph von Trotta, grandson of the hero of Solferino, gives his life for the emperor, for the Empire, in

one of the first battles of the War. But already as a cadet, at the age of fifteen, he dreams about that destiny: "He felt as though he were something of a relative to the Habsburgs, whose power here (in a Moravian county seat — G.H.) is represented and defended by his father, and for whom he too wants to march to war and death one day. He knew by heart the names of all the members of the highest reigning family. He loved them all sincerely, with the devoted heart of a child, most of all the emperor, who was benevolent and great, majestic and just, infinitely remote and infinitely near, and who particularly liked the officers of the army. The noblest way to die for the emperor is to the accompaniment of martial music; it would be easiest if the Radetzky March were playing."[11]

His father, the county chief, the son of the hero of Solferino, "never longed for the house of his fathers. He was an Austrian, a servant and official of the Habsburgs, with the imperial Burg as his home... He never longed to drive a plough across the blessed Slovenian soil... 'Fate has made our peasant family of borderers Austrian. So let us remain Austrian'."[12] An offspring of Slovenian peasant ancestors turned Austrian baron, he is filled with profound bitterness by the nationalist animosities, especially by those of the Czechs, for that is what he experiences in his Moravian town: "... suddenly he felt as though the whole world consisted of Czechs — of the nation that he regarded as refractory, obstinate and dull, and which, he believed, had invented the concept of 'nation'. He did not mind that there were many peoples in the world, but 'nations' -- no!"[13]

The father of the principal hero of Die Kapuzinergruft "was dreaming about a Slav kingdom under the rule of the Habsburgs. An Austro-Hungarian-Slav monarchy was his dream".[14] This concept partly refers to the writer's sympathies for the Slavs and partly to the general discontent provoked by the dualistic form of state. The dualism offended the pride of virtually all the nations: the Slavs wanted at least equal rights with the Hungarians; the Hungarians were irritated by the "second fiddle role" assigned to them alongside the Austrians in the running of the Empire; while the Austrians resented the mere fact of having to share their power with another nation. Whereas Karl Kraus believed that "the unity of the Monarchy was guaranteed by the insulting of the patriotism of all the nations inhabiting it",[15] Roth, by contrast, perceives the source of the forces holding the Empire together in the perpetual dominions' "tragic" — tragic because "for ever unrequited" — "love" for Austria: "The gipsies of the Hungarian puszta, the Sub-Carpathian Hutsul, the Galician Jewish cabmen... the Slovenian chestnut-

roasters... the Swabian tobacco-growers of the Bácska, the horse-dealers of the steppe, the Ottomans of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Moravian Hanak copers, the weavers of the Erzgebirge, the Podolian millers and coral-traders — these were Austria's generous maintainers, and the poorer they were, the more generous they were. How much misery, how much pain, accepted almost as a matter of course and quite voluntarily, were needed so that the centre of the Monarchy might be regarded in the world as the home of charm, serenity and creative genius".[16]

The characters of various nationalities figuring in the two novels could roughly be divided into two groups — i.e. good subjects and bad subjects. The first group includes the stepsons of the "Austrian nation" — first and foremost, the Slavs and the Jews; the latter includes its blood children, the Germans and the Hungarians. The basis of that classification, of course, is not the particular characters' direct utterances condemning the nationalism of other nations, but strictly the sympathy or antipathy aroused by the character portrayed. For the author's sympathies and antipathies tend to polarize depending on which group of subjects the given hero belongs in; and, as it turns out, this is very much nation- and nationality-bound.[17] It is not accident that his main heroes loyal to the Habsburgs are of Slovenian origin, that his prepossessing heroes are likewise mostly Slovenes, Poles, Ruthenians, Jews; — as it is also no mere chance that the Hungarians and Germans enstaged in the two novels — most of all, the imperial Germans — are almost without exception repulsive.

Roth is just as "averse" to Hungarians as the main hero of Die Kapuzinergruft towards his future brother-in-law, Count Kovács, who is "otherwise a harmless, indeed, at times an expressly nice young man" — what is more, he has a nineteen-year-old, sweet, pretty younger sister, Elisabeth, who Trotta is in love with; yet, even his tender feelings towards the girl cannot compensate his antipathy towards her brother, — an antipathy that the young Hungarian aristocrat provokes by proclaiming, in the circle of Vienna's "gilded youth", his adherence to the revolutionary principles of 1848 with as much of the firmness of a "creed" as if he were in the Casino in Pest: "In this dual Monarchy the Hungarians suffer the most". It is only natural that he is at once cut short: "The Hungarians, dear Kovács, oppress only the following peoples: the Slovenes, the Romanians, the Croatians, the Serbs, the Ruthenians, the Bosnians, the Swabians of the Bácska and the Saxons of Transylvania". Characteristically enough, the interrupter counting the peoples "on the outstretched fingers of his fine, slender hands" is a Pole.[18]

If we were to think that this young Hungarian girl — who the main hero is not only in love with, but whom, on the day preceding his joining up, he even quickly marries — is an attractive creature, we would be mistaken. Immediately after the ceremony, during their brief journey to Baden bei Wien, Trotta manages to become so estranged from her that he chooses to spend the wedding-night with his dying servant, rather than with her, and at dawn the next day he travels to the front without even saying good-bye to her.

Of all the characters in the novel, the most disgusting is the young Hungarian woman artist who, during the War, while Trotta was at the front, formed an intimate friendship, indeed, it may be suspected, a lesbian relationship with Elisabeth. This Jolanth Szatmáry is portrayed with scathing satire even by the otherwise tolerant and benevolent narrator-hero: "At this point, the door was torn open: something dark stormed in, as a minor hurricane, a shingled, black-haired young woman, with large, black eyes, a yellowish face, with quite a pronounced fluffy mustache over her red lips and large white teeth. She shouted something into the room, something I could not understand..."[19] The principal hero's mother expresses her contempt and abhorrance for her daughter-in-law's suspicious friend by refusing to even remember the name of the "renowned professor":

"And what sort of a person is this Professor Jolanth Kecskemét?" she inquires of her son, apparently in all good faith.

"'Szatmáry, mama', I corrected her.

'She could be Székely, for all I care', my mother agreed. 'So who is she?... And which branch of learning is this Kecskemét a professor of?'

'Szatmáry, mama'.

'I don't mind, let her be Lakatos', my mother agreed after some thinking. 'And today? Is she with Professor Halászy today as well?' (Her daughter-in-law, Elisabeth, that is — G.H.)

'Szatmáry, mama.'

'You know very well, my son, that these names do not mean a thing to me. Why are you always correcting me?'"[20] — she says, hurt, — mama, who, with an inventiveness belying her ignorance of those "complicated" Hungarian family names, keeps renaming her daughter-in-law's suspicious friend, only to mention her in the future simply as "Kecskemét".

Years later, this "Professor Kecskemét" — as mama earlier predicted — turns up again to finally destroy the peaceful family life of the Trottas: she and the Prussian-born Baron von Stettenheim make Elisabeth run off with them. It is symbolic that the Trotta family is ruined by these two people,

for even earlier it was they who drove them to bankruptcy. The young Trotta's wife was financing the shady business enterprise of her father-in-law and the "professor"; while von Stettenheim wheedled out of Trotta's hard-of-hearing mother her remaining bank deposit, flattering the well-intentioned but vain old woman by talking to her loudly and articulately, without reminding her of her deficiency. It is no accident that the two "evil spirits" of the Trotta family are Hungarian and Prussian. (Musil also speaks about the "people-wide antipathy" that "the contemporary average Austrian felt towards his German brother".[21] Just how the same "average Austrian" felt towards his "Hungarian brother-in-law" we quoted earlier from Musil's novel.) As, indeed, it is also very typical of Roth's ethnic bias that the Trottas' "guardian angel", the lawyer Kiniower, is a Jew.

The author also expresses his sympathies and antipathies towards his particular heroes by the characterization of their exterior, gestures, and manner of speech. The Hungarians wear "monocles screwed in their eyes", they speak German "with a hard accent, in a singsong", "not so much out of necessity as out of affectation and as a protest".[22] Thus, in Roth's opinion, the Hungarians' characteristic accent is also a manifestation of their nationalism — not an involuntary, necessarily distorted articulation, but a deliberate protest. It is no accident that the accent becomes the object of the writer's irony primarily where the speaker gives way to nationalist outbursts — like, for instance, the unfortunate young Baron Kovács, who, incidentally, for all his nationalism, gives his life in the War for his country and for the emperor just as gallantly as the principal hero of Radetzkymarsch, Carl Josef von Trotta. That Baron Kovács's accent is no mere individual or constitutional peculiarity is also emphasized by the writer through a direct generalization of his character's articulation and vocal inflections, extending them to his entire ethnic group: the young Hungarian aristocrat spoke "like his fellow-countrymen". Baron Jenő Nagy, who is of Jewish origin, also speaks the "Hungarians' German", "which sounded like some snivelling syllabication". Baron Jenő Nagy, in spite of his origin, is the most nationalist character, and, since he will have a crucial role to play in the — from the standpoint of our topic — most important scene in Radetzkymarsch, I shall come back to him later on.

Colonel Földes, the garrison commander of Zlotograd -- who probably cannot be accused of the crime of nationalism — speaks, by contrast, in exactly the same way as the Zlotograd county chief, Baron Grappik: with the typical voice-production of aristocrats, that is to say, with a social, rather than a national, accent.

It is a social accent that Baron Franz von Trotta uses — the nasal tone characteristic of the high officials' layers and the lower nobles, which was slightly "reminiscent of the faraway sounds of a guitar in the night". The members of this stratum were similar not only in speech, but also in dress and hairstyle: they all imitated their emperor, Francis Joseph.

Roth does not idealize his subjects loyal to the Habsburgs; instead, he portrays them with gentle, indulgent irony, as most lovable, but slightly comic, outmoded figures, whom it is impossible to take seriously: they have, by now, neither any power nor authority; they are only preserving the appearances — or rather, it is the appearances that protect them. Just such a slightly ridiculous character, possessed of the appearance of power, is Colonel Kovács, Carl Joseph's regimental commander in Moravia, who is nevertheless very human and just about the only sympathetically presented Hungarian in the novels of Roth. In him, it is not the accent, but his fluent and excessive swearing that betokens his nationality.

And if, in the case of the Hungarians, it is their accent — probably less than impeccable to Austrian ears — that the writer holds up to ridicule, it is surprising that he employs the same method in regard to certain German-speaking characters of his as well. In their speech style, tone, indeed, intonations and articulation too he finds enough to criticize and, more importantly, to ridicule. And these too he takes beyond the individual and constitutional peculiarities, raising them to the level of traits characteristic of an entire ethnic group — in exactly the same way as I was trying to show earlier in the example of the Hungarians.

Miss Hirschwitz, the county chief's repulsive housekeeper, "who lived for a long time in Germany and always spoke in the literary language", has a great propensity for using elevated expressions. Lieutenant Trotta's fellow-officer, Lieutenant Kindermann, of imperial German origin, "was blond, rosy, and transparent", as, indeed, what he had to say was also "transparent"; "it was as if it were oozing from his own being, without himself getting any smaller in the process ... He sat at table like a cheerful nothing.

'Hello', he piped in his thin voice, which Colonel Kovács said was like the sound of one of the wind-instruments of the Prussian Army".[23] As for von Stettenheim, who provoked the most violent revulsion from the writer, he "spoke in that characteristic guttural voice that certain Prussians used — it sounds as though it came from the chimney, rather than from the throat,

giving a hollow, empty ring even to important things — on the few occasions, that is, when they say anything of importance".[24]

It is, of course, not in declarations or narrator's descriptions that the expression of genuine national feelings and the toleration of these on the part of other nationalities — that is, the relationship between the nations and nationalities within the Monarchy, their loyalty to the common homeland and their ruler — show themselves most authentically, but in situations that put to the proof one's patriotic feelings and loyalty to one's country proper, to one's concept of nation, — or perhaps a kind of loyalty that differs from all that. The episode, in Radetzkymarsch, of the assassination of the heir apparent proves just such a situation. Roth composes this historical event into his novel with an ingenious device. A regiment of dragoons near the border is celebrating, with great pomp and ceremony, the centenary of its existence — with invited guests, an orchestra, dance; just when the merrymaking is about to reach its height, a dispatch-rider racing against the impending storm arrives with a telegram, saying, "Heir apparent reported killed in Sarajevo". As the reaction of the invidivual groups and members of the multi-ethnic official corps to the news is crucial from the standpoint of our topic, I should like to quote this scene at some length in what follows.

"Some were perhaps paralyzed by fright; others were simply drunk. Most, however, were, by nature, indifferent towards what went on in the world, and it was almost as if they had been paralyzed by their inborn refinement. They thought it would ill befit them to give their bodies any inconvenience on account of some catastrophe. Some did not even take off the gaudy paper snakes and round bits of confetti from their shoulders, necks and heads. And their jester's insignia only intensified the horror of the news."[25]

Before the confused officers could decide on whether to continue or interrupt the evening — indeed, before they could even wake up from the intoxication caused by the drink and the music — all hell breaks loose. The Hungarian officers, giving vent to their national feelings, bottled up till then, gravely insult the victim of the assassination.

The keynote is given by Cavalry Officer Baron Jenő Nagy, mentioned above. "Although even his grandfather had undoubtedly been a Jew from Sopron, and it was only his father who had bought himself the barony, he considered the Hungarians to be the noblest race in the Monarchy, and indeed, in the whole world; — he was, moreover, engaged in a successful effort to pick up all the faults of the Hungarian squireen and so expunge his Semitic

origin... He managed to love everything that was favourable to the Hungarians' national politics and hate everything that was detrimental to them. He incited his heart to hate the crown prince because it was said everywhere that he liked the Slavs, but bore a grudge to the Hungarians... In general, he would have considered it treasonable to Hungarian feeling if, because of a vague rumour, a son of that nation had let slip an opportunity of dancing the csardas",[26] — therefore he urges that the celebration be continued.

It is characteristic of Roth's anti-Hungarian bias that he illustrates the Hungarians' national traits on a character that he himself regards as a parody of the Hungarians. As, indeed, it is also characteristic that, of his Jewish characters — usually lovingly and sympathetically portrayed —, he makes but one exception: the Hungarian Jew. Naturally, it is not because of his Jewishness, but because of his Hungarian-ness: the Hungarian Jew embodies the Hungarian national shortcomings and virtues in a concentrated form; he is, to all intents, the quintessence of the Hungarian national character, hence the writer is unable to forgive him his Hungarian-ness even on account of his Jewishness.

It is precisely Jenő Nagy's nationalism that inflames the nationalism of the Hungarian officers; for, if they did not want to outbid him in national feelings, perhaps they would not let themselves be carried away quite as much. They profoundly agree with their fellow-officer, yet, it riles them to see that he, of all people, should give voice to their opinion:

"Mr. Sennyei, who was more Magyar by blood than Mr. Nagy, was seized by sudden fear lest this son of Jewish parents might surpass him in Hungarian feeling. He therefore rose and loudly proclaimed, 'If the heir to the throne has been murdered, then, first, we know nothing certain about it, and, second, it doesn't concern us at all!'[27]

This is already lese majesty; still, the superiors do not intervene: neither Festetics, the Hungarian regimental commander nor his deputy, Major Zoglauer, an Austrian, react to it. For the time being, it is one of the Hungarian officers who tries to take away the edge of the hectoring statement:

"'It certainly does concern us', said Count Benkőy, 'but he hasn't been assassinated. It is a malicious rumour.'"

The confidence of the Hungarians makes the others doubtful too — so much so that, by now, they not only degrade the news into a false report, but they also question the role of the heir to the throne. What is more, the

qualification of the heir apparent comes not from the Hungarians, but from a Czech officer — a member of the nation cherished by the murdered Archduke: "First Lieutenant Kinsky, who grew up on the banks of the Moldva, claimed that the heir apparent had spelt great uncertainty for the Monarchy, anyway", and therefore his assassination "must be regarded as a false report".[28] And when all those present begin to incline to that point of view, the Hungarian officers shock the others with another tactkless action — they switch over to Hungarian:

"Count Batthyány, drunk, started speaking in Hungarian with his compatriots. The others did not understand a word of it. They fell silent, looked at the talkers one by one, and waited slightly scandalized. It seemed as though the Hungarians wanted to go on with the party undisturbed. So it was probably their national feeling that wished it so. They noticed on their facial expression — although... they did not understand a single word — that they were gradually growing oblivious of the presence of the others. Sometimes they laughed simultaneously. The others felt hurt, not because laughter was now out of place here, but because they did not know the occasion of it."[29]

And as, earlier on, the Hungarian national feelings were represented by the Jewish-born Jenő Nagy, the Austrian national feelings are voiced almost exclusively by the Slavs. First it was Captain Jelacich, a Slovene, who "flew into a passion" — his family "had been serving the dynasty of the Habsburgs with honesty and dedication for about a hundred and fifty years". He wants to intervene, but he too feels guilty, for the heir to the throne may have been killed by his own compatriots or their cousins, the Serbs. At last his indignation prevails over his sense of guilt, thought he personally is not hurt by the change of language — in the whole company, he is the only one who understands Hungarian. Still, he is the one who bangs the table:

"'May I ask you, gentlemen... to continue the conversation in German?'

Benkőy, who was just talking, stopped for a moment and then replied, 'I can tell it in German too: we have agreed that we can be happy if the pig is dead!'

They all jumped up."[30]

Except Colonel Festetics and Major Zoglauer, who still sit calmly. Only from the Polish Chojnicki and from Lieutenant Trotta, who is of Slovenian extraction, do we get any gestures of protest. The former leaves the room; while the latter, waving his revolver and shouting, commands silence. This

latest noisy scene is quite unprecedented. "Ever since the Austrian Army had existed, this was the first time that a lieutenant had commanded captains, majors, and colonels to silence..."[31]

At this, even Colonel Festetics and Major Zoglauer rise from their seats. They act in complete agreement, punishing not the lese majesty, but the breach of discipline: they order Lieutenant Trotta to leave the room.

This is followed by the most brilliant scene in the novel — a scene that is one of the most plastic replications in literature of that end-of-the-world atmosphere. As if nothing had happened, Lieutenant Benkőy, who himself had provoked the row, commands the two military bands to play a funeral march, — at which the assembled crowd begins a danse macabre, which gradually passes into the hysterical rampage of the minute before the Last Judgement, suggesting at once the tense, explosive historical moment and the intoxicated mood of the regiment of dragoons, celebrating their centenary. The slow gyrating turns into a wild, exultant jumping about, with Chopin's Funeral March continuing to provide the musical background — true, in a rather profane orchestration:

"Round about a few guests were going round and round in time to the funeral march. Their shoulders and hair were strewn with paper snakes and confetti stars... With unsteady motion, their legs obeyed the macabre and stumbling rhythm. For the bands were playing without notes; and they were not led, but only accompanied by the slow ribbons drawn in the air by the conductors' black batons.Sometimes one band fell behind the other; at this, the former tried to catch up with it and for this reason was forced to leave out a few bars. The guests were marching round and round, around the reflecting centre of the parquet... They were all drunk. And those who had not drunk enough were reeling from the interminable circling... The drummers were beating their drums without a stop... The drunken drummer abruptly struck the silver triangle, and at the same moment Count Benkőy took a great leap for joy. 'The pig is dead!' he shouted in Hungarian. But everybody understood, as though he had been speaking in German.A few people started jumping about. The bands were blaring the funeral march faster and faster. It was interrupted every now and then by the silvery, high and drunken laugh of the triangle."[32]

At the climax of the hysteria, the mourning crowd, instead of weeping, bursts out laughing. So after this minor interlude the merrymaking continues essentially undisturbed...

* * *

In Roth's portraiture, the Hungarians appear in a very negative way. No loyalty binds them to the reigning family, and it is only for their birthplace, historical Hungary, that they have an ardent patriotism. However, as history was subsequently to prove, that indifference towards the Empire and the reigning family spelt less danger for the Monarchy than the unqualified loyalty and passionate devotion of the Trottas of this world to the whole of the Empire, which, to them, meant something more, something "greater, wider, more sublime than merely one's country"[33] — to them it was home. It is a tragic paradox that it was precisely this ardent patriotism that destroyed that home — for it was loyalty towards the Habsburgs that would not leave the death of the heir to the throne unavenged. Had the assassination in Sarajevo been merely an interlude in history — an interlude without any consequences like the news of that assassination at the anniversary celebration of the regiment of dragoons, World War I would not have broken out — or at least it would have broken out for some other reason. Certainly Radetzkymarsch would suggest that the Hungarian officers, so far from being willing to lay down their lives, were reluctant to give up even the csardas because of the assassination of Francis Ferdinand.

To speculate on what the fate of the Monarchy would have been if the top imperial leadership had adopted the view of these Hungarian officers would be a fruitless exercise. It is not very likely that it would have survived in an unaltered form. The erstwhile common homeland has since passed into the realm of myth and has been filled with the magic of fairy tales,[34] but the alternately weakening and strengthening nostalgia for it seems to indicate that the coexistence, under Habsburg tutelage, of disparate cultures and languages had advantages, as well as drawbacks, for all the participating nations. Looking back at that period with the benefit of our more recent historical experience, we might venture the opinion that that form of coexistence was probably no worse than the later federal formations which came into being on the basis of the altered political interests and balance of forces, ignoring the will, historical traditions — and indeed, the genuine interests — of the nations dragged into them.

Notes

[1]Musil, R. A tulajdonságok nélküli ember (The Man without Characteristics). Vol. I-III. Európa Könyvkiadó. Budapest, 1977. Vol. I, p. 40. (The German original: "seither untergegangene, unverstandene Staat", In: Musil, R.

Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften. Rowohlt Verlag. Hamburg, 1952. p. 32.)

[2]Ibid. 44. ("war... ohne dass die welt es schen wusste, der fortgeschrittenste Staat"; 10c. cit. p. 35.)

[3]Ibid. 42. ("Sie waren so heftig... dass ihretwegen die Staatsmaschine mehrmals im Jahr stockte und stillstand, aber in den Zwischenzeiten und Staatspausen kam man ausgezeichnet miteinander aus, und tat als ob nichts gewesen wäre... die Abneigung gegen den Mitbürger war dort bis zum Gemeinschaftsgefühl gesteigert." Ibid. 34.)

[4]Ibid. 237. ("(es) bestand nicht etwa aus einem österreichischen und einem ungarischen Teil, die sich, wie man dann glauben könnte, ergänzten, sondern es bestand aus einem Ganzen und einem Teil, nämlich aus einem ungarischen und aus einem österreichischen-ungarischen Staatsgefühl, und dieses zweite war in Österreich zu Hause, wodurch das österreichische Staatsgefühl eigentlich vaterlandslos war. Der Österreicher kam nur in Ungarn vor, und dort als Abneigung; daheim nannte er sich einen Staatsangehörigen der im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreiche und Länder der österreichischen-ungarischen Monarchie, was das gleiche bedeutet wie einen Österreicher mehr einem Ungarn weniger diesen Ungarn, und er tat das nicht etwa mit Begeisterung, sondern einer Idee zuliebe, die ihm zuwider war, denn er konnte die Ungarn ebensowenig leiden wie die Ungarn ihn..." Ibid. p. 17.)

[5]Roth, J. A kapucinuskripta. In: A Radetzky-induló. A kapucinuskripta. Európa K. Budapest, 1982. 367. ("'Merkwürdig', sagte der junge Festetics, 'diese Slowenen! Die Ungarn nehmen ihnen die primitivsten nationalen Rechte, sie wehren sich, sie rebellieren sogar gelegentlich oder haben zumindest den Anschein zu rebellieren, aber sie feiern den Geburtstag des Königs.' 'In dieser Monarchie', erwiderte Graf Chojnicki... 'ist nichts merkwürdig... das sogenannte Merkwürdige ist für Österreich-Ungarn das Selbstverständliche... nur diesem verrückten Europa der Nationalitäten und der Nationalismen (erscheint) das Selbstverständliche sonderbar..." (Roth, J. Die Kapuzinergruft. Kiepenheuer and Witsch. Köln, 1987. 17.)

[6]Musil, R. op. cit. 43. ("Die Abneigung... hätte noch grosse Folgen haben könne, wenn (ihre) Entwicklung nicht durch eine Katastrophe vor der Zeit unterbrochen worden wäre." Op. cit. 34.)

[7]Mikoletzky, H.L. Österreichische Zeitgeschichte vom Ende der Monarchie bis zum Anschluss. Wien, 1964. 69.

[8]Roth, J. A kapucinuskripta. Quoted edition, 368. ("Das Wesen Österreichs ist nicht Zentrum, sondern Peripherie. Österreich ist nicht in den Alpen zu finden, Gemsen gibt es dort und Edelweiss und Enzian, aber kaum eine Ahnung von einem Doppeladler. Die österreichische Substanz wird genährt und immer wieder aufgefüllt von den Kronländern." Die Kapuzinergruft, quoted edition, 18.)

[9]Ibid. 457. ("Ihr habt nicht sehen wollen, dass diese Alpentrottel und die Sudetenböhmen, diese kretinischen Niebelungen unsere Nationalitäten so lange beleidigt und geschändet haben, bis sie anfingen, die Monarchie zu hassen und zu verraten. Nicht unsere Tschechen, nicht unsere Serben, nicht unsere Polen, nicht unsere Ruthenen haben verraten, sondern nur unsere Deutschen, das Staatsvolk." Ibid. 141.)

[10]Ibid. 481-482. ("'... wir sind Polen, höre ich. Wir waren es immer. Warum sollten wir nicht? Und wir sind Österreicher: warum sollten wir keine sein? Aber es gibt eine spezielle Trottelei der Ideologen. Die Sozialdemokraten haben verkündet, dass Österreich ein Bestandteil der deutschen Republik sei; wie sie überhaupt die widerwärtigen Entdecker der sogenannten Na-

tionalitäten sing. Die christlichen Alpentrottel folgen den Sozialdemokraten.' 'Auf den Bergen wohnt die Dumheit', sagte ich, 'Josef Chojnicki'. 'Und zu glauben', berichtete Chojnickis Bruder weiter, 'dass dieser Mann verrückt ist! Ich bin überzeugt: er ist es gar nicht. Ohne den Untergang der Monarchie wäre er gar nicht verrückt geworden!'... seitdem er im Irrenhaus war, mit undermüdlichem Eifern strickte. 'Ich stricke die Monarchie', sagte er von Zeit zu Zeit." Ibid. 176-177.)

[11]Roth, J. A Radetzky-induló, 30. ("Er fühlte sich ein wenig den Habsburgen verwandt, deren Macht sein Vater hier repräsentierte und verteidigte und für die einmal ausziehen sollte, in den Krieg und in den Tod. Er kannte die Namen aller Mitglieder des Allerhöchsten von Herzen, vor allen andern den Kaiser, der gütig war und gross, der der Armee besonders zugetan. Am besten starb man für ihn bei Militärmusik, am leichtesten beim Radetzkymarsch.") (Radetzkymarsch, DTV, München, 1985. 25-26.)

[12]Ibid. 136-137. ("Der Bezirkshauptmann..hatte niemals den Wunsch gespürt, die Heimat seiner väter zu sehn. Er war Österreicher, Diener und Beamter der Habsburger, und seine Heimat war die kaiserliche Burg zu Wien... Er wünschte sich nicht, den Pflug über die gesegnete slowenische Erde zu führen... 'Der Schicksal hat aus unserem Geschlecht von Grenzbauern Österreicher gemacht. Wir wollen es bleiben.'" Ibid. 120-121.)

[13]Ibid. 247. ("Es war dem Bezirkshauptmann, als bestünde plötzlich die ganze Welt aus Tschechen; einer Nation, die er für widerspenstig, hartköpfig und dumm hielt und überhaupt für die Erfinder des Begriffes: Nation. Es mochte viele Völker geben, aber keinesweges Nationen." Ibid. 219.)

[14]A kapucinuskripta, 360. ("(Er) träumte von einem slawischen Königreich unter der Herrschaft der Habsburger. Er träumte von einer Monarchie der Österreicher, Ungarn und Slawen." Die Kapuzinergruft, 7.)

[15]Búcsúztató az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia fölött. (A Sendoff to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.) Budapest, 1919. 8.

[16]A kpaucinuskripta, 406. ("Die Zigeuner der Pussta, die subkarpatischen Huzulen, die jüdischen Fiaker aus Galizien... die slowenischen Marenibrater... die schwäbischen Tabakpflanzer aus der Bacska, die Pferdezüchter der Steppe, die osmanischen Sibersna, jene von Bosnien und Herzegowina, die Pferdehändler aus der Hanakei in Mähren, die Weber aus dem Erzgebirge, die Müller und Korallenhändler aus Podolien: sie alle waren die grossmütigen Nährer Österreichs; je ärmer, desto grossmütiger. So viel Weh, so viel Schmerz, freiwillig dargeboten, als wäre es selbstverständlich, hatten dazu gehört, damit das Zentrum der Monarchie in der Welt gelte als die Heimat der Grazie, des Frohsinns und der Genialität." Die Kapuzinergruft, 72-73.)

[17]In Claudio Magris's view, "Roth's human antipathies and sympathies do not matter much"; this view, however, is refuted by the novels quoted. Cf. A Habsburg-mítosz. (The Habsburg Myth.) Európa K. Budapest, 1988. 165.

[18]A kapucinuskripta, p. 369. ("'Die Ungarn leiden am meisten von allen in dieser Doppelmonarchie'. 'Die Ungarn, lieber Kovacs, unterdrücken nicht weniger, als folgende Völker: Slowaken, Rumänen, Kroaten, Serben, Ruthenen, Bosniaken, Schwaben aus der Bacska und Siebenbürger Sachsen.'") (Die Kapuzinergruft, 18.)

[19]Ibid. 444. ("Die Tür wurde aufgerissen, etwas Dunkles wehte herein, ein Stück wind, eine, junge Frau mit schwarzen kurzen Haaren, schwarzen grossen Augen, dunkelgelbem Gesicht und starkem Schurrbartflaum über roten Lippen und kräftigen blanken Zähnen. Die Frau schmetterte etwas in den Raum mir unverständliches..." Ibid. 122.)

[20]Ibid. 455. ("'Und was ist das für eine Frau Professor Jolant Keczkemet?'
'Szatmary, Mama', verbesserte ich.
'Meinetwegen Szekely', gab meine Mutter zu. 'Also was ist les... Und von welcher Wissenschaft ist diese Keczkemet Professor?'
'Szatmary, Mama!', verbesserte ich.
'Meinetwegen: Lakatos', sagte meine Mutter nach einiger Überlegung. '... Und heute?... Heute ist sie wieder bei der Professor Halaszy!'
'Szatmary, Mama!'
'Ich geb' nichts auf dorlei Namen, Bub, das weisst du, korrigiere mich nicht immerzu!'" Ibid. 137-138.)

[21]Musil, R. op. cit. 598-599. (Musil, R. op. cit. 424.)

[22]A kapucinuskripta, 368. ("Er sprach das harte und singende Deutsch der Ungarn, nicht so sehr aus Notwendigkeit wie aus Koketterie und Protest". Die Kapuzinergruft, 18.)

[23]A Radetzky-induló, 77. ("(Er) bestand aus einer blonden, rosigen und durchsichtigen Substanz... Alles, was er sagte, war luftig und durchsichtig, aus seinem Wesen fortgehaucht, ohne dass er sich vermindert hätte... Ein heiteres Nichts, sass er am Tischchen. 'Servus!' pfiff er mit seiner hohen Stimme, von der Oberst Kovacs sagte, sie sei eines der Blasinstrumente der preussischen Armee". Radetzkymarsch, 66-67.)

[24]A kapucinuskripta, 465. ("... sprach in jener gutturalen Stimme gewisser Preussen, die eher aus einem Kamin als aus einer Kehle zu kommen scheint und auch das Bedeutende hohl macht, das sie manchmal äussern". Die Kapuzinergruft, 152-153.)

[25]A Radetzky-induló, 315. ("Manche machte der Schreck gelähmt haben, andere waren einfach betrunken. Die dritten aber waren von Natur gleichgültig gegen alle Vorgänge in der Welt und sozusagen aus angeborener Vornehmheit gelähmt, und es schien ihnen, dass es sich für sie nicht schicke, lediglich wegen einer Katastrophe ihren Körper zu inkommodieren. Manche hatten nicht einmal die bunten Papierschlangenfetzen und die runden Korianoliblättern von ihren Schultern, Hälsen und Köpfen entfernt. Und ihre närrischen Abzeichen verstärkten nach den Schrecken der Nachricht." Radetzkymarsch, 281.)

[26]Ibid. 317. ("Er hielt, obwohl er zweifellos von einem jüdischen Grossvater aus Ödenburg abstammte und obwohl erst sein Vater die Baronie gekauft hatte, die Magyaren für eine der adligsten Rassen der Monarchie und der Welt, und er bemühte sich mit Erfolg, die semitische, der er entstammte, zu vergessen, indem er alle Fehler der ungarischen Gentry annahm... Es war ihm gelungen, alles, was der nationalen Politik der Ungarn günstig oder abträglich erschien, zu lieben, beziehungsweisse zu hassen. Er hatte sein Herz angespornt, den Thronfolger der Monarchie zu hassen, weil es allgemein hiess, er sei den slawischen Wölkern günstig gesinnt und den Ungarn böse... Er hielt es überhaupt für einen Verrat an der magyarischen Nation, wenn sich einer ihrer Angehörigen die Gelegenheit, einen Csardas zu tanzen, zu dem er aus Rassegründen verpflichtet war, durch ein Gerücht verderben liess". Ibid. 283.)

[27]Ibid. 318. ("Herr von Sennyi, magyarischer von Geblüt als Herr von Nagy und von plötzlicher Angst erfasst, ein Judenstämmling könnte ihn in ungarischer Gesinnung übertraffen, erhab sich und sagte: 'Wann der Herr Thronfolger ermordet ist, so erstens wissen wir nichte Sicheres davon, zweitens geht uns das gar nichts and!'

[28]'Es geht uns etwas an', sagte der Graf Benkőy, 'aber er ist gar nicht emordet. Es ist ein Gerücht!'" Ibid. 283.) ("Oberleutnant Kinsky, an den Unfern der Moldau aufgewachsen, behauptete, der Thronfolger sei jedenfalls eine höchst unsichere Chance der Monarchie gewesen..." Ibid. 284.)

[29]Ibid. 318. ("Der betrunkene Graf Batthyányi begann hierauf, sich mit seinen Landsleuten auf ungarisch zu unterhalten. Man verstand kein Wort. Die andern blieben still, sahen die sprechenden der Reihe nach an und warteten, immerhin ein wenig bestürtzt. Aber die Ungarn schienen munter fortfahren wollen, den ganzen Abend; also mochte es ihre nationale Sitte heischen. Man bemerkte... dass sie allmählich anfingen die Anwesenheit der andern zu vergessen. Manchmal lachten sie gemeinsam auf. Man fühlte sich beleidigt, weniger, weil das Gelächter in dieser Stunde unpassend erschien, als weil man seine Ursache nicht feststellen konnte" Ibid. 284.)

[30]Ibid. 319. ("'Wir bitten die Herren... die Unterhaltung auf deutsch fortzusetzen.' Benkőy, der gerade gesprochen hatte, hielt ein und antwortete: 'Ich will es auf deutsch sagen: wir sind übereingekommen, meine Landsleute und ich, dass wir froh sein können, wann das Schwein hin ist!' Alle sprangen auf." Ibid. 285.)

[31]Ibid. 322. ("Zum ersten mal, seitdem es eine österreichische Armee gab, befahl ein Leutnant Rittmeistern, Majoren und Obersten Ruhe." Ibid. 287.)

[32]Ibid. 322. ("Ringsum wandelten ein paar Gäste im Kreis, im Kreis zum Takt des Trauermarsches. Bunte Papierschlangen und Koriandolisterne lagen auf ihre Schultern und Haaren... Ihre Füsse gehorchten schwankend dem makabren und stolpernden Rhythmus. Die Kapellen spielten nämlich ohne Noten, nicht dirigiert, sondern begleitet von den langsamen Schleifen, die der Kapellmeister schwarze Taktstöcke durch die Luft zeichneten. Manchmal blieb eine Kapelle hinter der anderen zurück, suchte die vorauseilende zu erhaschen und musste ein paar Takte auslassen. Die Gäste marschierten im Kreis ringe um das leere spiegelnde Rund des Parketts... Alle waren betrunken. Und wer noch nicht genügend getrunken hatte, dem drehte sich der Kopf vom unermüdlichen Kreisen... Die Trommler trommelten ohne Unterlass. Der betrunkene Pauker schlug plötzlich an den silbernen Triangel, und im selben Augenblick machte Graf Benkőy einen Freudensprung. 'Das Schwein ist hin!' schrie der Graf auf ungarisch. Aber alle verstanden es, als ob er deutsch gesprochen hätte. Plötzlich begannen einige zu hüpfen. Immer schneller schmetterten die Kapellen den Trauermarsch. Dazwischen lächelte der Triangel silbern, hell und betrunken." Ibid. 287-288.)

[33]A kapucinuskripta, 366. (Die Kapuzinergruft, 15.)

[34]Cf. Claudio Magris's quoted book. (In German: Der habsburgische Mythos in der Österreichischen Literatur. Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1966.)

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ENGLISH LITERATURE, PAINTING AND MUSIC: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Peter Egri

Budapest

The concept of Comparative Literature, in a broader sense, includes the comparison of literature to the other arts. What does the study of English literature gain from such comparisons? In what way could interdisciplinary research enrich literary investigations? What areas, principles, methods and categories could be focussed? It is questions of this kind that this sketch is devoted to.

1. Of the many uses to which English painting and music can be put in elucidating the cultural context of English literature and even the quality of particular literary works, the one which most readily presents itself is illustration. The discussion of, say, painted scenes from Shakespeare's plays (such as Fuseli's weird and visionary Titania, Bottom and Fairies and The Three Witches or Millais's Pre-Raphaelite Ophelia) as well as of Shakespearean songs set to music by Morley, Purcell, Arne, Vaughan Williams or Tippett not only represent changing perspectives on Shakespeare but also throw into relief hidden aspects of his dramatic and poetic art. An echo of this sort is always a comment on the sound.

2. Another possibility is the re-creation of an original literary model in terms of a deliberate reinterpretation. Of course, even a "faithful" illustration of a literary work implies and includes the element of reassessment: the image is not only determined by the object; it is also inevitably qualified and modified by the eye viewing it. The epoch, trend, genre, medium and the very personality of the later artist or composer necessarily bring about a change in presenting the model. However, in a number of cases, this change reaches the degree of an intentional reinterpretation.

A case in point is Michelangelo's and Blake's readings and renderings of the text of the Genesis. The extraordinary beauty of Michelangelo's Creation of Man (part of the Sistine Chapel fresco) lies, among other things, in the fact that God's and Adam's forefingers do not meet. The two bodies have been so fully formed that the sheer act of contact would turn the metaphysical into the physical and would overturn the Renaissance balance and harmony of the spiritual and the secular, the ideal and the real. In Blake's

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

God Creating Adam, Renaissance harmony changes into Romantic disharmony: both God and Adam are shown exhausted and prostrate, Adam's body is already threatened by the coils of the serpent, and the plasticity of the Renaissance view is transformed into the nightmare of a Romantic vision. Blake's Milton illustrations also constitute a reassessment. So does Händel's treatment of Milton's L'Allegro, and Il Penseroso in his oratorio L'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed Il Moderato, not only because he has added a new third part based on the libretto of Charles Jennens praising the golden mean, but also because his music ingeniously emphasizes and tremendously enhances the opposition of the first two parts by composing parallel passages immediately one after the other. In this way, not only L'Allegro and Il Penseroso become contrasted as a whole, but their various sections are also confronted one by one with full Baroque vigour.

3. Painting and music are also eminently suited to evoke the historical atmosphere of a period discussed in literary history. Holbein's paintings of Henry VIII and Sir Thomas More are so powerfully individualized that even if one does not happen to know which of the two Renaissance portraits represents the ruthless ruler and which one shows the vulnerable victim, a glance at the two pictures would immediately and unambiguously advise him. The opposition between the extrovert king and the introvert thinker prefigures the dramatic conflict between Claudius and Hamlet. Henry VIII's songs give a no less characteristic portrait of the king. His hunting tunes and his haunting Hélas Madame are especially revealing and ominous manifestations of that collector and killer of animals and wives.

4. The most promising and rewarding type of comparison between literature and painting or literature and music can conveniently be termed axiological parallel. This is comparison based on shared values. Since this method implies the systematic collation of values outside and inside the works of art, and since the two spheres are connected by form which is instrumental in selecting, condensing, reordering, generalizing and assessing primary experience, axiological parallel is concerned both with matter and manner, attitude and form.

The parallel is the closest where the artist is the same: Blake and Rossetti, the poet and painter, or Tippett, the librettist and opera composer. Blake is a particularly revealing example. The sharp outlines used by the painter would seem to correspond to the allegorically rigorous myth created by the poet; and the manner in which the colours attack, rather than simply fill in, the outlines reminds one of the Romantic charge of Blake's

poetry. The joint testimony of his poetry and painting give the lie to the traditional view according to which Romanticism in English literature began in 1798. Blake's inspired and impassioned mediaevalism precedes the publication of Wordsworth's and Coleridge's Lyrical Ballads, as do, in a different medium, the beginnings of the trend and vogue of the Gothic novel, and as does the start of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolution whose values Blake rejected.

Axiological parallels are also valid in cases when the authors, artists and composers are not the same, but the trend they belong to is.

During the Renaissance the experience of an expanding human universe, of increased human possibilities, potentials and values (engendered and promoted by geographical discoveries and bourgeois progress) became formally crystallized in the parallel achievements of poetry, painting and music. In each branch of art a new dimension developed or became emphatic. In poetry the harmony of line-ending rhymes reached an unprecedented elaborateness. While such rhymes did not exist in Classical Antiquity, and only cropped up in mediaeval religious and secular (troubadour) poetry, they attained an extraordinary significance in the complex rhyme schemes of the Renaissance sonnet (Sidney, Spenser and Shakespeare). In painting the third dimension of depth appeared (so prominent in Holbein's The Ambassadors). In music the horizontal dimension of the early mediaeval Gregorian chant (melody) was complemented by the vertical dimension of Renaissance harmony (Tallis's forty-part motet, Byrd's, Morley's, Dowland's, Weelkes's or Wilbye's madrigals). The medium in which the new dimension can be witnessed varies from art to art. The number of dimensions is also different; in painting it is 2+1, in music it is 1+1. But the Renaissance performance of adding a dimension to the pre-Renaissance phase of development certainly represents an axiological parallel and a quantitative as well as qualitative change. The new dimension of Renaissance poetry, painting and music is at variance with the old, etymological definition of the trend.[1] Although the axiological premises of the Renaissance have points of contact with those of Classical Antiquity, they cannot be derived and deduced from them. During the Renaissance the culture of Greek and Roman times was revived and reshaped, but the Renaissance cannot be defined as the revival of Classical Antiquity. The energetic and harmonic unfolding of the human personality promoted by the early development of the bourgeoisie in late feudalism and resulting in a new phase in the evolution of individualism, the enrichment of the inner self and plasticity cannot be discussed in terms of a mere rebirth. The

more we take into consideration the comparative evidence of literature and the other arts, the less so.

The Baroque period offers further axiological parallels. Particularly telling is the conspicuous structural congruence between Milton's sonnets and Purcell's fugues. Far from returning to the Petrarchan form of the sonnet, Milton integrated the rhyme scheme of the Petrarchan Renaissance sonnet (abba, abba, cdc, dcd, with possible alterations in the sestet) into a new Baroque form. With Petrarch the division of the rhyme scheme into the octet and the sestet is usually congruent with a similar division in the intellectual-emotional content. In this pattern the rhyme scheme expresses Renaissance plasticity, which can be observed in the whole form of the Petrarchan sonnet. In the Miltonic sonnet form, however, the division of the rhyme scheme is not congruent with the articulation of the intellectual-emotional structure. Whereas the rhyme scheme is, as a rule, of the Petrarchan type, or some modification of it, and so its main division is 8:6, the chief units in the intellectual-emotional structure have the most varying proportions such as 9:5 (When the Assault Was Intended to the City), 11.5:2.5 (On the Late Massacre in Piemont), 12:2 (On His Deceased Wife, To Mr. Lawrence), 7.5:6.5 (On His Blindness), etc.

This difference does not indicate any fault with Milton; it only shows that the Miltonic form of the sonnet is characterized not by Renaissance plasticity but by Baroque tension, which is also expressed by the frequent use of enjambments, i.e. the non-coincidence of a syntactic unit (sentence) and a verse unit (line), as well as by complex, often retarded sentences and contrasted images. (These latter were even more cultivated by the Metaphysical poets.)

Thus the Miltonic sonnet form is contrapuntal. As long as the rhyme scheme of the sonnet coincides with the intellectual-emotional structure, it does not call attention to itself; it only accompanies the movement of emotions as lute chords do the melody of a Renaissance song. But as soon as the rhyme scheme and intellectual-emotional structure of the sonnet follow independent courses, they become separate factors in the total effect of the poem, and function as contrapuntal melodies do in the Baroque polyphony of the fugue.

The extraordinary tension of the fugue, as composed by Purcell, Arne, Boyce, Bach, Händel or his competent English follower, Stanley, is derived from a pattern which realizes and makes audible the highest degree of identity in contrast and contrast in identity. The repetition of the subject re-

presents the principle of identity; but the repeated subject appears at different times, at different pitches, in different voices, and is counterpointed by different melodies (counter-subjects) embodying the contrast. In the fugue form all differences develop into oppositions or contrasts. However, even the utmost contrast of the counterpoint must bear some similarity (harmonic kinship) to the original main subject not to be out of tune. Identity in contrast and contrast in identity are made even more involved and strained by a number of sophisticated devices confronting the basic subject with its own derivatives (inversion backwards, inversion upside down, inverting backwards the overturned melody, augmentation and diminution). The emphasis on tension, contrast and conflict is indicative of an inherent dramatic quality also present in other characteristic Baroque genres, the opera, the oratorio, the concerto and the concerto grosso. Purcell's powerful Dido and Aeneas may exemplify the dramatic possibilities both of the fugue (in the quick section of the overture) and of the opera.

If we project the pattern of the fugue on a system of co-ordinates (i.e. translate a temporal structure into a spatial one), and connect the points indicating the entries of subjects and counter-subjects in the different voices, we obtain the slanting axis of Baroque painting so evident in the works of Peter Lely (influenced by Van Dyck and Rubens), in Rubens's High Baroque canvas, Dido's Death, and even in Reynolds's picture depicting the same scene in the "Grand Style" of half-Baroque, half-Neo-Classical sublimity. The superiority of Purcell's dramatic evocation over Rubens's and Reynolds's theatrical treatment may exemplify the occasional uneven development of expressive and representational arts, a phenomenon axiological comparisons must reckon with.

The parallels drawn between Baroque poetry, painting and music suggest that harmonic equilibrium in this trend was not immediately given and could only have been approached through sharp dynamic and dramatic contradictions in a tense field of force. Contrasts presuppose polarization. The Baroque, therefore, cannot be viewed merely as the expression of Counter-Reformation,[2] a traditional approach which comparative analysis must find inadequate as a universal principle of explanation. As soon as the oeuvres of Purcell, Bach and Händel are also taken into serious consideration when the general concept of the Baroque is formed, it becomes obvious that Milton's Baroque Puritanism (Protestanism) cannot be regarded as an "exception", and the trend must be redefined. To consider Milton, Purcell, Bach and Händel as exceptions would lead to the absurdity that the peak of a tendency is

looked upon as a deviation from it. To relegate the upper time limit of the English Renaissance to 1660 or 1688 is not a solution but an evasion. The concept of English Baroque literature cannot contradict the general concept of Baroque. At this point the comparative analysis of different branches of art becomes inevitable. Accordingly, it seems to be necessary to revise the traditional view and to reconsider Baroque as the expression of an unresolved tension between the two opposed poles of feudal-Catholic and bourgeois-Protestant tendencies. It was not identical with any of these poles, not even with that of the court, feudalism and Catholic Counter-Reformation. It was rather the spark flashing between the two poles of contemporary contradictions. The tension between the two poles can be comprehended and expressed from the side of any one of the two poles. The side taken naturally motivates, modifies and colours the expression of the tension itself. The aristocratic and Catholic side is usually more picturesque, decorative and grandiose, often verging on a theatrical flourish of restless energy, whereas the bourgeois and Protestant side frequently appears to be more puritanic, meditative and inward-turning. But in each instance a relationship between two poles is involved. Thus while in the case of the Renaissance, comparative analysis and interdisciplinary research suggest the need for a modification of the traditional approach to the trend, in the case of the Baroque, they point to the necessity of a complete reformulation of earlier positions.

As soon as the unresolved tension of the Baroque had been relieved, Baroque vision gave way to the Enlightenment and its stylistic manifestations (Classicism and Realism). In England a marked historical turning point came with the so-called "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, which was, in fact, a compromise between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

The new era saw gradual growth in all fields: the economy was characterized by the original accumulation of capital; political life by the development of parliamentary democracy; intellectual life by the spread of rationalism and an enlightened belief in the possibility to improve existing conditions; and artistic form by a linear structure and an additive, open pattern, as if an indefinite number of pearls had been strung on a thread. This pattern proved one of the general formative principles of the age and created a number of well-marked axiological parallels in the most diverse branches of art. In poetry it appeared in the form of Pope's and Dryden's series of heroic couplets and avoidance of enjambments. In his translation of the Odyssey, Pope has even substituted this form for Homer's roaring hexameters, and in his rendering, Homer's powerful storm gives the auditory

impression of a piecemeal tempest: the raging wind blows a bit, — is out of breath, — blows again, — is out of breath.[3]

In prose fiction the additive pattern prevails in novels of the most different kinds: in the novel of travel (Smollett), the novel of adventure (Defoe), the novel of letters (Richardson), the novel of satirical attack (Swift) and in the novel of extravagance or humorous digression (Sterne's ingenious Tristram Shandy), which consciously plays and juggles with the pattern, making its looseless explicit even at the expense of the linear structure.

In painting something extraordinary happens: in the very age when in his Laokoon Lessing expounds the theory of the "pregnant instant", characteristic of the treatment of time in the spatial arts, Hogarth creates his narrative satirical series preceding and contradicting the theory, as it were, in advance (A Harlot's Progress, A Rake's Progress and Marriage à la Mode). He does not really prove Lessing wrong; he only proves how exceptionally strong the narrative impulse of the additive pattern in the age of the novel was: each painting in the "progresses" is full of events; each painting multiplies its narrative range by being linked to another one; events also take place between the painted scenes in an undeterminable number; the objects and animals in the pictures provide epic detail; and even the paintings on the walls of the paintings narrate events. The number of scenes is not determined, A Harlot's Progress consists of six pictures, A Rake's Progress eight, the Election series four;[4] and the quality of the sequences would not have fundamentally changed if one or two links in the chain had been added or removed. The same is true of the picaresque novel. It is only the first and one of the later links (not necessarily the very last one) in Hogarth's series which are thematically strongly tied, and in this way determine the direction of the story told in an epic vein and sometimes with a theatrical arrangement of the particular scenes.

In contemporary English music The Beggar's Opera by Gay and Pepusch (a scene of which was illustrated by Hogarth) clearly conforms to the additive pattern. The picaresque looseness of the pattern receives, as it were, its ars poetica at the end of the play, where the Beggar and the Player, who run the show, decide that Captain Macheath should be granted reprieve. Although everything and everybody (including the highwayman) is ready for the hanging, and the Captain deserves to be hanged, tragedy should be avoided, and "The catastrophe is manifestly wrong, for an Opera must end happily." After all, "in this kind of Drama, 'tis no matter how

absurdly things are brought about".[5] The picaresque looseness of the additive pattern is also proved by the fact that, seeing the success of his play, Gay has added a sequel (Polly), another series of dramatized adventures. There is so little dramatic necessity in character portrayal and plot that while in The Beggar's Opera Macheath escapes in a deus ex machina way, in Polly he is inadvertently executed. Adding a sequel is a procedure which the authors of picaresque novels have not infrequently adopted (Defoe has also written one to his Robinson Crusoe). Dickens's Great Expectations, however, could hardly have been complemented by another novel... The Beggar's Opera as a satirical Newgate pastoral conforms to the additive pattern of the Enlightenment in a double sense: not only the narrative line of the play follows the model, but the popular songs of the ballad opera strung on that line also represent the same structure. The lack of, and open opposition to, Baroque recitative and the spicy parodies on Purcell's Buonocini's and Händel's operatic styles strengthen this impression.

With its undetermined number of movements, occasional repetition of the same type of movement and charmingly and gracefully free structure, the Classical suite (Haydn's and Mozart's divertimenti, serenades and cassations) also constitute an additive pattern indicating the fact that the Enlightenment was a universal trend. In England the Enlightenment was a post-revolutionary phenomenon, and therefore there the most typical manifestation of the additive pattern was the Realistic novel representing the Hegelian totality of objects and relying on an established and developing order. In Austria and Germany the Enlightenment was a pre-revolutionary movement, and thus the most characteristic expression of the pattern was the Classical suite challenging and channelling emotions.

This duality survived and grew even stronger when narrative and musical forms became crystallized in the comprehensive and tightly-knit fabric of Fielding's Tom Jones and the Classical sonata form. While — in a much more complex and intricate manner — they are also linear, they constitue a different, autonomous and closed pattern of the Enlightenment. The structural difference between Fielding's Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones on the one hand, and Mozart's Haffner Serenade and Haffner Symphony on the other, clearly mark the mould of crystallization.[6] The pattern is universal, but its realization in particular branches and genres of art is subject to the uneven development of arts. It is not without reason that the English sonatas of James Hook and William Crotch are merely imitative and derivative.

Further axiological parallels exist between the Romantic form of the

sonnet, landscape and sonata (Wordsworth, Constable and Parry); in the evocation of the tempest as the storm of Romantic imagination (Shelley, Turner, Field and Chopin); in the musicalization of artistic forms (Whistler, Huxley and Joyce);[7] or in the parodistic relativization of traditional values by modern trends (Henry Lamb's portrait of Lytton Strachey, the literary caricatures in the Oxen of the Sun episode of Joyce's Ulysses, or Britten's Variations and Fugue on a Theme of Purcell).

Illustration, reinterpretation, the evocation of the atmosphere of a period and axiological parallel are but a few of a number of possible approaches with which comparative analysis may contribute to the better understanding of English literature seen in the context of English cultural history.

Notes

[1]For the traditional definition of the Renaissance see, for example, Halliday, F.E.: A Shakespeare Companion. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969, p. 407.

[2]For a summary of various approaches to the Baroque compare Wellek, René: The Concept of Baroque in Literary Scholarship. In: Concepts of Criticism. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1964, pp. 69-114, 115-27.

[3]The description of a sea storm, raised by Poseidon, in Book V, lines 291-6 of Homer's Odyssey reads like this in Pope's end-stopped heroic couplets:

"He spoke, and high the forky trident hurl'd,
Rolls clouds on clouds, and stirs the watery world,
At once the face of earth and sea deforms,
Swells all the winds, and rouses all the storms.
Down rushed the night: east, west, together roar;
And south and north roll mountains to the shore."

In: The Odyssey of Homer, translated by Alexander Pope. London, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 86. - For Homer's general use of enjambments see Kirk, G.S.: Homer and the Oral Tradition. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 146-82. Although the oral tradition in which the Homeric poems are anchored did not promote the abundance of run-on lines, in the storm sections of the Odyssey — as Professor Zs. Ritoók has kindly pointed out to me — Homer used an increased number of enjambments.

[4]Cf. Paulson, Ronald: The Art of Hogarth. London, Phaidon, 1975, pp. 20-40; Bindman, David: Hogarth. New York and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 55-83, 108-115.

[5]Gay, John: The Beggar's Opera and Other Works. Halle, Veb Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1959, p. 161. Cf. Raynor, Henry: Music in England. London, Robert Hale, 1980, p. 119.

[6]The basic structure (additive pattern) of Fielding's Joseph Andrews would not essentially change by the addition or removal of an adventure.

The same cannot be said of Tom Jones. If a novel consists of three parts, each part has six "books", and each "book" is preceded by an introductory essay discussing a question connected with the story to follow, then it would not have been possible to add (or remove) a part, a "book" or an essay without changing the basic composition. While the non-spontaneous, self-reflexive, conscious application of the additive pattern in Sterne's fine and witty Tristram Shandy provides a negative evidence of the need for the emergence of a new, non-additive novelistic scheme, Fielding's Tom Jones meets the need and offers a positive example of a new type of the novel. The emergence of the pattern does not follow a strict chronological order, and various patterns exist side by side.

Similarly, Mozart's Haffner Serenade in D major (K. 250) shows a freely linked (additive) structure with as many as eight movements, three of which are minutes. The other serenade which served as the basis of the later symphony had six movements with two minuets. When Mozart turned this serenade into what came to be known as the Haffner Symphony in D major (K. 385), then he felt he had to recompose it. During the process he dropped the first movement (a march) and the second minuet of the serenade. The result was the pattern of the Classical symphony in four movements: I. Allegro con spirito, II. Andante, III. Menuetto, IV. Finale, Presto. This structure is clearly a non-additive and closed pattern as against the additive and open pattern of the suite-like serenades.

Scott and Beethoven, reflecting the epoch-making experience of the French Revolution of 1789, created yet another pattern by incorporating historical dynamism and increased contrasts and conflicts in the formal organization of their works. Chracteristically, while the pattern was similar, the medium was different: the earlier dichotomy of the novel and symphony was maintained.

[7]Whistler emphasized the musical mood of several of his paintings by entitling them "symphonies" and "nocturnes". In Chapter XXII of his novel Point Counter Point, Huxley makes Philip Quarles comment on the possibility of the musicalization of fiction, and, in fact, describes some of the structural procedures of his own novel. Cf. Huxley, Aldous: Point Counter Point. London, Granada Publishing Ltd., 1982, pp. 301-2. Cf. Cupers, Jean-Louis: Aldous Huxley et la musique. Bruxelles, Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis. Joyce called the technique of Episode 11 ("The Sirens") of Ulysses "fuga per canonem". Cf. Gilbert, Stuart: James Joyce's Ulysses. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1963, p. 38.

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AN UNFOLDING OF THE SYSTEM OF MOTIFS OF CRIME-GUILT-PUNISHMENT IN M. BULGAKOV'S NOVEL "THE WHITE GUARD" AND HIS DRAMA "FLIGHT"

II.

THE DRAMA "FLIGHT" (Eight Dreams)

Rozália Urbán Nagy

Budapest

The subtitle of the play — "Eight Dreams" — is a hint. And according to this first hint, we must, in the portrayal, attend to the dominance of the inner world; the writer traces the psychological processes, he proceeds from within towards the outside, so as to be able to convey across the details as well.

Here the description "dream" means slightly more than an indication of genre. In the writer's oeuvre, dreams occupy a place of special importance. The composition of "Flight" in the form of dreams is conscious. The previous works testify that the writer resorts to the dream when a collision with historical reality breaks the will of the individual, when the natural equilibrium between the ideal and life, between dreams and the world, is upset. Dreams, in the concrete situation of a crucial stage in the lives of the heroes of all times, are a combination of the efficient cause and the consequences.

The dream-images of "Flight" incorporate the temptation experienced by the writer (i.e. the temptation to leave his country), contemporary literature, the accounts of returnees, and the experiences of his second wife, who herself made it to Constantinople, but returned from there.

The behaviour of the characters in the play — within the bounds of the possibilities provided by the dream — is apparently a manifestation of the motion of a force out of the grasp of reason. This it is that impels the renegades, who, in the tragic impasse, in the labyrinth of history — with a few exceptions —, all lose the values, received within the doctrinal system of Christianity, that the characters of the previous work — "The Days of the Turbins" — could still claim as their own. The mode of life lived by the characters in "Flight" is a liturgy of potential spiritual and physical extinction. It is a borderline situation. This mode of life is — a nightmare.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Many have debated and still debate whose visions these dreams are. I am of the opinion that they are certainly not the dreams of the dramatic heroes. These are the writer's visions, where the dreamed-up heroes are able to move across space and time from one story into another in a way that the possibilities of the theatre would otherwise never admit. It is the stage-like quality of the shakespearian theatre we see reviving here — a revival aimed at enabling the author to portray chronology and the world, thrown out of balance and then restored to their equilibrium.

The centre of gravity of the eight dreams is provided by the shattered world and its state, pointing to the future. The three central figures — Khludov, Golubkov and Serafima — are carriers of that centre of gravity and its direction. The journey of Golubkov and Serafima to the Crimea and thence to Constantinople takes place on the level of the action. On the second level we get the world of inner happenings. The two levels intersect each other in the fifth dream, in the "cockroach-running" scene. The author's dreams draw a sharp dividing line between the reality of the present and the reality that has already become history. That is suggested, too, by a section of a poem by Zhukovsky, chosen as the motto of the play:

"Eternity is a sweet, tranquil haven,
It is the final destination for us all.
Rest when your journey is ended."

The author clearly states the exact time of the space of each dream-event. "Outside, a comfortless rainy, snowy October evening." (1.) "A dark night."(2.) "Dusk in autumn." (3.) "It is growing dusk." (4.) "The rays of the suddenly setting sun." (5.) "Early evening twilight." (6.) "An autumnal sunset in Paris." (7.) "Sunset in autumn." (8.) This sunset has special importance as a carrier of meaning in virtually all of Bulgakov's works.

All that happens in "Flight" is hallmarked by twilight, by the setting sun.

The three principal heroes of the drama: Golubkov, the son of an "idealist" professor based in St. Petersburg; Serafima Korzuhina, the wife of a Deputy Minister; and Khludov, a general in the White Army.

Standing out even among the central characters, by virtue of the special role assigned to him by the author, is Khludov, modelled after a real-life person, Y. Slashshov, a general fighting in the army of Denikin and Vrangel, who emigrated and subsequently returned to Soviet Russia. In 1924, he published his memoirs "The Crimea in 1920". Upon his return he taught at a military school in Moscow, where he was murdered out of revenge.

The brother of the man who killed him had been executed on Slashshov's orders during the Civil War.

But Slashshov was not the only high-ranking officer to return. What led Bulgakov to choose him, of all men, as the model for his hero?

For an answer, we should go to Slashshov's memoirs, and more specifically, to a few lines there: "... In those days I virtually did not believe in anything. That was the time when I went through all the stages from despair to hope — when I made up my mind several times to chuck up everything and go away... It was a terrible period, when I could not give a definite and straightforward answer as to why I was fighting... I got to know the home front, and the nightmare-ridden reality of my inner conflicts and my contradictions, which is ready to drive a man crazy, grew in me..."

In the character — and conduct — of Slashshov-Khludov, ethics presents itself as a value "at a time of disequilibrium". This personality came into collision with itself as a matter of necessity; the tragedy of conscience was made inevitable, it was forced on it by "the nightmare-ridden reality of contradictions".

The drama — the tragedy of conscience — is an exposition and resolution of the writer's fundamental preoccupation. Even in the stories we already find the overwhelming influence of sin and the admission of guilt ("The Red Crown").

In "Flight", the impelling force of Khludov's life is the crime committed, the admission of it and the acceptance of punishment. We meet Khludov in the second dream, at a railway station in Northern Crimea. The cue, lifted over from the play "The Days of the Turbins" — "Nobody likes us, nobody!" — reaches us in his interpretation. Khludov, for all that, carries out the unwarranted orders: during the retreat of the front, his trail is marked by gallows. He sends enemy and deserter to the gallows, as, indeed, Krapilin, orderly to Cavalry Brigadier General Tsharnota, does tell him to his face: "You catch everybody, into the sack with them, and you hang them! You carrion-eater!" He puts into words what the general knows only too well. With that, his fate is sealed. He too is sent to the gallows.

But Khludov has to listen to some home truths from Serafima as well: "We are fleeing from St. Petersburg, always fleeing and fleeing... where? To the protecting wings of Roman Khludov. All you can hear is Khludov this and Khludov that... Even in my dreams I hear his name! And now I have the honour of seeing him face to face: here he sits on a chair, with hanged men swinging in bags everywhere around him... Beast! Jackal!"

The hero of the early story "The Red Crown" does not yet dare to speak out the truth. Hence arises his consciousness of guilt. Bulgakov masterfully drives home the message that, "in times of disequilibrium", you can only learn to speak the truth when, having conquered your fears, you do not dread danger; when the compulsion to speak the truth is stronger than the dread. When you "do not even know any longer what you are saying". For it is not just time that has been thrown off balance, but you yourself have lost your equilibrium in it, and in the interest of regaining your equilibrium you are ready to speak the truth. It is to this state "beyond fear" that Golubkov tries to attribute Serafima's words, in order to save the woman he loves: "... She is in typhoid! She is delirious! ... She doesn't know what she's talking about."

According to Khludov's reply, "That's good, because, with us, if someone knows what he's talking about, not a single word of his can be believed."

Between the early stories and that great novel of summing up, "The Master and Margarita", "Flight" is the major milestone. The apparently insoluble dilemma of the personality leads to the debate between Jeshua and Pilate — a debate left unresolved — on the "moonlit path", where Pilate eagerly yearns for a revelation of the truth.

Khludov knows the truth. He knows, too, that his behaviour is unworthy of himself. All that he does pushes him further and further away from his own fundamental moral attitude, the ideals of his upbringing, the written and unwritten laws of his understanding of honour. His severely restricted scope for action subjects his drifting, disintegrating personality to progressively more cruel tests.

An accurate picture of his split ego unfolds from a dispute with the Commander-in-chief.

"C-in-C: If you don't stop behaving like that, I'll have you arrested.
Khludov: I have prepared for that. My escort is waiting in the vestibule. There will be an almighty row because I'm popular.
C-in-C: No, it isn't an illness any more. For a year you have been hiding behind revolting biffoonery the hatred you feel towards me.
Khludov: Nor do I deny it — I hate you!
C-in-C: Out of envy? Out of a hunger for power?
Khludov: Oh no, no. I hate you because you have dragged me into this whole business. Where are the allied troops promised? Where is the great Russian Empire? How dared you all undertake the struggle if you are so weak? Do you know how much hatred can be felt by a man who sees clearly that what he

does is aimless, and yet he has to do it? You are to blame for my illness! ... Anyway, it's all the same now; we're both heading for destruction."

The man who "sees clearly that what he does is aimless, and yet he has to do it" — falls ill. Khludov's illness — an illness he wants to overcome, but without success — is that he is brought face to face with his deeds. The recurring vision of the hanged soldier — as a generalized concept, a living memory of so many hanged men — represents a confrontation with his own deed. This soldier is a projection of his own ego, an apparition calling him to account. The soldier is silent, as is the vision of the narrative "I" of "The Red Crown". Even so, it is to this silent soldier that, in the eighth dream, Khludov sums up his experiences, telling him his decision:

"You have tortured me most thoroughly. But illumination has come. Yes, illumination. Don't forget, you're not the only one by my side... But there's one thing I don't understand; how did you manage, on your own, to separate yourself from the chain of moon- and lamplights? How did you leave behind the last sleep?... Well then, stop tormenting me, understand that I have made my mind up. I swear! The moment Golubkov arrives, I will set off."

"Setting off" means returning to Russia, where he will presumably be called to account for his actions and face punishment. Khludov fully experiences the psychological consequences of his criminal actions. He is able to cope with the consciousness of guilt, which he has to carry within him, -- with the biting remorse, which gradually comes to dominate him, -- he is able to handle those only until the "illumination" makes him realize that the soldier who, disentangling himself from the series of murders, appears "out of the lights of the moon and the lamps", abandoning "the eternal rest" — the soldier, with his silence, demands from him an admission of the crime. When he realizes that he must confess his crime, he chooses the only possible course: that of doing penance for the crime. By accepting the command of the silent soldier — i.e. the dictate of his own conscience -- he arrives at penitence, in the Christian sense of the word, and at an acceptance of the well-deserved punishment it involves. It is not external experiences but inner, psychological motives that prompt him to set off towards the geographically circumscribed scene of the reckoning -- i.e. Soviet Russia.

Only to him — only to Khludov, wandering in the labyrinths of the soul — does Bulgakov grant a guilty conscience. And we can believe Bulgakov. We can believe that the multiple murderer, a man who, when his hands were forced, committed crime after crime -- that, when the voice of con-

science calls and he receives an "illumination", he does, indeed, arrive at repentance. For one thing, we can believe him because the writer portrays the dramatic heroes juxtaposed in parallel to him in such a way that they appear less than credible compared to Khludov's genuine repentance: they take the words of the Scriptures merely as a matter of routine, in the manner that the environment of the day might demand. To Tsharnota, who is himself guilty, life is the moment, the act of possessing and the comfort which are able to be grasped in the moment.

Korzuhin is a civilian who feels no responsibility towards anybody. The loss of his accustomed lifestyle would entail a loss of self. He is a shabby, utterly cynical character even in himself, but placed next to Khludov he seems particularly worthless.

The Bible in Bulgakov's writings

Already in "The White Guard", he uses mottos taken from the Bible to elucidate the notions of crime-guilt-punishment (Apoc. 20, 12). These quotations, however, do not go beyond the customary Biblical quotations of Russian literary traditions.

The only place where he does not only quote, but also interprets the Scriptures is Yelena's prayer. An expression of the woman's integral inner self, it brings to the surface her Christian ethicoreligious depth: her sharing in the "common sin" — and equally, along with the guilt, an awareness of the inevitability of punishment. Her trust that her petition will gain a hearing is capable of the "miracle": her brother recovers from his mortal illness.

"Flight" is the first work in which the author goes beyond a systematic enumeration and generally valid acceptance of the Biblical quotations. He builds the triad of crime-guilt-punishment organically into the texture of the play: the Biblical quotations serve, in all cases, to reveal the inner merits — or worthlessness, as the case may be — of the personality. The words of Scripture expose the true face, as it were, of the given character of the play or the given protagonist-personality, because these words are confronted with the deeds of those who quote them.

Bulgakov, the mystical writer in whom faith holds a paramount place among human values, presents in a nuanced fashion how so many people falsely interpret the Scriptures, how they try to hide behind it and exonertate themselves from the burden of the sins they have committed.

A. Zerkalov, in his book "The Gospel of M. Bulgakov" (Ann Arbor 1984), presents this peculiar interpretation of the gospel concentrating exclusively on the fictional texture of "The Master and Margarita". He fails to take into account that in "Flight" the writer already resorts to this procedure.

In the monastery scene of the first dream of the play, we find Archbishop Afrikan in the midst of a crowd fleeing from the Reds. He arrived in order to bless the Army Corps of the Don, but in the course of an offensive he was captured by the Reds. The monks provided him with documents and so he escapes in disguise.

Upon the return of the Whites, the pontiff reveals his identity; the monks spread a prelate's cope round his shoulders, putting a bishop's crosier in his hand. Afrikan calls upon God: "Look down on us from heaven, our God, and continue to protect the vine-stock that you planted with your holy right hand!"

For all his fine words, for all his eloquence in calling upon God, he must be aware — and he is aware too — that the time is not right for that sort of ceremony. This is confirmed on two occasions. First it is Tsharnota who expresses it with soldierly curtness: "Your Eminence, what sort of a religious service are you holding here? Let's get out of here! The army corps is on our heels, they're going to catch us! Budyonny is going to drown us in the sea! The whole army is on the retreat! We're going to the Crimea, to seek the protection of Roman Khludov!" Tsharnota's words do not take Afrikan by surprise. His first reaction is to exclaim in despair, "Good God, what's going on here?" — but then, according to the author's instruction, he "hastily puts on his furcoat" and coolly asks, "Have you got a britska?" That is the second confirmation.

The spiritual supervisor unworthy of the Book -- who slips into disguise and then promptly shedding it to put on the insignia of his high dignity, receives the tribute of the monks ("Long live your Holyness!") — is once again ready to change his appearance and to ask coolly about the britska.

The discrepancy between the words spoken and the actions following them continues in the second dream. Afrikan — who has arrived in the Crimea and now enjoys the protection of Khludov — says his prayer in front of a picture of Dragon-Slaying St. George, the onetime emblem-saint of Moscow:

"Our Lord Almighty! Why are you doing this to us? Why do you unleash new ordeals on your children, the army of Christ? The power of the Cross is with us, and by our blessed weapons it shall annihilate the enemy..."

Where one was convinced by Yelena's prayer in "The White Guard" — which began with almost the same words —, Afrikan's prayer, by contrast, is hollow, lacking in emotional appeal and inspiration.

Khludov is the one who, with his sarcastic, cool clearsightedness, interrupts and brings the prayer to a close:

"Pardon me, your Eminence, for interrupting, but you are troubling the Lord in vain. He clearly abandoned us a long time ago. For how else could you explain?... It has never happened before that the water should have disappeared from the Sivash, allowing the Bolsheviks to walk across it as if across some parquet floor... Even the knight St. George is only laughing at us!"

Khludov, the sinner, understood that Afrikan's prayer was superfluous. His comparison with the Sivash brook is a reference to how the Jews, by the will of the Lord, crossed the Red Sea with dry feet. Bulgakov doubly inverts the Biblical story: 1. it is the sinner who declares that Afrikan's prayer is not pleasing to the Lord; 2. in an inversion of the ancient story, here it is the pursuers, and not the pursued, who cross the stream with dry feet.

That, to Bulgakov, the Bible is the key to the happenings of the world, the book of the history of mankind, through which eternity flows into time and time too joins the sea of eternity — this comes across to us through these apparently coded hints.

That is how he builds into "Flight", too, one of the most painful and moving events of the New Testament — i.e. the motif of denial. The first and most devastating denial is enacted in the second dream. Deputy Minister Korzuhin, who, having separated from his wife, also arrives in the Crimea with the flood of refugees, reports to Khludov, asking for his assistance. Khludov sees through him at once, sensing his dishonesty and pettiness. Yet, even he is surprised at the baseness that the Deputy Minister is capable of showing towards his wife, just to save his own life. Khludov confronts Korzuhin with his wife. Tihy, the head of the counter-intelligence department, informs Korzuhin — "Tihy: Your wife, Serafima Vladimirovna, has come to join you from St. Petersburg.

Korzuhin (suspecting a trap, looks at Tihy and Khludov): I do not know anyone by the name of Serafima Vladimirovna; I'm seeing this woman for the first time in my life..."

Khludov was right in his suspicion that this man is capable of anything. Korzuhin uses practically the same words to deny Serafima that Peter used to deny Jesus. Cowardice and fear are stronger than the Deputy Min-

ister's sense of fair play, and the "suspicion of a trap" is stronger than the wish to avow. But in "Flight" we get a whole complex of denials. We have seen how Afrikan denies his flock at the level of actions, and how Korzuhin denies his wife by his words. But even Golubkov, who is presumably a carrier of the writer's hidden self in the play, — even he, when faced with physical suffering, denies the woman he loves, Serafima. And, going beyond a denial of her, he is even ready, in order to avoid the likely physical torment, to slander her. He even attests the straight falsehood by his signature, while knowing that what he is doing is a crime — a crime against himself and Serafima alike.

And Lyuska, the "war-wife", too, denies Tsharnota — though she does not do so under pressure, a victim of fear — when she deserts him, expecting to find her future life in financial security by the side of Korzuhin. Lyuska is herself aware that there is nothing to excuse her — that she has even less in common with Korzuhin than she had with Tsharnota; still, a stuffed purse is enough to make her prostitute herself. And Tsharnota denies his country, as, indeed, Korzuhin, Lyuska, Afrikan and the rest disown it too. And there we have come full circle. The last link in the chain of denials is formed by Khludov, who has the strength to repudiate his sinful self, and who has the strength to face up to the punishment.

Bulgakov's above interpretation of the gospel is a fountain of truth on a human scale — one, moreover, built unequivocally on the Bible.

In the play, the writer displays the same depth and human-scale outlook where he treats of another motif featured very frequently in Russian literature — i.e. the passion for gambling. The motto of the seventh dream: "... cards, cards, cards...".

When presenting the anatomy of the passion for gambling, Bulgakov again proceeds from two perspectives. The first is Khludov's "game", pursued on the level of ideas, which fails to bring the expected "miracle" — indeed, it only causes it to recede more and more out of his reach —, no differently than the passion for gambling — for its part, devoid of any intellectual dimensions — of the second level: the personality's tempting of fate, an act raised to the level of generality.

Tsharnota expects a miracle from a card game he takes part in one night. Similarly to Poushkin's hero, he tries to second-guess the forces controlling him, he tries to circumvent them. He operates on the assumption of "a single hour, a single minute could bring a complete turnaround of fortunes, a complete turning of the tables". But Tsharnota cannot become

the subject of the "miracle", as Bulgakov deprives him of the chance to become a man experiencing a miracle. Only a man who has faith can become the recipient of a miracle. In vain he wins Korzuhin's money, that does not change anything. All that happens is that Tsharnota buys himself a pair of trousers from the money and goes back to Constantinople, only to lose it there in the "cockroach-running", hoping for a new "miracle" — to lose the sum as easily as he obtained it.

This game of cards, as brought to life by the author, is already a promise of the subsequent realistic-grotesque dénouement.

The entirety if "Flight" is marked by "the waiting for a miracle", the attitude of "within a single hour, within a single minute everything might change" — that characteristic symptom of the Russian popular psyche. And Bulgakov convincingly declares that his characters are unfit to receive the "miracle" — whether collectively or individually — because they lack faith.

"Flight" did not find its way to the spectators in the author's lifetime. Stalin, after reading it, pronounced the play "anti-Soviet in its present form", refusing to forgive the author unless he added on a ninth dream, supposed to have treated of the Bolshevik victory. But Bulgakov never wrote the ninth dream.

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THE POSSIBILITIES OR THE TRAP OF SEMANTIC OPENNESS

Hildegárd Márth

Budapest

Though acutely aware of the risks one undertakes when trying to explain, on the basis of a single excerpt of a novel, a symbol whose introduction, in this particular instance, already becomes authorial practice, I shall nevertheless attempt, in the present article, to offer one -- though not an exclusive — interpretation, solely on the basis of Chapter III ("Informe sobre ciegos") of the novel "Sobre héroes y tumbas" by Ernesto Sábato, of the Sábatoan "blindness".

Only an insignificant part of the monographic literature scrutinizes Informe on its own, although, according to literary historians, the relevant section of the novel is a self-contained, coherent whole. Nor do the critiques come up with a unanimous answer as to what the essence of the "Sábatoan blindness" is -- whether it can be construed as "guilt" or perhaps as "punishment"? Is it a "cause" or perhaps an "effect"; or is it a state — to be experienced only by the "elect" — in which the self can get nearer to unravelling the secret of human existence?

In what follows, I shall treat Informe as the most complete body of information on the "Sábatoan blindness" and use it as my basis for reference, regarding it as a single sign, i.e. authorial communication, and isolating it from the other three chapters of the novel and from "El tunel", written 13 years earlier.

In this case, Sábato's prose reflects the sort of semantic and formal duality where, in addition to the literal sense of words, there appears another, non-literal plane of meaning. In order to arrive at an understanding of this secondary plane of meaning -- which, in all probability, contains, the writer's communication —, the first thing that I, from my perspective as reader, have to do is to identify — relying on my knowledge of the text -- the units which act as pillars supporting the novel.

Following that, I shall reformulate "Informe", on the basis of the "units", at a lower contentual level. One of the advantages of reformulation is that it helps us select from the text the symbols, as elements of the

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novel, whose interrelationship provide the communicative units which, albeit in details, gradually express the authorial communication.

I. "Informe" is built on three "units":

1. The FRAME STORY depicting the everyday life of Vidal Olmos,
2. LABYRINTH,
3. The glimpsing/emotional experiencing of the statue of the GOD, made possible as a result of the two previous forms of existence.

The three "units" presuppose each other to such an extent that one follows from the other; more exactly, the approach to the "Statue of the god" is impossible unless it is preceded by the journey through the "Labyrinth" accompanied by "dreams", "half-wakeful" and hallucinatory states.

II. As a first step of the "reformulation at a lower level of contents", the FRAME STORY could be summarized like this:

In the summer of 1947, Fernando Vidal Olmos, who is the same age as the author, meets a blind man at an underground railway station in Buenos Aires. The blind man is selling stays and other small articles. As Vidal Olmos has, since his childhood, been fascinated with blindness, as a condition — it used to be one of his favourite games to put out the eyes of animals —, he, by now a grown man, feels he must find out the secret of the all-pervasive "Universe of the Blind".

In 1947, when the story begins, Fernando makes the journey between the two termini of the underground for the sole purpose of following the blind peddler, while the "blind man", as Fernando believes, is doing everything he can to evade his pursuer. Vidal Olmos shadows the man in the empty suburban streets as well, until he gets a vague feeling that the blind man sees, and that, in reality, he is the one who is in danger for wanting to enter the "forbidden province". This "sense of danger", which, to the reader, lacks reality, is to mould Fernando's life for the next three years, in that it impels him to "escape". In the course of his wanderings, he travels round parts of Europe and the East; still, on every occasion — although he would like to avoid these encounters — he somehow comes into contact with the blind. Three years later he returns to Buenos Aires; by this time, he is capable of imitating any blind person in his outward features; he knows their system of writing, he attends their meetings — that is to say, he painstakingly prepares himself for the time when — given the opportunity — he might quietly blend in with the blind and get to know their world from inside, which, by now, is his sole and exclusive object.

His inquiries focus on an old acquaintance of his, Celestino Iglesias, who loses his sight in an accident; nor can it be ruled out that Vidal Olmos himself has something to do with this accident — namely, the blowing up of a Bunsen burner; for the direct observation of a blind person who was formerly sighted would considerably facilitate his inquiries. For this reason, Fernando watches Iglesias's apartment for three weeks; nor is it fruitless, for the Sect of the Blind visit Iglesias and escort him to a suburban House, from which, after spending a night there, he emerges psychologically shattered or, at any rate, visibly changed. Vidal Olmos feels that if he succeeds in entering the "House", he will possess the secret he devotes his life to unravelling; this idea leads on to the second large "unit" of the novel, the "Labyrinth". However, before coming to the contentual reformulation of the second unit, let us see what fictional elements/symbols and communicative units emerge from the "Frame Story" set out above: symbols/fictional elements:

1. The sighted
2. The blind <— from birth / as a result of some accident
3. Sense of danger — Escape
4. Celestino Iglesias
5. House

Communicative units:

A) In reality, the "blind" man sees.

B) Anyone searching into the secret of the "Forbidden Province" is in "danger".

C) Even in the course of the "escape" it is impossible to avoid the "blind".

D) Those who are blind from birth and those who lost their sight in an accident show the same signs.

E) Anyone visiting the HOUSE undergoes a "metamorphosis", see Celestino Iglesias.

Coming now to a discussion of the second large unit, the LABYRINTH — which makes up a considerable part of the novel, from Chapter XIX to Chapter XXXIV —, we might say the following:

After Celestino Iglesias, Vidal Olmos too enters the HOUSE, which he knows is not an end, but only a means to finding the key to the "secret". He comes into a Room filled with dazzling light, which, shortly after Fernando enters, is plunged into darkness, and the "door" closes behind him.

In the "room", Fernando falls asleep; in his dream, he relives all the incidents of his life which — whether directly or only remotely — brought him into contact with blind people. In the panic that follows his awakening, he pounds on the locked "door" — even though, through the shuttered window, the dim light of dawn from the outside world filters in; Vidal Olmos fells he has been trapped; still, in trying to get out of this "trap", he does not look to the world outside for help; instead, walking though the "door", which has opened in the meantime, he enters a real LABYRINTH, consisting of a system of cellars and passages leading down to successively lower depths. The LIGHT in the corridor — faint at first, but then growing brighter and brighter in proportion to his advance — impels Vidal Olmos to go on, as a result of which he arrives at the end of the "Path" — i.e. the "Statue of the god", radiating an aura of being above everything:

> "Entonces comprendí que debía llegar hasta el final: el ojo de la deidad refulgía y me llamaba inequívocamente, con siniestra majestad..."
>
> p. 482.

The symbols/fictional elements of the second part:

1. HOUSE
2. "Room" filled with dazzling light — open "door"
3. "Room" with descending darkness -- closing "door":
   a) "trap"
   b) "dreams"
   c) "hallucinations"
   d) "awakening": opening "door"
4. The infinite of the LABYRINTH/system of passages:
   a) LIGHT
   b) HOPE

Units of communication:

a) The life preceding the entrance into the "room" = "illusion without reality".

B) The childhood games (putting out the eyes of animals etc.) were "omens".

C) The "path" leading through the system of passages leads to the secret of the "origin" of things/the "statue of the deity".

D) LIGHT
E) HOPE led to the "origin".

Turning our attention to the third large unit, the STATUE OF THE GOD, it should be noted that the writer's presentment of the Deity does not recall the authorial symbol of any single religion; as regards its essence, however, it is identical with all, in that it is lord of life and death. Vidal Olmos's sole and exclusive aim is to get to the Eye of the faceless Deity, which has the body of a woman and the head of a vampire — to get to that Eye of his, emitting vibrant Light. The limbs of the Deity terminate in claws; in its upraised right hand it holds a key. Its single enormous Eye, seated where its navel ought to be, can only be reached from the top of a ladder that seems impossible to scale. It was the Eye that "beckoned" Fernando with its initially feeble, but then increasingly intense Light. Vidal Olmos attempts the impossible — he climbs the rungs of the ladder:

> ... "Nadie, pero nadie, me ayudaba con sus plegarias.
> Ni siquiera con su odio.
> Era una lucha titánica que YO SOLO debía librar,
> en medio de la indiferencia pétrea de la nada.
> ... Y cuando por fin llegué ante El, el cansancio y
> el pavor me hicieron caer de rodillas."...
>
> (Op. cit., p. 484.)

What we get in the perfectly mundane concepts of "conviction" and "knowledge", articulated in the joy of discovery, at the end of the Path, in front of the eagerly anticipated "entrance", is, in fact, a formulation of "hope", coupled with "faith":

> ... "Yo sabía que en el gigantesco perímetro debía existir una entrada para que you pudiese entrar en el recinto. Y quizá solamente para eso. ... De modo que una vez que yo lograra penetrar en el Ojo todo se desvanecería como un simulacro milenario. Esta convicción me daba fuerzas para consumar el largo peregrinaje en busca de la puerta.
> ... una Voz que parecía salir de aquel Ojo, cavernoso imperial, dijo:
> - AHORA ENTRA. ESTE ES TU COMIENZO Y TU FIN.
> Me incorporé y, ya enceguecido por el rojo resplandor, entré."...
>
> (Op. cit., pp. 483-484.)

This is where the novel reaches its climax; each of the preceding chapters has been merely a preparation for the enunciation of the above thoughts, while the two final chapters — 36 and 37 — draw the conclusion.

Looking back on his life so far, Vidal Olmos feels he has reached the end of the gauntlet with which he was "punishing" himself in the course of his perpetual escape:

... "era cierto que era el final de una larga persecución que yo, por mi propria voluntad, había larga, paciente y deliberadamente llevado a cabo a lo largo de muchos años..."

(Op. cit., p. 490.)

The end of the Path brings calm to Fernando; no longer pursued, he is awaited by only one demon: his death; but he faces up to the last demon of his life of his own accord — there and then, when his prediction comes true:

... "Cosa singular: nadie pareca ahora perseguirme.
... Terminó la pesadilla del departamento de Belgrano.
No sé cómo estoy libre, estoy en mi propria habitación, nadie (aparentemente) me vigilia.
... También sé que mi tiempo es limitado y que mi muerte me espera.
Y cosa singular y para mí mismo incomprehensible, que esa muerte me espera en cierto modo por mi propria voluntad..."

(Op. cit., p. 493.)

As regards the message of the novel, it is quite indifferent that all that has happened in the Labyrinth so far has been a "dream"; for, according to Sábato, the "dream" is a prophecy for those who know how to interpret it, and after the "awakening" the REALIZATION remains:

... "De manera que si todo sueño es un vagar del alma por esos territorios de la eternidad, todo sueño, para quien sepa interpretarlo, es un vaticinio o un informe de lo que vendrá."

(Op. cit., p. 489.) (italics added)

... "Asistí a catástrofes y a torturas vi mi pasado y mi futuro (mi muerte), sentí que mi tiempo se detenía confiriéndome la visión de la eternidad,...

En el momento en que desperté (por decirlo de alguna manera) sentí que abismos infranqueables me separaban para siempre de aquel universo nocturno: abismos de espacio y de tiempo."...

(Op. cit., pp. 492-493.)

The new fictional elements/symbols and "units of communication" to be found in the third unit — which is also the final one — are as follows:

1. Statue of the god
   a. Eye - Light
   b. Voice
2. "sighted" person turned "blind" person
3. new demon - death

nits of communication:

A) It is the "eye" of the Statue of the deity that emits the "light" which beckons and guides.

B) Vidal Olmos's aim is to reach the "eye" — that is, the "light"; his only help is "hope"/"faith".

C) The "light" temporarily makes one blind.

D) The "voice" is the guarantee that, at the end of the "Path", Vidal Olmos has arrived at the origin of all "paths".

E) At the end of the "Path", everything is reevaluated:

a) the "escape" is over,

b) he accepts and faces up to the "new demon" of his life: death.

In the light of the above, it can be stated that INFORME is built 'undamentally on two symbols or, if you like, a single pair of symbols - namely, the world of the SIGHTED and that of the BLIND. Right up to :hapter XXXIV, these concepts denote "sight" and sightlessness, as defined .n a physical sense. Looked at from the perspective of Vidal Olmos — a 'sighted" person in the physical sense —, the two worlds are in contrast.

Vidal Olmos — a "sighted" person in the everyday sense of the word — ıas, since childhood, shown keen interest in the "blind", as we generally ınderstand the term; in his adulthood, he feels revulsion, curiosity and Later, mounting terror; yet, as his fear grows, so also does his desire to liscover the world of the blind.

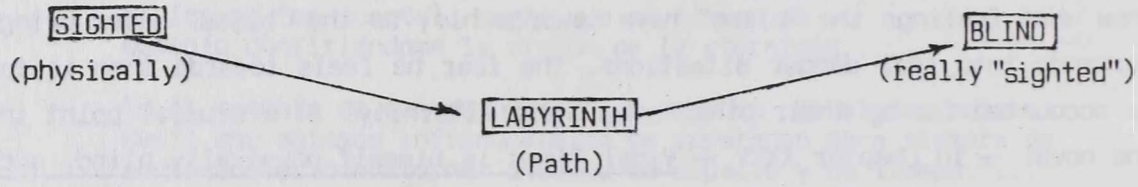
As Vidal Olmos recounts his story in first person singular, we cannot know what feelings the "blind" have towards him; as the "blind" never bring Fernando into real danger situations, the fear he feels towards them is to ɔe accounted for by their otherness, their alternity. At a crucial point in the novel — in Chapter XXXV — Vidal Olmos is himself physically blind; and when he regains his "sight", it is no longer the vision he had before, but a qualitatively different, "new tenor of seeing things":

> ... "Y todo mi peregrinaje por los subterráneos y cloacas, mi marcha por la gran caverna y mi ascenso final hacia la Deidad habían sido, entonces, una fantasmagoría producida por las artes mágicas de la Ciega o de la Secta entera. ...
> ... mi descenso a las cloacas de Buenos Aires y mi marcha por los fangosos subterráneos habitados por monstruosos tenían la fuerza y la precisión carnal de algo que yo sin duda había vivido: razón que me hacía pensar que también lo otro, el viaje hacía la Deidad, no había sido un sueño sino un hecho realmente vivido...
> ... Y así en aquel viaje supe, como Edipo lo supo de labios de Tiresias, cuál era el fatal fin que me estaba reservado"...
>
> (Op. cit., pp. 488-489.)

Given a full knowledge of the text, it can be said that the HOUSE, which is not an end but a means — "... sabía que esa casa fantasmal no era un fin sino un medio..." —, and which contains the "Labyrinth", is the arena of "life", given to every living human being.

The ROOM inside the House — with its only too fragile security, its window looking on to the outside world — is already that sphere of human "life" which is impervious to intrusions by the outer world, whether prompted by malice or the intention to help; — where one is inevitably found by "dreams", "visions", "half-wakeful" and "hallucinatory" states, every one of them possessing the force of a sign; the "Room", then, is the great possibility from where the spirit can set off towards something more substantial, something different. (... "el departamento sólo servía de entrada a otra cosa"... p. 408.) It is not obligatory to set off from the "Room', but it is necessary; and once someone has set off, his route can only be the "Labyrinth"; in other words, the LABYRINTH is the "Way" itself, the journey of the inner self, isolated from the external world.

Accordingly, the scene of Vidal Olmos's metamorphosis is the "labyrinth", whose introduction by the writer is the second most important symbol/fictional element of the novel — assuming that I regard the symbols of "sighted" and "blind" as one; for, from the standpoint of the message of the novel, one is the point of departure, the other is the aim; and without one another, they would lose their function in the novel.



The intercommunicating passages — free from ramifications — of the "Labyrinth" ensure that Vidal Olmos can move only within the limits set by the corridor; that is to say, he has only two options open to him: either setting off from the "Room" and passing through the "Labyrinth"; or, alternatively, not setting off at all, possibly even turning back (these latter two possibilities do not even arise in the novel). The network of passages becomes progressively narrower and more impassable as Vidal Olmos gets nearer to his goal; and only when he believes himself to be finally lost does it widen out, revealing to his view the terror-inspiring "Statue of the deity".

The system of corridors has yet another fascinating property if we look

at its arrangement according to levels — namely, that its configuration resembles, more than anything else, a static representation of vortex motion; it contains some magnetic force with a downward pull, which Vidal Olmos himself sums up by saying, "I have descended to the origin" ("... Me creí solo en el mundo y atravesó mi espíritu, como un relámpago, la idea de que había descendido hasta sus orígines. ..." p. 470.); then, despite the persistent downward direction of movement, he says: from Celestino Iglesias I have risen to the Deity. Throughout Fernando's journey through the "Labyrinth", it is the Light that leads him on — the Light, and the Hope that he will escape. At the end of the PATH — which, for all its twists and turns, has no ramifications; a PATH, moreover, which offers the "Statue of the deity" as the only possible point of arrival — we get the following summing-up from Vidal Olmos: "... Entonces comprendí hasta qué punto las palabras luz y esperanza deben de estar vinculadas en la lengua del hombre primitivo..." (p. 477.)

The arrival at the Statue of the GOD — an image dispelling doubts and fears — and the spreading of the LIGHT in all directions are the agencies that cause Vidal Olmos — who believes himself to be "sighted", but is actually "blind" — to go "blind", in the physical sense of the word; but it is these same experiences, too, that enable him to share in the joy of a "new way of seeing" and to fully enter a vision of eternity.

> "... Jesus said, "For judgement I came into this world, that those who do not see may see, and those who see may become blind." Some of the Pharisees near him heard this, and they said to him, "Are we also blind?" Jesus said to them, "If you were blind, you would have no guilt; but now that you say, 'We see', your guilt remains."
>
> (Jn 9.39-41)

Looked at from this persepctive, it becomes easier to understand the disgust and hatred that Vidal Olmos — who initially believes himself to be "sighted" — feels towards the people called "blind", who possess the gift of a "new kind of vision":

> "... If you were of the world, the world would love its own; but because you are not of the world, but I chose you out of the world, therefore the world hates you. ..."
>
> (The hatred of the world, Jn 15.19)

That is what Jesus says to his disciples when he talks of the persecution that they will face in the world.

In subsequent generations, however, the "vision" and "faith" of the

disciples of Jesus is reduced to the kind of "vision" in which "faith" is not preceded by this-worldly "vision". There are different degrees and ways of arriving at this "vision": Sábato too divides the world of the "blind" into those blind from birth and those who became blind as a result of some accident. (Given a knowledge of the novel, we can state that this Sábatoan "accident" covers many things; that said, the result is the same; for, at the end of the Path, they already possess the same attributes.)

Using the language of the symbols featuring in the novel, we might describe what happened as follows: Fernando — a physically "sighted" man— shuts out the outer world and, opening the "door" of the "room" representing his inner self, passes through the "Labyrinth", along a route of nightmares haunted by omens, memories, dreams and hallucinations. He is temporarily blinded by the "Light" radiating from the "Statue of the god". When Fernando regains his sight, all the experiences he has had in his life are reevaluated, turning into their opposites:

> "... todo se me occurría una infantil fantasmagoría, sin peso ni realidad. La realidad era esta otra. Y solo, en aquel vértice del universo, como ya expliqué, me sentía grandioso e insignificante. Ignoro el tiempo que transcurrió en aquella especie de estupor. ..."
>
> (p. 473 - italics added)

The "Statue of the GOD", as a symbol, occupies centre stage within the novel; for the glimpsing of it is still the experience of a "physically sighted" Vidal Olmos, while a heightened awareness of it is the "new kind of vision" of the man who has arrived.

By juxtaposing the "units of communication" following from the three large units of the novel, each of these could be shown to contain, in one form or another, a particular fragment of the authorial MESSAGE, which, at the end of the novel, could also be summarized like this: hermetically enclosed in his own world, man wages a futile and solitary struggle to overcome the series of "traps"/"escapes" he himself has set; whereas those who want to be free ought to concentrate their minds on the infinite, because that is the only thought that is within us and yet is beyond us:

> "... Tuve la fanática certeza de que allí tendría acabamiento mi largo certeza de que allí tendría acabamiento mi largo peregrinaje y que, tal vez en aquel reducto poderoso encontraría por fin el sentido de mi existencia..."
>
> (Op. cit., p. 479.)

Hence, "blindness", as understood by Sábato, is not a state of "guilt" or, indeed, of "punishment", but the noblest human goal.

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NOTES ON HUNGARIAN POETRY IN SLOVAKIA

Multi-centred Hungarian literature - uneven development

Miklós Csűrös

Budapest

Already in the interwar period, the view that "the new nation-image created by the Trianon borders" (Antal Szerb) had transformed the structure of Hungarian literature, producing a multi-centred Hungarian literature, gained currency and solidified. There was broad agreement too that Transylvania was the place where there had blossomed a genuinely high-quality literary life with an impact on the literary life of all Magyars. In Yugoslavia and Slovensko, conditions are lacking for the kind of development that might result in an independent culture of full value. In Antal Szerb's view, that "is partly attributable to political divisions, and partly to the attitude of the said regions' authorities towards Hungarian cultural movements". Aladár Schöpflin too takes the view that, because of the fewer cultural traditions, the dispersion, and the less expansive nature of their Hungarian identity, the Hungarians of Slovensko "have been less able to attain to the level of universal Hungarian literature". Thinking of regional literatures, Babits singles out mainly the Transylvanians; and even if there are some examples to the contrary (the not at all superficial interest that Móricz, Kodolányi, and Féja evinced in developments in Upper Northern Hungary), it is characteristic that Féja himself, in his literary history called "Nagy vállalkozások kora" (Age of Great Enterprises), mentions only in passing Dezső Győry and László Mécs, while devoting a special cycle and several profiles to the Transylvanians.

The causes of the uneven development were clearly recognized already by the contemporaries. Moreover, they have been learnedly and methodically described and documented by essayists and literary historians — by Zoltán Fábry's critical and self-critical retrospective studies and the works of Lajos Turczel and others. It is hard to imagine a more unfavourable beginning than that of the Hungarian intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia, which,

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lacking traditions of their own and forced into an area shrunken in size, was depleted in its numbers and robbed of its intellectual elite. It was during the years of despotism, after the surrender at Világos, that Hungarian literature had ridden out a similar period of crisis; it was no accident that in both periods the Biblical motif of the bondage of the Jews was revived (Dezső Győry: "Like once the beaten Jews of pharaohs"). In such situations of low morale, national feelings are often coupled with a lack of aesthetic discrimination; dilettantism and provincialism are exonerated; justified criticism breeds resentment, and the cautioning word of the discerning minority is drowned out by the noise of the sort of inferior literature that Fábry called "kvaterka irodalom". Because of financial and organizational difficulties, even two decades are not enough for creating the vital institutional framework and the indispensable forums for publication. It is, of course, a crucial difference that, back in the 1850s, Hungarian literature, just then emerging from its torpor, had been led by the generation of Arany, Kemény, Jókai, and Vajda, with Gyulai as their critic and Erdélyi as their aesthetician...

Minority consciousness and Messianism

The better minds recognize the dangers of provincialism, complacency, and unpreparedness, the accumulation of "distortions and constrictions" (Sándor Makkai). Their voice is at times savage; Endre Illés's famous article in "Nyugat" likens it to unfermented, watery must; Fábry talks about "your country squire's Hungarian literature of the paprika lard type". It is a pity that the left-wing critics often subordinate their judgement to rigidly applied ideological criteria and a class-struggle bias. The inherited and apparently unconquerable backwardness and the severe, yet invariably unbiassed criticism it faces induce uncertainty in the minority spirit, which is sensitive, apt to take offence, and overscrupulous as it is. The result is a "psychological atmosphere" which — in Turczel's words - may serve as a veritable hotbed for volatile and unbalanced mental attitudes towards the situation and towards life itself. At one pole, a self-denigrating feeling of inferiority is engendered, apathetic resignation, passiv fatalism; at the other, we see an overestimation and Messianistic ideolog of the minority role. According to the latter, the "Genius of the Minority (Dezső Győry) must pervade the entire Hungarian nation, and then he ca redeem the world (!), giving a "New Messiah" to Europe. Even the more moder

metaphore about acting as a bridge contains a programme of creating spiritual harmony between entire regions of the world (north-south, east-west). The Utopian idea of the redeeming minority manifested itself in some fine heroic individual achievements, and, particularly during the struggle against fascism, it crystallized in such authentic and convincing slogans as the "human voice", the "new-faced Magyars" (Győry), or Fábry's "vox humana", "man in inhumanity".

The reason why we need this very sketchy recapitulation of the more or less well-known antecedents is that the problem complex of the 1918-1938 period already holds in itself the seeds of the many controversial questions and dilemmas — clarified since then or yet to be decided — of the phase which began in 1948 and still continues. That was the time that witnessed the formation of the character traits, the distinctive features — one might say, the temperament — of Hungarian literature in (Czecho)Slovakia. At a higher level and mutatis mutandis, the new period's minority Hungarian intelligentsia finds itself face to face with the same tasks as its predecessors, and in the mode of reaction too there is no shortage of similarities. Something that has remained, as the principal characteristic, is the duality where, on the one hand, one sees a fear of provincialism, of becoming an "also ran", of inferiority in standards — with, on the other hand, the ambition to rise "from the soil of nothingness" (Fábry) into the vanguard of European literature. Over and over again, the question of the autonomy of art and its social and national mission, as well as the mission that it fulfils with regard to the nationalities, comes up for discussion — in other words, the debate on whether the aesthetic or the ethical principle should be given priority. And underlying all this is the responsibility of questing for the appropriate conduct befitting one's condition of belonging to a nationality, and — instead of inferiority and superiority complexes — the sense of one's duty to develop and acquire a realistic awareness of the situation and of oneself.

The obstacles and stages of recovery

The well-known tragic events of the war years, the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, the emergence of a Slovak state subservient to Hitler, the reannexations following the Munich Pact and the Vienna Award, the racial persecution, and the silencing of the political left wing bring to a new low point Hungarian literature in Slovakia, already much debilitated.

Fábry's inspired pamphlet on the moral courage of the Hungarian minority in its anti-fascist struggle and the undeserved treatment it received remains a "message in a bottle"; discrimination, the falsification of history aimed at finding a scapegoat, and chauvinistic passions prove stronger than the truth. Deprived of their homeland, their language and human self-esteem, Hungarians had to call into question their own existence. It is not the war, nor the forcible repatriation in itself, but the existential uncertainty wrecking the nationality that silences the "Muses" for about half a decade.

In February 1948, recovery begins under intellectual conditions that are bleaker than even those of the post-1918 period. The task of beginning anew awaits completely inexperienced young people who, during their most formative years, were robbed of even the elementary opportunities for finding their bearings. The desire to tell the truth and the impulse to appraise were grotesquely restrained in them by an ambiguous gratitude and joy over the fact that they were at all allowed to speak, that — at least formally — their disenfranchisement had ended. It was around this time that schematism — which varnished reality on the basis of directives — gained ground and subsequently achieved a monopoly in the art of the socialist countries. Through the wide-open gate of schematism the Hungarian (would-be) writer in Slovakia marches all the more enthusiastically since — now recognized as a citizen — he has only recently got rid of his heaviest burdens. Up until 1956, schematism enjoys a monopoly in Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia, and it is not until the debates of the sixties that it suffers its final defeat. Without trying to justify it, purely for the sake of explanation and comparison, it is worth recalling that this detour, which demanded so heavy a price, was — at least up to the mid-fifties — completed by the art of all the socialist countries, and post-schematism too took some considerable time to disappear, not to mention the protractedness of the struggle that had to be waged to secure the acceptance of the more up-to-date world-concept and form. Back in the mid-fifties, Fábry's cogent and valid arguments against schematism, which were subsequently proved right, did not yet alter the taste of either the writers or the audience. It is one of the paradoxes of progress that, in the literary debates of the sixties, the intellectual vanguard of the younger generation had to challenge simultaneously — using Fábry's arguments — both schematism and those of Fábry's own ideas that they perceived to be obstacles to further development.

First it was the category of <u>vox humana</u> that they analyzed from the

standpoint of its up-to-dateness and its applicability as an (aesthetic) criterion; later Árpád Tőzsér's articles which provoked a great debate (Against an Approach; The Manner of the Lyrical Confession) outline an aesthetic of lyrical poetry already radically different from that proposed by Fábry: he protests against the separation of reality and the lyrical subject, proclaiming an objective and impersonal ideal of poetry. Looking at it in perspective, we can detect in these thought of Tőzsér the beginning of the campaign for freedom that literature has been waging for its own artistic autonomy — for the earlier cult of ethical, political, and ideological engagement to be replaced by the concept of the primacy of the aesthetic quality, which does not exclude the ideas that are, in themselves, non-artistic, but only puts them in their proper place in the hierarchy. It is the two stages of transcending schematism and conceiving of art as a creative process (not a copying of reality), as well as a practice of art based on that conception, that signal the course of development of Hungarian poetry in Slovakia, and also the level of values which — by other than merely some special minority or regional standards — that literature, through the performance of its best talents, has achieved. In what follows, we shall cast a cursory glance at some of the historically "authenticated" values, without any pretence at completeness and exclusiveness — or, for that matter, without trying to establish some sort of order of importance, yet, in such a way, if possible, that the authors singled out might also represent types which could include several other talented poets or works promising to stand the test of time.

In the attraction of traditions

The poetry of Olivér Rácz (1918) forms a transition between pre- and post-World War II Hungarian poetry in Slovakia, although, prior to 1945, he lived for years in Hungary, too. He transmits two kinds of tradition for the reviving Hungarian literature in Slovakia: one is the poetry of left-wing political engagement, whose tone is that of a sense of bitter rebellion at the sight of — and also a call for others to rebel against — the political persecution, the grinding poverty of the working class and the "black angel" of war. The "other" Rácz is a quietly introspective poet who, adopting the heritage of "Nyugat", has a tone that is sometimes reminiscent of Ady, but principally of Babits and Árpád Tóth. He is, with full justification, associated with an elegant perfection of form, playfulness, and a skill for

imitation; yet, however striking the resemblance that his subtle impressionistic images, virtuoso rhymes and Symbolist verse-music bear to those of the great predecessors, this belated example of the "Nyugat" trend had to face isolation after 1948, with no chance of even the kind of late revival that, after all, lifts Forbáth's avant-garde out of oblivion. — Almost every Hungarian poet in Slovakia, at least when he first starts, is inspired by the Hungarian popular poetry of the past century and mainly of the interwar period. As an example, we mention Sándor Gál (1937), a practitioner of many genres. His poetry evolved under the influence of the song; he is an emotional type, and although, according to his ars poetica, the WORD sprang forth "from the triangle of Time, Space and Reason", he himself tends to approach even the intellectual problems with his heart. Instead of analyzing the upsetting experiences, he tries to find "new magic words" to exorcise them. Sometimes he does find the spell-words too, the incantation, the formula works; in an elegiac manner, he compares his treasured memories with the confused present and the future, full of foreboding, rather than promise. The folk-inspired rhythmic patterns, the melodiousness, enhanced by the rhymes and the parallelisms, can provide a momentary respite from the pressures of the world, the tensions tormenting modern man. Yet, the sense of almost companionless nostalgia carries the danger of the poem becoming fluid and deconcretized, "its closed walls fall down like / light silks; time gurgles like the secret of / springs, there are no flavours, fragrances; the strength of reality / drowning in mist flutters like a gentle breeze, and the shore of the unknown looks so familiar..." (On High). These beautiful lines bring distant echoes of the blending of life and dream so popular in the last century. Nor does the problem lie in the fact that the up-to-dateness of the idea is doubtful; what is more important is that the danger of slack, loose phrasing, of deconcentration sometimes also appears in the shaping of the verses. — For István Gyurcsó (1915), the legacy of Slovensko's Hungarian lyricists represents more of an intellectual example than one of form. He owns himself to be heir to the idea of vox humana and the moral values pertaining to it. He is a good example to illustrate the point that one's poetic talent and preparedness sometimes fall short of one's human decency, the brave outspokenness declaring itself apropos of delicate questions — in short, "civic courage". Nonetheless, the poet can earn our sympathy — if not for his aesthetic achievement, then for his stout defence of his ethical principles. Implicit loyalty to the parents, to the land that nurtured him, to the mother tongue; a conduct marked by an open espousal,

even in hard times, of unbiassed patriotism and of an opposition to the narrow nationalist aspirations: that is what Gyurcsó deserves to be given credit for — in this, he was able to serve as a model even for poets more significant than himself. It is no use trying to form hypotheses after the event, but reading his best passages (for instance, some sections of A népvándorlás kora /The Migration Period/) one gets the tantalizing feeling that if not only his morality, but also his verse speech and form-world had remained at the level of a more untutored, cruder originality, he might have become a more influential "naive" poet.

The conceptual solution of final questions

Without an active intellect no worthwhile poetry can be created. That is a truism; yet, Tibor Bábi (1925-1978), who died prematurely, we describe with distinguishing emphasis as a poet with a philosophical outlook, implying that in him it is the scrutiny and fathoming of cognition, of the final secrets, that are thematicized; he "philosophizes" not merely by abstracting and interpreting the experience — his fundamental experience is itself abstract and philosophical. It is "the unknown uniform essence behind the thousand familiar details" that engages his attention, and this essence is transmitted to him first by alienating, later by repelling, and finally by tragic experiences: "the howling forsakenness of the organic one and whole (...) is the loneliness of the dying one". I Am Looking for Someone is the title given to a posthumous volume of his selected verses. Bábi is looking for man, who, although "he has had enough food, has eaten and drunk, ... is still not happy". Bábi's constant preoccupation is why man is not happy. Happiness (according to the central thesis of the cycle A Forrás éneke /The Fountain's Song/) is an elusive fragrance; it is hard to be frank about it — indeed, it is something to be ashamed of, as the rare moment of bliss that are ours are counterpointed by the rattle of machine guns and the roar of cannon, by prison-yard executions; "maybe a nation is just being condemned to death". He professes anti-Tolstoyan principles, and his message is "resist evil". He rebels against the murderous Cains; life, if it is going to defend itself, can only rouse itself by committing some acts of cruelty. Bábi's poetics is reminiscent of expressionism; he abstracts and generalizes; in his view, "all is united, of one and the same substance". Certain influences (that of Pound, Eliot, Kassák, and Weöres) shine through his writings fairly recognizably; yet, there is something of the sufferer's

tragic first-hand knowledge — stemming partly from his condition as member of a national minority and, at the same time, from the unacceptability of the entire world equation, man's state of humiliation — which authenticates and gives a personal slant to the reminiscences.

If it were possible to condense into a single sentence the world-picture of a poet, the quintessence of his outlook on life, then, speaking about László Cselényi (1938), one would have to underscore a vision of life dominated by struggle, by conflict, by the polarity of antagonistic forces. He is fascinated by the contrast between past and future, the countryside and the city, man and woman; a suffering participant in it, he yet secretly or avowedly enjoys the gigantic spectacle of a world in the throes of change, the anguished beauty of transformation. One detects deep down in his landscape of experience a certain amount of nostalgia for a simpler, less complicated world, which manifests itself thematically in the attraction of the idyl and the peasant or popular patterns of life and poetically in that of a songlike quality. ("What a summer! In the rich fields, the wheat grows so quickly you can almost hear it; its fat heads wreathe the blue sky and our shoulders.") But that is just an explanatory and colouring element; it is an Eastern European Danubian "verse-chronicle" that Cselényi is writing continuously — one, moreover, whose key-words are, from the outset, "ravaging fires, floods, earthquake, war", sorrow, misfortune, suffering, and "so many storms", the latter alluding to Vörösmarty. His genres are the lament, the tragedy, the myth, and the funeral oration. His diction is characterized by the strange duality of bitter, (self-)castigating masochism and the demand for explanation, for intellectual transillumination. In a poem of his quoting Céline's famous book-title (Utazás az éjszaka mélyére /A Journey into the Depths of the Night/), he repudiates the enchantresses and pearl-loves, defining his programme in relentless truth-telling and in intellectual domains: "To subject the hysteria of lines, pictures, terrible lonelinesses to light and darkness". After folksong-like compositions and mythologically conceived long poems of the Ferenc Juhász and László Nagy type, his interest and his ever lively penchant for experimentation attract him to a somewhat less folk-based variety of intellectual lyrical poetry — a variety, moreover, that emphasizes conceptual analysis and experimentation with language. He quests for "interrelationships", he stands back and appraises, like Dante, at the halfway point along the path of human life; he writes "supplements", arranged under headings, to Heraclitus. This transformation, not without reason, has been linked with certain aspirations of the Paris-based

Magyar Műhely (Hungarian Workshop) and, in general, of the neo-avant-garde of the Hungarian language; yet, even in comparison with them, Cselényi's originality and sovereignty as a poet are incontestable. His experiments are not autotelic; his enlarge poetic consciousness is not an ostentatious display of individuality. Even in his world-citizen attitude he preserves the experience of one who has lived in Central Europe, as a member of his nationality; and in exacting rigorous standards of himself and others he but urges on the process whereby Hungarian culture in Slovakia might once and for all rid itself of the shackles of provincialism.

From the idyl to the absurd

The poetry of Lajos Zs. Nagy (1935) begins in the spirit of the idyl and it reaches the boundaries of the absurd. In him too, the idyl is nourished by the homey memories of childhood and his birthplace — Zsély, the white Berek, the motifs of the world of relatives; as these memories recede and the old world is transformed, so the idyl gets filled with nostalgia and subsequently with bitter complaint (Anyám /My Mother/). Having said that, it is not just one period that this experience and genre is bound to; addressing his native village, Zs. Nagy rightly says: "And wherever I may be carried by desire, one of my selves will remain in you." It is his grotesque outlook and style that render his poetry characteristically individual. The grotesque, in him, serves to expose, assuming, from the false surface, an incisive character. He points at some valuable, "positive" quality in life (which is also an aesthetic quality), only to expose it a little later as an appearance serving only to conceal the bleak reality of destruction, danger, and decay: "Scent of pines, merry music / — and tomorrow, a knife on your throats." (Karácsonyi strófák /Christmas Stanzas/). Hence arise his "agoraphobia", his negative attitude, and his solitude. He does not celebrate together with the self-deluding multitude; a clearsighted, pessimistic soothsayer, he himself asks to be arraigned. His view of chronology is synchronic; he conveys the contradictoriness of things by evoking mostly simultaneous occurrences and feelings: "our poet is now singing, with the devoutness of a child, the Passion he learnt long ago / and is switching the carpets" (Nagypéntek /Good Friday/ 1964). The technique of montage, the photographic juxtaposition of different things is also an expression of a thinking that moves in space, rather than in time; that procedure is referred to by the very title of Zsibvásár (Rag-Fair). The rag-fair, the odds

and ends, the lumber of life are often counterpointed by allusions to myth. His references are mainly to the Old Testament (Noah, Moses). They frequently recur, and the motif of the burning bush becomes a symbol of the vision, the miracle, the encounter with the divine. This phenomenon is then confronted with the empty, worthless quotidian reality. ("My brother Moses) is distilling brandy in the depth of the cellar. (He broke the stone tablets) a good many years ago and has used them to pave (his courtyard.") In Zs. Nagy, the speech situation and stylistics of the prayer too are given a parodic function; he prays entirely for things that fill him with revulsion — things, moreover, that are his even without his petition. That is how he arrives at a (neo)avant-garde verse speech which, by dint of perplexing associations and an ostensibly incoherent syntax, imitates the senselessness of reality, recalling, to a certain extent, the poetics of Kassák, half Dadaist, half surrealist.

At the time of his debut, in the mid-fifties, the poetry of Árpád Oszvald (1932) is distinguished from that of the other representatives of lyrical realism "with folk roots" mainly by the polish and greater precision of his writing. Though not in every verse cycle of his, he mostly manages to avoid the pitfall of schematism, "drawing" clear and precise images: "Out of the steam of pans a woman flashes before your face her white arms — a snow-white soft linen" — Meditáció (Meditation). Here the memory still retains the former concreteness and unity of the experience; the crack between past and present is scarcely noticeable. Ten or ten plus years later this subtle sensualism already proved inadequate for expressing the poet's entire world-concept: looking back, he sees only fragments. He describes the rural-natural world of his childhood in a poem called Fragmentum. He tries to piece together the shards; it requires an effort on the part of the poetic subject to make "the separate parts jumbled in a heap" cohere. Instead of interconnected scenes and discernible faces, we get "the occasional word or movement from of old" flashing capriciously like the flame of a match in the dark. The associations become surrealistically hypnoid, and the conversation pieces give way to "childhood visions". The divergence between rural and urban life, amenable to sociological description, is deepened into the more conceptually comprehensive and more poetically fertile antithesis of nature and civilization. The manner and function of the adaptation of the widely construed folklore genres (tale, ballad, superstition, folk customs) and motifs (youngest boy, seven-headed dragon, water of life, magic steed) are also transformed. The young poet shared the folk-tales' insuppressible

optimism and passion for living. The same symbolism returns in a negative meaning, illustrating the sense of failure, the unattainability of the ideal: the hero in the fairy-tale cannot distinguish the water of life and the water of death; the magic steed has been lost; the youngest boy, tending the fire, strays from his post — his figure merges into that of the prodigal son. Such a trend in the evolution of the new popular lyrical poetry is nothing unique in the literatures of the Hungarian language; Oszvald's originality, compared to the Juhász-Nagy model, lies in the fact that he conjures up the myth — or the negative of the myth — not by means of a detailing magnification of the symbolic images — not by the technique of free-flowing visions — but by forcing it into a strict structure, an evenly balanced sequence of disciplined sentences. It is as though he expressed his world-picture — distantly related to that of Sinka, but more closely to that of László Nagy — in a style similar to the classicized constructivism of the late Kassák. (What we are talking about is not influences or eclecticism, but a blend forming a new quality.) The dynamic balance of "matter" and form may have something to do with Oszvald's psychological and philosophical polarity. For, on the one hand, he wants to attain the ultimate perfection, "the iron-law order of bees" — he quests for the Archimedean "fulcrum". Compared to this, his acoustic ideal is silence — while in the world of objects and bodies he is attracted to motionless, statuelike, solid perfection. On the other hand, he does not lose touch with the tangible, vital, perishable quotidian world, either; he wants to stay "close to the earth", lest "the awed reverence for things" be irretrievably lost. These are the two extremities between which thought moves in his meditations; the poems record with the sensitivity of a seismograph the fluctuations of inner life, fraught with tensions.

If someone tried to make a psychograph and a portrait of Árpád Tőzsér (1935), he would encounter an extremely complicated configuration. Continuing in him are all the elements of the "alien diversity", inherited from his outlaw, shepherd, peasant, and artisan ancestors. He does not possess a single predominant characteristic — or rather, his faculté maîtresse is precisely the reconciliation and disciplining of equally strong opposite characteristics. He combines a powerful imagination with rationalism; he is a defiantly refractory type and as sensitive as a flower: "the many yeses and nos almost tear me apart", is how he describes himself. His habit of vision and idiom are stratified. He himself talks about "an imaginal and an objective zone, and one that is simultaneously imaginal and objective". The

complexity is added to by "a checkered fate" and an initiatedness, as if imposed by destiny, into the languages and cultures of several nations. A struggle to force into some kind of form the dense life-material, the rich past and the confused present — that is one of the leitmotifs of his poetry. In the poem Credo ut intelligam, after an enumeration of a plethora of experiences that could fill several novels, he sums up his poetic aspirations: "And the words once again stand arrayed"; the forces pulling in opposite directions are brought into harmony by "reason, ordering the world in images". In him, "nothingness" — one of the key-words (sometimes a vogue-word) of 20th-century philosophy — receives, by virtue of his personal, first-hand experience, a novel and concrete content. He reports the negative life-situation of the individual estranged from the community, the world, and his former self: "I am here by not being"; "There is nothing behind me, nothing before me". The more his life obeys its own law, the less he exists. Underlying this paradox is the ontological recognition that human life depends on an active interplay with the world and the community; abstract existence, reduced to itself is nihility itself — it is like hovering without wings. Tőzsér's inquisitive mind poses these personally disquieting questions, one by one, also in relation to the predicament of the larger community — witness his expansion of the private experience of lodging in rented rooms into a metaphore of the condition of minorities and then, more widely, of the small nations of Eastern Europe; or the parallel he draws between the mother-son relationship and one's relationship to one's birthplace and geographical-ethnic environment.

Tőzsér thinks in expanding "circles", but in each he seeks for a common pattern. His constant preoccupation is the relationship between consciousness and existence, as the most important variation of the antithesis of nihility and existence. His materialist conviction is attested by his apocryphal supplement to scene VIII (the first Kepler scene) of "Az ember tragédiája" (The Tragedy of Man), where he counterposes the materialist conception of Albert Szenczi Molnár to the idealist dialectic attributed to Kepler; accordingly, the triadic formula of development is as follows: Matter — Idea — Matter. The ostensibly abstractly philosophical skeleton never lacks the flesh and blood to fill it out; Tőzsér confronts the proposition with living reality. His startling discovery is that this general truth does not prevail in Eastern Europe: the consciousness of Mr. Mittel — the hero of his ironical, philosophical prose poems — is ahead of his existence: he does recognize the mushroom, but, because he has broken his

arm, he cannot lay hold of it; the name of the object and the object itself "could not meet in propitious knowledge". In this region, the poet first has the idea of the volume, which he then writes (or does not write, as the case may be). The Hungarian avant-garde in Czechoslovakia is an avant-garde of poetry which does not even exist at that point in time. Fine analyses and collections of examples — which could and should be expanded — have been prepared about Tőzsér's craftsmanship and virtuosity; his skills of construction; the picturesqueness of his language, condensing abstract ideas into exact, novel images; his original versecraft, suggestive of meaning; his innovations of genre, whereby he alternates, within the same work, the verse and the prose commentary; and so on. Having said that, we believe that the special significance he holds in Hungarian literature (and not just in Slovakia) lies in the fact that he is one of those who have got farthest in the investigation and poetic expression of the ontological absurdity of the East Central European region.

It seems, in the light of the ferocious controversies of the time, that the young generation appearing at the turn of the 1960s and '70s makes a radical break with the traditions of Hungarian literature — it perceives, interprets, and evaluates the world around it differently from its predecessors, searching for new possibilities of poetic expression. Nevertheless, in retrospect, we also see the signs of continuity appear, for Tőzsér's concept — which transforms the term "reality-literature", coined by Fábry, into "the reality of literature", accentuating, as it were, the primacy of the aesthetic element — is as important an influence on the poets of The One-Eyed Night as Cselényi's experimenting avant-garde or Zs. Nagy's grotesque poetics (not to mention the world-literary — including the Eastern European — traditions of modernity, and those that have evolved in the other Hungarian-language literatures). Already in his first volume, Imre Varga (1950), in a "masked" poem, defiantly casts into the teeth of the detractors his ars poetica, which he shares with his generation: "Your believe that (...) by your music you can debase a bad homeland"; yet, he forthwith supplements the programme of negation with a constructive objective: "your music, expanding in all directions, expands the world within us, / widening the homeland without". His restless image-creating fantasy shapes the objects associatively related to death and decay into metaphores; in his poems, piles of bones, skulls, disfigured eye-sockets, ruins, lifeless stones and metals etc. recur with obsessive persistency. Painting frescoes of the Apocalypse and the descent to hell, he conveys the overwhelming power of

evil by the symbols of colossal "Blakean monstres" — the crag-idol, the torso, and the "stone lion sitting in judgement". His visions find shape in monumental myth-races; he projects the drama of his existence into cosmic scenes of creation and destruction. His outlook on life is often reproached for a pessimism existentialist in origin. But, in fact, he mostly struggles against the "grin of bone", emptiness, and loneliness: he imagines "a succulent foliage of youth, with bulging flesh" for his protection. He does not want to slip back into his body; to him, the "others" are not hell, as they are to Sartre and company. He craves for total identification and absorption — "To cut open everything that is closed; / to open words and faces into one another". With the passage of time, his metaphorical and mythical symbolic style takes on board more and more of the resources of those modern trends that emphasize the textual nature of the poem, employing words and interpunctuation as independent and possibly concrete signs (as well). Within the poem itself, he comments on, corrects, and varies the preceding lines, extending the role of the arrangement of the text; his typography acquires a special meaning, as he playfully breaks up or puts together the vocables. Ever since he has moved to Hungary, these "techniques" have fitted into a world of ideas and images more complex than even the earlier one — reflecting the new dimensions that have enriched, in the wake of his move, the already complex system of space and time pertaining to the lyrical hero. "What you now recognize /you only remember. As you hurry through the square / another square echoes your footfalls." — That might be the common motto of his recent "special man/world rhapsodies".

Analysts — not without grounds — often see the career of László Tóth (1949) as being parallel with that of Imre Varga, on account of their generational affiliations, their break with traditional "realist" lyrical forms, and the shaping of their lives and poetry (including their move to Hungary). Instead of the visible surface of reality, Tóth too quests for some overall plan, for the essence. His poems are accounts of "spiritual wanderings". Shedding the "external landscape", he penetrates that other landscape "lying under the skin" — an interior space which declares its own forms of being, and which he himself has created and populated. His emotions are more subdued than those of Varga, and he is restrained in his innovations; in his best poems there is a balance between the values of expressiveness and construction. He starts from basic words and motifs (sun, moon, heat, root, wing, latch, hunger, well etc.), which recur from poem to poem, imparting an emphatically motif-like character to his poetry. These key-words were once

symbols of identity and simplicity — they could be inventoried and arranged to form an encyclopaedia. The drama of the breakdown of the identity experience is conveyed by the disjunction between words and their original meanings: "when all contacts are lost", anger can be a rose, "its petals: the sky"; "it will be possible to vary the bridge, the river, the sail, the moon, the fire" and everything else; the position of the lyrical 'I' becomes uncertain ("somewhere between stone and sky"). The stubbornness of the roots protect László Tóth from septical realism, but he cannot renounce bitter clearsightedness. In his poignant parable about the loss of the mother tongue, the resignation of "now only Quixote's heart is throbbing" opens the way to self-irony and the grotesque. He expresses, by the simultaneous proposition of mutually exclusive contradictions, the paradoxical nature of the world and the schizophrenia of "ego-ontology". His summarizing basic tenets: "Only the 'it is' is certain, / only the 'it is' — / and the 'it is not', 'it cannot be'." — and: "I am who I am / and I am / who I am not". In his poems, a growing number of impossible, absurd elements are assigned a function; he has a predilection for the technique of collage, using quotations and his own text as building blocks, and for the deformation of the typography (as opposed to the traditional patterns of the visible poem). These and the other innovations of form related to the Western European avant-garde and its counterparts in Yugoslavia and Hungary are authentic in him because they come across as stylistical equivalents of a genuine, first-hand experience of absurdity.

A bird's-eye view of the overall picture

We have enumerated just a few of those phenomena of recent Hungarian poetry in Slovakia that are worthy of attention and analysis — thus it is fitting that the summary too should be modest and cautious. Compared with the beginnings, one is struck by the rapid development, the enrichment of the spectrum, and the improvement in quality. The generational composition of lyricists has changed: around 1948, there was hardly anybody on the scene apart from the debutants of the time; since then, several generations have grown up to take their place alongside them. Not shackled by a deferential attitude to authority, the younger ones are selective about the achievements of their predecessors, learning from their failures and acting on equal terms in support of them or against them — which also provides a challenge to the older ones to renew and engage in a fruitful competition. The verse

ideal, the concept of lyrical poetry, and the expectations of the recipients (at least as far as the more discerning section of the audience is concerned) have radically changed. Apart from the agitational and eulogistic political verses, the poetic harvest of the first years was dominated by the genres of the idyl, the anecdotal picture and the song. The image of the universe was transparent and homogeneous — the subject chosen suggested and the poet moulded into words the "experience" of harmony to which deliberate or naive simplification had reduced the relationship between man and the world. It took several political and ideological shocks and much severe human and artistic soul-searching for the recognition of the ambivalence, of the entaglement of the age, of the lack of stability to show itself in literature in its poetic consequences as well. The poems bear witness to a contradictory, sometimes anxious, depressing state of the world and of the psyche. The songlike quality gives way to epic and intellectual elements; the poem becomes less musical; it comes near, and sometime even passes into, prose. The expression becomes more indirect and oblique; the traditional verse-structure based on narration, description, and interpretation is replaced by more complex structures; the conceptual significance of words yields its importance to the imaginal, symbolic aspect, with the story giving precedence to myth, which, more intricate in texture, displays a plurality of meanings and is of universal validity. In most instances, the verse-text cannot be understood unless one takes into account the tone, the modality: praise is deformed into its antithesis by an ironical overtone; while the grotesque, the absurd, the harlequinade often serve to dull, by the clinking of the fool's cap, one's profound despair. The length of the poetic work increases; one often comes across comprehensive long poems that seek to provide an explanation of the universe; quite frequently it is precisely in this type that we encounter traces of concrete visual poetry, which is worth noting because in the larger compositions — blended in with the traditionally arranged details — the neo-avant-garde solutions perform a novel function, turning from an end into a means; it is not their haphazardness, but the place they occupy in the structure that qualifies them. Even in their ostensibly garish experimental productions, the best Hungarian poets in Slovakia do not forget about the mundane problems of their nationality, past, language, and society — it is precisely these that they sculpture, using the international material of present-day language. One is struck by the active and serious work carried out by the writers and poets in the fields of aesthetics, poetics, and the theory of literature: apart from some excel-

lent "specialized" literary scholars, they are the ones who write the most clearly thought out and relevant critiques, essays, and workshop studies. It would be premature to talk about a golden age or oeuvres of universal value, but there is no cause for pessimism, either. Many of the conditions of a significant lyrical poetry are there in Hungarian literature in Slovakia, and in the potential anthologies of the best living poets of the Hungarian language the space of an entire chapter should be left free for the architects and perfecters of this poetry.

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THE EXILED VOICE IN ADAM MICKIEWICZ'S PAN TADEUSZ

Tadeusz Slawek
University of Silesia

Donald Wesling
University of California, San Diego

Pan Tadeusz, written in Paris (1832-34), emerges from a political and cultural situation wound through with paradoxes. It is a long epic poem in twelve books dealing with various aspects of the social life of the landed gentry, in Lithuania, closing with the arrival of the Polish legions in the service of Napoleon and their departure for the ill-starred Moscow adventure of 1812. Although the beginning of the plot can be located with some precision in the autumn of 1811, it is important to realize that as a national epic its initial stimulus goes back to the life of a culture, and can hardly be confined to the temporal scheme as revealed by the main characters. There are constant allusions to the continuity of the Polish culture of the landed gentry, a class of which the Lithuanian nobility was considered a part at least since the growth of a Lithuanian-Polish alliance during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Another abiding theme of the epic is the stubborn juxtaposition, over centuries, of the civilization of Western Europe and the sealed-off cohesive culture of Poland.

In fact the poem is one of the primary examples in world literature of cultural nostalgia. Historical realities had terminated the myth of the Happy Poland long before Mickiewicz wrote his poem. Three partitions of the Polish lands between Russia, Prussia and Austria put an end first to the territorial unity of the country (First Partition in 1772, Second in 1793) and finally extinguished the political unity of the state (Third Partition in 1795). Thus when Mickiewicz celebrates the ancient Polish Culture in 1834, even a brief period of Napoleon-sponsored and dominated reinstatement of Poland in the form of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (1807-13) had long been a past event. The Congress of Vienna effectively, though not immediately, spelled the elimination of Poland as a political entity. This is so even though, in the short run, the Congress established the Polish Kingdom with its large autonomy, liberal constitution, political and legal system. The gains for the Polish cause were significant, so much so that their loss was for the Mickiewicz generation a greater catastrophe for the nation than the partition of 1795.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

The failure of the November Insurrection of 1830-31, where Polish patriots tried to throw off Russian domination, had spectacular results. It emphasized the historical law which dooms romantic revolutions to being unsuccessful blood-baths unless (as in very few cases) they are supported by a favorable arrangement of political powers outside a country. Political dissent was crushed inside Poland and there was a massive emigration of Polish citizens mainly to France. As the years wore on and the situation did not budge these exiles became desperate and embittered. "None of us", wrote one of the exiles, "had he been able to foresee that our road was... leading to long and inglorious exile... but would have let himself be beaten to the last drop of blood, but would rather have died, than to have doomed himself voluntarily to the fate which lay in store for us."[1] But also this drama of banishment and displacement, prolonged by another unsuccessful insurrection and indeed extending to the present day, had a political consequence with literary pertinence. It created a spiritual model of the ideal Poland. The Polish idea of Fatherland does not evolve from eighteenth century mercantile, legal or constitutional thinking, but is a full-fledged manifestation of nineteenth century idealism of the State. It is from this perspective of absence that Pan Tadeusz will be read in this study as a spiritualized vision of culture — a vision which is aptly described by Jan Lechón, another tragic emigré of Polish poetry, as "the awakening of an almost musical sense of Polishness contained in the solemn rhythms of a polonaise and our nostalgia for an ideal order both musical and social."[2] Since the history of the poem's structure is intimately related to the structure of Polish history we proceed by capping a phenomenology with a sociology of the exiled voice.

I

What is the nature of Exile and what is the nature of Voice? One variety of modern criticism seems especially well suited to address these questions, namely the kind of phenomenology practiced by Heidegger and those who have followed in his line.

To begin by addressing exile with the terms and methods of Heideggerian discourse, it is first necessary to specify the spatial conditions of the emigration; there can be no exile without a from and a to. The philosophy of exile is always based on the interchange of thoughts between the place we have left and the place where we are now. In the text of exile, presence

enters a dialogue with absence but presence has also a temporal facet; it is the present communicating with the past. If we address literary voice with the same terms and methods, we have to know whether it is the Logos, the eternal sound of the Ever Present which Jacques Derrida believes to be a sad consequence of two thousand years of Western metaphysics, or a physical voice that speaks in and through the text. Is this a voice that comes to us from before or behind a word, and only carries the word on its wave, or is it a voice which originates and ends, is born and dies simultaneously with a word? To restate this by means of grammatical definitions of active or passive voice we might ask: Is it the word that speaks or is the word spoken?

The situation of exile is a tragedy of un-desired loci. The hypophon between 'un' and 'desired' describes the space of a thwarted desire which remains, however, in a secret clandestine operation. It is a desire which is not lost and which is very different from an objective statement about un-desirability of a given event or person. If I un-desire something I suspend my own desire but do not cancel it; I open a process of a slow fading of the desire which eventually may become absorbed by the new reality of another place. The un-desiring we are talking about is hesitant and painful and has little to do with whether or not we prefer the new place to which we have come. Still, in a typical drama of exile these two different meanings of un-desirable meet like the end of one word and the beginning of another in a discourse; we have to learn how to un-desire the place we consider ours while the desire to be there is incessantly active, and simultaneously to learn how to live in another place which is alien, threatening and therefore un-desired. Even if I escape from a physical threat hovering above me in my home place, to live somewhere else where I feel relatively safe, still a new space may evoke in me a feeling of the uncanniness of not-being-at-home. Hence, the insane logical space of the institution of political asylum, which on the one hand provides one with a home, where we are safe but not at home, and on the other, results from one's giving up one's home. Thus, eventually instead of home we are provided with an asylum which is to be understood in at least three ways, all of which distort the sense of being at home: as a refuge, an orphanage or sanitarium, or (finally) a mental institution.

Hence exile produces the dilemma of a suspended, bracketed desire and a lack of desire, blank desire, between un-desire and undesire, between a temporary absence of life as we knew it and nothingness which we had not experienced before. Exile is the illness of a locational desire.[3]

The relation between un-desire and desire is like that situation which Martin Heidegger calls "conspicuousness" and describes in Being and Time as one of the possible modes of "unreadiness-to-hand".[4] The conspicuous thing, seemingly familiar and nearly internalized, loses its immediate usefulness and becomes an estranged object totally external. However the usable referentiality of the thing to man "has not completely vanished from the (thing's) constitution; its concrete existential relationship to Dasein has only been radically subdued".[5] Similarly the Fatherland has to be un-desired, subjected to a process of radical suspension but not cancellation. And yet un-desire is also similar as a notion to Heidegger's "obtrusiveness", which occurs when the object expected and longed for is not where it ought to be, and thus creates a hole, an absence which attracts our attention. Fatherland as absent to us from our exile becomes a gap which forces us to focus upon itself. Exile as a text of life is, then, an incessant reverberation of the past in the present (the temporal aspect) and of the absent in the present (ontological aspect). Exile is a present (in the sense of a gift, and an openness) which nonetheless echoes in the void of denial (rejection, a being-closed). So the style of exile is a style of antiphony.

Exile for Mickiewicz is not only a geographical migration from Poland to France, but primarily an ontological and exitential expatriation. Like other members of the mid-nineteenth century Polish intelligentsia, he remains deprived of his own desires or possibility of their gratification. Accordingly we understand exile as a term referring not so much to particular elements of human experience of reality, a matter of simple geographical location but rather as a style of thinking and philosophizing, as a style of epistemology which at the same time is epistemology as style. This style of epistemology brings back the importance of the interplay between the present and the past, between 1832 and 1811, because the un-desire which we saw to be the crucial element of exile seems to stand in a direct proportion to the liveliness of memory: the stronger un-desire becomes, the more it activates memory.[6]

Voice, if we are to deal with it phenomenologically, may be understood by means of the same dialectical discourse we have used for un-desire and the undesirable.[7] Speech has its character as a constant and implacable deferring. If exile is a spatial phenomenon, speech as voice reclaims its domain from time. To take the extreme case as a beginning convenience, we could say that voice as human speech is a measure of difference between human beings and their God; that is the way Milton considered it when he wrote in Paradise Lost (VII, 176-9):

> Immediate are the Acts of God, more swift
> Than time or motion, but to human ears
> Cannot without process of speech be told,
> So told as earthly notion can receive.

Immediacy is juxtaposed to both time and motion, and finally finds its utmost adversary in the concept of a process; thus a real contrast between Acts (capitalized to introduce a further differential) and speech. The conflict between Acts and speech was, in the epoch of Romanticism, viewed as the abiding tension between external Nature and our own manmade reality of language, and one Romantic task seems to be the attempt to bring the two types of thought — the immediate and the sequential, the original and the copy — into parity. In the process human actions would be elevated to the level of the immediate intervention of God or Nature. From within this epoch, Mickiewicz's Romantic voice speaks from within the awareness of the difference between divine Acts and human actions and tries to put the equation between them.

Romantic and post-Romantic practice provides examples of writers who, to secure their loyalty to their vocation, decided to abandon voice and find the ultimate unity of Acts and actions only in a tell-tale silence. Aside from Mickiewicz, we have Matthew Arnold, Arthur Rimbaud, and Ezra Pound in his final years. Young and dramatically premature deaths of Keats, Shelley and Byron are a silencing of voice that was already intuited, perhaps, in their works; but coincided with the silencing of the body. In the case of Mickiewicz, but less definitively than in the later instance of Rimbaud, we have a silencing of voice not as the fate but as the choice; a mute poet liberates his life, uncovers it from the layers of voice, reclaims the fundamental gesture of existence, what is conceived to be the true ontological language. (Some time after finishing the poem, Mickiewicz said of Pan Tadeusz, amazingly, "I shall no longer use my pen for trifles.") Mickiewicz and Rimbaud give up gesticulation in order to recover gesture.[8]

Pan Tadeusz is one of the supreme nineteenth century examples of the truism of recent criticism, that there can be literary works which is their craftsmanship, in the extreme moments of their literariness, tend to divorce themselves from literature, and commit what may be called an act of mutilation /mutiny and self-emaciation/ emasculation. A letter can say good-bye to a letter only by means of another letter; voice has to sound if it wants not to sound any more. A text is a terminus of another text, but the most interesting texts are those which try to reverse the relation between themselves and a prior experience. As Geoffrey Hartman notices in his comments on

Wordsworth, the contemporary of Mickiewicz, "The poet's words are always antiphonal to the phoné of a prior experience.... By phoné I mean voice or sound before a local shape or human source can be ascribed."[9] In the case of Pan Tadeusz, what the words listen to is plainly an anterior experience, but also a later, posterior experience. If the text was the antiphone to the phoné of reality, now it becomes the phoné the reality listens to and replies to through the text of the antiphone of the poet's life. A change from the status of antiphone to phoné is the borderline of literature. In the present essay, we will show this change beginning to occur in the relationship between the text itself and the Epilogue. The voice, as understood here, describes the phenomenon of human speech which exists at the frontier of its own sound, a moment before it lapses into the silence of the Voice. This is the moment when literature is closest to the world, although this has to be qualified by "almost": the process of signification is founded upon a difference, a lack of identity. In these early pages of the inquiry, we hope to take in the voice of the text in the moment it is aspiring towards becoming Voice.This entails a phase of illegibility or inarticulateness. Before a voice is silenced and seemingly disappears, it has to go though a period of screaming and mumbling. The voice is exiled not only to silence, but also to inarticulateness.

II

The literary public of Paris saw the first edition of Pan Tadeusz in August 1834. It was a handsome two-volume production from which Mickiewicz banished the Epilogue. The manuscript of the Epilogue, far from textual clarity, was found in Mickiewicz's papers after his death and published only in 1860 in the Klaczko-Januszewski edition of the poet's works, and then mistakenly placed ahead of the poem as a prologue to Pan Tadeusz (would not Jacques Derrida relish this strange interchange of monologues and prologues as the two out-texts?) Whether or not Kazimierz Wyka is right in assuming that Mickiewicz's decision to exclude the Epilogue was dictated either by his reluctance to indulge in the debates of the Polish emigration circles in Paris, or by his plan to compose a continuation of the poem, we are faced by the document which has its being outside the final full stop of the work, a concluding couplet which imitates the formula-ending of a Polish fairy tale. So the poem proper ends:

I ja tam z gośćmi byłem, miód i wino piłem
A com widział i słyszał,w księgi umieściłem.

(12, 862-63)

(And I was with them drinking wine and mead,
And what I saw and heard all men may read.)

(Mack. tr., 282)

It also has its being outside the book itself, not printed in the original edition; and outside the outline of the poet's life.[10] As interpreters we may regard the Epilogue as a letter sent to the text from exile. Unlike the voice of the main body of the poem, which we will call bardic, the voice of the Epilogue speaks from without its native element; it is a displaced voice which speaks from among threatening street-sounds:

O tym-że dumać na paryskim bruku,
Przynosząc z miasta uszy pełne stuku

(Epilogue, 1-2)

(To think of such things in a Paris street,
Where on my ears the city's noises beat....)

(Mack. tr., 283)

The noise is certainly that of a big city, the same city where the poem itself was written; yet now it is shown, a few lines below, as "Europe's road", the clatter of an alien world endangering the clarity of the speaking voice. The voice of the Epilogue is displaced not only because it has to sound and communicate amidst the din of Parisian traffic, but mainly because it speaks from a wrong place, the place where the process of un-desiring has been initiated and acknowledged. While Pan Tadeusz, also written in Paris, is pretended to be sung from within the culture that accommodates the voice of the bard and supports it by the coherence of custom and tradition, the Epilogue is spoken when the bard is deprived of his listeners. To apply Heidegger's terminology, the bardic voice of the poem, by its deep rootedness, diminishes the gap between saying and speaking, while the Epilogue expands the gap.[11]

Speaking of the conditions of possibility of epic, Hegel referred to an "all-embracing condition of human society", a "simplicity of primitive life", terms accurate enough for Mickiewicz's presentation of the district around Soplicowo, the imaginary country house and its estate. The rhetoric of Hegel is not so distant from Mickiewicz's own. In a vision of the poet, Mickiewicz strenuously emphasizes his belonging to a larger, more comprehensive, ideological and aesthetic, formation:

> ... The first task of the poet is to paint things sensuously without indulging in scientific cogitations. Hence, the most enlightened poets seem to be ignoramuses copying common opinion...[12]

But this nineteenth century bard is not naive, and the form and pressure of Europe's roar manifest themselves even in the quiet Lithuanian village: Napoleon's golden eagles stand without, ready to rescue the silver eagles of Poland.

Takie były zabawy,spory w one lata
Sród cichej wsi litewskiej; kiedy reszta swiata
We łzach i krwi tonęła,gdy ów mąż,bóg wojny,
Otoczon chumurą pułków,tysiącem dział zbrojny,
Wprzągłszy w swój rydwan orły złote obok srebrnych,
Od puszcz Libijskich latał do Alpów podniebnych,
Ciskając grom po gromie,w Piramidy,w Tabor,
W Marengo,Ulm,Austerlitz...
...Sława czynów tylu
Brzemienna imionami rycerzy,od Nilu
Szła hucząc ku północy,aż u Niemna brezgów
Odbiła się,jak od skał,od Moskwy szeregów,
Które broniły Litwę murami żelaza
Przed wieścią,dla Rosyi straszną jak zaraza.

(1, 892-905)

(Such were the pleasures and the petty strife
Of peaceful Lithuanian country life,
When all the world in blood and tears was drowned
And that man-god of war, his troops around
Him like a cloud and armed with guns untold,
Who yoked the silver eagles with the gold,
From Libyan desert to the Alps was winging,
His bolts on Pyramid and Tabor flinging,
Ulm, Austerlitz, Marengo....
.....
The fame of deeds so rich in heroes'worth
Went roaring from the Nile far to the North,
Till it was thrown back on the Niemen's banks
As by a rock before the Russian Ranks,
which shielded Lithuania with a fence
Against the news they feared like pestilence.)

(Mack. tr., 26)

This bard, knowing the geography of the external world, always speaks from within a limited and strictly determined territory, and, as we have seen, claims to have been there drinking wine and mead with Tadeusz and Zosia, characters who never existed. :Similarly, when the Chamberlain wants to remind the gentry of the old Polish courtesies, his language opposes inner and outer, and this time the French are not valued so highly:

Ach,ja pamiętam czasy,kiedy do Ojczyzny
Pierwszy raz zawitała moda francuzczyzny!
Gdy raptem paniczyki mlode z cudzych krajów
Wtargnęli do nas hordą gorszą od Nogajów,
Prześladując w Ojczyźnie Boga,przodków wiarę,
Prawa i obyczaje nawet suknie stare.

(1, 415-20)

(I can remember well those early days,
When it became the mode to ape French ways,
And suddenly a swarm of petty lords
Descended on us like the Tartar hordes,
And God and our forefathers' faith abused,
Our laws and customs, e'en the clothes we used.)

(Mack. tr., 13)

Here as in all the conscious idealizations of the folk in European writing, the bardic voice arises from the acute awareness of the distinction between two radically different spheres of reality, but the bard does not speak from the gap, from the rupture between the two but always from inside the sphere which he considers home. Hence the bardic voice cannot be exiled, for what constitutes it is not only topographical links with a given realm but the awareness of the condition of the world which was (or might be) the Fatherland. The bardic as a literary method is the final articulation of the concept of Fatherland; for the Chamberlain, Poland is the universal area where the institutional has not yet been cut off from the personal.[13]

In Pan Tadeusz, the bardic manifests itself in a repertory of oracular styles through rehearsed Polish history and through present-tense fiction in the lives of the main characters. Also, in part, it relies on the dispersion of Fatherland into a scheme of substitutions and representations whereby a material, geographical Poland is transmuted into signs, traces — the coffee ritual, the mushroom hunt, the telling of lists of old Polish family names. The customs specified by the Chamberlain guarantee both immediate actions and historical traditions, regulating the rhythms of everyday life and of overarching social processes, rather like the noon-time bell which invites guests to dinner toward the end of Book 2, a custom preserved by the Judge because it unifies the days with the centuries. It is true that the Chamberlain in his speech places "customs" next to "laws", but the laws alluded to are precisely those traditional unwritten instructions which operate parallel with, or overtly against the written law. For the full triumph of the customary over the codified, which takes place in Book 8 (The Foray) and Book 9 (The Battle), we are being prepared already at the beginning of the tale

when the Apparitor, commenting on his presumption to move the tables from the house to the old castle, explains:

> Cóż złego,że przeniosłem stoły do zamczyska?
> Nikt na tym nie stracił,a Pan może zyska,
> Bo przecież o ten zamek dziś toczy się sprawa.
> My od dzisiaj do zamku nabyliśmy prawa,
> I mimo całą strony przeciwnej zajadłość
> Dowiodę,że zamczysko wzięliśmy w posiadłość.
> Wszakże,kto gości prosi w zamek na wieczerzę,
> Dowodzi,że posiadłość tam ma albo bierze.
>
> (1, 858-65)

> ("I moved the tables to the castle — why?
> None lost, and you perchance may gain, thereby.
> The castle is the cause of this dispute.
> And by this action we make good our suit,
> For let the other side rage as they may,
> I'll prove we took possession of it today.
> For he who asks his guests thereto to feast
> Proves that he holds or takes possession at least.")
>
> (Mack. tr., 25)

The most dramatic example is to be found in Book 5, where the Warden encourages his master the Count to disregard the codified law:

> ..."Zamek,wołał Klucznik,wieś i ziemie
> zabieraj Pan!" To mówiąc zwrócił się do Hrabi:
> "Jeśli Pan chce mieć spokój,niech wszystko zagrabi.
> Po co proces,Mopanku! sprawa jak dzień czysta:
> Zamek w ręku Horeszków był przez lat czterysta;
> Część gruntów oderwano w czasie Targowicy
> I jak Pan wie, oddano władaniu Soplicy.
> Nie tylko tę część,wszystko zabrać im należy,
> Za koszta procesowe,za karę grabieży.
> Mówiłem Panu zawsze:procesów zaniechać,
> Mówiłem Panu zawsze; najechać,zajechać;
> .....
> Co się tyczy dawniejszych z Soplicami sprzéczek
> Jest na to od procesu lepszy Scyzoryczek...
>
> (5, 811-21, 824-25)

> ("Seize castle, land and village, mark my word,
> If you want peace, you must take it all, my lord.
> No need for lawsuit -- clear as day it is,
> The castle has been ours for centuries.
> Some land was taken after Targowica
> And, as you know, was given to Soplica.
> You should take all of it not part alone,
> As costs and for their plunder to atone.
> I say to you as I have always said:
> Don't go to law but make a raid instead....
> .....
> And when it comes to settling our dispute,

My little penknife's better than a suit.")
(Mack. tr., 124-25)

The Warden's penknife is his enormous sword; the raid is the foray after which the poem is subtitled ("The Last Foray in Lithuania"), an attack to retrieve one's property, not exactly legal but nonetheless allowed. The Warden's speech shows how the internalization of Fatherland, and Fatherland's dispersion into signs and practices which manifest value, is accompanied by the internalization of law.[14] As in the Hegelian description of the social conditions for epic, the moral habit of the bardic world is protected against anarchy by the idea of order, the patterned mode of living which is not imposed but appears to be an outcome of the bond between humans and their world. It is not only a bardic composition that is free from the restrictions of the written medium, but also a society that conditions the bardic utterance by a spontaneously gathered and naturally regulated communal body.[15] It is not the order that embraces people, but the people who emanate the order. So the voice of the bard is possible only when the organization of the world is in a sense simultaneous with the moment of the tale. "In a sense", because plainly the voice is as much a fiction as the polity for which it speaks.

The bardic is a measure of human unity with the world. If the narration is broken by horizontal sweep of description, or by a list of Lithuanian names, that is only to bring in another beloved context and naturalize it in the tale. If the Seneschal in Book 12 describes the magnificent state centerpiece at length, he is interrupted by the Chamberlain who asks him to postpone the stories until later, "For we are hungry; bid them serve the feast", and thus the basic usability of the thing is reinstated. The bardic seems to be an alternation between the high usability of things, which makes them disappear in the chain of intentionality, and a sudden bringing forth of things which makes them obtrusive, blocking-out the rest of the world. The people inhabiting such a world do not live in it, as within a spatial container, but remain in relation with it; they can relate each item of the world to a system of assignments, to an image of the whole world where all relations "are bound up with one another as a primordial totality."[16] Heidegger calls this situation the Being of the ready-to-hand. Using an analogy from grammar, we could explain the pertinence of this by means of verb-tenses: the world of the epic voice originates from the situation in which the voice as an <u>as if</u>, with a necessary lack of immediacy, becomes aware that its impossible desire for <u>it is</u> can be feasible only as <u>it has</u>

been, the perfect aspect of this final verbtense showing both open-endedness and all the former involvements of the process.

To take an example from a privileged moment in Book 1: the whole company come back to the farm, falling into ranks with an unpremeditated sense of hierarchy:

Właśnie z lasu wracało towarzystwo całe,
Wesoło,lecz w porządku;naprzód dzieci małe
Z dozorcą,potem Sędzia szedł z Podkomorzyną,
Obok pan Podkomorzy otoczon rodziną;
.....
..... nikt tam nie rozprawiał
O porządku,nikt mężczyzn i dam nie ustawiał,
A każdy mimowolnie porządku pilnował.
Bo Sędzia w domu dawne obyczaje chował
I nigdy nie dozwalał,by chybiano względu
Dla wieku,urodzenia,rozumu, urzędu;
.....
.....
Więc do porządku wykli domowi i słudzy;
I przyjezdny gość,krewny albo człowiek cudzy,
Gdy Sędziego nawiedził,skoro pobył mało,
Przejmował zwyczaj,którym wszystko oddyhcało.

(1, 210-13, 216-21, 224-27)

(And now the company are turning home,
Gay but in order: first the children come
Accompanied by their tutor; in their train
The Judge himself with Mistress Chamberlain,
And at their side the Chamberlain is found,
The rest of all their family around....
.....
This marching order no one had commanded,
Each kept his proper place of his own will.
The Judge observed the ancient customs still,
Nor suffered disrespect or negligence
For age or birth, rank or intelligence....
.....
The household grew accustomed to that style,
And, kin or stranger, he that stayed awhile
Within the Judge's house quickly acquired
The customs that the very place inspired.)

(Mack. tr., 8)

The order is kept without conscious thought, inspired by the place itself (the Polish original says that the order is breathed by all the surrounding objects and persons.) People in this small cavalcade are literally assigned to their places. When coming into the world of Pan Tadeusz, if we enter it as readers identifying with these characters, we can participate only when we see ourselves entangled in assignments older than ourselves, antecedent

to our conscious thought, and which we view not as an obstacle to our understanding of the world but as an inevitable necessity. Outside this scheme of involvements, says the Judge, houses and nations go to ruin. In lines omitted from the passage quoted, Kenneth Mackenzie translates: "'Such order,'" says the Judge, "'makes nations great / And families, and without it they abate.'" The bardic in this way speaks always from within the structure of commitments where the individual is not isolated, but emerges from the past ("ancient customs") reaching out towards the future ("'Such order... makes nations great'"). In Heidegger's words, the individual character within the bardic world, created by the bardic voice, "stands out" ("ent-steht") but not for himself, not towards himself, but "toward the things in the world and the world itself."[17]

Words too are in this bardic world rooted in the antecedent structure of involvements. The meaning of the bardic voice is not in the deed of the word, as it might be, say, in Mallarmé or Milosz, but in the condition of the world it discloses.[18] What then are the strata which condition the bardic voice and make it possible? We have already shown how the voice overcomes an inside-outside opposition by a radical identification with a system of local involvements (and these, constituting the world, become universal). We may now add that this voice also speaks from beyond another difference, disclosing the common world shared by human nature and outer nature. The bardic voice is relational in at least two more aspects, for it assigns a very special place to links betwen man and nature, and it frequently refers to historical events as to a family story, a tale of relatives and those who are not relatives, outsiders. The familiar and the familial: the world is domesticated, becomes the object of appropriate husbandry. Hence a most famous description of a sunset, also at the very outset of the tale in Book 1:

> Słońce ostatnich kresów nieba dochodziło,
> Mniej silnie,ale szerzej niż we dnie świeciło,
> Całe zaczerwienione,jak zdrowe oblicze
> Gospodarza,gdy prace skończywszy rolnicze
> Na spoczynek powraca....
> .....
> ..... I wnet sierpy,gromadnie dzwoniące
> We zbożach,i grabliska suwane po łące
> Ucichły i stanęły:tak pan Sędzia każe,
> U niego ze dniem kończą pracę gospodarze.
> "Pan świata wie,jak długo pracować potrzeba;
> Słońce,Jego robotnik,kiedy znidzie z nieba,
> Czas i ziemianinowi ustępować z pola."
>
> (1, 186-90, 198-204)

(The sun was near the boundary of the sky,
Less strong but reaching further than when high,
All ruddy like a healthy farmer's face,
Returning from the fields to his own place,
The day's work done.....
.....
..... And suddenly all around
The ringing scythes and rakes drawn o'er the ground
Are still and silent. For the Judge decrees,
That on his farm at evening work should cease.
"The Lord of earth knows when our toil should end,
And when the sun, his workman, doth descend
'Tis time the husbandman should quit the land.")

(Mack. tr., 7)

In a parallel description of a belated sunrise in the opening lines of Book 6, the sun becomes an example for village activites: "All earth upon the heavens seemed to wait; / The cattle to the pasture started late...." (Mack. tr., 130). It is this coextension between the cosmic and the earthly which establishes the conditions of the bardic world: unity or near unity of earth and sky, human and divine. The singer sings from within the network of relationships; or rather the writing, cast in the thirteen-syllable line of the classical Polish couplet, pretends to bring about this delicate approximation of human and outer nature through song:

Po wieczerzy i Sędzia, i goście ze dworu
Wychodzą na dziedziniec używać wieczoru;
Zasiadają na przyzbach wyslanych murawą;
Całe grono z posępną i cichą postawą
Pogląda w niebo,które zdawało się zniżać,
Scieśniać i coraz bardziej ku ziemi przybliżać,
Aż oboje skrywszy się pod zasłoną ciemną
Jak kochankowie,wszczęli rozmowę tajemną,
Tłumacząc swe uczucia w westchnieniach tłumionych,
Szeptach,szmerach i słowach na wpół wymówionych,
Z których składa się dziwna muzyka wieczoru.

(8, 9-19)

(The supper done, the Judge and people there
Went to the yard to enjoy the evening air,
And sat on benches built against the wall,
A mood of quiet gloom lay on them all;
They gazed up at the sky, which seemed to droop
And shrink and closer to the earth to stoop,
Until both, hidden by a dusky veil
Like lovers, they began a secret tale,
And all their love in stifled sighs confessed
And whispered words and murmurs half-suppressed,
Making an evening music marvellous.)

(Mack. tr., 164)

Earth and sky are intimate, like lovers; but this superb passage also draws our attention to the acoustic aspect of the union, a primordial language, a half-articulated speech which is the outer sign of the disclosed relation between man and world, anterior to any divisions into subject and object, body and soul, future and past. Mickiewicz's "half-uttered words" are Heidegger's Talk ("Rede"), which precedes spoken words and reveals being-in-the world.[19] And this union of sky and earth, hemispheres that together condition the bardic voice, resembles Heidegger's Fourfold, "das Gewierte", which in Holzwege is characterized as follows: "Earth and sky, divinities and mortal...belong together by way of the simpleness of the united fourfold. Each of the four mirrors in its own way the presence of the others... This mirroring does not portray a likeness. The mirroring appropriates their own presencing into simple belonging to one another."[20] Divine becomes familiar, but the process is reversible, too, as in the elevation of the everyday in the striking passage, also in Book 8, on the Seneschal's astronomy. The celestial is engaged in earthly activities, with God as first and model husbandman, but also the heavenly is the soil from which man grows. The human order mirrors the celestial pattern, and thus towers over any exclusively human order which might be imposed without having grown from the unity of the earth and the sky.

It is interesting to note that the amalgamation of the earthly and the divine filtered through the natural has been previously seen by Mickiewicz as a vital element of the aesthetics of the epic poem where nature replaces mythology which, formative as it was for the Greeks, was absent from the Slavonic tribes.

> The Greek poetry is of man. He acts there out of his own reasons... although locked... between the gods of heaven and those of hell. Slavonic tribes lack altogether these supernatural elements...All images are taken from nature.[21]

As Kazimierz Wyka puts it: "The Slavonic epic expresses the miraculous in its active attitude towards nature."[22] Hence, one more type of exile has been unconcealed by Mickiewicz himself: a text (already an outcast from the plenitude of voice) becomes a territory of Gods who, banished from heaven, must domesticate nature. The epic is an asylum of Gods.

III

The bardic is bardic only insofar as it cannot be a subject to banish-

ment; it remains within the meaningfulness of the Fatherland as a sign of value. Pan Tadeusz, the poem, is written from Paris and is literally a voice from exile, and yet it is not an exiled voice in the terms of this essay — though there may be moments when it hints or implies another, more desperate way of speaking. The exiled voice belongs to the discourse of the Epilogue. We would emphatically agree, then, with Kazimierz Wyka, who has said that the Epilogue is "a return to the reality of emigration", and that it has the strength of a document which from outside the poem speaks against the poem itself.[23]

The Epilogue was exiled from the book's first editions, but first of all, in its writing, it was banished from the being-at-home of the bardic consciousness:

> Dziś dla nas,w świecie nieproszonych gości,
> W całej przeszłości i w całej przyszłości
> Jedna już tylko jest kraina taka,
> W której jest trochę szczęścia dla Polaka:
> Kraj lat dziecinnych!
>
> (Epilogue, 64-68)

> (For us unbidden guests in every clime
> From the beginning to the end of time
> There is but one place in this planet whole
> Where happiness may be for every Pole —
> The land of childhood!...)
>
> (Mack. tr., 285)

The crucial statement about being unbidden guests of the world is accompanied by a specific disarrangement in the time-structure, wherein the perfective becomes the mere past, and this pastness relates to the present in the way diametrically opposite to the action of "gathering". For "gathering" ("Versammlung"), in the Heideggerian definition we would apply to this poem, is a moment or flash which appropriates the present from all events of the past, thus grounding the present in the continuity of what has been, and thus the past acquires the urgency of the present. The unbiddenness of the Epilogue, in the lines above, reverses this relation, for in the Epilogue it is the present that becomes a distant, detached past. Whereas the bardic voice speaks the world of the totality of involvements, the exiled voice of the Epilogue discourses about this world which is long gone and past. This world that is spoken about is the ideal, hypothetical world of unchangeable ideas and images. The Polishness of Poland is immobilized and put at a distance:

Kraj lat dziecinnych! On zawsze zostanie
Swięty i czysty,jak pierwsze kochanie,
Nie zaburzony błędów przypomnieniem,
Nie podkopany nadziei złudzeniem
Ani zmieniony wypadków strumieniem....
.....
Ten kraj szczęśliwy,ubogi i ciasny!
Jak świat jest boży,tak on był nasz własny!

(Epilogue, 68-72, 79-80)

(The land of childhood! that shall aye endure
As holy as a first love and as pure,
Unshattered by the memory of mistake,
That no deceitful hopes can ever shake.
Nor can the changing tide of life unmake....
.....
That happy country,happy, poor, and small!
The world is God's but that was ours — ours all.)

(Mack. tr., 285)

Ownership under the bardic meant participating, an owning for others and with others, but here it means partitioning, an inauthentic mode of being. Mickiewicz was acutely aware of the dialectics of appropriation. In his remarks upon Slavic literature we read:

> Man always begins to exercise despotic power from fellow man...Slavery has been known for a long time; but a thought of the unlimited authority over animals, trees, the earth, the whole nature, the thought that a man is the center and god of nature, an uncontrolled despot, is a product of recent times. It is the latest cry of the philosophical pride, the danger brought about by ownership.[24]

The polarity of appropriation develops into the list of juxtapositions which follow — "that land where servants more for masters care / Than wives do for their husbands otherwhere", and so on. Hence too the shift of deixis from the "this" of the poem to the "that" of the Epilogue. The bardic voice always speaks from <u>here</u>, but the <u>here</u> of the Epilogue is the <u>there</u> so frequently alluded to and disparaged in the main body of the text.

To the objection that such was a situation throughout <u>Pan Tadeusz</u>, as a poem written in exile describing scenes long past, we would point out a fundamental difference. In the poem proper, the voice generally does not recognize the situation of estrangement, understands itself still from within the community it is a part of, and so it reflects upon itself as if from its own point of view. The poem has a voice that has not turned away from itself, that has not yet differentiated between itself and the world and thus speaks as if in unison with it. These are the features that make the voice bardic. In the Epilogue, however, the voice perceives its estrange-

ment, acknowledges the fact that its absorption in the world is disturbed. The voice loses the internal perspective upon itself, and replaces this with social evaluation or, as Heidegger would say, with "public discloseness".

The situation of Mickiewicz and his fellow exiles, as "unbidden guests", gives them an unfriendly environment, "Where on (our) ears the city's noises beat" (Mack. tr., 283). The only sound which the Epilogue listens to back in Poland is the voice of death: "every moment fresh news strikes a blows, / Sounding from Poland like a funeral bell" (Mack. tr., 283). In Book 3 of the poem, a scene of mushroom gathering finishes with the bell, which for a romantically-minded Count is a pretext for his fantasy: he hears it as a metaphor of death, "Thus fate ends all things with a clapper stroke" (Mack. tr., 70). Nevertheless, the signified here is far from eschatalogical, but relates to the locale of the has been, which is the territory of unending continuity, incessant unfolding:

Odgłos nie smutny wcale ani pogrzebowy,
Jak się Hrabiemu zdało,owszem,obiadowy.
Dzwon ten,w każde południe krzyczący z poddasza,
Gości i czeladź domu na obiad zaprasza:
Tak było w dawnych licznych dworach we zwyczaju
I zostało się w domu Sędziego...

(3, 686-91)

(By no means mournful or funereal,
As to the Count it seemed, but prandial.
Each mid-day from the roof that bell would call
Servants and guests to dinner in the hall.
For thus on old estates 'twas always done,
As on the Judge's.)

(Mack. tr., 71)

Thus the bell which interrupts one activity only to foreground it, and then unfold from it another event, is in the Epilogue replaced by a funeral bell which silences the voice and opens the way to death.

The Epilogue is a gradual silencing of voice. The tendency of the speaker to avoid the regions of storm and thunder is marked at the very beginning of the Epilogue, at line 21: "Beyond the thunder (grzmot) and the stormy zone"; and again below, "Our thought dared not to wing its passage there, / Where e'en the birds of thunder fear to fare" (Mack. tr., 283-84). The Epilogue speaks from in between the sounds of festive bells and the wailing of the generations black with mourning. The transition is marked by death of silence; before the vesper bell becomes the funeral peal, death

must intervene. The exiled voice of the Epilogue is distorted with noise, becomes mute amidst the uproar.

We hear the voice more and more faintly through the formless din of Paris streets, of lies and curses, but afterwards we realize that the crisis is deeper because reaching into the ultimate problems of signification. On the one hand, it is a futile search of the signified for a signifier, of the thought for the word: "Whose lips would dare / To boast that they will find that word so rare / That it shall melt marmoreal despair?" (Mack. tr., 284). The futility of the effort is bound to lead to silence. On the other hand, stammering of the signified deprived of its signifier is matched by a lack of means on the part of the audience to receive the signifier, even if it could be found: "the world will not regard their woe" (Mack. tr., 283). The voice wants to speak but cannot find words, while the world wants not to listen and radically cuts off the very possibility of listening. The voice does not have a mouth, the world does not have ears. Paraphrasing Wordsworth's 1850 Prelude, we could claim that in the Epilogue "sad incompetence of human speech" (6, 593) is matched by a sad incompetence of human ear. The voice of the Epilogue stammers on the margin of communication.

Apparently the voice must journey into the noise, work its way through it towards a new voice of the recovered bardic. Voice must lose its lucidity through silencing or death in order to gain fresh authenticity.

This silence which is the doom of the voice in the Epilogue seems inevitable because of the incompatibility of the word and the world. The word the Epilogue-voice longs for is expected to perform actions of utmost physical intensity: it must "lift the gravestone from the hearts of men, / And unlock eyes that brim with tears again" (Mack. tr., 284). The voice on the other side of the Parisian noise will be the voice transformed into action, will signify a return to the bardic tradition of the voice as a gesture, a stepping-out of the limits of the word. Friedrich Schlegel, in his Literary Aphorisms, speaks of the hoped-for situation of the exiled voice: "The life and vigor of poetry consists in the fact that it steps out of itself, tears out a section of religion, and then again withdraws into itself by assimilating this part. This also takes place in philosophy."[25] The new voice will have its immediacy by annexing sections of life and transmuting them into utterance; silence is the space assigned to the voice as it gets ready for its work. If this movement toward silence indeed describes the innermost meaning of Mickiewicz's career, the only continuation of writing possible in this case was to refrain from the poetic voice. Though he lec-

tured and was active in Polish-exile politics, in fact he did not write any major poems after Pan Tadeusz, he wrote only a few short poems known as the Lausanne lyrics, which were published after his death. The Epilogue is the vesper bell which leads him, so far as major literature is concerned, to silence, in the evening of the unspoken, so that through silence he could transfigure the poetry of words into the poetry of gesture. Slow silencing of the voice in the unfinished, unpublished Epilogue is but a faint echo of last steps fading in darkness, steps initiating wandering towards a new light, towards the sphere where a voice possesses the immediacy of life, the sphere where it becomes my voice, my own voice, neither echoing nor borrowed. Thus one way out from the position of the exiled voice, which is but a quotation from childhood memories or a reverberation ofother voices.

So the exiled voice exists on the verge of two collapses. One is a fall into inarticulateness, the stammering of a mouthless speaker in the direction of an earless listener. The other is a voice of the past, a voice cited, thus doubly deprived of originality, as not only would it be impossible for it to reach the immediacy of God-like gestures, but it would be a mere echo, an imitation of other, forgotten voices.

IV

Before the Epilogue ends, it turns upward briefly in a more positive direction with a nostalgic-utopian view of the poet's role and the possible future of his poem. The last 22 lines foreshadow a future time ("Would I might live to see the happy day....") when his book will be known to Lithuanian country girls:

Gdyby też wzięły na koniec do ręki
Te ksiegi, proste jako ich piosenki!

(Epilogue, 115-16)

(Would that some happy chance to them might bring
These books as simple as the songs they sing.)

(Mack. tr., 286)

Then the final lines dart back into the past of the speaker, to the time when poetry is (or is claimed to be) interpreted by the "steward or landlord" to the young listeners; thus the Epilogue ends:

Tak za dni moich,przy wiejskiej zabawie,
Czytano nieraz pod lipą na trawie
Pieśń o Justynie,powieść o Wiesławie.

.....
I zazdrościła młodzież wieszczów sławie,
Która tam dotąd brzmi w lasach i w polu,
I którym droższy niż laur Kapitolu
Wianek,rękami wieśniaczki osnuty,
Z modrych bławatków i zielonej ruty.

(Epilogue, 117-19, 125-29)

(So at their country pleasures in my time
They sometimes read aloud beneath the lime
Justina's ballad or Wieslaw's fable....
.....
And young men envied then the singer's fame,
Which echoes in their woods and forests still,
To whom the laurel crown on Jove's high hill
Is less dear than the wreaths of cornflower blue,
Twined by the hands of village girls with rue.)

(Mack. tr., 286)

Without being spoken in the bardic voice this is a statement of the theory of bardic voice, of a writing which is (or is like) singing. The society of the bardic utterance is a group of listeners in the countryside, preferably village girls. The wieszcz is not celebrated with the laurel crown of ancient epic but with wreaths wound with rue and Polish cornflowers. Pan Tadeusz is a simple as a popular contemporary ballad. So expressed, this myth of the early and the oral has the quality of aspiration, and yet we trust we have shown how the poem itself gives over something very like what the Epilogue asserts.

It is important to mention that the poems of Justina and Wieslaw were popular lyrics of the recent past. Mickiewicz assimilates his classical epic to the sentimental and near-modern lyric, ironic towards both modes. The wieszcz is not really, despite the English translation used here, a "singer", and was never in historical fact celebrated by wreaths of rue and cornflowers. Mickiewicz's little fiction is gently skeptical towards his own aspirations, which nonetheless remain symptomatically bardic in tendency and in detail.

Czeslaw Milosz has said of Pan Tadeusz that "Its core is metaphysical, not social", a contention fully supported by this essay's exposition of the bardic voice.[26] The epic poem conveys the myth of a nation when no nation existed. However a phenomenological reading of the bardic and the exiled voices is compatible with a social reading which would show the constraints upon this poem's metaphysics (a metaphysics of harmonious fusion between characters and their world). For Mickiewicz is responding, through a profoundly comprehensive work of art, to changes in Polish and literary history

by imagining an ideal traditional universe. The poem is a resolution in thought and in literary form of a perplexity which cannot be resolved in actions, given the powerlessness of the Polish exiles after the disasters of 1831. By careful contrivance to exclude perspectives and historical facts which are inconvenient, the poem shapes its values. Any reading of the poem which seeks completeness will show the poem's nostalgic and utopian urge, its performance of the bardic voice, while showing equally how this ideology is shaped into great art. We need, then, to demonstrate how the poem manifests the contradictions of its Polish provenance and its moment of Romantic realism.

Mickiewicz in 1833 spoke about his "poem on the szlachta". In the event he wrote about the szlachta as the nation, a fable not far from the facts so far as political power was distributed in Poland — with a fragmented aristocracy, lack of an effective central power, a legislature incapable of governing due to procedures that made for stalemate; and, from below, the serfs had no influence whatever up to and indeed after the time they were freed in the Duchy of Warsaw and in Prussian Poland in 1807 (freed in Austrian Poland in 1848, and in the Russian Empire territories in 1861). Insofar as the tale itself concerns the eventual union of the gentry and the magnates and aristocray in a symbolic marriage, it is an allegory of the bringing-together of the warring factions of Poland's ruling class.

Mickiewicz weaves three threads into the plot of his epic of Poland. The first is the story of a dashing young man with long moustaches, a perfect shot, Jacek Soplica, who kills the local magnate, Pantler Horeszko, and later returns in the guise of a Bernardine monk, Father Robak. The second is the story of 20-year-old Tadeusz Soplica, Robak's son, whose relation to 14-year-old Zosia is complicated by family disagreements and by Tadeusz's being involved at first (an affair only hinted at in the text) with an experienced woman of the world, Telimena. When Jacek-Robak's son Tadeusz is engaged to Horeszko's grand-daughter Zosia, there comes to an end the feud between the two families. What lies in contest between the warring families is the castle, Soplicowo, which Robak got from the Russians apparently as a reward for helping in its capture. Robak has given the castle to his brother the Judge, whereupon Gerwazy, known as the Warden, and the Count as the last of the Horeszko line connive to get the castle back. The third and last thread is the foray itself, an attempt by the Count and Gerwazy to take the castle by force — a brave, all — but illegal action to do vigilante justice in a country which lacks almost all central authority,

but the kind of action which was increasingly less likely in the conditions of rational-legal modernity: hence the subtitle of Pan Tadeusz, "The Last Foray in Lithuania." In fact, lastness is a primary value in the poem, which cherishes the ceremonies and even the gallant violence of the old Poland, and does so with the same intent and tone W.B. Yeats uses in "A Prayer for My Daughter", that shorter poem of a century later which regrets the loss of the social values of a country-house society.

Though not named in the title, Robak-Jacek is the story's motivating force. As a young man he kills the father of his beloved Ewa, because Pantler Horeszko has forbideen her to marry a man without land; the situation generally represents the division between the landed and the landless szlachta. The motives for the quarrel run deep: violation of blood, violation of property. Jacek's atonement must therefore be long and total through his years as a monk and as a secret agent for Napoleon in Poland. In his attempts to redeem himself he inserts his influence secretly into the action and engineers events, up to the time of his death at the end of Book 10. He saves both Tadeusz and the Count, a Soplica and a Horeszko, by killing a menacing bear with a single deadly shot (Book 4), and in battle puts himself into the line of fire, taking the bullets which were meant for Gerwazy and the Count (Book 9). He pays with his life for a crime committed in a moment of passion, but he has helped to achieve the union of the families and the building of a Polish force to march with Napoleon against the Muscovites. Mickiewicz's aims appear similar to Sir Walter Scott's, in the use of a major figure who operates behind the scenes, arranging the lives of the more ordinary characters.[27] The title-character is the markedly ordinary Tadeusz, neither a splendid student nor speaker nor lover but loyal, honest, a good fighter, prime candidate for the Polish legions. By this device of the title, Jacek is subordinated to the whole as represented by his son, and the old Polish szlachta become the primary moral agents of the epic. The collective hero is the traditional society with its vanished way of life, the beauty and rich ordinariness of customary existence.

Mickiewicz introduces into the epic the immensity of homely detail, as if all the values of the epic and of Polishness were in those details. The poem represents a union of the methods and length of ancient epic with those of the modern novel after Scott. Some of Mickiewicz's enemies complained about these very details, speaking of "piggishness" ("wieprzowatość"), and we know that the author himself, referring to these things, said "I will never again use my pen for trifles." But of course much of the merit of the

poem has to do with these very trifles and piggishness, the "little paper pods" which Zosia wears to curl her hair. Telimena's dismay when her temple of meditation turns out to be an anthill, the chasing of flies, the delightful mushroom-hunt, or the making of coffee in the old Polish way:

Tu roznoszono tace z całą służbą kawy,
Tace ogromne,w kwiaty ślicznie malowane,
Na nich kurzące wonnie imbryki blaszane
I z pocelany saskiej złote filiżanki,
Przy każdej granuszeczek mały do śmietanki.
Takiej kawy jak w Polszcze nie ma w żadnym kraju
W Polszcze,w domu porządnym,z dawnego zwyczaju,
Jest do robienia kawy osobna niewiasta,
Nazywa się kawiarka;ta sprowadza z miasta
Lub z wicin bierze ziarna w najlepszym gatunku....

(2, 493-501)

(.....Here the servants bear
Huge coffee trays that painted flowers adorn,
Upon which smoking pewter pots are borne,
And golden cups of Dresden china gleam,
And with each cup a tiny jug of cream.
There is no coffee like the Polish kind;
In all well-ordered households you will find
A special coffee-maker — 'tis her charge
To purchase from the river-trader's barge
Or from the city store the finest beans....)

(Mack. tr., 42)

Books 1-5 are especially notable for their evocations of the idyllic restfulness and solitude of the country retreat of Soplicowo. There are comparisons, playful or serious, between the natural and the human world, often through epic similes that relate the story's doings to ordinary things -- as when the Count mistakes a goosegirl for a woodnymph, a romantic illusion the author compares to a boy who blows at a dandelion puffball and discovers nothing there "but the naked shaft of a green stem" (Book 3).[28] Dawns and sunsets, clouds and climate are all in sympathy with the human events in the tale itself.This moral vision of nature is a significant element of Mickiewicz's theory of epic as a form of Christian poetry:

> ... a Christian poet is not satisfied by drawing an image, describing a dawn or evening, but tries to penetrate into nature. He attempts to grasp the moral sense of each natural phenomenon.[29]

No place does this sympathy show more openly than at the end of Book 10, when the beams of dawn make a halo around the face of Robak, symbolizing that at the moment of death his atonement is complete. This is the light that never was on sea or land; the imagination of a harmony between the char-

acters and the world they live in is projected back upon 1811, the moment of the fathers and the grandfathers.

The poem grew under the author's hand, in stages, as Wiktor Weintraub diagnoses it:

> The poem developed in the process of writing, almost spontaneously, and the poet himself was surprised at the growth of his work.[30]

The final books move from dawn to dusk on a single day of 1812 just before the troops are to march on Russia, and they form an elaborate, delaying coda to the work. The further Mickiewicz wrote, the closer he came to the failure of Napoleon and the Polish troops at Moscow, and to his own exile an ignominy, the ignominy of Poland. He added materials at the end of the poem, including remarks about the Russians and Tadeusz's freeing of the serfs on the estate, which express overtly a revolutionary love of freedom. So the poem as it progresses extends from a country idyll towards political pronouncement, but at no point do these two intents become separated in the narrative.

As they knit the threads of the narrative, the last two Books intend a persuasive harmonizing. Fully a sixth of the poem is an elaborate closure which repeats images of unity in the natural and the social spheres. Book 11, with its many references to omens, emphasizes the unbroken skein between past events and the present moment of opportunity: its title is "The Year 1812". This penultimate Book contains a Mass in a country chapel on a day in early Spring, the news of Jacek's rehabilitation, the resolution of the running dispute between the owners of Bobtail and Falcon as to which of the two dogs is more capable (a mirroring minor sub-plot to the Soplica-Horeszko feud). Book 12, titled "Let Us Love One Another!", has a last banquet in the Polish style with a great table centerpiece brought down from the old days, brings in Polish generals who actually existed to celebrate with the fictional characters, tells of Telimena's marriage with the Notary, has Tadeusz asking Zosia to let him pardon the serfs that belong to her; and concludes with the playing of the dulcimer by the Jew, Jankiel, with the Polonaise — an elaborate national dance by all assembled — and with a rosy twilight that comes to bathe the whole party.

In the image of the coming dynastic marriage between the Soplicas and the Horeszkos, the disparate factions of the nation's upper class are brought together; Tadeusz and the Count are united against a common enemy — the ordinary man and the dreamer make up, together, a whole Polish gentleman. With the marriage, too, another slavic nationality is brought into the

Polish unity, since Horeszko is a Ukranian name and the Pantler's heritage will be subsumed into the Soplicas, a Lithuanian-Nowogrodek line. With the freeing of the serfs, Tadeusz the title-character brings under the Polish law the vast majority of the population:

> Bezpieczniej zrobię,kiedy władzy się wyrzekę
> I oddam los włościanów pod prawa opiekę.
> Sami wolni,uczyńmy i włościan wolnemi,
> Oddajmy im w dziedzictwo posiadanie ziemi,
> Na której się zrodzili,którą krwawą pracą
> Zdobyli,z której wszystkich żywią i bogacą.
>
> (12, 500-505)

> ("Twere safer if my sovereignty should cease,
> And they enjoyed the law's security.
> Being free ourselves, let's make them also free,
> Let them possess the land which gave them birth,
> Which by their bloody toil they've won, the earth
> Which yields us food and riches by their hands.")
>
> (Mack. tr., 272)

These splendid lines are within the poem somewhat undercut by the illiberal old Polish view of Gerwazy, who says "Freedom's for gentlemen, not everyman!" (Mack. tre., 273), and who then gives Tadeusz and Zosia knowledge of a cache of treasure which will make up for what they've lost by throwing away their serfs. The freeing of the serfs has thus an ambiguous role in this final Book, for even after the following interchange the reader is left wondering if (the Book title) "Let Us Love One Another" really includes persons outside the gentry. The serfs are given but a collective voice:

> Zaledwie usłyszeli nowinę poddani,
> Skoczyli do panicza,padli do nóg pani,
> "Zdrowie Państwu naszemu!" ze łzami krzyknęli;
> Tadeusz krzyknął: "Zdrowie Spółobywateli,
> Wolnych,równych,Polaków!" — 'Wznoszę Ludu zdrowie!"
> Rzekł Dąbrowski;lud krzyknął: "Niech żyją Wodzowie,
> Wiwat Wojsko,wiwat Lud,wiwat wszystkie Stany!"
> Tysiącem głosów zdrowia grzmiały na przemiany.
>
> (12, 604-11)

> (Scarce have the peasants heard the news, when all
> Before their new young lord and lady fall,
> "Health to our fellow citizens! he replies,
> "Free Poles and equals!" and Dabrowski calls,
> "The People!"; they reply, "The Generals!"
> "Long live the Army, People and Estates!"
> The thunder of their voices alternates.)
>
> (Mack. tr., 275)

Jankiel, playing an uncanny and rousing folksong on his dulcimer, is another crucial element in the poem's closure, standing as he does for the roughly one-eighth of the population that was at that time Jewish. There are anti-semitic references in the poem, spoken in the words of minor characters, never in the narrator's voice; these seem to have their resolution, if not refutation, in Jankiel's triumphant music and his patriotism.[31]

The poem ends with the whole company of fictional and really-existing characters toasting each other, and all their friends, "And all the dead of hallowed memory." Mickiewicz has brought present and past, fictional and actual, master and serf and minority into the imagined Fatherland that existed in the no-place of Soplicowo on this marvellous day of 1812. It is as if he were thinking of all the divisions in Polish life that needed to be turned into unities before the nation would be worthy of once again existing. He concludes the poem with a couplet imitating the conventional ending of a Polish fairy tale,

> I ja tam z gośćmi byłem,miód i wino piłem,
> A com widział i słyszał,w księgi umieściłem.
>
> (12, 862-63)

> (And I was with them drinking wine and mead,
> And what I saw and heard all men may read.)
>
> (Mack. tr., 282)

This framing of the text is significant from at least three points of view. It definitely demarcates the text as within the sphere of a certain literary convention, the fairy-tale. It comes to terms with the absence of the miraculous which worried Mickiewicz: the miraculous, traditionally provided by mythology, is here replaced by the fairy-tale. And fairy-tale, although a fully-fledged literary form in itself, nevertheless hinges on a close proximity to the popular, oral forms current among simple people. The last suggestion is a particularly significant ornament on the frame of the oeuvre, as the allusion to oral genres not only closes, cuts off the main text of Pan Tadeusz, but also opens the text of the Epilogue — where the reader that Wyka calls the "folk reader" ("czytelni'k ludowy") is constituted and addressed very differently from the implied readers of Books 1-12.[32] It is a transparent literary lie whose very obviousness is part of the shock it gives the reader. This pretended presence allows Mickiewicz to mingle with the fictional families and events so that he too becomes fictional, bearing out to the very end the fable of the bardic voice. He would not willingly leave himself outside the imagined unity of the Fatherland.

Notes

[1]This exile is quoted in The Cambridge History of Poland, W.F. Redaway (and others), eds. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 311.

[2]Jan Lechón, O literaturze polskiej (New York: 1946), p. 113.

[3]This diagnosis is confirmed by the superexile of the Polish Romantic emigration, Cyprian Norwid, in his 1876 letter to Bronislaw Zaleski (our translation; Norwid's emphasis): "Emigration has robbed me of everything: youth, strength, personal friends, value, almost of the name and dignity of my forefathers. And has there been a reason for this? I wouldn't be surprised and would respect it. But they did it for nothing, because they did nothing, nothing at all! except for a few Jewish and antechamber fortunes and personal successes, which I am not able to feel envious of, nor would I lower myself to such an act." From Cyprian Kamil Norwid, Pisma wierszem i proza, ed. Juliusz W. Gomulicki (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970), p. 388.

[4]See Martin Heidegger, Being and Time, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper, 1962), p. 103. Useful commentators on this and other Heideggerian concepts are: David Halliburton, Poetic Thinking: An Approach to Heidegger (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981); Robert Magliola, Phenomenology and Literature: An Introduction (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue Univ. Press, 1977); George Sefler, Language and the World: A Methodological Synthesis of the Writings of Martin Heidegger and Ludwig Wittgenstein (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1974).

[5]The phrasing in this explanation is Seffler's, p. 39.

[6]Jan Lechón has written: "Pan Tadeusz is indeed a poem of memory. Proust's memory was stimulated by illness; Mickiewicz's by exile and by his realization that the world of his childhood had gone for ever." See Lechón's "Adam Mickiewicz", in Adam Mickiewicz, 1798-1855: Selected Poems, ed. Clark Mills, with a critical appreciation by Jan Lechoń (New York: Noonday, 1956), p. 46.

[7]Derrida, Ong, and Wesling, the last of these mediating between the other two, have contributed to a modern theory of voice in literature. See Jacques Derrida, Of Grammatology, trans. Gayatry Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1976) and Speech and Phenomena, trans. David B. Allison (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1973); Walter J. Ong, S.J., The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); Donal Wesling, "Difficulties of the Bardic: Literature and the Human Voice", Critical Inquiry 8 (1981): 69-81. Also pertinent, though concerning very different cultural materials — the early lyrics of Lennon and McCartney — is the concept of incomprehensibility developed in Tadeusz Slawek,"Szepty i krzyki: Głos jako Istnienie / Istnienie jako głos" (Whispers and Shouts: Voice as Being / Being as Voice), in Studies-Analyses-Interpretations (Katowice: Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Slaskiego Nr. 667, 1984): 7-28.

[8]On the difference between gesture and gesticulation, see Jacques Derrida's analysis of Rousseau's Essay on the Origin of Languages: "Rousseau clarifies (the question of a supplementary return toward a greater naturalness)..... by distinguishing between gesture and gesticulation: the former, which sketches the shadow of presence, silently governs the first metaphor; the latter is an indiscreet and cumbersome adjunct of speech. It is a bad supplement" (Grammatology, p. 236).

[9]Geoffrey Hartman, "Words, Wish, Worth: Wordsworth," in Deconstruction and Criticism, ed. Geoffrey Hartman (New York: Seabury, 1979), p. 193.

[10]Kazimierz Wyka's comment may be found in his Pan Tadeusz, vol. 2 (Warsaw: 1963), p. 26. The monumental collected works (Dzieła, 1955) of Mickiewicz prints the Epilogue after the poem, as does the Kenneth Mackenzie English translation. These are the two versions employed in the present essay, in order to quote from the original and to show the meaning in reasonably good English verse. Henceforth quotations from Adam Mickiewicz, Dziela, vol. 4, ed. Julian Krzyżanowski (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1955), will be followed by book and line number citations; quotations from Pan Tadeusz, or the Last Foray in Lithuania, trans. Kenneth Mackenzie (London: J.M. Dent, 1966; and New York: Dutton, Everyman's Library, 1966), will be followed by Mack. tr. and the page number citation in the Mackenzie translation. It is worth noting that the other English translations, by George Rapall Noyes (1930; prose) and by Watson Kirkconnell (1962; verse), both mistakenly print the Epilogue before the poem, as a Prologue.

[11]On saying and speaking, see Heidegger, Poetry, Language, Thought, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 11.

[12]Mickiewicz, Dzieła, vol. 5, p. 119.

[13]Hegel's account of the social conditions of epic may be found in his Philosophy of Fine Art, trans. F.P.B. Osmaston (London: G. Bell, 1920), vol. 4, esp. p. 120. Using Hegel's concepts, we could claim that Fatherland as voiced by the bard is "the relations of ethical life" ("die Verhaltnisse des sittlichen Lebens") in which organizational forms "cannot as yet have assumed the settled forms of regulations... and laws independent in their validity of the direct personal and private activities of the individual" (vol. 4, 120).

[14]Describing this internalized form of law, Hegel proclaims it "the intuitive sense of right and fairness, the moral habit" (vol. 4, 120); and in his consideration of the difference between Roman and Greek ideas of virtue, Hegel specifies the Greek model as one in which "personality is a law to itself without any further subjection to a law, judgment, and tribunal of independent subsistence" (vol. 1, 250). So the internalization of Fatherland and its transformation into a value sign is paralleled by the internalization of law. The "moral habit" ("die Sitte, das Gemüt") of the bardic world is protected against anarchy by the idea of order, pattern, well-preserved model of life — something not imposed, but rather the outcome of the bond between the human and the world.

[15]"Free from the restrictions of the written medium", we have written. Hance the importance in the poem of the verb "gadać", an untranslatable word describing a relatively free, unstructured way of speaking rather by the physiology of the body of the speaker, than by rhetorical arrangement of arguments or sequential line of events. The word returns in a parodistic version of Polish oracular culture in the works of Witold Gombrowicz (1904-1969).

[16]The phase is Heidegger's from Being and Time, p. 120.

[17]This is the translation in the essay by Joseph J. Kockelmans, "Language, Meaning, and Existence", in the book he edited and translated, On Heidegger and Language (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1972), p. 9.

[18]Wolfgang Iser expresses it concisely: "What the language says is

transcended by what it uncovers, and what it uncovers represents its true meaning". Wolfgang Iser, The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1978), p. 142.

[19]This is the interpretation of Rede offered by Magliola, p. 58.

[20]The passage from Heidegger's Holzwege (Frankfurt am Main: Kolstermann, 1977), p. 179, is quoted and translated by Magliola, p. 70.

[21]Adam Mickiewicz, Dzieła, vol. 8, pp. 174-175.

[22]Wyka, Pan Tadeusz, vol. 1, p.

[23]Wyka, Pan Tadeusz, vol. II, pp. 361, 363.

[24]Adam Mickiewicz, Dzieła, vol. 9, p. 292.

[25]Friedrich Schlegel, Dialogue on Poetry and Literary Aphorisms, trans. Ernst Behler and Roman Struc (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press,1968), p. 151.

[26]Czeslaw Milosz wrote this in a letter to one of the authors of this essay, dated 17 February 1982. The phrase is consistent with his excellent account of Pan Tadeusz in his History of Polish Literature, 2nd edn. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 227-229.

[27]On Scott and Mickiewicz see J. Krzyżanowski, "Z dziejów walterskotyzmu polskiego. W setną rocznicę śmierci Waltera Scotta", in Przeglad wspołczesny, No. 130 (1933), p. 172; also Wyka, Pan Tadeusz, vol. 1, pp. 52-53, 183-220. An English writer who has dealt with the connexion is Donald Davie in The Heyday of Walter Scott (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).

[28]Wiktor Weintraub has capably explored the relation between human and outer nature in the poem's imagery: The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz (The Hague: Mouton, 1954), p. 224 ff.

[29]Adam Mickiewicz, Dziela, vol. 8, p. 206.

[30]Weintraub, The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz, p. 223.

[31]Some data on population from Gąsiorowska may be useful. In 1791 a partitioned Poland had 8.8 million inhabitants; that makes 931 people per square mile (England had 3160; France 2668; Prussia 1613; European Russia 325). The stratification was landed gentry 8%; clergy (Catholic and other kinds) 0.6%; Christian (gentile) middle class (burghers) 6.8%; Jews (mostly burghers) 10.2%; and peasants (serfs) 72.7%. Natalia Gąsiorowska, "Historia społecznogospodarcza Polski", Wiedza o Polsce, vols. 1-3 (Warsaw: (no editor) Wydawnictwo Wiedza o Polsce). Stefan Kieniewicz claims that in 1810 the Grand Duchy of Warsaw had 300,000 Jews, namely 7%. Historia Polski 1764-1864, vol. 2, part 1, ed. Stefan Kieniewicz and W. Kula (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1958).

[32]Wyka, Pan Tadeusz, vol. 2, p. 368.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

GYÖRGY LUKÁCS ET L'HISTOIRE LITTÉRAIRE

György Lukács n'était pas un professionnel de l'histoire littéraire, mais ses systèmes esthétiques ont certains enseignements pour cette discipline aussi. J'ai dit bien ses systèmes, car la pensée esthétique de Lukács présente des différences essentielles d'une époque à l'autre. Je ne pense pas seulement à sa première période marquée par l'idéalisme de la Théorie du roman et de L'âme et les formes, car Lukács les a jugées lui-même dépassées par "l'expérience d'une quart de siècle". C'est sa dernière période, après 1956, qui nous paraît véritablement mûre et fécondatrice, avec La particularité en tant que catégorie esthétique et sa grande synthèse, La particularité de l'esthétique, où les théories précédentes apparaissent à un niveau plus élevé.

Lukács s'occupait avant tout de la théorie du roman et, en partie, de la nouvelle (de cette dernière, à propos de Gorki), il a rédigé ces réflexions pendant son émigration à Moscou. En 1974, Claude Prévost les a publiées en français, avec une introduction remarquable. Après 1945, revenue de l'émigration, Lukács a souvent tourné son attention vers la littérature et la culture hongroises, mais ces articles fort significatifs ne sont pas connus à l'étranger. C'est également après 1945 que ces Écrits de Moscou ont paru en hongrois, provoquant des discussions animées. Claude Prévost fait connaître, dans son introduction mentionnée, celles qui s'étaient déroulées en Union Soviétique.

Dans la théorie esthétique de Lukács, la question fondamentale vise le rapport entre le particulier et le général. C'est ce qu'il examine dans ses écrits sur Balzac et sur Zola, il en donne une analyse approfondie dans La particularité en tant que catégorie esthétique et dans La particularité de l'esthétique où il oppose le symbole et l'allégorie. L'idée de base vient de Goethe, et Lukács retourne toujours à la pensée de Goethe.

Ses idées les plus fécondes datent de sa période de Budapest, d'après 1956. C'est à Moscou, en revanche, qu'il a élaboré sa théorie du grand réalisme qui relève directement de l'histoire littéraire, mais qui constitue en même temps la partie la plus problématique de son oeuvre. Cette théorie érige en modèle la méthode de Balzac et de Tolstoï, comme sommet du grand réalisme. Tandis que La théorie du roman avait privilégié L'éducation senti-

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

mentale, Flaubert est désormais écarté, avec Zola d'ailleurs, du nombre des grands réalistes. Ce n'est pas ici le moment de démontrer combien la ressemblance entre Flaubert et Tolstoï est plus frappante qu'entre Balzac et Tolstoï. Zola devient même, dans la théorie de Lukács, le contre-point du grand réalisme. Du point de vue de l'histoire littéraire, ce que Lukács entend par réalisme nouveau ou "moderne" est fort discutable: il y range Flaubert, Zola, Maupassant, et en général la littérature moderne, y compris naturellement le XXe siècle et l'avant-garde aussi. On sait que la "compréhension" et l'accommodement ne lui étaient guère propres, il penchait bien plus à l'ostracisme. Il avait d'abord refusé Kafka aussi bien que Proust; plus tard, il est devenu plus tolérant pour le premier, mais n'a jamais accepté Proust, car il ne l'a jamais compris. L'opposition goethéenne du symbole et de l'allégorie, développée dans La particularité de l'esthétique, apparaît déjà dans la théorie du grand réalisme. Arriver au général en partant du particulier, voilà le cheminement du grand réalisme, ce que Goethe appelle symbole. Chercher le particulier qui convienne à l'expression du général, c'est l'allégorie de Goethe, c'est-à-dire le naturalisme et le réalisme "moderne".

Certains historiens de la littérature ont fait des catégories du grand réalisme et du réalisme "moderne" des périodes historiques, ce qui était naturellement un procédé contraire à l'historicité. En ce qui concerne le grand réalisme, ses critères mêmes sont discutables. Lui seul était capable, selon Lukács, de créer des personnalités marquantes, des figures d'une grande plasticité, des types. Le nouveau réalisme ne produit que des personnages de plus en plus ternes, de plus en plus médiocres. Si l'on pense à Herrera, à Gobseck, au père Goriot, à Lucien de Rubempré, pour ne pas citer Rastignac, la première partie de la proposition est vraie: l'individu porte en lui son époque, soit sa société. Mais, à y réfléchir, on peut constater avec surprise que ces figures de Balzac doivent leur notoriété a la fréquence de leur apparition ou de leur mention bien plus qu'à un modelage achevé. Madame Bovary ou Frédéric Moreau sont des caractères plus élaborés, mieux travaillés que ces héros balzaciens. Balzac met un nom propre sur certaines qualités morales: c'est l'excès de l'amour paternel ou l'avarice qui prennent le nom de Goriot ou de Grandet. Tout cela rappelle la peinture des moeurs par Molière. D'ailleurs, trouve-t-on des individus vraiment captivants chez Balzac? D'Arthez, en tant qu'idéal, est plutôt un épisode ou un contre-point. Mais voyons le réalisme "moderne" rejeté: Nana, la prostituée de Zola, n'est-elle pas l'incarnation de toute une époque historique

et d'une société -- celle du Second Empire? On ne peut assez souligner que la théorie du grand réalisme avait aussi ses mérites. Lukács lutte pour la dignité ébranlée de la littérature dans une époque et dans une société qui s'en détournent. Ce qu'il craint pour la littérature, c'est le destin de Lucien de Rubampré. Il veut sauvegarder un précieux patrimoine pour la jeune littérature socialiste soviétique en cours de constitution.Car il y a des forces dans cette société qui veulent renier les grandes acquisitions de la culture européenne, de Goethe à Thomas Mann. Tolstoï lui-même est difficilement admis dans cette vision étroite, Dostoïevski n'y trouve pas de place du tout. Gorki sera dépouillé de son humanisme, source de tant de conflits pourtant dans sa vie. C'est de l'appauvrissement culturel que Lukács a voulu préserver le socialisme. Mais pour lutter efficacement contre un ostracisme absolu, il a dû lui-même pratiquer une certaine sélection. Le problème du jugement de valeur venait encore s'y ajouter: les adversaires du grand réalisme opposaient à Balzac et à Tolstoï le modèle de Byron, de Hugo et de Zola, prétendus plus "progressistes". Face à eux ou face au "Proletkult", c'est naturellement Lukács qui a raison.

Il croyait à la dignité et à la nécessité de la littérature et a défendu ces valeurs. Mais cet optimisme s'accompagnait de quelque chose qu'on serait tenté d'appeler un pessimisme historique. Dans ses écrits importants sur les écrivains russes et sur Tolstoï surtout, une croyance simpliste revient avec ténacité: celle du déclin inévitable de la culture et de la littérature occidentales. Il n'en excepte que Thomas Mann -- son tort est de considérer son cas comme unique. S'il avait compris Proust, s'il avait mieux connu la littérature américaine, il aurait sans doute été plus prudent dans ses développements sur le déclin de la littérature occidentale. Proust aussi brosse un tableau presque balzacien de la société, et crée des figures aussi marquantes, caractéristiques de leur classe et de leur société, que le baron de Charlus ou Françoise, la cuisinière qui est, par surcroît, l'incarnation d'une France médiévale. Le niveau du général ne se rétrécie pas chez Proust, au contraire: il présente un riche et large éventail. Il découle de tout cela que la théorie de Lukács sur le grand réalisme triomphant et sur le réalisme "moderne" décadent est inutilisable pour l'histoire littéraire et elle ne peut en aucune façon servir de base pour une périodisation historique.

Le jugement de Lukács sur le romantisme est également inacceptable du point de vue de l'histoire littéraire. Sa conception, qui se résume dans un refus total, se base sur le romantisme allemand, mais elle n'est guère

applicable même sur celui-là. Selon Lukács, le romantisme soutient l'absolutisme, idéalise le féodalisme, et exprime l'idéologie dominante d'une époque caractérisée par "l'obscurantisme le plus noir". Toujours selon lui, la critique du romantisme "ne pourra jamais être assez rigoureuse". Mais ce jugement ne vaut véritablement même pas pour Kleist. Bien que Lukács le qualifie de "symbole des errements de l'idéologie et de la littérature allemandes" et son oeuvre d'une apothéose "de tout ce qu'il y a de dangereux et de négatif dans l'histoire de l'esprit allemand", il doit reconnaître que La Cruche cassée est une "des rares victoires du réalisme sur les préjugés romantiques". De même, il est contraint d'admettre l'importance particulière de ce produit remarquable du romantisme qu'est Le Cor enchanté du jeune homme (Des Knaben Wunderhorn). Il ne peut nier non plus la valeur durable de la poésie d'Eichendorff. Il est forcé de reconnaître, en outre, que la défense des "anciens droits" à Wurtemberg par exemple est une forme de l'opposition à l'absolutisme, et il aurait pu formuler le même jugement sur le culte de l'histoire chez les peuples de l'Empire des Habsbourg. E.T.A. Hoffmann, ce romantique si cher à Balzac et encore plus aux Russes, à Gogol et à Dostoïevski, reçoit une appréciation au moins surprenante. Lukács l'arrache, pour ainsi dire, au romantisme, car Hoffmann "exprime avec un réalisme nouveau et suggestif les principales tendances historiques de l'époque".

Lukács est donc obligé lui-même de soustraire plusieurs phénomènes au jugement catégorique qu'il a porté sur le romantisme allemand; sa conception devient encore plus inacceptable si nous la confrontons avec les littératures de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale. C'est que dans ces littératures, le romantisme est l'apprentissage de l'identité nationale, le moteur des mouvements d'indépendance et le ferment des cultures nationales. Lukács ne tient pas compte de tout cela. Il approche ces littératures, même la hongroise, avec un certain parti pris, car le romantisme s'y maintient plus longtemps qu'ailleurs. Sa plus grande erreur, à notre avis, est l'appréciation de La Tragédie de l'homme, poème dramatique magistral de Imre Madách, un des produits les plus typiques de la littérature hongroise, oeuvre que Lukács condamne sans appel comme réactionnaire.

Dans une certaine mesure, il est la victime d'une erreur optique: il fait une norme de la littérature russe du siècle dernier, dans laquelle le romantisme joue un rôle bien plus insignifiant que le réalisme. Par rapport à cette norme, les littératures de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale, où fleurit le romantisme, lui semblent suivre une fausse route. Il ne voit pas que l'exaltation du féodalisme qu'il condamne si sévèrement dans la lit-

térature allemande, reçoit une signification tout autre chez ces peuples qui puisent dans l'histoire médiévale des exemples encourageants pour suivre leur voie nationale, et s'en fortifient. Chez les Polonais comme chez les Tchèques et chez les Hongrois, le romantisme se maintient à cause de la menace qui pèse sur l'existence nationale. On ne peut même pas dire que ces littératures suivent le romantisme allemand, mais bien plutôt le français. En fin de compte, leur romantisme est un produit particulier, caractérisé aussi bien par les Aieux de Miczkievicz que par le poème dramatique de Madách.

On peut se demander pourquoi le romantisme n'a pas eu la même importance dans la littérature russe que dans la polonaise ou dans la hongroise. Les peuples appartenant à l'Empire des Habsbourg, et les Polonais en particulier, se sentaient menacés dans leur existence nationale et ont dû lutter sans arrêt pour sauvegarder leur langue et leur culture; le romantisme leur a fourni une aide, ne serait-ce qu'en leur ouvrant les sources de la poésie folklorique. Des poésies populaires et nationales sont nées ainsi dans ces pays, entrainant le dépassement du romantisme lui-même. Rien ne menaçait cependant la survie de la nation russe. La littérature y a mené son combat non pour la simple existence nationale, mais contre les injustices sociales. Si l'on accepte pourtant la théorie de Lukács sur le grand réalisme, on doit se rendre compte que les littératures centre-européennes et est-européennes, dépassant le romantisme, produisent en série les grandes oeuvres satisfaisant aux critères de ce réalisme. (Pensons chez les Polonais à Dombrowska, chez les Hongrois à Zsigmond Móricz, à Kosztolányi et à leurs contemporains.) Du point de vue de la littérature mondiale, le XXe siècle ne peut pas être considéré comme une époque en déclin.

Le refus unilatéral du romantisme et la délimitation du domaine du grand réalisme ont entraîné des erreurs dans l'histoire et dans la théorie littéraires. La première a essayé de définir historiquement le grand réalisme en fabriquant de lui une époque qui se serait déroulée d'abord dans la littérature française, ensuite dans la littérature russe. Ce procédé n'est qu'une vulgarisation de la théorie du grand réalisme, il ne tient pas compte de tout le tissue complexe des facteurs divers qui composent une époque, des tendances contemporaines, mais différentes de la littérature du type balzacien ou tolstoïen.

L'histoire littéraire peut tirer cependant des enseignements de la méthode d'analyse de Lukács, méthode à la fois esthétique et sociologique. Son point de départ est toujours celui du sociologue, ce qui ne signifie

pas que la sociologie puisse tout expliquer. La théorie du grand réalisme suit un cheminement déductif, et c'est ce qui fait le plus grand tort à l'activité critique de Lukács en matière littéraire. Mais dans l'application de la sociologie, il n'est plus déductif, et il arrive à expliquer beaucoup de choses avec la théorie de la lutte des classes. Il qualifiera ainsi Balzac du dernier phénomène important de l'époque de la bourgeoisie naissante, tandis que Tolstoï tout entier sera expliqué par l'intérêt primordial qu'il porte à l'exploitation de la paysannerie. Selon Lukács, c'est cette orientation paysanne de Tolstoï qui fait que la représentation de l'amour ne s'enlise pas chez lui dans une "pathologie mesquine", propre au réalisme "moderne" tel que Lukács l'imagine. Le destin des personnages de Tolstoï est déterminé dans tous les cas par leur rapport à "l"usurfruit de la rente foncière". L'appréciation que Lukács donne de Dostoïevski s'inspire également de la sociologie: le problème central est ici l'intrusion du style de vie citadin dans les conditions patriarcales. Chez Gorki, "dans la Russie du capitalisme asiatique naissant", c'est l'apparition des classes modernes qui fournit une tension dramatique aux destins représentés. D'ailleurs, quand Lukács se met à analyser les oeuvres de plus près, il y cherche, déjà dans ses écrits de Moscou, donc bien avant sa dernière période, les marques de la particularité. Ces analyses sont du plus haut intérêt: pensons à ce qu'il dit des quatre complets de Lucien de Rubampré, ou de la problématique de l'action, toujours chez Balzac; mais ces dernières considérations aboutissent à un jugement fort discutable, selon lequel l'action de plus en plus occultée plus tard serait un signe du dépérissement de la littérature. C'est en partant du principe de la particularité qu'il souligne chez Gorki, à juste titre, le caractère de nouvelliste, c'est-à-dire que son art se construit à partir de la nouvelle et que ses romans mêmes sont des concentrations à base de nouvelles. C'est encore la particularité que Lukács cherche à saisir dans son étude sur Werther et dans ses analyses du Faust qui sont, à mon avis, les meilleures pages de son oeuvre.

C'est l'intérêt porté à la particularité qui va conduire Lukács à sa dernière période, supérieure à toutes les autres. La théorie du grand réalisme disparaît de ses oeuvres après 1956, et la méthode déductive sera remplacée par l'induction. L'appréciation souvent si étroite, si sélective devient plus ouverte, tout au moins dans le domaine de la théorie. Il faut le souligner car, se détournant de la critique et de l'histoire littéraires, Lukács se retire désormais dans ce domaine abstrait, laissant aux autres la liberté d'appliquer ses théories à leur gré. Plusieurs signes laissent sup-

poser qu'il accepte maintenant des écrivains proscrits auparavant, tel Franz Kafka, par exemple.

La nouvelle théorie de la particularité, soigneusement élaborée à partir de l'idée de Goethe, peut être retournée, en fin de compte, contre les jugements précédents de Lukács. Il a changé, mais en conservant son moi antérieur à un niveau supérieur. Ce changement n'est pas aussi décisif que celui qui l'a détourné de la période idéaliste de L'âme et les formes, mais il n'en est pas moins significatif. Il nous faut poser la question des motifs de ce changement. La période de Moscou avait ceci de paradoxal, que le refus catégorique de la tendance restrictive qui voulait se débarrasser de la culture bourgeoise tout entière, comportait lui-même des restrictions injustes. C'est ainsi que s'est produit le plus grand paradoxe dans la vie de Lukács: sans gagner la confiance des staliniste, il leur fournissait, bon gré, mal gré, des arguments pour leur théorie de la littérature. Au fond de lui-même, il s'opposait au stalinisme, tout en essayant en même temps de s'en accommoder, et la plupart du temps, de bonne foi. Il rappelait lui-même, avec une certaine ironie, qu'il avait utilisé par-ci, par-là dans ses écrits des lieux communs staliniens, pour sa propre sécurité.

Naturellement, tout cela n'était pas aussi simple dans la réalité.

Lukács prétend que la théorie de Goethe, puisqu'issue du matérialisme "instinctif" du poète, avec sa dialectique également instinctive, exige une certaine "correction". Cette "correction" restera, heureusement, un projet annoncé plutôt qu'un acte accompli. Pour l'essentiel, elle voulait dire que l'oeuvre d'art montant de la simple individualité subjective à la particularité, éveille dans le lecteur le sentiment du mea causa agitur. Le processus de la création se déroule donc comme ceci: avant l'expérience, l'auteur se meut dans le général, après, il monte dans le particulier. L'art devient ainsi la conscience de l'humanité en évolution. Et nous voilà revenus à Goethe et à son opposition du symbole et de l'allégorie. Ces deux catégories permettent à Lukács de maintenir son opinion sur Balzac, exemple du symbole, et sur Zola, qui correspond à l'allégorie, puisqu'il cherche le phénomène particulier pour justifier une théorie préconçue. Tout cela revient à dire aussi, que la littérature tendancieuse relève de l'allégorie.

Les jugements critiques que Lukács a portés sur certains écrivains appellent donc un démenti, et particulièrement ses considérations sur quelques grands auteurs hongrois et sur le romantisme en général. Il est vrai également qu'il voulait proscrire quelques phénomènes capitaux de la littérature du XXe siècle, méritant bien qu'on lui reproche les intermittences

de sa faculté de jugement. Mais il faut reconnaître que ses derniers écrits théoriques ont servi avec efficacité, mieux que les autres, son véritable but: sauvegarder la dignité de la littérature; ils nous permettent même de corriger une partie de ses propres jugements antérieurs.

István SŐTÉR
Budapest

MESAVENTURES D'UN INDIVIDUALISTE A PARIS
FRAGMENT D'UNE OEUVRE INEDITE

Pour se prouver que son individualisme était capable d'agir, — qu'il n'était pas marqué de stérilité, — Marcel chercha des groupes où s'associer. Parmi les causes, dont les bannières flottaient au vent — (des bannières il se serait bien passé! il se méfiait des drapeaux; mais les hommes ont besoin d'oripeaux) — il y en avait trois qui devaient d'emblée solliciter l'activité de Marcel; la cause de l'Indépendance de l'Esprit, — celle de la Paix, — et celle de l'Europe. Elles avaient eu pour elles d'être traquées et persécutées pendant la guerre. Elles avaient été, comme la République de Forain, "belles sous l'Empire". Mais que restait-il de leur fleur? Marcel, soupçonneux, mais curieux, y alla voir. Il les trouva bien mal entourées. Les belles personnes, naguère délaissées, avaient maintenant nombreuses compagnies. Marcel s'imposa de vaincre les répugnances que lui causait le contact, ou l'approche des prétendants de Pénélope, jeunes et vieux aventuriers qui s'étaient installés dans l'alcôve de la dame, sinon dans le lit, qui les attirait moins que la table. Au premier rang, de vieux professionnels de politique, dont la souplesse invertébrée réussissait à se glisser toujours dans les partis d'action idéaliste et les imprégnait aussitôt de leur odeur de marée suspecte. Il y avait, à droite, à gauche, de toutes parts, sortant du sol, ces taupinières d'Internationales de la pensée, — les PEN-CLUBS et les congrès de l'Ecritoire, les Coopératives Intellectuelles et, culminant dessus ces buttes, le "Comité permanent des Lettres et des Arts à la Société des Nations". Il n'était pas question d'accéder à ces sommets, parmi les rangs de ces Illustres. A supposer que la place ne fut pas, comme elle était, bien gardée, elle était de tout repos; plus on monte, moins on agit. Les "Permanents" n'agissaient mie: ils permanaient, ils étaient trop bien assis. Et Marcel était trop longtemps resté, malgré lui, le cul de la chaise. Il avait besoin de se prouver son existence, en marchant. Il était rongé du (deux mots indéchiffrables. - G.C.) d'agir. C'était en bas, dans la plaine, qu'il avait le plus de chances de rencontrer des "agissants". Il en rencontra, en rangs compacts, qui s'agitaient non sans fracas, dans leurs journaux et leurs banquets internationaux. Mais c'était au sujet de leurs intérêts professionnels, pour la sauvegarde de leurs droits d'auteur, leurs éditions, leurs traductions, leur propagande de librairie: ils échangeaient contre leur casse leur séné. Nous n'avons pas à les blâmer; leur désir d'être lus et vendus est fort légitime: il faut bien

vivre! Mais notre Marcel, moins indulgent, n'en voyait pas la nécessité. Il n'intéressait (peut-être, il ne s'intéressait. - G.C.) pas à l'idéalisme qui "rapporte". Pense qui voudra au butin, quand la bataille sera livrée! Mais en ce moment, elle s'engage. Ce sont les risques qu'il faut chercher, non pas des profits. Il ne lui fallut pas longtemps pour voir que cette préoccupation exclusive bloquait l'action de ses compagnons. Elle les obligeait à tant de ménagements qu'ils acceptaient du monde tout et le reste, y compris la trique sur le dos des autres et la confiscation des libertés, — pourvu que le monde les acceptât, eux, c'est à savoir leurs produits, et les payât. Il était merveilleux que ces gens aux yeux agiles et professionnellement exercés fussent frappés de cécité instantanée, quand il s'agissait de voir les crimes sociaux dont les fauteurs étaient "l'Amphytrion où l'on dîne" — ou bien cher qui l'on aspire à diner, — les maîtres français du pouvoir, dispensateurs de la galette et des honneurs et les dictateurs pourvus d'une bonne table. Un bien petit nombre d'écrivains — toujours les mêmes, étaient assez dénués d'appétit pour protester. Mais leurs protestations, maigres et monotones, auxquelles Marcel mêlait la sienne, n'éveillaient aucun écho, elles se répétaient chaque semaine, avec les crimes qu'elles signalaient. On finissait par ne plus les remarquer. Ou le bon public ennuyé disait: — "Encore?" — et il se désabonnait des feuilles ou il pleuvait.

Marcel lui-même était gagné par l'ennui, qui se dégageait de ces pluvieuses protestations sans agir. Elles finissaient meme par être un échappatoire de la conscience, une porte de côté qu'on enfilait pour se dérober aux dangers d'agir ou à l'aveu pénible de son impuissance. Quand il en eut signé une douzaine, le coeur lui manqua, et sa main rageuse cassa sa plume sur M de sa signature. Et il écrivit, au lieu de son nom, le mot à cinq lettres. Faut de l'engrais sur ce champ aride de protestation!...

Il n'en était pas besoin pour nourrir les champignons sur couche du pacifisme, qui brusquement, en une nuit, étaient sortis de terre. Miraculeux rendement! Hier encore, la paix était au ban. En parler était un crime de trahison. Et aujourd'hui, elle était devenue de bon ton. C'était à qui se hâterait d'en fleurir sa bouche, comme les cigarières de Séville, ou bien le bec de sa plume. Il y en avait, de ces colombes de l'Arche, qui venaient de loin! Il en était qui, dix ans avant, étaient corbeaux de champs de bataille et croassaient pour demander la tête des pacifistes prématurés, non patentés. Si vous vous en étiez étonnés, ils eussent sans doute répliqué qu'il y a temps pour tout: hier, la guerre; aujourd'hui, la paix. Marcel,

dont l'"inopportunisme" natif reniflait, méfiant, à vingt pas, tous les "opportunismes", considérait d'un regard torve (? - G.C.) la ruée subite de ces étranges "gardiens de la Paix". D'où leur venait la consigne? il n'eut pas longtemps à chercher. La paix qu'officiellement l'Etat, l'Eglise, l'Université, les pouvoirs publics encourageaient, était une paix bien pensante, — la même qui huile la bouche de ces curés, que les gros patrons des industries ont établis dans leurs églises bâties en loges de concierges, à la porte de leurs usines, en face du bar et du bordel, afin de sanctifier leurs exploitations et d'infiltrer aux exploités, avec la syphilis et l'alcool, l'évangélique acceptation — la paix des profiteurs de la paix (de la guerre d'hier, de la guerre de demain: ce sont les mêmes). Les pauvres gens ne sont pas de la confrérie. Ils ne touchent rien. Ils sont touchés. On leur remplace les profits par les prêches: le Dieu des riches est toujours prêt à faire tomber sur le peuple des ventre-creux sa manne de paix, d'idéalisme et d'amour. Des vieux Jésus de Palais-Bourbon pêchaient à la ligne les poissons, en récitant leurs Sermons retors sur la Montagne: ils engageaient les pêchés et les pêcheurs à s'entr'aimer, les dépouillés à faire le sacrifice de leurs biens, pour les beaux yeux de la Paix. Quand à prêcher ce sacrifice à ceux qui s'étaient engraissés des dépouilles, il n'en était pas question. Ces vieux Jésus avaient fait la guerre. N'en parlons plus! Ce qui est fait est bien fait. Nous ferons mieux! Paix sur la terre aux hommes de bonne volonté — (la volonté est bonne quand elle a conduit au succès!) et que béni soit l'ordre établi!

Il s'agissait d'en convaincre les vaincus. Il y fallut plus de réthorique. L'idéalisme du vainqueur ne suffisait plus. Chaque vaincu avait le sien, qui n'était pas écrit dans le même ton: ils discordaient. Pour rétablir le concert, il fallait toucher d'autres cordes: la crainte et l'intérêt communs. A point nommé, Pan Europe était venue refaire l'harmonie des gros poissons: car ce sont eux qui donnent le ton. Ils sont les maîtres de la rivière; ils ont profit à s'associer pour se défendre contre qui menace leurs attributions. L'ombre gigantesque du Kremlin rouge, qui s'étendait sur la plaine de l'Europe, leur était un Croquemitaine, que très habilement exploitaient les maîtres du jeu paneuropéen, le jeune et fin aristocrate, au regard froid de samouraï, et le socialisme défroqué, le vieux mystèque du Quai d'Orsay. Ils se hâtaient de ressembler sous leurs houlettes dans le même parc les troupeaux et les vainqueurs et des vaincus, pour garer leur laine du concurrent commun: l'Union des Etats prolétariens, assise en selle, jambe sur l'Europe, jambe sur l'Asie, comme une nouvelle Horde d'Or, qui

menaçait d'enfourcher le monde. Peut-être le monde — celui du dos déjà courbé sous le poids d'une classe privilégiée — n'eût-il pas demandé mieux que de changer de cavalier, ou même de sauter en selle par derrière la Horde d'Or, s'il avait su qu'elle venait pour l'aider à reconquérir son propre territoire. Mais c'était ce qu'il ne fallait pas qu'il sut. Il ne le savait pas. On s'arrangeait. Les millions de porte-toisons, de hommes gais, bien serinés par une presse d'"Ami du Peuple", se groupaient, épeurés, autour de leurs tondeurs de laine, et faisaient front contre ceux qui voulaient les délivrer. Coeurs de moutons sont, par la peur et la bêtise, quand on sait bien jouer des deux touches, mués en coeurs de lions. Les ingénieurs de Pan-Europe n'avaient de peine à drainer les eaux éparses et stagnantes des idéalismes vacants, et ils travaillaient à les rassembler pour un Croisade de Dieu et des Dividendes contre le matérialisme expropriateur de Moscou. Princes de l'Eglise et barons des Forges, pasterus, rabbins et croix-gammées, Christ, Krupp et Creusot, semblaient d'accord. Les Bernard l'Ermite ne manquaient pas. Un des anciens amis de Marcel, le gros Adolphe Chevalier, était devenu, parmi la suite de Briand à la Société des Nations, un des porte-daix de Pan-Europe. Bien entendu, il était aussi un apôtre de la Défense Nationale, de la Nation armée, depuis le berceau jusqu'à la tombe, mâles et femelles, toute la harde incorporée. Inlassablement, la presse bien pensante reproduisait sa crinière bien soignée de pianiste et sa figure populaire de vieille dame qui fait la lippe à Robespierre.

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ÁRPÁD HORVÁTH ET LE THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS

En mettant le nom d'Árpád Horváth en tête de ce compte-rendu, j'ai été saisi d'un doute: combien de gens y-a-t-il encore, qui se souviennent de lui? Je ne parle pas de la France où, évidemment, son nom est pratiquement inconnu; mais en Hongrie? Plus particulierement dans les milieux théâtrales? Le nom d'Árpád Horváth qui était riche de sens dans les années quarante et cinquante, s'est effacé dans les décennies suivantes devant de noms sinon plus importants au moins plus vivants et agissants. Car Árpád Horváth a eu l'immense tort de n'avoir pas pu attendre le moment de la libération: il a été torturé à mort ou fusillé — on n'a jamais pu élucider lequel — par les nazis hongrois juste apres sa quarantecinquème anniversaire, pour sa participation dans la résistance. Ainsi l'homme de théâtre le plus doué des années vingt et trente de notre siècle a disparu; et peu à peu il a disparu du souvenir des gens du théâtre aussi.

Il aurait mérité mieux de son sort, mais son sort n'a jamais été clément avec lui. Né juste la veille du siècle en Transylvanie, dans une famille de hobereaux appauvris réfugiée dans l'administration, sa jeunesse est marquée par la première guerre mondiale. Nous connaissons très peu de son évolution pendant ces années formatives comme nous ne savons non plus comment a-t-il pu éviter d'être enrôlé après le baccalauréat en 1917; mais il est certain qu'à ce moment-là il monte de Kolozsvár à Budapest, s'inscrit à la Faculté et obtient la permission de fréquenter les cours du Collège Eötvös. C'est certainement à ce dernier qu'il commence à se familiariser avec la langue et littérature françaises.

Sans se mêler aux deux révolutions de 1918 et 1919, il est néanmoins imbu des idées et enthousiasmes de gauche, de progressivité, d'égalité sociale; il veut fonder une nouvelle revue, il fréquente la famille de József Madzsar, foyer d'idées révolutionnaires — mais il abandonne bientôt ses ambitions purement littéraires et commence à se tourner vers le théâtre.

Il termine ses études universitaires dans l'année scolaire 1922/23, mais dès 1921 il contribue avec une certaine régularité à la "Független Szemle" d'Ambró Czakó, à la revue la plus à gauche existante au début du régime contre-révolutionnaire. Ici son activité la plus systématique est celle du critique du théâtre; il est déjà comme jeune critique d'un grand courage moral et de vues théâtrales assez déterminées. Comme critique il est carrément contre le naturalisme prévalent sur les scènes hongrois et pour une nouvelle théâtralité, pour un travail scénique et un jeu délié des conventions de salon et de vraisemblance plate.

C'est sans doute ces écrits qui éveillent l'attention de Sándor Hevesi, le théoricien et praticien théâtral le plus important en Hongrie dans la première moitié de ce siècle et directeur du Théâtre National à l'époque et qui le prend à ses côtés vers la fin de 1922.

C'est ici que la carrière théâtrale d'Árpád Horváth commence. Il passe ses années d'apprentissage à côté de Sándor Hevesi; et ce sont artistiquement aussi bien que politiquement des années difficiles. Hevesi était un facteur irritant à la tête du Théâtre National pour les mogouls de la contre-révolution. Sa nomination était "l'invention" de Klebelsberg, Ministre de la Culture, et c'était en conformité avec la tendance libéral-conservateur du gouvernement d'István Bethlen. Mais les forces hostiles ne désarmaient pas et cherchaient querelle à Hevesi où ils pouvaient. De la part de Hevesi le choix de Horváth en tant que son aide principal peut être considéré comme astucieux: le jeune homme est un vrai "gentry" pour ses origines et déjà d'une culture assez vaste. Mais Horváth lui-même n'a pas toujours facilité la tâche de son maître. Déjà en 1923 — donc tout au début de sa carrière théâtrale — il publie un article dans un journal hongrois transylvain contre le directeur précédent du Théâtre National — et ce qui est vraiment grave, contre l'organe tout-puissant du régime en matières de théâtre, contre le Conseil de Théâtre. Hevesi a eu toutes les peines du monde d'aplanir les remous: les membres du Conseil exigeaient la tête du jeune révolté.

Hevesi a pu le maintenir à ses côtés et l'a toujours considéré comme son meilleur disciple; il l'a bientôt emmené avec lui comme assistant au Conservatoire où lui-même était professeur, et a donné de plus en plus de travaux indépendants au régisseur sur les planches du Théâtre National. Il est un peu exagéré de dire, mais il semble quand-même comme si Hevesi se réservait de préférence la mise en scène des classiques hongrois et des auteurs surtout anglo-saxons, tandis que Horváth a eu comme tâche la réalisation des auteurs hongrois modernes comme tous les français et quelques autres nationalités. De toute façon, cette décennie que Horváth a pu passer en collaboration étroite avec Sándor Hevesi, était le plus fructueux et le plus harmonieux dans sa vie professionnelle.

De cette période — pleine de travaux — il est surtout à relever sa mise en scène du Barbier de Séville de Beaumarchais en 1924 qui a eu un beau succès, et surtout L'Amour-médecin de Molière en 1926 qu'il a mis en scène dans un style "commedia dell'arte", ce qui était pratiquement inouï depuis longtemps sur les scènes hongrois et qui a donné un échantillon pratique de

de ce que Horváth a regardé comme un contre-poids possible et vivifiant contre le naturalisme plat prévalent des représentations de l'époque. Nous ne savons pas combien il a été animé dans ses recherches par les tendances analogues de la scène française, mais comme ses essais sont contemporains de l'existence du Cartel des Quatre et de leurs innovations, il est à présumer que les innovations de Horváth ont été en partie animées par les rumeurs venant des bords de la Seine.

Etonnant que ce soit, quand Horváth gagne — comme premier jeune régisseur — une bourse d'études à l'étranger en 1928, il ne va qu'en Allemagne. On ne sait rien de sa motivation, mais c'est probablement la renommée de Max Reinhardt qui l'a attiré; il a pu assister non seulement à plusieurs de ses représentations, mais aussi à des matinées de travail avec l'homme de théâtre allemand le plus fameux.

Après une année de travail fiévreux au Théâtre Hongrois de Kolozsvár, il est nommé metteur en scène principal ("főrendező") au Théâtre National en 1931 — mais c'est à peu près la fin de sa décade de travail tranquille. Avec la saison suivante Hevesi doit quitter son poste de directeur — en conséquence de la nouvelle tournure à droite du gouvernmenet hongrois, dont le nouveau président du conseil est à ce moment Gyula Gömbös de mauvaise mémoire. Les directeurs changent vite à la tête du théâtre et Horváth perd son sens de sécurité; c'est de nouveau l'époque de sa vie où il écrit relativement beaucoup, où il accumule projets sur projets — et plus son sentiment d'insécurité s'accroît, plus ses plans deviennent grandioses et grandiloquentes. En 1935, avec Antal Németh venant au pouvoir au Théâtre National, Horváth est définitivement congédié. Le geste était choquant mais naturel: Németh, cadet de Horváth de quelques années et sans attaches avec la troupe du National, ne pouvait pas assurer son autorité s'il maintenait Horváth au théâtre; d'autre part les tendances de gauche affichées de ce dernier ne correspondaient pas non plus avec la nouvelle ligne politique du gouvernement Gömbös, dont Németh était un protagoniste fervent.

Pour Horváth, c'est une décennie d'errance et d'échecs qui s'annonce. Il fera encore de belles mises en scène, mais n'aura plus de vrai foyer artistique; il se projette de plus en plus dans un avenir qu'il espère proche et radieux. Après l'occupation allemande du pays il entre dans une semi-illégalité, recherche et trouve des contacts avec le Parti Communiste qui le charge de préparer le projet de réorganisation du monde théâtral d'après la libération. C'est son dernier projet: après la prise de pouvoir des "nyilas" un peloton le trouve dans sa cache et amène au sinistre prison de Margit körút, d'où il ne sortira plus.

Comme nous y avons fait allusion plusieurs fois, un des traits caractéristiques du profil artistique de Horváth c'était sa prédilection pour le théâtre français. Déjà comme critique débutant, il a écrit le plus souvent et avec le plus de plaisir à propos des pièces françaises; en tant que metteur en scène, il a également excellé dans la réalisation des pièces françaises, même des classiques. Ce n'était pas une tâche aisée: les classiques français — excepté Molière — ont été et restent toujours un corps étranger pour le théâtre hongrois, nourri et grandi par et pour le romantisme, surtout allemand. Hevesi a toléré ces tendances de son jeune disciple, mais ne les a pas trop encouragé: ses grands cycles de Shakespeare et des classiques hongrois ont accaparé entièrement son attention et ses forces; par ailleurs il ne pouvait pas attendre des Français autant de succès — ni à la caisse, ni à la presse — que des Anglais et des Allemands.

Au fond, l'influence précaire du théâtre français entre les deux guerres en Hongrie peut être mesuré par le fait qu'Árpád Horváth, dans ses vingt ans comme régisseur a travaillé sur une centaine de pièces, dont une quinzaine seulement ont été françaises, et cela a déjà suffi pour faire de lui un spécialiste reconnu du théâtre français. Mais de cette quinzaine onze ont été réalisés pendant ses années au Théâtre National; jamais après il n'a pu faire autant, ni même quand il fut lui-même directeur de théâtre à Debrecen, entre 1936-39.

Une cinquantaine de ses livrets de régisseur ont été heureusement préservés dans les archives des différents théâtres et leur majeur partie est gardé actuellement à la Bibliothèque Széchényi et à l'Institut du Théâtre de Budapest. Ces livrets — extrêmement élaborés dont on pourra aisément reconstruire la représentation d'autrefois — portent également témoignage de sa bonne connaissance de la langue française: il corrige souvent les phrases de la traduction pour les mieux approcher au sens de l'original et dans un cas particulier il essaie même de rendre la cadence française dans le texte hongrois. Ce cas particulier est L'Otage de Paul Claudel, traduit par son ami des années estudiantines, Albert Gyergyai. La pièce — sur laquelle ils ont travaillé ensemble dans l'année 1932 — ne fut jamais représenté selon mon savoir; mais les préparations, selon ce livret, ont été menées jusqu'à la fin. Rien n'y manque que le geste et la voix des acteurs. Ce travail et son échec doivent être à l'origine du fait que la même année Horváth est promu officier des Palmes Académiques par le gouvernement français.

Malgré les livrets de régisseur et les éventuels échos journalistiques

qui en portent témoignage, le travail du metteur en scène est aussi évanescent que le travail de l'acteur: il se révèle avec le lever du rideau et s'éteint avec les feux de la rampe. Heureusement Árpád Horváth ne s'est pas uniquement confiné à la scène; il s'est senti à l'aise en face du papier blanc aussi. De ses différents essais et autres écrits il y a trois qui attirent particulièrement l'attention: ses deux essais sur Racine et l'ébauche de conférence sur Giraudoux.

Les essais sur Racine sont des phénomènes assez surprenants. Tous les deux datent de 1935, l'un paru dans la revue Nyugat, l'autre dans la revue Budapesti Szemle, presque simultanément. Comme nous savons, Nyugat a été le bastion d'un libéralisme littéraire et politique de type occidental dans ces années-ci, tandis que la Budapesti Szemle est restée ce qu'elle a toujours été: le bastion du conservatisme du goût et des idées. Parmi les revues existantes on ne pouvait pas choisir des organes plus diamétralement opposées, et en même temps de tenue intellectuelle excellents. Le fait de cette publication simultanée est rendu plausible par des données biographiques: son coeur menait Horváth certainement dans le Nyugat ou il a publié déjà sporadiquement, mais après tant de scandales causées par son franc-parler en écrit et à vive voix, Horváth ne pouvait plus se permettre le luxe de publier uniquement "à gauche", comme le Nyugat a été considéré alors; d'autant moins que son directeur du moment au Théâtre National était justement Géza Voinovich, à la fois secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie Hongroise et rédacteur en chef de la revue Budapesti Szemle.

Il n'est pas douteux que Horváth a projeté et mené à bien cette publication jumelle tant qu'introduction et justification à la fois d'une mise en scène de Racine; mais ce projet ne put jamais se réaliser malheureusement, et nous n'avons aucun indice pour juger des raisons de son échec.

L'écrit dans le Budapesti Szemle — Notes sur le théâtre racinien — est le moins intéressant: l'auteur rend compte d'une renaissance d'intérêt pour Racine dans le public français et — suivant surtout les livres récents de Maurois et de Giraudoux sur Racine — énumère les qualités du dramaturge, sa relation à l'esthétique aristotélicienne, son jansénisme etc. pour démontrer sa grande force dans le dessin des caractères et le rôle de la fatalité dans le sort de ses héros. Cette étude peut très bien être considéré comme le résultat de lectures: en fait, ce sont des notes recueillies et organisées en préparation d'une mise en scène.

Le programme de cette mise en scène hypothétique est contenue dans l'essai publié dans Nyugat et intitulé: Racine, le moderne. Horváth prouve

dans cet écrit avec grande fougue et une solide érudition la modernité de Racine et sa valeur intrinsèque; il mène une polémique virulente contre la pratique théâtrale de son temps dont toute élévation, toute sacralité manque et lui est étranger. Il voit l'excellence de Racine justement dans le fait qu'on ne peut pas le jouer dans le style naturaliste: les personnages comme l'action sont symboliques ou n'existent pas sur la scène, dit-il. L'époque moderne cherche la tragédie sur la scène; le théâtre de Racine est l'essence même de la tragédie.

Préparation d'une mise en scène hypothétique, avons-nous dit. Sans le dédire, arrêtons-nous ici un moment: il y a des particularités étranges. Le plus étrange, c'est que dans tous les deux essais, Horváth parle de Racine en général, sans concentrer son attention sur une pièce ou sur quelques pièces; s'il avait vraiment envisagé de mettre sur scène une pièce quelconque de Racine, il aurait tout naturellement concentré son attention à celle-là. Mais non, au contraire; les titres des tragédies de Racine ne sont pas ou guere mentionnés, donc oui et non: Horváth aurait bien voulu mettre en scène Racine, il aurait trouvé dans ses tragédies la possibilité de réaliser ses théories théâtrales les plus chéries, mais à l'époque de la direction de Voinovich cela n'a pas semblé réalisable, même pas pour lui, qui était toujours enclin à croire fortement dans la possibilité imminente de ce qu'il désirait. Les essais sur Racine sont des soupirs d'artiste: s'il m'était permis de réaliser ce rêve! dit il entre les lignes. Mais les conditions prévalentes ont empêché cette réalisation durant la vie brève de Horváth.

L'ébauche d'une conférence sur Giraudoux date d'une autre époque. Il n'est séparé des deux essais juste traités que de cinq ans; mais entre les deux ce n'est pas seulement une époque: ce sont deux mondes distincts. 1935: c'est la paix, même si c'est une paix menacée; c'est l'époque où Horváth est le metteur en scène prestigieux du théâtre le plus prestigieux du pays. 1940: ce n'est pas seulement la guerre, mais pour Horváth la période d'instabilité, sans vrai foyer artistique, c'est la période où il se sent de plus en plus menacé, tracassé, où sa malaise professionnelle devient de plus en plus le moteur d'une activité politique.

Vu de cet oeil-là, l'ébauche de conférence sur Giraudoux est hardi et timide à la fois. C'était juste après la mort de Giraudoux qu'il était appelé de la tenir en commémoration de l'auteur à la Société János Vajda, une société littéraire d'intellectuels de gauche. Timide dans le sense que Horváth ne sort pas des cadres de l'oeuvre de Giraudoux et de l'art en

général aux cours de sa conférence; mais dans ce cadre il est téméraire. D'une part en refusant carrément de nouveau toute la pratique théâtrale de son temps en faveur d'un théâtre poétique dont il trouve la plus belle réalisation dans l'oeuvre de Giraudoux même. Et en détaillant cela, il montre une grande sensibilité envers l'oeuvre qu'il considère comme des poèmes en prose écrits pour la scène; et en vantant la collaboration légendaire entre Giraudoux et Jouvet, il exprime son rêve jamais réalisé, de pouvoir coopérer ainsi avec un poète hongrois de la scène. C'est l'ironie caractéristique de l'histoire que le poète, les poètes même de la scène ont été présents dans la vie intellectuelle hongroise, et qui sait, peut-être même à cette conférence: Milán Füst et le jeune Sándor Weöres. Mais Horváth ne pouvait pas s'en apercevoir.

Nous avons ratissé assez largement, mais ce qui en reste n'est pas trop. Quelques mises en scène remarquables à leur époque, quelques essais sur le théâtre français qui se distinguent de leur entourage et par leur érudition et par leur enthousiasme. Mais n'oublions pas qu'ils naissent en contrecourant de l'esprit de l'époque, en tant que gestes et documents d'une résistance intellectuelle contre l'emprise de plus en plus mortelle de l'influence allemande. Horváth était seulement un des multiples intellectuels hongrois qui a trouvé entre les deux guerres et pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale le contrepoison contre le venin teutonique dans l'esprit et l'art français. Un parmi bien d'autres; mais lui, il a payé de sa vie ses convictions et prédilections, il mérite donc qu'on ne l'oublie pas à la veille du 90ème anniversaire de sa naissance ni ses luttes, ni ses échecs, ni ses réussites.

Péter Nagy
Budapest

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Peter EGRI: The Birth of American Tragedy

Budapest, 1988, Tankönyvkiadó, 227 p.

"The book is based on research at Harvard University (1970-71), Yale University (1971, 1977), the University of California, Berkeley (1976-77), and the University of Leeds (1981-1982). While writing it, I found myself in the position of Eugene O'Neill: the material proved to be so explosively expanding that it constantly called for new units and separate entities. Ultimately I have caught myself in the act of having composed a critical tetralogy. A költészet valósága (The Reality of Poetry, 1975), in the framework of a theory of the lyric, discusses the aspect of poetry in the O'Neill canon; Törésvonalak (Fault Lines, 1983) treats trends in European drama at the turn of the century with references to American developments; Chekhov and O'Neill (1986) examines the typological convergence between the two dramatists and looks at the integration of the short story pattern in the dramatic texture; and The Birth of American Tragedy offers an analysis of an American genre with universal literary significance. All the same, like plays in O'Neill's cycles, this book is an independent unit which can be understood as a separate entity (p. 7)" writes Peter Egri in the preface of his new book.

According to the preface, the aim of the monograph is to give an analysis of the genetic and generic aspects of the birth of American tragedy from an axiological point of view. The author needs the genetic aspect to relate European and American history, and to give an answer to the question why American drama was a late-comer in American literature. The generic condition is important for stating the relationship between the dramatic and the epic, the dramatic and the lyric. It is concerned with the generic connection between European and American dramatic developments. The axiological point of view is concerned with values, personal and social, necessary for the birth of American tragedy, the American tragedy of "European origins and American originality" (p. 7).

The fact that the writer describes the subject of his book through the three aspects mentioned in the preface foreshadows a most precise, thoroughgoing and a very clearly-composed monograph. While the subject of the book is the birth of American tragedy, it gives an analysis of the main trends of American drama through O'Neill's life-work: the connections between the dramatic and the epic, the dramatic and the lyric, the problems of social and personal values, and the questions of the American Dream and alienation. Except for the two introductory chapters, the first one examining the Shakespearean tradition in early American tragedy, and the second one dealing with critical approaches to the birth of modern American tragedy, Peter Egri's book is essentially a scholarly monograph containing various analyses of O'Neill's plays followed by a thematic bibliography incorporated in the extremely rich notes.

1. "An unintentional caricature of Shakespeare" (p. 18)

Searching the history of American drama, Peter Egri starts with the play of Thomas Godfrey, The Prince of Parthia (1759), the first drama written by a native author to be professionally produced in America. He gives a comparative analysis of some parallels that can be found between The Prince of Parthia

and its sources. Some scenes recall the play of Beaumont and Fletcher, The Maid's Tragedy and Racine's Andromache, but the influence of English masters, especially that of Shakespeare is beyond doubt. After an all-embracing analysis, the author arrives at a witty conclusion: "From a historical point of view Shakespearean drama, and especially Shakespearean tragedy, is a postlude to the Wars of Roses, an interlude in the rule of the Tudors, and a prelude to the revolution of the Puritans. Godfrey's drama is only a postlude to Shakespeare" (p. 19). "American tragedy was born twice: in a literal sense in the work of Thomas Godfrey; and in a literary sense, in the life-work of Eugene O'Neill" (p. 20). It was with O'Neill's work that American drama appeared on the scene of national and international literature.

2. "The meteoric appearance of O'Neill" (p. 21)

In this chapter the author introduces the most characteristic approaches seeking an answer to the meteoric appearance of O'Neill. Among these approaches we can find continuity, according to which the birth of American tragedy was a continuous development. The view of miracle emphasizes the sudden, unexpected interruption of continuity. The representatives of the view of theatrical developments explain the birth of American tragedy in terms of the opposition between show business and the art theatre movement, the inspiring spirit for American drama. Psychology was right at hand in attempting to solve the problem as psychological theories of Freud, Jung, Adler, Horney, Fomm can be found in the whole of O'Neill's work. Peter Egri, however qualifies this explanation claiming that O'Neill's work is not a dramatic illustration of these psychoanalitical doctrines. O'Neill was mainly interested in the world of instincts, but in many of his plays he established a connection between this inner world and the outer one. Lastly there are critics who strive to connect the birth of American tragedy with the phenomenon of alienation. Here Gassner's Bigsby's and G. Lukács' views are selected and then the author adds: "Alienation as a conflict between man's essence and exitence, like the American Dream, is a polar phenomenon itself....O'Neill concentrated the opposition between alienation and human resistance, the destruction and protection of human values into a dramatic conflict" (p. 37).

In the further chapters of the book different aspects of alienation are further examined and shown in the mirror of nine separate drama analyses.

3. "Revolution is an attitude rather than a clear goal" (p. 44)

The politics of alienation is examined through O'Neill's early play, The Personal Equation written in 1915. Manifesting radicalist tendencies it shows traits of a well-made melodrama, the dramatic flow of which is often held back by Naturalistic-epic complications. Some features in the drama foreshadow the specific motifs of O'Neill's later plays.

Examining the sociology and metaphysics of alienation we are presented with a keen and thorough analysis of The Hairy Ape.

4. The leitmotif of "belonging"

The semantic field of "belonging" is explained by Yank, one of the stokers on the ship who makes a difference between the idle rich in the first cabin of the ship and the working stokers in the stokehloe: "Well den, we belong, don't we? We belong and dey don't. Dat's all..." The stokers who make the ship run, belong. "It amounts to something, it counts... it creates the world and, in doing so, creates man, it represents and brings about human values. It is in these meanings that "belonging" functions as a leitmotif throughout the play" remarks Peter Egri.

Expressionistic tendencies are well marked in the drama and we, the readers, are given even a phonetic analysis of different passages of the play. It is interesting to note that, according to Peter Egri, plays in which the influence of Expressionism is dominant are characterized by a double conflict (The Empreor Jones, The Hairy Ape). In the framework of this analysis the author gives us a most interesting study of the so-called modified dramatic interior monologue. The question of what way the structural units manifest themselves is given an answer through a brief survey of drama history.

The next section bearing the title "Alienation and Dramatic Form" is subdivided into seven subchapters, each of them containing separate drama analyses.

5. "What a plot for a novel!" (p. 72)

Strange Interlude represents a turn in O'Neill's works for two reasons. On the one hand, it expresses the pathology of World War I. On the other hand, it represents a breakthrough toward the fictionalization of drama. The factors that are responsible for this process are gathered in five subchapters. O'Neill made an effort to bring the novelistic and dramatic aspects of his play closer, and in this respect Strange Interlude was paving the way for a play of universal significance, Mourning Becomes Electra, where novelistic breadth and dramatic depth match each other.

6. "Re-creating an ancient myth" (p. 85)

After pointing out the quality and nature of the conflict in Mourning Becomes Electra, the further analysis of the drama is based on the historical, social and psychological motivation of the conflict. Besides the different motivations of the conflict Peter Egri examines the play through another aspect, "the novelistic dimension of the tragedy". In this respect the subchapter devoted to the role of Fate is especially revealing.

7. "A monumental torso" (p. 99)

Further on the next four subsections are concerned with the eleven-play dramatic cycle, A Tale of Possessors Self-Dispossessed, O'Neill's major attempt searching the rise and development of American tragedy, and telling the social and spiritual history of the American Dream. He tells the history of an American family as examples of American possessiveness. He as a dramatist is interested in the clash between personality and possessiveness. Despite his efforts, O'Neill was not able to finish his cycle. It is a generally held view that it was basically O'Neill's serious illness which prevented him from finishing the cycle. Peter Egri, however, adds: "Though O'Neill's illness was undoubtedly a serious factor in his decision to leave his cycle unfinished, the view is hardly tenable that his disease should be considered the decisive reason why he was forced to give up his cycle plan. The very same year which aborted the cycle gave life to The Iceman Cometh, Hughie, Long Day's Journey Into Night, and A Moon for the Misbegotten: O'Neill's greatest plays. So the reasons should be sought elsewhere, he says, and suggests another explanation. The explanation is in the "revolt of the novel form against the dramatic mould" (p. 109) and then a detailed elucidation of this answer follows.

8. "Overplaying a role which has become more real than his real self to him" (p. 118)

In A Touch of the Poet the history of the Harford family reaches the fifth play in the cycle. The drama with its tragicomic confrontation between reality and illusion, and with its short-story-like interlude reminded the author of the dramatic strategy in Chekhov's Uncle Ványa. The common features are treated in the framework of a brief survey of the development of the comic and the tragic in the history of drama. It was "in the late bourgeois drama that the tragic and the comic do not simply mix, but mingle into a new quality of tragicomedy; the constituent factors can no longer be separated" (p. 120). The chapter also contains a brief comparison of Ibsen's Chekhov's and O'Neill's plays.

9. "A vast tableau of the dramatic dialectics of alienation"

In the next play of the cycle, More Stately Mansions, the main conflict centres around the confrontation between"material gain and spiritual loss, financial success and human failure, and power and alienation". "Every move towards possessing something inevitably involves a step towards dispossessing somebody." (p. 124) O'Neill sees clearly and shows unambiguously that the tale of possession and dispossession is also the story of self-dispossession. These are the three stages through which Peter Egri traces the shifting egos of the three main characters as "divided" (p. 127), "truncated" (p. 130) and "merging" (p. 131) personalities.

10. "The epic as the heterogeneity of the dramatic" (p. 140)

The seventh play of the cycle, The Calms of Capricorn, is an incomplete sketch for a drama which, as it were, includes a number of plays, in fact, various types of plays. Twelve different drama models are put together within one single play. "It was inevitable that they should pull the play into twelve different directions, and the result was an epic, indeed a novelistic broadening of the original idea." (p. 149) P ter Egri shows how the diversity of the raw material made the drama unmanageable.

Synthetizing the epic, the lyric and the tragic, the top achievement in the O'Neill canon is undoubtedly the Long Day's Journey Into Night, to the analysis of which a separate chapter is devoted. This is the final summarizing section in the book, as well.

11. "The motif of hopeless hope" (p. 162)

In this chapter Peter Egri offers us four major oppositions in which the general conflict of the drama, i.e. the state of alienation and the wish not to be alienated, asserts itself. "The collision between material gain and spiritual loss" (p. 157) is shown by Peter Egri in the relationships of James Tyrone with various members of the family, and at the same time with himself, too. Through "the conflict of illusion and reality" (p. 162) the author shows how these characters are all trapped in an illusory world. "I love you more than I hate you" says Jamie to his brother Edmund. "The oscillation of emotions" (p. 168) is the third major opposition. "Through the confrontation of human aspirations and the working of fate" (p. 170) see how the human effort of the Tyrones are counteracted by the hostile power of destiny. According to Peter Egri fate has two faces in the play, and he introduces the concepts of absolute and relative determinism. So the conflict of alienation and the human forces against it needed a special dramatic form in which "the epic, the lyric, and the tragic are perfectly

fused" and "American tragedy is born at a universal level", Peter Egri arrives at a conclusion at the end of his book (p. 181).

Peter Egri's clearly-written book with its accuracy and rich material betrays a profound knowledge of the subject, and presents a most interesting monograph to help orienting the reader in the history of American drama. One of its greatest merits is that he devotes separate chapters to the analyses of dramas that are not even familiar for Hungarian audiences. It is a fascinating reading of scholarly character.

Andrea Horváth
Budapest

Sámuel DOMOKOS: Magyar-román irodalmi kapcsolatok

(Hungarian-Romanian Literary Contacts)

Budapest, 1985, Gondolat Kiadó, p. 353 - review

The investigation and tracking of Hungarian-Romanian literary contacts is of great importance, not just from a literary standpoint, but also because — owing to the adverse conditions obtaining in Romania these days — there is a growing need to bring the two neighbouring peoples closer to each other.

That is the aim served by the whole activity of Sámuel Domokos. A distinguished literary historian, researcher of folklore, bibliographer and translator, he was, until he retired, a professor at the Department of Romanian Philology at the Eötvös Lóránd University; yet, he continues to give interesting lectures to his students in the framework of special seminars.

His most significant works are A román irodalom magyar bibliográfiája ("A Hungarian Bibliography of Romanian Literature" - Vol. I. 1831-1960, Literary Publishing House, Bucharest, 1966; Vol. II. 1961-1970, Kriterion Publishing House, Bucharest, 1978) and Octavian Goga, a költő és műfordító" ("Octavian Goga, the Poet and Translator"), published by Kriterion in 1971, with a Romanian-language version appearing in 1978.

Sámuel Domokos devoted his investigations primarily to 20th-century Romanian literature, Romanian folk poetry, and the literary contacts indicated above. His volume Magyar-román irodalmi kapcsolatok ("Hungarian-Romanian Literary Contacts") gives a brief synthesis of his activity.

Coexistence and proximity involve giving and receiving. And a thousand years of contact between the Hungarian and the Romanian peoples did, indeed, provide opportunity for both peoples to give and receive. It happened on several occasions that both peoples drew on the same foreign source. We get valuable data in this respect from Endre Veress's three-volume handbook called Bibliografia română-ungară (1931) and a comprehensive anthology by Gábor Kemény G., entitled A szomszéd népekkel való kapcsolataink történetéből ("From the History of our Contacts with the Neighbouring Peoples" - 1962); while the manual, over a thousand pages long, of Andor Réthy and Leona Váczy, called Magyar irodalom románul (1830-1970) ("Hungarian Literature in Romanian (1830-1970)"), focusses on the Romanian reception of Hungarian literature.

Sámuel Domokos complements and continues, as it were, the above works, enabling the reader to set off on a brief trip to the psychological world of the two peoples.

For both Romanians and Hungarians, it was the spreading of the ideas of the Enlightenment, in the middle of the past century, that gave a boost to literary contacts. The Romanians published their first translations of Hungarian literature in 1830, while the first Hungarian renditions from Romanian literature appeared in 1831. It was the same period, too, that saw an upsurge of interest, among both peoples, in works of folk poetry. Proof of that is the fact that the first translations are connected with folklore.

The author tracks the parallel phenomena and trends of Romanian and Hungarian literature in the subsequent stages of our literary contacts as well. Among other things, he mentions the fact that, at the end of the past century, the interest in folklore was pushed into the background in both the Hungarian and the Romanian translations. The Romanians showed growing interest in the poetry of Petőfi, with the Hungarians turning to Eminescu. St. O. Iosif, a Transylvanian-born Romanian poet, published in two volumes his Romanian-language renditions of Petőfi's poems.

In the early part of the century, Endre Ady became so popular among the Romanians that the translations of his poetry exceeded in number even the Petőfi interpretations.

In the interwar period the literary contacts faded somewhat. The year 1945 witnessed a new resurgence: in addition to the classics of Hungarian literature (Petőfi, Arany, Ady, Jókai, Mikszáth etc.), the Romanian reader was able to familiarize himself with virtually all the major Hungarian authors of the 20th century (Zsigmond Móricz, Gyula Illyés, Lőrinc Szabó, László Németh, Gyula Krúdy, Frigyes Karinthy and others). Both Hungarian and Romanian critical literature started to develop, with the comparative approach assigned a prominent place in our literary contacts.

Scrutinizing Hungarian-Romanian literary contacts, Sámuel Domokos, in his book discusses in greater detail the Hungarian translators of Romanian literature and those who urged their countrymen to learn more about the culture of the neighbouring Romanian people, e.g. György Aranka, Ferenc Kazinczy, Mór Jókai, Károly Zilahy, Károly Ács; the renowned Romanian Transylvanian writer and literary organizer Iosif Vulcan; Gergely Moldován, who acquainted the Hungarian reading public with Romanian folk songs; József Sándor, Lőrinc Brán, Ármin Dux, Mihály, Pérvu, Géza Szőcs, the translators of Eminescu's first poems, Károly Révai, Lajos Áprily, Jenő Dsida, Ferenc Szemlér, Sándor Kibédi, Árpád Bardócz, Árpád Bitay, Imre Kádár, Attila József, László Gáldi, Nóra Aradi, László Szabédi, Béla Köpeczi, Zoltán Franyó, Gyula Illyés, Zoltán Jékely, Jenő Kiss — and the author also mentions some anthologies.

The chapter called Új adatok Eminescu első magyar fordítóiról és méltatóiról ("New data on the first Hungarian translators and appreciators of Eminescu") furnishes some valuable documents. In it, Domokos rejects the claim, put forward by György Kristóf, Avram P. Todor and László Gáldi, that the Hungarian translations of Eminescu's poems were published in 1895, six years after the poet's death. Relying on the contemporary Hungarian press, he proves — and he is the first to do so — that these can be traced back to January 1889, when Lőrinc Brán published his verse translations. Moreover, he used the pseudonym Szamosujvári, to prevent it coming to light that Eminescu's first Hungarian was a Romanian. Sámuel Domokos also acquaints us with some hitherto unknown writings on Eminescu, which he discovered in the course of his researches. These include an obituary published on the death of the poet in the Arad journal "Alföld".

There is a special chapter devoted to reviewing Attila József's translations of Romanian poetry (József Attila román műfordításai - "Attila József's translations of Romanian poetry"). We learn that, in choosing the Romanian poems to be translated, he tended to opt for those that were close

to the preoccupations of his own poems (loneliness, poverty, rebellion, discontent). In his work as a translator, he was characterized by fidelity to the original poems; at the same time, he strove to express the contents of the poem in a still more artistic form. As is well-known, Attila József had close ties with the Romanians. In his poem At the Danube we read the following lines: "My mother was Cumanian, my father half Székely half Romanian — or perhaps entirely Romanien." Nevertheless, he did not speak Romanian. He had access to the Romanian poems through Mózes Balta, an attaché with the Romanian Embassy, with whom he was on friendly terms.

Reading the chapter Petőfi a román irodalomban ("Petőfi in Romanian literature"), we can trace the development of our literary contacts, with their ups and downs and periodic halts. Some one-third of all of Petőfi's poems have appeared in Romanian translation. Domokos divides these into three distinct periods. The first lasts from the 60s to the 90s of the past century. The first translations were published by George Marchişiu in the Pest journal "Auróra" in 1865. They were followed by several translations by poets of modest talent and more successful ones too — yet, with little result (Iosif Vulcan, George Coşbuc, Bonificiu Florescu, Theodor M. Stoenescu, Miron Pompiliu). The second period lasts until 1945, for almost half a century, and it is introduced by Ştefan Octavina Iosif, based in Bucharest. He may be regarded as the first significant Romanian translator. Likewise an important place is due, in this period, to Octavian Goga, who looked on Petőfi as his role model in poetry. This is left unmentioned by Romanian criticism, but Domokos correctly supports it with one of the poet's confessions about Petőfi: "He was a great bard of freedom, and that was a meeting point between him and myself... It may be the case that this defence of freedom, which flows from the cardinal passion of my poetry, derives, in me, from my relationship with Hungarian literature..." During and just after World War I, Petőfi's poetry slightly fell into the background. It was from the 1930s onwards that translations became more frequent, and in this Axente Banciu and Avram P. Todor rendered great services. The third, post-Liberation period of Petőfi translations involved numerous writers. Emil Giurgica, Costa Carei and Eugen Jebeleanu should be mentioned in particular, who also published their renditions in special volumes of their own. It was Jebeleanu who translated the greatest amount and with the greatest artistry.

Sámuel Domokos, in his book, discusses in some detail Octavian Goga's translations of Hungarian literature (Octavian Goga magyar irodalmi fordításai — "Octavian Goga's translations of Hungarian literature"). With his activity as a translator, Goga completed the work of his poet predecessors, George Coşbuc and Şt. O. Iosif. Although he was just as proficient in German as in Hungarian — he was a scholarship-holder at the University of Berlin —, his interest yet turned primarily towards Hungarian literature. Of the translators of Petőfi, he can be regarded as the best. Displaying a commendable fidelity to the text, he succeeded, more than anyone else, in conveying across an intense appreciation of Petőfi's patriotism and revolutionary commitment. It was at the zenith of his poetry, in 1909, that he began publishing his translations of Ady. He mainly selected the poems he was able to identify with, whose revolutionary message he agreed with. He generally found it difficult to cope with the rhythm of Ady's poems. He kept the metrical pattern of the verses, but he did, on occasion, lengthen the lines by adding on a syllable, thereby breaking the rhythm of the original poem. In certain poems, he also failed to accurately reproduce the text. The majority of the Ady poems translated by Goga come from the volume Új versek ("New Verses" - 1906).

The author discusses at some length the relationship — unparallelled in our literature — between Goga and Ady. We learn that they became ac-

quainted through an exchange of letters in 1912, when Goga was serving a one-month term of confinement in Szeged, because of an offence against press-laws. Ady wrote him a letter, expressing his solidarity with the poet and the patriot. A personal encounter between them took place in 1913. However, the increasingly right-wing attitude that Goga subsequently adopted in the nationality question cast a shadow over their warm friendship.

Goga also translated into Romanian Az ember tragédiája ("The Tragedy of Man"). He left intact the original division of the Tragedy, giving new subtitles only to the particular scenes, depending on where they were set. He occasionally loosened Madách's ponderous phrasemould, to bring the work linguistically closer to the reader. He strove to make use of the peculiarities of the Eminescuan poetic language and the Romanian folk idiom of Transylvania. Also touching on the shortcomings of Goga's interpretation of the text, Domokos correctly stresses that the translation of the Tragedy is a success.

Between 1965 and 1969, the first Romanian-language anthology of Hungarian literature (Antologia literaturii maghiare I.-IV. Editura pentru literatură universală, Bucureşti) — in four volumes, edited by Constantin Clariu and selected by László Lőrinczi and Erik Majtényi — appeared in Bucharest. Originally projected to consist of five volumes, the series embraces the entire Hungarian literature, from the 16th century right up to 1969. Its significance lies in the fact that, prior to its appearance, only in 1947 had there been a smaller anthology published; but that anthology — featuring the translations of Emil Giurgica — contains excerpts only from major 19th- and 20th-century Hungarian poets. In evaluating the anthology, Sámuel Domokos examined, above all, what and how much the volume presented of Hungarian literature, and also the standard of the presentation. Despite its deficiencies, he justly recognizes its significance, welcoming it as a highly positive fact — for, in our own days, no similar anthology would be likely to get published.

One of the most valuable chapters of Sámuel Domokos's book is the one called A budai Egyetemi Nyomda román kiadványai és dokumentumai ("The Romanian publications and documents of Buda's University Press"), which reveals data relating to that topic. Incidentally, in one of the author's books we find an in-depth treatment of it as well.

As is known, the University Press was founded by Miklós Telegdy, Bishop of Pécs, in Nagyszombat in November 1577, in the framework of the University operating in Nagyszombat. In 1777, Maria Theresa relocated the University to Buda, bringing with it the University Press, which henceforward became widely known through its products not only among the one-time nationalities of Hungary but also among the neighbouring peoples.

The greater part of the extant documentary material on the University Press is formed by the data relating to the writers of what is called the Transylvanian school, the "triad" (Samuil Micu-Clain, Gheorghe Şincai and Petru Maior). That is the very reason why Sámuel Domokos too devotes greater attention the their work.

The successful operation of Buda's University Press is indicated by the more than 200 books printed here, including educational books of an economic interest.

In the second part of his book Hungarian-Romanian Literary Contacts, Sámuel Domokos treats the East-Central-European connections of Romanian folk poetry. He discusses in detail the highwaymen's ballads of Eastern European peoples, the origin of those ballads, the estimation in which highwaymen were held, the classification of highwaymen's ballads according to their contents, and moreover, their types and artistic peculiarities. He also examines the relationship between modern Greak kleftis ballads and Romanian folk ballads.

As is well-known, works of folk poetry are handed down by word of mouth, and they generally do not remain within a particular language territory, but spread to all the peoples they come into contact with. The pastoral Romanians wandered with their flocks to faraway regions in search of suitable pasturage and climate. That is how they found their way to distant sourther regions as well, to the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia. Romanian folk poetry too reflects evidence of direct contact with the Greeks. The Romanian writer Alexandru Odobescu was the first to note this in the second half of the past century. He deserves credit for having recognized the connection between the Romanian folk ballad "Miorița", held to be the oldest, and modern Greek folk ballads, i.e. the Linos songs dealing with the death or the marriage of Adonis.

Another motif of modern Greek folk poetry, that of masoning up a human being in a wall, which figures in the Greek ballad The Bridge of Arte, likewise appears in the Romanians, similarly to the Hungarians and other Balkan peoples. The Romanian ballad Meșterul Manole and the Hungarian ballad Kőmíves Kelemenné ("The Wife of Clement the Mason) are based upon that motif.

Sámuel Domokos, in his book also deals with an intriguing figure of 18th-century Hungarian-Romanian relations, the famous Transylvanian Romanian outlaw chief, Pintea Gligor. He analyzes the legends and highwaymen's ballads relating to him, pointing out the Hungarian folkloristic elements to be detected in them.

We are also presented with a version, originating from Kétegyháza, of one of the most beautiful and widespread folk ballads of the Romanians, Miorița. It is a tragic story, deriving its subject-matter from the lives of Romanian shepherds. Two of three shepherds (one from Vrancea, one from Hungary, and a Moldavian) grazing their sheep in the mountains form a plot to kill their Moldavian companion. Just how widespread Miorița is can be gauged from the hundreds of variants of it that are current. The Kétegyháza version is important as it contains a number of passage that rarely, if at all, feature elsewhere. All that is due to the fact that it survived in a relatively isolated Romanian language area. Kétegyháza is situated in Békés country, near the Romanian border. Seventy per cent of its population is made up of Romanians. Its history goes back to the reign of King Sigismund. Romanians settles in the village in 1702.

One of the most intriguing chapters of Sámuel Domokos's book is the last (Vasile Gurzău magyar és román nyelvű meséi - "The Hungarian- and Romanian-language stories of Vasile Gurzău"), in which he quotes, on the basis of Vasile Gurzău's tales, from the folklore of a Romanian village situated in Hungary, namely, Méhkerék. In the process, he enables the reader to examine the reciprocal folkloristic influences between Hungarians and Romanians and to study the lesser known western outposts of the Romanian dialect of the Bihar.

Méhkerék is an old settlement, mentioned in records as early as 1356. The one-time ancestors of the present-day inhabitants moved from the villages of the neighbourhood of Szalonta to repopulate the village, strongly depleted in numbers owing to the Kuruts wars. In the village, numerous popular traditions are alive.

The storyteller Vasile Gurzău (1898-1979) was one of the most renowned men in Méhkerék. Coming from a poor peasant family, he had opportunity already in his childhood to make himself acquainted with the world of folk tales, as there were several talented storytellers living in his village (György Rúzsa, nicknamed Danțoș, Zagoni, Iuane Trifului, Pipoș etc.). During his stint in the army, spent in Nagyvárad, Arad and Pest, he acquired great practice in storytelling. As the majority of his companions were Hungarian, he was compelled to tell his stories in Hungarian. That is how he

became a bilingual storyteller. The most valuable part of his repertory is made up of his fairy tales ("Boldaşu" /The Man with a stick/, "Găsitu" /The Foundling/, "Kránovitye márk" etc.). On the basis of a comparison of the stories that he related in both languages, Domokos arrives at the conclusion that he did not translate his tales from one language into the other, but, keeping the essential features of the themes, he virtually created them anew in the other language (e.g. "A szegény ember" /The Poor Man/ and "Uomul sărac").

From the standpoint of Hungarian-Romanian literary contacts, the book of Sámuel Domokos is of inestimable value. The author deserves great credit for approaching Romanian literature from a world literary perspective and for employing the method of comparative literature to bring to the surface the interrelationships and contacts between Hungarian and Romanian literature.

Katalin Kese
Budapest

Endre IGLÓI: Az orosz irodalmi múlt

(Seven Centuries of the Russian Literary Past)

Budapest, 1988, Tankönyvkiadó

In 1981, in "A Short Survey of Russian Literature", Endre Iglói presented a little known period of Russian literature, one that had been studied almost exclusively by the experts. There we had passages from centuries-old literary monuments testifying to the values of the verbal art created by the reality of feudal Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church — to the works subserving scientific and artistic knowledge, from Illarion to Radishchev. There, the extracts — taken out of the original texts — were supplemented by the author with only brief, orientative introductions.

Now, in 1988, the distinguished Hungarian Russian scholar — a professor at Debrecen's Lajos Kossuth University —, provides, in his new volume "The Russian Literary Past", the authentic historical backdrop to that same anthology, of a few years ago. The book using a sensible method of periodization, starts from the beginnings of the Slavs' use of records, the adoption of Christianity, and carries its investigations up to the ecclesiastic and secular written monuments of the end of the 17th century, of which it gives a comprehensive and relevant overview. While charting with great accuracy that period, so rich in historical events, Iglói authentically describes the various authorial habits of vision, the methods and styles. In his chapters devoted to the analysis of particular works of art, he quotes the experts who have studied intensively the outstanding productions of the period, and who, through their debates and insights, have enriched literary shcolarship.

Nor is our delight at Endre Iglói's major gapfilling effort lessened by the fact that it has taken four decades to materialize — for this is the first enterprise in the Hungarian language that aims to provide a comprehensive, scholarly survey of the Russian literary past.

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The most salient feature is that the author is able to prove — in a manner that is accessible even to the non-specialist — that the verbal art of the period under discussion belongs to a literary system different from the one we have today. On balance, the three-hundred-page-long book bears out his ambition to point out the new elements even in a slow evolution, to convey the qualitative changes. The exposition of the historical background, in conjunction with the analysis of the works of art, proves the erroneousness of the viewpoint, prevalent for a long time, that Old Russian literature is, on the whole, static. It is remarkable how he builds up his own concept, in which the development, consolidation and disintegration, as well as the pregnant features, of the medieval literary system are clearly traceable; indeed, he briefly anticipates the new literary system taking shape from the second half of the 17th century forward, which carries in itself the salvaging of the lasting values of the old literature, the trends for the preservation of continuity.

In Russia, from the monuments of Kievan Rus onwards, the circle of those engaged in writing is mostly confined to monks and prelates. We do occasionally encounter the "works" of a few statesmen and court scribes. Having said that, the works of the seven centuries under scrutiny lack the names of their authors — they are, for the most part, anonymous monuments.

Endre Iglói forcefully conveys the interrelationships between anonymity and the Russian medieval habit of intelligence. He authentically presents the aim of the anonymous authors: the wish to teach, discernible even under the agitational or publicistic approach, — the ambition to educate the people.

It can be observed both at the very beginning and in the ensuing centuries how much the Russian intellectual rejected the notion of entertainment, as an end in itself, and how unequivocally he upholds undisguised tendentiousness. At the same time, this overt didacticism declares itself not as a defect in the creator that debases his product, but, on the contrary, as a valued virtue.

In the very first chapter, discussing the literature of Kievan Rus (10th-12th centuries), the reader may find numerous interesting points. The Hungarian reader, often rather uncertain and uninformed even when it comes to his own historical past, can, for the first time, form a global picture of how the unitary Old Russian state emerged of the eastern Slav tribes rallying round "the mother of all Russian towns", Kiev; — he can, for the first time, familiarize himself with the circumstances of the adoption of Christianity from Byzantium, and he can understand why this enhanced the authority of the feudal order and statehood of the Russian state. We can trace how, by the adoption of Christianity, Vladimir — the Prince of Kievan Rus — lifted his people into the community of European nations, — how, within a very short time, the Russian state became one of the most influential factors in the European equation, and how this uniquely talented personality forged cultural and commercial ties with Byzantium, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Sweden, France, Norway and England...

We get an insight into the process of the construction of churches and monasteries, which got underway at a tremendous speed, and, when we get to the discussion of the literary monuments, we understand why those churches and monasteries became centres of cultural life.

While analyzing the literary works of art, the author picks from them numerous pieces of information which he lays before us as historical facts.

He can do that all the more easily as the written literature of Kiev's feudal society owed its real significance to its historical bias. "Ecclesiastic literature", Iglói says, "is the great history-book of Christianity, and, in a non-canonical form, the same role is performed by the other genres too. What the Old Russian state and Church expected from literature was,

above all, facts and data and their interpretation — as much information as possible and total authenticity (or at least the appearance of it). Literature is a compass with which to find one's bearings in both space and time, a yardstick by which to measure values".

Iglói, with the consistency and accuracy of one who reads footprints, reveals to us Kievan Rus's openness to all points of the compass — yet, he also pinpoints the seeds of disintegration whose sprouts can be detected from the mid-11th century on, and which eventually led to the dismemberment of the unitary Russian land. We see before us the motion of the intermittent wave of Mongol-Tartar attacks and subsequently the Mongols' momentous attack which, turning from the northeast in a southwestern direction, subjugated the Tartars too, laying the country in ruins and tearing the Russian land out of the body of Europe. In the territory of the huge empire, only Polotsk, Novgorod and Pskov escaped the attack — they did not get to know the yoke, yet, they, of all the districts, became the most reliable tributaries of the Mongol Golden Horde.

As a result of the historical catastrophe, the devastation of the country took its toll not only in terms of human lives. The 11th-12th-century monuments of Kiev's material culture were all fireconsumed; the knowledge that we possess of it today comes from the copies which, having been taken to remote monasteries, have survived there. Russia bore the Mongol yoke for over two centuries.

Thus, in the 13th century, we cannot talk about a single homogeneous Russian literature. But there do exist what are called "regional literatures", which emerged round the centres of the particular part-principalities. For a time, public literature is predominant, and we can also talk about a certain enrichment of liturgical literature. Chronicle-writing and the other genres of secular literature, already effective in the Kievan period, produced only a few major works.

They are of inestimable worth because — and this is common to them all — they salvaged the Kievan traditions and popularized the all-Russian spirit. As Iglói writes, "Memorializing the most tragic events, death and the atrophy of the human spirit, they look to the future with fanatic determination and faith, glorifying the resistance against the Mongols, proclaiming that it is worth fighting on, trying to rouse from their torpor the adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church".

The final result of the struggle between the Golden Horde and the principalities, on the one hand, and the internecine conflicts between the various princes of the divided Russian land, on the other, did not show itself until the end of the 15th century, when the empire -- appearing as a new force — of the victor of the entangled intestine wars, Northeastern Rus, with Moscow to become its centre, seems to reestablish itself on the map of Europe.

The literary monuments of Moscow's rise in the 14th century reveal that intellectual culture had not yet recovered from its losses. Genuine values begin to emerge when, "as part of the unification unfolding in all domains of life, all-Russian literature receives into itself the literature beginning to revive in the part-principalities".

The intellectual of the 14th century philosophizes "with quiet sorrow" about the prolonged sufferings, and — perhaps precisely with the purpose of providing a contrast to everyday life — he imagines for himself a far-off, Utopian "earthly paradise". It was this that produced the Utopian narratives. Their central preoccupation: Does Eden exist anywhere? If so, where can it be found? The mostly secular writers look for this Eden here on earth, perhaps in India, perhaps in an imaginary country, but certainly not in the hereafter.

In addition to these Utopian narratives, we get the genuine travel

pieces of the 14th-15th centuries, which give Russians factual information about the countries that the travellers have visited.

Regional chronicle-writing lives on and is enriched — its continuity is ensured in the 14th century by Tver, Pskov, Novgorod, and Moscow. Yet, we already see the "all-Russian" annals taking shape as well. From the middle of the 15th century onwards, Moscow's annalists rally round two major centres. In 1442, the World Chronicle is completed, giving a realistic picture of the surrounding world. The period is rich in "war narratives", of which Endre Iglói proves himself to be a discerning and nuanced analyst.

This is the period in which old Russian literature is enriched with a totally fresh genre — i.e. prose fiction. Apart from original Russian stories, we also find here new treatments of themes of foreign origin, new versions — independent of the originals — of Greek romances already translated in the 11th-12th centuries under the same titles. Identical in outlook, they differ only in their length.

There is a renewal of the religious legend, which rises to become the dominant genre of the age. Endre Iglói masterfully demonstrates the way in which the new wave of hagiography is linked with Russian historical reality — how the shared ordeals, the struggle for the restoration of Russian unity, the sanguinary battles for the regaining of independence were also perceived as the physical and psychological suffering of the particular individual. The monumental historical style of vision, dominant till then, and folk poetry's view of the hero were unsuitable for bringing to the surface the sovereign individual appearing in the religious legends which, from the end of the 14th century on, were absolutely crucial for centuries to come. That is the time when style is born in Russian hagiography. To be quite exact, it is linked with the name of the Metropolitan of Moscow Cyprian; later on, it manifested itself in countless variations.

Iglói devotes a special section to the literature of 14th-15th-century Novgorod. Ne convincingly proves that it resisted all attempts at "absorbing it into the Moscow-centred literature of the age, largely all-Russian in spirit."

Considering the number of its subchapters, the largest section of the volume is the one dealing with the literature of Moscow Rus (16th-17th centuries).

The historical and social conditions, internal and foreign politics all feature in the most widespread genre of the period, the tracts and polemical treatises — in short, political writing, to use the technical term applied by Russian literary history. The aim is to provide what is intended to be a general picture of the age and to record the confrontations of ideological viewpoints. The purpose of these writings is to shape the consciousness of the age in conformity with some political demand — to build the bastions of one's own party, to serve one's own institutions, while undermining the opponent's positions. "All Russia is engaged in debates", Iglói writes; "some even verbalized the complaint and the rebellious sentiments of the peasantry, drifting towards serfdom".

Naturally, the promise of Renaissance culture — respecting the worth and the rights of the individual, the personality — came to naught, as reality demanded a self-sacrificing MULTITUDE, which relinquished individuality in the service of the State.

The conditions do not allow the survival of even pre-Renaissance culture. "What is lacking is not the germinating seed, but the soil in which the seed could have taken hold. Or even if it did peep out here and there", Iglói remarks — and his observation has a long-term validity, "its gardeners were chased away, the sprout was trampled down — they did not allow it to shoot up".

To be sure, there might have been Russian free-thinkers, people with a humanist culture; but, in the initial phase of centralization, the forces that played a major role in the midst of both the secular powers and the clergy — forces that the Grand Dukes had to reckon with — sought to preserve the "sacred Russian traditions" absolutely free from all innovating aspirations, in total isolation; for which reason they blocked the path of the "free-thinking" heretics. They were the ones who wrote the first chapter — a chapter to be expunged — of the political and social essay, appearing at the beginning of the 16th century; yet, their works can only be reconstructed — with approximate authenticity — from the surviving works of the conservatives.

Iglói draws a complete picture of the debates going on between the two schools of thought within the Church and the age of Ivan IV in secular political writing. Here again, he paints his tableau in such a way that the works analyzed also serve as historical sources.

A fine example of his interdisciplinary approach is his comparison of styles in the fields of narrative prose fiction and the visual arts. Standing out with its individual tone and commitment is his analysis of a writing by Yermolay, a monk born in Pskov (A Story about Peter, Prince of Murom, and Fevroniya). Here the author follows the texture of the narrative step by step, while also marshalling some international parallels.

On the crisis of the medieval literary system and then the signs of its renewal in the publicistic output of the "times of trouble", — the tragic chaos of one and a half decades, the period described as the twilight of the "sacred Russian traditions", — Iglói states that, "despite its numerous features violating tradition and foreshadowing progress, it is still bound to the old Russian literature...; yet, it already signals conspicuously the changing of the spirit of the age, a transformation of the social demand and taste in literature".

From the middle of the 17th century forward, we see concrete genres indicating the changing of taste and the modification of the concept and contents of value. Added to this is an ever livelier contact with foreign countries and the consequent assimilation and the translation into Russian of the countless monuments of Western literature, of secular narrative prose. That presumably was instrumental in the unfolding freedom of the Russian imagination. The written evidence of this is the works of historical prose fiction — as yet from unknown authors —, which, no longer concealing their aesthetic pretensions, attach only secondary importance to immediate social usefulness. Together with these, we see the emergence of the social narratives, whose authors, in the course of the story-lines, open the spheres of private life.

The very and of the 17th century or possibly the beginning of the 18th century sees the writing of the first Russian picaresque story. Its plot is already a genuine career story. Its greatest virtue is that the whole story is entertaining and that, in spite of the caricature presentation, it portrays lifelike situations.

Let us not forget that, for centuries, both ecclesiastic literature and secular literature — which latter functioned under the influence of the Church — regarded laughter as a synonym of sin. A "gentle smile" was just about as far as one could go under the etiquette of the Russian Orthodox Church. The writers of the feudal class who were active from the mid-17th century on, while conducting debates on the questions of church reform and the schisms, use laughter, in their ideological struggle, in the genre of satire. We see the birth of a variety of Russian popular satires, each different in its sharpness, which, as regards their ideological commitments, are at one antifeudal and anticlerical. In these satires we find no trace of abstract moralizing; in each case, they expose specific phenomena. This

satire is also averse to psychological portrayal: the authors reveal very little of the heroes' emotional and psychological world. Satirical humour lives on in the following century too, though the text of the works is frequently altered.

Endre Iglói closes his book with a discussion of the schism and the Autobiography of Protopope Avvakum.

In Chapter V — a summary — he briefly surveys the seven centuries or so and classifies those features of medieval Russian literature which can be regarded as typical.

Endre Iglói's work — as a note at the beginning of the volume informs us — was commissioned by the Minister of Education. It was published by the Tankönyvkiadó Publishing House. Its prime objective — of which it makes no secret — is to help Hungarian higher education, the university students of the departments of Russian philology — a straightforward, avowedly instructional task.

That does not prevent it being read and studied by those too who are merely interested in these seven centuries of the Russian historical and literary past. They might get an answer to some questions posed again and again over forty or even more years — for the author's consistent mode of approach projects a comprehensive, coherent picture of these little known seven centuries of Russian literature.

Endre Iglói's work could be appositely described by a dictum of Yaroslav the Wise from 1016, which the author has chosen to be the motto of his whole message: "Truly, great is the use of the teaching to be found in books."

Rozália Urbán Nagy
Budapest

László KÉRY: Talán álmodni. Hamlet-tanulmányok

("Perchance to dream." Studies on Hamlet.)

Budapest, 1989, Magvetõ Könyvkiadó, pp. 234.

Shakespeare's plays, with all their complexity and intricacy, have, to this day, continued to puzzle both readers and researchers. Hamlet is special from this standpoint (too), as it is possibly the one that raises the most questions waiting to be answered. László Kéry — editor-in-chief of the literary journal "Nagyvilág" ("The World at Large") and an authority on English literature and on Shakespeare in particular — was also probably prompted to write this volume of essays by the desire to clear up centuries-old mysteries and puzzling contradictions.

The volume consists of four self-contained, yet organically interconnected studies. In them, the author focusses on some problem complexes central to an understanding of the work (the 4th soliloquy, the figure of the Ghost, the questions of suicide and revenge), also surveying, in the process, the most important monographs dealing with Hamlet. His primary aim is not to break fresh ground or to come up with exciting new revelations (after all, researchers have found out virtually everything about the work); instead, relying on this mongraphic literature — whose sheer bulk, it is no exaggeration to say, could fill an entire library; a corpus, moreover, in shich we can frequently encounter opinions and hypotheses contradicting

each other; — on the basis of that literature, then, he strives to find a solution to some controversial questions and to reveal the other, by no means negligible aspects of the work, such as the social, the educational historical and the religious historical aspects etc. This latter is also one of the greatest merits of the volume. Another possible novelty of the studies is this — that László Kéry, in his analyses, relies primarily on a thorough examination of the dramatic text.

The clearest instance of the use of that method is found in the first study, devoted to an interpretation of the famous fourth soliloquy ("To be, or not to be..."). It is common knowledge that the plays of Shakespeare do not have a single, absolutely reliable, authoritative edition. For this reason, scholars have tried — by meticulous and laborious textual-criticism analyses and by comparing the various editions — to reconstruct the most likely "original" versions of the plays. László Kéry first presents the discrepancies between the three variants of the play (folio, "good" and "bad" quartos) as regards Hamlet's soliloquy, along with the differing opinions resulting from those, and then the possible interpretations of particular words (e.g. "conscience") and sections of the text. Having clarified these points, he proceeds to examine what this soliloquy, which we all know so well, is actually about. We learn that according to J.D. Wilson and his followers, it discusses the problem of suicide; H. Jenkins and others see it as centred on the general questions of existence and non-existence — questions possessing an ontological validity; while A. Newell (on the basis of the immediate context) regards it purely as posing the dilemma of whether Hamlet should undertake to test Claudius.

On the basis of the text, László Kéry proves that these ideas are, indeed, all present in Hamlet's soliquy; having said that, restrictive explanations which claim to be the sole answer are always incorrect because they are consistently unable to capture the complexity of the work. Even so, he unequivocally rejects the kind of approach which — for instance, by construing "conscience" as "guilty conscience" — seeks to arbitrarily read into Hamlet's meditation some sort of Christian repentance, which is foreign to the context. László Kéry refutes this concrete reading highly effectively and spectacularly. He takes the "bad" quarto's variant of the text, which testifies that the original text was subsequently deliberately rephrased and expanded, demonstrably in the spirit of the official religious dogma prevailing in those days — presumably because the original contained no reference to faith in retribution in the next world, religious repentance and the like. If, therefore, the "original" text contained no such references, then, of course, the above interpretation of the word "conscience" and of the soliloquy as a whole is wrong, too.

The topic of the second study is the figure of the Spirit. First he discusses — mainly on the basis of F.W. Moorman's researches — the pre-Shakespearean literary antecedents and traditions of the ghost figure and of revenge tragedies, outlining their development with reference to the genre. The motif of the spirit first appears in two plays by Aeschylus — namely, The Persians (where it is the shade of Darius that rises from beneath the ground and subsequently returns there and Eumenides) with the ghost of Clytemnestra). The latter is regarded as the archetype of literary revenge spirits. The line is continued by Euripides' Hecabe; he, in turn, is followed by Seneca, many of whose plays (Thyestes, Agamemnon, Octavia) featured spirits that were to serve as direct models for the dramatists of ths Renaissance. László Kéry shows that the English revenge tragedies appearing from the 1560s replicate, in the figures of the ghosts, the ancient tradition; thus the role of these figures is confined, in most cases, to uttering prophecies regarding the outcome of the events and to heightening

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the emotional effect. An important stage in the development of the ghost figure is marked by A Spanish Tragedy by Kyd. In it, we learn about the antecedents of the plot through the ghost of Don Andrea; there is a close analogy there with the spirit of Hamlet's father. László Kéry, however, draws our attention to the fact that pre-Shakespearean authors were basically unable to break free from the influence of the ancient masters, causing the ghost figure to remain essentially what it had been for the ancients. The real break-through occurred in Shakespeare. Whereas, in the earlier authors, the figure of the spirit, detached from the actual plot of the drama, was visible only to the spectators and it had contact only with the audience, the Spirit in Shakespeare becomes an active figure influencing the actions of the other characters as well. On the other hand, as László Kéry explains in considerable details, the spirit of Hamlet's father is a multiply composite figure blending the conceptual elements of contemporary folk tradition, Catholic and Protestant thought. Only in this way could it have been a convincing figure for the Renaissance as well. It is this complexity of the figure of the Spirit that lends justification — as well as artistic authenticity/credibility — to Hamlet's tormented inner struggles and his procrastination. Is he confronted with a good or an evil spirit? Can he believe it? The author of the study believes that the actions of Hamlet can only be understood once the above elements have been thoroughly examined; for that, however, an analysis the text alone is insufficient. The work has to be placed into the period and milieu in which it came into being.

The third study in the book partly repeats the first, in that here he sets out to give a detailed analysis of a problem complex that the other essay merely touched on — namely, that of suicide. We get an answer to the questions whether Hamlet, who had a disposition to melancholy, seriously contemplated suicide (e.g. in the fourth monologue); whether Shakespeare had a religious or other conception of the universe, and if so, how consistent was it? Could Ophelia have committed suicide?

The fourth study in the volume — which is also the longest — consists of two parts. The first section scans the pre-Shakespearean treatments of the Hamlet story (Saxo Grammaticus, the works of François de Belleforest, the so-called "Original Hamlet"), giving prominence to those characters, plot strands and antecedents of motif which are essential from the point of view of Shakespeare's play. (We note here that such a detailed exposition of the contents of the works is perhaps not really justified.)

The second part of the study, by a precise analysis of the dramatic text and a graphic presentment — graphic, and educational for the lay reader too — of the contemporary English pattern of thought and social conditions, trances the path at the end of which Hamlet arrives at his settling of scores. In the process, the author provides answers to such intricate problems as, for instance, Hamlet's ambivalent attitude towards his mother or Ophelia, the principal hero's "feigned madness" and its dramatic function.

The volume of studies, which is a testimony to the standard of English philology in Hungary, has also another interesting point. Although, naturally, László Kéry uses the English original as his basis for reference, he does — where he has the chance to do so — compare it with János Arany's brilliant translation; and while he accords due praise to the prodigious achievement that it represents, he nevertheless points up some of the shortcomings of the translation, as well as those of its dimensions that differ from the original.

Attila Hajas

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[1] Faas, Egbert: Toward a New American Poetics. Santa Barbara, Black Sparrow Press, 1978. p. 62.

[2] Davis, Murray: The Virginian: social Darwinist pastoral. In: Acta Litteraria, Vol. 23, 1980 (Nos 3—4) pp. 271—279.

[3] Schorer, Mark: Technique as discovery. In: Twentieth Century Literary Criticism; A Reader. Ed. by David Lodge. London, Longman, 1972. pp. 387—400.

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