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ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

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P. NAGY, I. SŐTÉR, E. TÖRÖK

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G. TOLNAI

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Isaac Babel — Our Contemporary

By

Ágnes Gereben

The problem of the lastingness of a work of art, of whether it is actually modern at any time, is commonly analysed in connection with its antecedents, the circumstances of its creation and/or its afterlife. The answer, therefore, is given — to various degrees, but practically in all cases — in terms of a set of relational concepts. Consequently, a methodologically consistent, high-level solution of such problems requires quite complex investigations and, at the same time, calls for a comprehensive knowledge which is growing rare in our field where the prestige of parcelled-up topics is incredibly high.

It is understandable, then, why research workers usually restrict their interest to the antecedents of a work of art or an œuvre, proceeding, step by step, from the past towards the actual subject, and relying, in so doing, on the solid potentialities of their attitudes. And if such a derivation avoids the pitfalls of taking for granted, often unconsciously, that an uninterrupted continuity should exist in time and/or space, that there is some kind of linear causality in such matters,[1] a number of intrinsic features of the given work or life-work almost automatically emerge.

The reason why the present paper does not proceed from tradition towards the work based on it but *traces far-reaching threads of influences stemming from the work of art and diverging both in space and time* is, apart from the intellectual appeal of a less-beaten track, inherent in the material itself.

It would no doubt be illuminating, talking of Isaac Babel's '*Red Cavalry*', to interpret the double heritage of Russian literature (above all, Gogol) and French literature (above all, Maupassant). Neither would, however, take us closer to answering the still open question of why reading this novel is a revelation for readers in all parts of the world even today (indeed, from the late fifties-early sixties more and more so), and why its author's creative endowment continues to exercise a lively influence on writers of present-day literary texts.

Another reason why we cannot expect any particular results from a root-searching approach in this case is that Babel's life-work belongs with those literary achievements of the early decades of the 20th century that have

proved both lasting and influential over a period which can be characterized as considerably long from a literary sociological point of view just because *they imply a continuity with their immediate predecessors in world literature by way of a vehement denial* rather than by an identificatory improvement, a way that is considered as usual, sometimes obligatory, in rising periods of particular national literatures. The fact that this problem, being one of the basic issues about all branches of art in all ages, emerged in an excessively acute manner in the early years of this century is indicated by a feverish exploration of artistic possibilities as well as the emphasis on self-recognition. This phenomenon was noted from outside the field of art, too: for instance, Bertrand Russel remarked roughly at the same time that in his age when "descendants stand on their ancestors' shoulders" and proportionately smaller talents are enough in science, contemporary artists are in a much harder situation since for them the successes of past ages, far from ensuring new victories, add to the difficulties instead: they make originality more and more difficult to achieve.[2]

Isaac Babel is one of those writers of the 1910s and twenties (such as Kafka, Proust, or Rilke, to mention some of the most characteristic examples) whose writings, fatefully and excessively determined by their more or less tragically perceived childhood, convey an apparently esoterical, almost windowlessly stuffy world-view.[3] He is one of those gainsayers, overthrowers of previous literary tradition — think of the authors of 'Ulysses' (1922), 'Der Zauberberg' [The Magic Mountain] (1924) or 'Mrs Dalloway' (1925) and 'Orlando' (1928) — who even impugned the original Latin meaning of *prose* 'direct, immediate'. (Thus establishing both the conditions of, and the demand on, the beginnings of 'work-immanent', 'formalist', 'structuralist', 'monadological' etc. approaches proliferating in literary criticism at the same time.)

The novels mentioned above are not, as it were, opposed only to their national and world literary traditions, predecessors. Several of them, including Babel's book, are isolated works of isolated writers in their contemporary world, as well. For the detachedness of writer and writing, manifested both in their isolation and in their uniqueness, is particularly conspicuous in an age when writers — hoping that the voice of 'higher art', doomed to get lost in the noise of the age, could be amplified in that case — generally produce at least some parts of their life-works under the aegis of various literary fashions, trends, or currents, mostly within the magnetic field of a sense of collectivity and a group consciousness cast forth by avant-garde or, as in Soviet literary life, other types of communities.

Indeed, this phenomenon of 'rootlessness' and 'companionlessness' includes a third factor as well: the afterlife of most of these works and their authors did not start under favourable conditions, either. Many of them, including Babel, were, for some intra- or extra-literary reasons, 'thrown a shadow on' for a time both by literary historians and consumers of literature.

(In the period between 1939 and 1957 — he is supposed to have died in 1941 — none of Babel's works were published in his own country;[4] the first papers dealing with him appeared in 1956 abroad, and in 1957 and 1958 in the Soviet Union.[5])

Still, in spite of their apparent non-linkage or 'floating', these works are sources of the first great trend of 'world literature' in the Goethean sense, or rather connecting piers between the summits of 19th century world literature and the greatest literary achievements of our age. They were necessarily solitary and rare 'piers' in a world which, having got over with a cataclysm thought of as the most terrible up till then in history, having stepped across 'lost generations' of the war and revolutions which had swept off supposedly unshakable values, radiated faith in an existence economically as yet prosperous and socially supposed to ascend. By contrast, these novels — among them, Babel's 'Red Cavalry' — gave voice to *the crisis, and sense of crisis, of humanity*, strained through the changes of a new type of intellectual and artistic sense of position. In various ways and to various degrees, all these works are underlied by a feeling of 'all wholes have got smashed'. The same feeling made the philosophy of the age anticipate 'theories of catastrophe', in accordance with the inherent logic of its own paradigm. To quote just one example: the Heideggerian ideology of *Angst für Sein* was launched simultaneously with the novels by Thomas Mann, Isaac Babel and Virginia Woolf referred to above. These works, rightly characterized as 'authentic', conveyed this feeling according to inherent laws of artistic construction, "without glancing out".[6]

Such a 'pier role' as outlined above, though quite sketchily and thus necessarily on the level of a commonplace, is characteristic of Isaac Babel's life-work, too. Above all, it is characteristic of his main work, the cycle of 35 short stories under the title 'Red Cavalry', written between 1920 and 1925, first published as an independent work of art in 1926 in Russian and German, as well as, before long, in other languages.[7] On the basis of what has been said above, it is hardly necessary to explain why we interpret this work and assign it a place in world literature by comparing it with its 'afterlife', that is, with some forms of its survival. The more so, since a few types of 'extensions' of Babel's creative art to be analysed below are connected with 'Red Cavalry' as a *reader's experience.*

Speaking of aesthetic experience, we shall keep in view a type of recipient which is — though sometimes implicitly — regarded from Goethe and Schiller[8] up to modern typologies of literary reception of the most dissimilar attitudes to be the most exquisite of all types. That is, not wanting to give a full definition, a generally tolerant and open personality endowed with a certain amount of knowledge necessary for the reception of pieces of literature: the 'competent reader'. The 'validity' of Babel's work is provided by this type

(level) of readers according to literary sociological investigations carried out by a huge staff, too.[9] Therefore, for the analysis of the modernity of the Soviet writer in terms of the afterlife of his work, I chose some literary texts produced by such readers, though in principle I disagree with the widespread view saying that this is the most exquisite form of the reception of a work of literature. However, I do agree with the attitude according to which *posthumous effect is a fact to be explained, not a principle of explanation.*[10]

*

One can regularly find texts referring to Babel in Hungarian periodicals, often more than one at roughly the same time. The following two examples of Babel's 'reception' in Hungary are taken from a single month's period, September 1980. The journal on world literature *Nagyvilág* (World) serialized the Hungarian translation of a short novel by the American Philip Roth, *'The Ghost Writer'*, including the following passages:

" 'I've just finished reading Isaac Babel,' I told him.

He considered this, impassively.

'I was thinking, for sport more or less, that he is the missing link; those stories are what connect you, if you don't mind my mentioning your work.'

He crossed his hands on his belly and rested them there — movement enough to make me say, 'I'm sorry'.

'Go ahead. Connected to Babel. How?'

'Well, 'connected', of course' isn't the right word. Neither is 'influence'. It's family resemblance that I'm talking about. It's as though, as I see it, you are Babel's American cousin — and Felix Abravanel is the other. You through 'The Sin of Jesus' and something in 'Red Cavalry', through the ironical dreaming and the blunt reporting, and, of course, through the writing itself. Do you see what I mean? There's a sentence in one of his war stories: 'Voroshilov combed his horse's mane with his Mauser.'[11] Well, that's just the kind of thing that you do, a stunning little picture in every line.' "

The passage goes on with a lengthy analysis of contrasts. The extract reveals that the American writer's short novel comes near at some points to what is often termed 'the fourth genre', that is, 'didactic prose'. *Basically, however, it is to be regarded as an artistic text*, exhibiting a number of peculiarities both in rendering and style. Therefore, its only feature we take to be referentially genuine and, from the point of view of the survival of Babel's heritage, informative is the system of values it incorporates. By 'value', we mean a network of logical forms carrying patterns of qualities and conferring validity.[12] In that respect, what is the most interesting is the personified distribution of the articulation of values connected with the artistic attitude represented by Babel. The Soviet writer is, as it were, split into three by Zuckermann, the

narrator of Roth's novel. One aspect of Babel's heritage, the 'inquisitive' attitude towards people and the world is represented by Zuckermann himself, portrayed as a young artist, full of the humility of the initial impetus of becoming a writer, making a pilgrimage to 'the great ones'. The ironical, self-reflective distance stretching between the writer and his narrator appears on the first reading to determine *Zuckermann = Dedalus*'s representation. This is the most important, though latent, aspect of Babel's impact on Roth. Recall that *the scintillating tension between Lutov — the narrator in 'Red Cavalry' — and Babel is one of the main poetical (compositional) organizing principles of that novel.*

The impenetrably lonesome, uncommunicative writer, Lonoff, the other participant of the above-quoted dialogue, represents 'artistic outlook' as a set of qualities involving values associated with Babel. (Whether Lonoff's pictures are really 'stunning' or not does not become clear from the text.) Among a number of other particularities, this parallel is expressed in a condensed manner in the discussion about one of Lonoff's short stories he is reported to have rewritten twenty-seven times. This is a direct allusion to a well-known and oft-mentioned legend about the forty-four versions of Babel's 'Cossack Lubka'; Paustovsky dwells on this topic quite in detail in his fine, though a bit overly abundant, memoirs.[13]

The Roth-Zuckermann relation in the American short novel can be defined as a 'first person singular' relation. Lonoff, depicted as a great writer, the 'second person singular' both in the above quotation and in most of the whole novel, is credited, by Roth, with the greatest and most important value: the heritage of artistic outlook. However, in order to remove him from the realm of the unattainable, Roth presents Lonoff's ethical alternative, regarded as a possible extension of Babel's life, as a negative value.

"I said, 'I think of you as the Jew who got away.'

'And does that help?'

'There's *some* truth in it, isn't there? You got away from Russia and the pogroms. You got away from the purges — and Babel didn't. You got away from Palestine and the homeland. You got away from Brooklyn and the relatives. You got away from New York . . .' "

It would be a mistake to think that this 'extension' refers to a survival of Jewish consciousness. Comparing the problem of 'being a Jew' in two regions as substantially different as that and in two periods which have been removed from each other into a distance of 'light-years' by the horrors of the Second World War, disregarding history and society, would amount to conjuring up shadows of a false analogy.[14] The problem Roth raises by mentioning the attitude of 'getting away' is a more comprehensive, purely ethical one: that of 'acceptance'. And as the American writer interprets 'acceptance' as a sign of the ethical greatness of a creative artist, we can presumably discern, in the

context of the writer's 'omniscience' and the narrator's 'misconception', a gesture of exculpating the victim on account of his death.[15]

The third main figure of 'The Ghost Writer', Felix Abravanel, being just recalled (represented within the limits of the manner of speech known as 'histoire')[16] throughout the novel, stands for 'third person singular' in our terminology.

" 'And Abravanel?'

'Oh, with Abravanel it's Benya Krik and the Odessa mob: the gloating, the gangsters, all those gigantic types. It isn't that he throws in his sympathy with the brutes — it isn't that in Babel, either. It's their awe of them. Even when they are appalled, they're somewhat in awe. Deep reflective Jews a little lovesick at the sound of all that un-Talmudic bone-crunching. Sensitive Jewish sages, as Babel says, dying to climb trees.'

'In my childhood I led the life of a sage, when I grew up I started climbing trees.'[17]

'Yes, that's the line', said I, expecting no less but still a little impressed."

Out of Babel's œuvre known by heart by the narrator, Abravanel, as successful as a show-man, is assigned the so much admired value of animating the world of personages and a relation to people as appearing in his writings. Beside features regarded as identical, it is here that Roth provides the only real contrast. "Except Babel doesn't come off so lovable and enormous himself. That's not how he sees things. He is a sort of Abravanel with the self-absorption drained away."[18]

Speaking of Roth's novel as a possible interpretation of Babel's life-work, we could also discuss various degrees of similarities in 'toposes', stylistic elements, etc. What seems more important and more characteristic, however, than the devices of writer's craft (seen, after all, as a simple trade, something that can be acquired in college courses and seminars by learning and practising a few techniques) is *the programmatic acceptance of artistic outlook and attitude* of Babel's heritage running through Roth's work (and his name could be replaced by a host of other names).

This form, or mode, of continuity is supported by the fact that the world of 'The Ghost Writer', including its autonomous space and time, as well as its system of values and norms, does not appear to be the United States of today. We could call it something like 'The Empire of World Literature' whose past is not the history of a nation, but rather that of a branch of art, and whose present almost exclusively consists of events promoting or impeding the realization of contemporary works of literature. This is also indicated by both hidden and ostentatiously explicit literary reminiscences exuberant in the short novel. These elements of surface structure termed 'external quotation' are rightly characterized/interpreted as *the element of existence of the work of art*, as *a peculiar type of repetition.*[19] The real citizens of this world are Haw-

thorne, Tolstoy, Thomas Mann, Henry James, Kafka, Chekhov and Gogol; accordingly, they naturally take part in certain scenes and constitute the subject-matter of recollections, comparisons, etc. This is so much a separate world that the language of its characters, used as naturally as a mother tongue, has to be specially acquired both in a semiotic and in a linguistic sense in order to be able to comprehend the meaning of what they say. The definition of meaning as 'the rule of application of a sign'[20] also prevails when e.g. Lonoff, talking of his wife he had taken from the city to a god-forsaken farm, mentions that Boston is her Moscow. No quotation marks, no reference to this being a quotation. Indeed, it is absolutely superfluous to explicate for those who live among the specificities, according to the values, of this world that he referred to the huge Moscow symbol of Chekhov's 'Three Sisters'; all of the characters are aware of this with a slightly ostensive sense of obviousness.

*

In sum, Babel's heritage has proved to be one of attitude, outlook, or way of perception, in the example quoted. Let us consider now another instructive reference to the continuity of Babel's life-work, taken from the same arbitrarily chosen period of one month from Hungarian periodicals. It is an interview with a Hungarian writer, István Gáll, published in the cultural weekly *Új Tükör* [New Mirror]. Again, it is a not quite 'pure form' of fiction: its extensive text units had already appeared as parts of Gáll's book 'Vaskor' [The Iron Age];[21] the interview has been made on the occasion of the publication of that volume. We shall trace 'Red Cavalry' as a source of aesthetic experience and that of 'extension' simultaneously taking into account a meta-level of the two texts, the work and the writer's confession.

" 'You rigorously distinguish 'narrative' and 'short story' proper.'

'It's not me; it is reality, aesthetics and literary history that draw the distinction. I've always wanted to write a cycle of short stories, that is, to string real short stories on a conceptually structured thread. I selected 28 stories out of fifty previously published ones, partly the best of them. But I left out some quite good ones if they didn't fit in with the cycle. There are writers who rake together some short stories written in a two or three years' period and have them published. One is at a loss when reading these — twenty short stories do not necessarily make up a volume. What I take to be a volume of short stories is, say, Sherwood Anderson's *'Ohio'* or Hemingway's first such volume which is the key to his whole œuvre. Or — 'Red Cavalry'.'

'Do you regard Babel to be your master — or your relative?'

'No, I don't. To tell the truth, I kept away from him since I'd noticed he would seize me. Of course, if I were to write a review of my own short stories, I could point out a few Babel reminiscences.[22] However, when I wrote my first short stories, Babel had not been published in Hungarian yet.' "

Let us 'point out' a few such 'reminiscences' first, as this is an organic part of our objective. Reading Gáll's 'Vereség' [Defeat], the following lines: "... it was a yellow-hot summer afternoon when the atmosphere of the motionless countryside is as thick as if it were locked into a lump of butter" make us recall Babel's words: "The village street lay in front of us as yellow and roundish as a turban squash while the sun, dozing off, splashed pink beams on the sky" ('My First Goose'). Words from the last paragraph of 'A Few Words On The Tachanka' get revived in the reader's memory when, reading on, he finds the following lines in Gáll's short story: "And this smothered world was longing to flame up like stubborn embers under the ashes: the carriage of sinewy men resembled a loaded spring, while slenderly-built buxom women slipped along the streets with mincing and swaying steps, their eyes flaming, as if they carried themselves full to the brim." The day-dreaming of the narrator in Gáll's 'Illés szekerén' [On Elias' Cart]: "The yellow reed-tops just showing above the waves kept swaying to and fro; sweltered from having stayed up all night and from the autumn sunshine, I imagined that my blonde love I had left in the town was swimming towards me in the feathering reeds to turn up and bring help." is reminiscent of the ending of two episodes of 'Red Cavalry', 'The Story of a Horse' and 'Christ Sashka'. Reading 'A hangoló' [The Tuner]: "The long-shanked boy stared at us green and cold with his glaucomic eyes, just like a plate of meat-jelly", one sees Galin, also suffering from glaucoma, step out of Babel's short story 'Night'.

These few examples call one's attention to a difference which is more instructive than the obvious similarities. Babel's similes always remain an organic part of the world of the short story, while apparently the same *like*'s and *as if*'s refer outside the work in Gáll's text, indicating its artificial quality that counteracts the reader's empathy. This difference reveals one of the most characteristic and most important features of Babel's, not Gáll's, pencraft. It is the extent to which the writer, respectively the narrator, is omniscient, a feature which is rightly said to be one of the most sophisticated problems arising in the study of literature.[23]

In 'Red Cavalry', there is a single narrator, identical with himself throughout the cycle. We cannot find a single element in the whole volume which would not be determined by the place and time he actually occupies and his value judgements (ideology). He is neither omnipresent nor omnipotent; that is why 'external point of view' is so frequent in 'Red Cavalry'.[24] Under the deluge of experiences of the bloodshed of the war and the dissimilitude of his comrades, Lutov does not glance forward; he knows nothing of, or about, the future. Seldom does he glance backward, too: only if recollections of past experiences, glittering in the beams of novel occurrences, help him re-arrange present events: if they help him explain, discharge, or interpret. *Thus, the work is generated, brought forth through the prism of Lutov's internal, present-time*

point of view, the narrator being just as ignorant of the future as the reader himself. On the other hand, Gáll's 'Vaskor' [The Iron Age] always loses strength when the writer — or the narrator, wanting to become a writer himself — 'breaks the spell' by, as it were, glancing outside the visible or invisible walls of his world. *All this is extremely important since the coherence of a scattered work of 'small epic' is, on the one hand, the key of its being an aesthetic experience, on the other hand, partly in connection with that, its most vulnerable point.*

What we have seen so far is how the reader's experience of Babel's work created style-imitation-like elements in Gáll's writing. The above quotations were taken from the first part of his cycle, sub-titled 'Aknákon' [On a Minefield], containing fifteen short stories about the world of the early fifties, often divested of its human character; in particular, about the especially hard life of sappers seeing service at the Western and Southern frontiers of the country. It is a chronicle of oft-heard-of military experiences whose coherence, apart from a few recurrent characters and the common setting of all stories, is provided by the figure of the narrator, István Magos. For "how could we pay steady attention to a speaker whose stories lack all intrinsic coherence, both historical and mythical, if we didn't start to be interested in the speaker himself?"[25] Consequently, the character/content of the stories' being wedged between a beginning and an ending is also connected with the person of the narrator. " 'What am I doing here?' I thought staring at the mysterious night, after I had arrived in Sopron as an entrained recruit" — this is the first sentence of 'The Iron Age'. And the last one is this: "Mujkó was locked up, Márton with his one leg became door-keeper in a Sopron factory, and I was commanded back to the engineer corps to pick up mines from the earth."

Between the beginning and the ending that fit the reader into the world of the cycle in connection with the fate of the narrator, in that 'abducent' framework, episodes of similar layout, structure, and size are lined up. What could refer to Babel here is the grotesque quality of situations, always drifting towards a tragic ending, but this is in fact an inherent characteristic of 'fabula' (фабула). A more specific connection with 'Red Cavalry' can be found in the style of narration, often employed in 'The Iron Age', reproducing "the narrator's living, spoken language in lexis, syntax and intonation alike".[26] In general, the utilization of the idiolect, world view, way of writing, spelling habits, etc. of everyday people is obviously meant here — and it is well known to what perfection this device (приём), having huge traditions in Russian literature, had been developed by Isaac Babel. His short story entitled 'Letter' is an oft-quoted instance of this; its effectiveness and artistic power is best shown by the fact that the textbook of literature for Hungarian secondary schools introduces its discussion of belles lettres as such by this short story. The Russian 'competent reader', however, may keep numerous superb manifestations of this mode of narration among the most impressive items of his aesthetic trea-

sury. (Think of Sholokhov's 'Mother-spot' — from 'Don Stories' —, or the passage leading up to the 'filicide' episode in Gogol's 'Taras Bulba'[27] etc., to mention some items readily coming to mind on account of the resemblance of both topic and mode of narration.) On the other hand, the same device is quite infrequent in Hungarian literature; therefore, *it contains the feature of 'unexpectedness', generally regarded as vital for the creation and composition of aesthetic experience.*

The mode of narration mentioned is particularly put forth in 'Kalendárium' [Calendar], the second part of 'The Iron Age', including twelve episodes. This is undoubtedly the better half of Gáll's cycle, therefore, the reader's experience of 'Red Cavalry' is present in it in a 'spiritual', not a 'literal', sense. Accordingly, it cannot be demonstrated by way of quoting a few examples. This second part gives up the linearity of 'On a Minefield', based on a particular period of the narrator's life in a traditional manner. Its framework is provided by a calendar of an imaginary farmer accidentally come across by Magos. Each episode is made up by three separate texts. A sanctimonious passage reminding the farmer of his duties for the given month is followed by the lance-corporal's sometimes rude, sometimes cynical, and sometimes weary notes on the rough-and-tumble events of Hungary in 1953—54. Then comes a lengthier narrative bearing the name of the given month either in its title or in its motto.

The linkage of the twelve times three sections,[28] each of them being either a complementation or a repudiation or an interpretation of the previous part, the way 'blank spaces' are left at jointures[29] to be filled in by the reader is another feature referring to Babel, and recalling the Heraclitean fragment of "invisible connections are stronger than visible ones". However, it does not imply a direct borrowing or a straight reflection of reader's experience. Rather, it involves a consciously applied method of composition; in that respect a number of other names could figure in the 'anamnesis' of 'The Iron Age', in addition to that of the Soviet writer. Practically the same remark can be made as to the device of lining up, almost impassively, incredibly or foolishly tragical human lives. In 'Calendar', such is the story of the telegraphist who, wanting to revive, if only for a few seconds, his dead mother who had devoted all her life to him, morses her name into the stillness of the night and is therefore going to be sentenced to death with the charge of being a foreign spy ('Pálfordulás' [Conversion]); the suicide of the medical student and photographer who can neither acquiesce in, nor overcome, the hopelessness of his life ('Nem megy' [Doesn't Go]); the questioning, in an otherwise so much value-oriented moral order, of the validity of the attitude of the physician who intends to defy the inhuman world by the opium of creating a literary society but unevitably becomes a grotesque figure ('Karácsony' [Christmas]) etc. Gáll is always careful enough to represent some fallibly human or shyly sentimental characteristic of the future victim. By the time the inevitably ensuing tragedy

takes place, the reader has thus something to do with the victim, is aware of the senselessness of his death as well as of the loss the death in question means for the narrator. István Gáll's book is at its best when it outdoes the experience of 'Red Cavalry' and re-creates from inside, out of its own, the 'iron age' reality of a world where people, always glancing aside, live a subdued life. This is the most successful in the mute dialogue of the episode 'Kisasszonynap' [Blessed Virgin Day]. It is a 'dialogue' of a woman and a soldier on leave, travelling in the same railway compartment, where the boy, not caring about his only travelling companion, is the 'mute branch' of the dialogue. It is a convincing and fully determined solution that the woman, being under police surveillance, and travelling to town without permission, at the end of a 'dialogue' having taken place in her mind only, commits the first rebellion of her hard and unfortunate life: from her own point of view quite logically, she pushes the young soldier out of the moving train.

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In the short novel of the American writer, apart from a few quasi-accidental remarks, such as the one about the 'stunning little pictures', the influence of Babel's œuvre became manifest through the features of the attitude of the creative artist, i.e. through integral and indispensable elements, but still in a partial manner. On the other hand, in István Gáll's book, we have seen a more or less conscious application of the Soviet writer's heritage at those points where the author, facing the problem worded by Richard Wagner as "what the poet has really gone through can never be the subject-matter of an epic narration", grappled with the transformation of situations of life, often more unbelievable than any dream-like phantasies or fancy-born stories, into a poetically well-shaped material.[30] This consideration forces our attention back to a seemingly accidental association in I. Gáll's confession: his passing over from Hemingway's first (in fact, second) collection of short stories, to Babel's 'Red Cavalry'. The juxtaposition of these two works arouses reflection and is, most probably, quite authentic. By its help, we can obtain essential information about 'eternal' (in fact, rapidly changing) characteristics of aesthetic experience, as well as about its really up-to-date elements that make Isaac Babel our contemporary.

A collation of 'Red Cavalry' and 'In Our Time' (originally without capitals: 'in our time') seems to be even more sophisticated than the usual arbitrariness of literary comparatistics. Even the most excellent recent analyses of Hemingway's short stories did not venture outside Anglo-Saxon literature in that respect.[31] And as far as Babel is concerned, traditionally it would seem to be more proper to mention, for comparison, some works of fiction dealing with the history of the Russian civil war.[32] Above all, the famous 'opposite

number'; Vsevolod Vishnevsky's play 'First Cavalry', one of the best-known elaborations of that subject. The more so, since, as its author pointed out several times, its explicit aim was to 'correct' the 'mistakes' of 'Red Cavalry' on behalf of Budonny (who had protested in several articles and in other ways against Babel's 'slanders') and himself, to show how the factual material ought to have been interpreted and used as raw material of fiction (cp. Vishnevsky's letter to Gorky on that subject).[33] In spite of its romantic/pathetic and naturalistic overtones, 'First Cavalry' at places seems to reflect faint shimmers of contemporary 'epic theatre'. At most other places and in its totality, however, it may be instructive as a 'semantic object' only; its being an 'aesthetic object' is rather doubtful, at least for me.[34] The comparison, therefore, can only give a picture — for that matter, one that is totally opposed to all expectations[35] — about the referential soundness of Babel's cycle.

Consequently, a more fruitful choice would be — for a comparison based on common features of 'fabula', too — a cycle of eight romantic-naturalistic-pathetic short stories under the title 'Вершники' [Horsemen] written between 1932 and 1935 in Harkov by the Ukrainian Yury Yanovsky. The topics and characters of those stories are connected with events having taken place one year before the Polish campaign: the fight with varying success, of horsemen of the Red Army against Denikin's troops in Southern Russia and the Ukraine in the summer of 1919 a fight hall-marked by names like Antonov-Ovseyenko, Primakov, Yakir, and Gamarnik.[36] Both some primary data and the polemic disposition of some longer passages of the stories reveal that their genesis was partly determined by a reader's experience of 'Red Cavalry' as well as by a conception of art represented by Babel, somewhat isolated but not completely unique in the Soviet literature of the twenties. «Коли знаходиться у деяких хлопців невстояна кров, і їм хочеться писати різні оповідання про нашу громадъянську війну, і вони пишуть перами й олівщями, як навіжені, — вони бачать, як ми, голі й босі, женемо озброєні армії ворогів, як офіцерські полки кидають зброю і просять пардону тільки через те, що так хочеться молодому писунові, . . . таких ворогів не слава й побороти, нам же не з неба щается летіло, ми його важно й трудно здобували,і офіцерські полки з одчаю билися криваво і як годиться.» ("Some zealous lads will feel like scribbling certain stories about the civil war. They will let their pens or pencils fly like mad and imagine us naked and barefooted, chasing enemy troops armed to the teeth. Officers' detachments will scatter about their weapons and beg our pardon just because the young penpusher feels so inclined (. . .) It is no glory to defeat such an enemy; yet good fortune did not come to us a fluke: we wrung it out of them by sweat and blood . . . ").[37]

This 'reading' of 'Red Cavalry', presumably quite general among the contemporary public, influences a number of the author's choices in Yanovsky's stories, mostly through an either vehement or more deliberate attitude of

rejection. It is quite interesting that such emotions gush forth in contexts other than the differences in the interpretation of the civil war, too. Babel's 'Odessa Stories', filmed on the basis of his own screenplay, seem to have triggered off an equal dissatisfaction of Yanovsky who was then working in the Odessa Film Studio where the film — also bad in Babel's opinion — was made. The stories tell about Mishka Yaponchik, a legendary gang-leader in the Odessa ghetto whose gang sometimes had a self-defending character but after all was no more than a band of brigands. Yanovsky's disapproval is expressed in the last short story of 'Horsemen'. (Incidentally, the individual stories of Yanovsky's cycle are interconnected organically and in a relevant way through a whole system of cross-references. The last one is about the victory and consummation of the revolution. However, the author's sparse literary experience is not enough for an appropriate rendering of that subject. It is, instead, simply talked about by furnaceman Chubenko, an active hero of most of the preceding seven stories. The reference to Babel's 'Odessa Stories' is likewise put into Chubenko's mouth.) «. . . була в місті й бандитська армія Мишки Япончика, кількандцять тисяч обзроєних нальотчиків, їм було вигідно строїти з себе революціонерів, і вони влаштовували скажені екси на вулицях Одеси, а розраховувались за екси ми, більошовики, і все, що траплялось в місті, клалося нам на карб.» (" . . . and then there was Mishka Yaponchik's gang in the town, more than ten thousand armed brigands, it came in very handy for them to put on airs of being revolutionaries: they carried out mad ravages on the streets of Odessa and it was us who paid for all that ruffianism, people laid the blame on us for everything that happened in the town.")[38]

These two short quotations bring to mind an ironical remark made by Mayakovsky about the 'Babel affair' stirred up in the late twenties: whenever Babel noticed some anomaly around himself, he should have reported it to his superiors in the army — why immediately start writing a short story about it? We must add to Mayakovsky's mocking remark that by the time Vishnevsky's and Yanovsky's works were written Babel had already realized the necessity of a similar treatment of the 'Moldovanka' theme, as well as that of a revision of his artistic point of view in other essential matters. In fact, it was somewhat earlier that he came to realize all that: immediately after the publication of 'Odessa Stories', the screenplay version of 'Benya Krik' (1926) had the following ending: Benya, the King, and Froim Gratch are executed by revolutionary Soviet authorities because of repeated ravages they have committed in spite of all their promises; in fact, their death is a mere episode: life goes on and no one notices that they have disappeared. The Babel stories of the thirties, most of them enervate and strangely cool, lacking the heat of inner conviction (those on Odessan themes without exception so) were written in this new approach.

However, Yanovsky's book is not exclusively connected with the experience of 'Red Cavalry', not even in its rejective elements. One of its two

main characters is Uncle Polovets, idealized into a bodiless shape as the personification of the Ukrainian people. His true-hearted figure keeps appearing, waiting on the seashore, while his five strapping sons are killing each other in a merciless fratricidal battle on various fronts of the civil war. First Andry, who has nailed his colours to the mast of 'one and undivided' Russia, gets killed by his brother Overko who has joined the Ukrainian seperatist Petlura and later on falls victim to Makhnoist Panas Polovets; the latter being killed by Bolshevist Ivan who finally adopts their youngest brother, meant to represent the 'future' but having been tossed about from brother to brother. Ivan also keeps appearing in the second part of the cycle but the main character of that part is another person: the Bolshevist worker Chubenko who, rather symbolically, leaves his workbench and flies to the assistance of Soviet power. That the two parts do not get totally separated[39] or fall apart to a sequence of independent stories is, as so often in similar cases, due to the presence of an implicit narrator, Danilo, hardly perceptible on first reading. He is a kind of narrator who does not merely 'narrate' events but also takes part in them; what makes him a narrator, after all, is that he lends his attention, his outlook, his space, time and ideology: in sum, his point of view to the work in question. In the second story of the cycle he contributes his experience of nature, represented by strong scents and unknown sights, to a recollection by the little boy of his earliest conscious memories of roaming the steppe with his grandfather. In 'Shved's Battalion' he appears as a soldier of the Red Army making preparations for writing a novel, whose future is somewhat anticipated at certain points (this constitutes a sharp difference with Babel's cycle though in some essential features Danilo resembles Lutov, the contemplative narrator of 'Red Cavalry'): «Скільки разів у майбутньому, сидячи ночами коло пареду й марно намагаючись схопити образ, що мов тінь риби, зникав за лататтям, Данило простягав руки й думку до цієї липневої ночі, до прекрасних ночей молодості!» ("Bending over a sheet of paper, how often will Danilo stretch out his hands in the night towards these July nights, the most beautiful nights of his youth, trying in vain to catch their pictures.")[40]

In the Chubenko stories, however, we find a strong resemblance to 'Red Cavalry', in particular, to its episodes told by Budonny's Cossacks. Hardly can there be readers who, reading the rhythmically returning paragraph in 'Shved's Battalion', would not perceive it as a 'clue' referring to Babel's 'The Life of Pavlichenko Matvey Rodionich'. At the same time, these sentences indicate quite well what Yanovsky either could not, or did not want to, accept in Babel's work, as well as what he created independent of 'Red Cavalry'. «О, дев'ятнадцятий рік поразок і перемог, кривавий рік історичних баталій і нелюдських битв, критичний по силі, незламний по волі, затятий і ніжний, наріжний вузловий, безсонний девятнадцятий рік! Рік оборони Луганьска

і мужніх маршів під Царицин, рік боїв із французами, греками, німцами — під Миколаєвом та Одесою.

Рік Сталіна, Фрунзе, Ворошилова, Будьонного, Чапаєва, Щорса. . .» ("O nineteen, blood-stained year of defeats and victories, historical battles and barbarous fights ! O nineteen, glowing with strength, steely with will, blessed and damned, decisive, condensed, sleepless ! The year of Lugansk's defence and of heroic campaigns at Tsaritsin, the year of fights against Frenchmen, Greeks, Germans at Mikolaev and Odessa, (. . .) the year of Stalin, Frunze, Voroshilov, Budonny, Chapaev, Tshors !")[41]

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Talking of the examples of reaction to Babel's cycle in texts written as works of art in contemporary Soviet literature, we have referred to Vishnevsky's play counting as an 'absolute' response and Yanovsky's prose work showing Babel's partial effect both through conscious and spontaneous forms of influence. There is, however, a third work that deserves mentioning in that respect, though no philological data corroborate its direct connection with Babel's book. It is Mikhail Sholokhov's volume of 'Don Stories' consisting of eight short stories whose original order is unjustifiably disregarded in modern editions.[42] It is not usually analysed in connection with Babel's 'Red Cavalry';[43] this possibility is first mentioned by N. Velikaya: "Sholokhov's conception cannot be properly interpreted if social conflicts [as appearing in 'Don Stories' — Á. G.] are cut off from their moral/ethical aspect, from the problems of humanity and revolution, an issue Sholokhov tackles quite unlike other writers. With Babel, for instance, the problem had its characteristically local/exclusive aspect: he was primarily interested in the right of revolution for 'blood and gun-powder'.[44] Sholokhov, on the other hand, puts forth first of all the connection between the humane character of revolution and basic moral principles of the life of the people."[45]

The adolescent writer of these eight stories apparently lacked a number of writer's techniques or devices — or perhaps just writing practice — for the 'plot' of the stories to proceed on its own, according to its inherent regularities, indeed, to proceed at all: he was unable to depict the connection or relation of particular motifs. His text, often involuntarily scattered into fragments, sometimes as short as a few lines, separated by asterisks, creates dramatic tension (just like several parts of 'Red Cavalry' representing a quite different writer's technique) by whatever is *omitted* from it: where the activity of the reader's consciousness is relied on most heavily. This effect is served, in a sense, by the suspense created by sentences of a couple of words only, by the 'bad' fitting of sentences based on shifts in the given semantic universe; in sum: by the dense atmosphere of 'dynamic prose' figuring as one of the most important

features in nearly all of the various literary trends of the twenties. 'Dynamic prose' was, in fact, so widespread that, as Fadeyev put it, there was a time when it was actually bad manners not to use it.[46] Sholokhov's reasons were, of course, different. However, this type of prose construction explains why all 'Don Stories' (except for two) were filmed. Indeed, his writings create a film-like effect by way of their fragmentary, tessellated character. It is another question, though, how successful their translation into the 'language of film' could be, since it involves an erasing of these stylistic features.

In connection with the thematic relations of 'Red Cavalry' we have already mentioned the unbroken tradition, in Russian literature about Cossack life, of the representation of families whose members kill each other. With young Sholokhov, always dealing with excessively taut situations, this pattern constitutes the basis of several of his short stories. As we can read in the last story of the cycle, 'Коловерть' [Maelstrom], 'the true son of Quiet Don' does not know relatives: he only knows either friends or enemies. In particular, this pattern constitutes the 'fabula' of two stories: 'Родинка' [Birthmark] tells about a father who shoots his son, a young Red commander, and only afterwards recognizes him seeing a birthmark on his leg; while 'Maelstrom' is the story of a father and one of his sons who are executed with the consent of the other son. Beside fragmentariness and the choice of tragic situations, there is a third characteristic feature of 'Don Stories' which in a way resembles 'Red Cavalry'. It is the fact that it always represents all that immense torment and horror through the perception of a child or a very simple person. In 'Шибалково семя' [Shibalkov's Family] e.g. there is a man who kills, without scruple, the mother of his new-born baby as she proves to be a spy. In other stories we meet overworked, starving, hollow-beaten, pustular-headed children. The narrow world segment provided by narrators unable to realize how incredibly miserable they are is so indissolubly genuine that it succeeds in, as it were, obscuring the unsophisticated character of the writer's outlook. In fact, neither this lack of sophistication, nor his world perceived in terms of good people (= Bolshevists) vs. bad people (= non-Bolshevists),[47] nor indeed the alternation of 'skaz' (сказ) with impersonally narrated stories anticipates Sholokhov's later works. He himself has expressed a not-too-favourable opinion, in this respect, about the painstaking of literary historians seeking signs of such anticipation.[48] He is right, after all, even if certain situations or figures — e.g. gang-leader Fomin in the second and third stories — will accomplish themselves on the pages of 'Тихий дон' [And Quiet Flows the Don]; and, talking of the genesis of 'Поднятая целина' [Breaking Up Fallow Land] Sholokhov himself has pointed out 'Don Stories' as one of its antecedents.[49] The only thing which is really lasting in these stories is the trenchant, savoury language whose Cossack locutions have to be 'translated' in various editions even for Russian readers;[50] and, of course, the picture of the Don landscape: «Широка степь и

никем не измерима. Много в ней дорог и проследников. Темней тёмного осеняя, а дождь следы лошадиных копыт начисто смоет. . .» (Пастух). All these factors refer to the fact that the volume of 'Don Stories' is the starting point of an autonomous life-work tending towards 'great epic'; and that it shows convergence with Babel's book (apart from a few principles of a certain coherence of loose-fitting episodes, their 'conceptual unity'[51] and some common features of attitude) only in the most general way: on account of overall regularities of the universal evolution of literature.

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Why did we call, after all, Hemingway's cycle more appropriate than the works mentioned for a comparison with 'Red Cavalry'?

Talking of the three Soviet writers, no question arises of to what end they take a hand in the horrors of destroying and being destroyed, of how they come in for the torrent of fratri-, patri- and filicide; no instance of, or reference to the necessity of, such an explanation can be found in their texts, and presumably the reader does not ask himself these questions either. On the other hand, both in 'In Our Time' and in 'Red Cavalry' this problem is one, if not the most important one, of basic issues, perhaps the most significant principle of text creation and organization. This fact has been thoroughly explored and extensively verified from a contextual point of view: *taking part in the war, if mere presence deserves that label, is a conscious undertaking* involving personal resoluteness, both in Hemingway's and Babel's case. Neither the former, serving as Red Cross officer and canteen-keeper in the first world war, nor the latter, a war correspondent in the same war (indeed, if you like, on the same side) and later on in the Soviet civil war, needed 'more' than presence, however. All they needed was experience of life among people yielding to the instinct of killing more easily than any other living creature and not shrinking back even at the sight of a completely defeated enemy. That experience became a determining factor of life and life-work for both of them. And it beams out toward the reader, too, from the pages of both works.

Similarly, it is but seemingly a result of 'external approach' if we refer to the fact that 'In Our Time', just like 'Red Cavalry' but unlike Hemingway's later works, is an outcome of a lengthy and meticulous process of re-working, above all in its structure and genre: especially in the placing of 'tags' introducing each short story, a feature of cardinal importance. Hemingway himself points out in 'A Moveable Feast' his conscious application of 'elliptic techniques' based on the 'iceberg principle' saying that seven-eighths of whatever he has to communicate remain under the surface and only one-eighth actually appears.[52] This device, rhythmically returning in 'Red Cavalry', too, is especially effective in the first part of 'In Our Time' where the 'tags' containing all events,

actions and happenings condensed into a few lines are counterpointed by the 'narrative' part, glowing with a tension of stationariness and reticence. What Hemingway creates here, in keeping with his declaration of "prose is architecture, not interior decoration — and Baroque is over", is a negation of all we had known about the theory and practice of the genre of the short story.[53] A point beyond which contrapuntal text construction cannot be pursued ensues in the 'tag' of the sixth story: "Two Austrian dead lay in the rubble in the shade of the house. Up the street were other dead. Things were getting forward in the town. It was going well. Stretcher bearers would be along any time now. Nick turned his head carefully and looked at Rinaldi. 'Senta Rinaldi. Senta. You and me we've made a separate peace.' Rinaldi lay still in the sun breathing with difficulty. 'Not patriots.'"[54]

After this turning-point, or axis, of the volume, its pages are swamped with ubiquitous violence and death. All of the seemingly independent short stories tell about that; just like the 'leitmotif' of Babel's whole œuvre — outstripping the less intensive birthplace motif — is violence. Violence in revolutions, the world war, the civil war; various violent actions, armed or otherwise, against defenceless or undefended (only rarely fighting) men or women.[55] Features recalling the episodes of 'Red Cavalry' in the second part of 'In Our Time' are: the choice of themes more appropriate for a poliphonic novel, the nearly unbroken use of 'external point of view', and the writer's technique of, so to say, blowing up 'stills'. However, it is rather another collection of Babel's short stories written about the experiences of the first world war, either personal or taken from French literature, published under the comprehensive title 'На поле чести' [On the Field of Honour] that these features refer to; in those four little stories, just as in the second part of 'In Our Time', war is present as a Moloch engorging everything that is human. Putting it differently, war is shown there as a mechanism working according to laws that are not, and can never be, understood by those involved, a mechanism having created perhaps the most effective conditions for words to lose their validity. As George Steiner put it, much later: "When the soldiers marched off to the 1914 war, so did the words. The surviving soldiers came back, four years later, harrowed and beaten. In a real sense, the words did not. They remained at the front . . ."[56] In the works mentioned this phenomenon is also to be seen; 'coded into' certain characters of their world, it is necessarily more particular and mixed up with other relevant features. Think of Krebs, the returning soldier in Hemingway's book, an archetype of e.g. Borchert and 'Draussen vor der Tür'. Due to the violence he had committed and suffered, Krebs lost the validity of his existence, even that of his past. "There is a picture which shows him on the Rhine with two German girls and another corporal. Krebs and the corporal look too big for their uniforms. The German girls are not beautiful. The Rhine does not show in the picture."[57]

We shall not pursue here further possibilities of a thorough analysis of the contrasts between 'Red Cavalry' and 'In Our Time'. However, we have to mention Nick Adams, Hemingway's narrator. The fact that his experiences are the same as those of the writer has been carefully investigated[58] just like the coincidence of personality features of Kirill Vasilyevich Lutov, the narrator of 'Red Cavalry' and Babel himself. It remains, nevertheless, an open question to what extent and in what ways the complex and ambivalent pattern of relations between Babel and Lutov, or Hemingway and Nick Adams, precipitating in an internal organization of text, plays a role in the establishment of the various subjectivistic and lyrical trends of twentieth-century epic literature.[59]

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Talking of a few possible types of the perception of 'Isaac Babel, our contemporary' above, we have not mentioned texts comparable, in significance, to that of Hemingway. It is worth pointing out at least one such work, Juan Rulfo's 'Pedro Páramo', written — like Hemingway's 'In Our Time' — in complete ignorance of Babel's cycle[60] but representing some further, more recent possibilities of the poetics of 'Red Cavalry'.

"Entré. Era una casa con la mitad del techo caída. Las tejas en el suelo. El techo en el suelo. Y la otra mitad un hombre y una mujer.

"¿No están ustedes muertos?" les pregunté.

Y la mujer sonrió. El hombre me miró seriamente.

"Está borracho" dijo la mujér.

Había un quinqué de petróleo. Había una cama de otate, y un equipal en que estaban las ropas de ella. Porque ella estaba en cueros, como Dios la echó al mundo. Y él también . . .

Oía de vez en cuando el sonido de las palabras, y notaba la diferencia. Porque las palabras que había oído hasta entonces, hasta entonces lo supe, no tenían ningún sonido, no sonaban; se sentían; pero sin sonido, como las que se oyen durante los sueños."[61]

These characteristic lines of contemporary South American fiction immediately reveal, for a reader knowing 'Red Cavalry', that Babel's work *is* a link of the chain leading up to the literature of our age. It is high time we tried to explain why.

(1) A pivotal element, in Babel's creative art, of the coherence of a work of fiction seen as an entity clamped between a beginning and an ending, is *the role of narrator, partly altered and partly enlarged in comparison with the immediately preceding periods of literature.* In 'Red Cavalry' throughout, there is a single speaker, always identical with himself, sometimes figuring as a narrator proper. All elements of the work obey the regularities of his point of view (in particular, his space, time, psychology, and evaluation); it is Lutov's attitude that gen-

erates the work, pointing among other things towards 'new novel'. Nothing is so alien to Babel's hero as the 'omnipresent and omniscient' narrator's attitude, well known in 19th-century 'great epic'. As Lutov experiences the world of the work from inside, not from outside and/or from above, and, adequately enough, no reference whatsoever to the knowledge of future is to be found in the text, the reader gets involved in that world and they "come to know the omnipresent secret together".[62] It is no accident that I have just quoted Todorov's remark on 'Decameron': Babel's narrator, reaching over nineteenth-century traditions, continues in some important respects a type of earlier story-tellers. *What we get, then, is Lutov's, rather than Babel's, 'Red Cavalry'; the ironical relation between writer and narrator being one of the principles of the composition of the book.* Lutov is nobody else but Babel as he sees himself two or three years after the events represented, beyond danger, beyond 'the end of the story', but only in that sense from a bird's eye view. This shift is represented by what can be called, with Bakhtin, 'chronotopos' or, with Thomas Mann, 'time coulisse'; a fourth dimension of the work: irony.

It is an essentially modern feature of both narrator and narration in Babel's work that, given a confrontation of old (European, bourgeois, intellectual, etc.) values Lutov stands for but wants to surpass and new (non-European, non-bourgeois, non-intelectual, etc.) values he accepts mentally but not on the level of sentiments and action, the latter set of values is represented through the prism of Lutov's perception, for the most part in a grotesque form, under a sparkling tension of identification and rejection.

(2) *The form of narration* is primarily determined by the fact that Babel chose a traditionally great-epic theme as the subject-matter of a cycle of short stories. The tension thus coming into being is strengthened by the contrast between Lutov's non-active, meditative, eventually reactive attitude and the inherent characteristics of what he tells about: the birth of a new world among bloodshed and suffering and the death, in battles and murders, of the old one. In fact, 'Red Cavalry' hardly ever shows Lutov's reaction to the world as a whole, rather that to its particular, generally secondary/marginal manifestations. That is what determines the organization of text according to the narrator's co-ordinates, in other words, narration. Consequently, that is what partly explains the disintegration, in 'Red Cavalry', of linear causality; in fact, of causal relations in general; the lack of motivation of actions and events resulting in overall discontinuity appearing on the level of typography, too; as well as the contrasty/hyperbolical rendering of strained — indeed, extreme — situations, bringing about, with numerous other features of narration, the above-mentioned 'blank spaces' and thereby a host of associative switches in the reader's mind.

Let us finally mention a characteristic of narration which has some bearing on problems of genre, too: the intertwinement, on various levels, of

the episodes told by Lutov and other speakers evoked by Lutov, together with an expansion of the tradition, in Russian fiction, of 'skaz' (сказ) also referred to above, *results in a specific instance of poliphonous construction.* The narrator's speech is joined, at points marked off by the boundaries of individual stories, by the voice of other speakers, bringing about new sources of tension in their mutual responses and utilizing possibilities of the reproduction of spoken language and a simultaneous synthesis of 'speaking about speaking',[63] particularly important and rare in fiction based on 'digital code'.

(3) A third important element of Babel's up-to-dateness, revealed by a comparison with the other works mentioned, is to be found in the choice and handling of genre. By 'genre features' I mean the set of features, both syntactic and semantic, that function in creative as well as receptive strategies — subject to social and historical determining factors — as operative rules transforming underlying material into 'surface structure', a well-formed literary text: as a kind of 'aesthetic transformations'. Most probably, such procedures of genre constitute an essential component of the differences between natural language and the language of works of literature. Thus, it appears to be rewarding to investigate these differences as constituents of what is often called 'literary quality' (as opposed to 'lexical layer', a term notorious for its shoreless connotations and for its being hardly analysable in aesthetic terms); in other words, as handholds of works of fiction for the process of reception.

Babel removed the genre of 'short story', a genre regarded to be the primary source of fields as different as 'song' and 'historiography' and one of the archetypes of human culture in general, towards one possible alternative of twentieth-century novel. His book is neither a linear set of short stories nor a novel: its most important compositional feature is the (visible) distinctness and the (invisible) relatedness of individual short stories. From among the latter set of characteristics, let us point out here three items. First, the interconnections of individual stories not appearing in the surface structure of the work; second, the complex system of anaphoric and cataphoric references from one story into another, often arranging or rearranging the reader's comprehension at a later point; third, phenomena of permutation where the same element recurs in novel context(s). All this accompanies the internal changes of the narrator, indicating as precisely as a seismograph that the Polish campaign is merely a system of footings securing a chronological 'order' in 'Red Cavalry', or, in poetic terms: an 'abducent framework'. And it has presumably become obvious by now that it is for order's sake only if we explicitly state that *Babel's work visualizes a man's struggling between magnificent, humane aims and inhuman means of their attainment, his inner fight against loneliness and for the new values unfolding themselves in front of him*; and that it can primarily be interpreted in that connection.

NOTES

[1] This point was made quite early, much before the results of anthropology and semiotics had made it obvious, by the Russian formalist school. «*Эволюция литературы должна оперировать понятием смены.* Я в корне отрицаю метод сличения цитат, в итоге которого получается впечатление, что дело идёт о «традиции» одного писателя по отношению к другому. Здесь слагаемые элементы абстрагируются, отвлекаются от своих функций, сличается поэтому несоизмеримое. Совпадение, *конвергенции* бывают в литературе, но они бывают в функциях элементов, в том или ином функциональном отношении к данному элементу.

Эти конвергенции («влияния», «заимствования») несоизмеримо далеки от понятия традиции. Не «влияния», а опорные пункты.» Русская проза. Ленинград. 1926. These lines are taken from the Preface, signed by Eichenbaum and Tinyanov; in particular, from a section written by Tinyanov.

[2] *B. Russel:* The Place of Science in Liberal Education (1913). In: Mysticism and Other Essays, London, 1963. Unwinn Books.

[3] It is only in view of all this that Babel's 'autobiographical' short stories can be interpreted; in fact, this is referred to at numerous places in those texts. In particular, in 'My First Honorarium' whose words on writer's craft are repeated — a rare exception ! — word by word in Babel's personal confessions. Ср. ЦГАЛИ ф. 662. оп. I. ед. хр. 22.

[4] In 1957 a volume of Babel's selected short stories was re-published as a result of Ilya Ehrenburg's efforts. It was followed, in 1966, by two further editions, one in Kemerovo and one in Moscow. After that, a few of Babel's stories, having been omitted from those volumes or recently found, as well as some screenplays and letters were published in literary journals and especially in Vols 70 and 74 of Литературное Наследство. However, in the early seventies, though a volume of recollections and F. Levin's excellent short monograph (see note 5), published in 1971 and 1972, respectively, seemed to give a novel impetus to the publication of his works, there was a sudden standstill. For a decade now, none of his works have appeared and his rich heritage, including his diary of inestimable value, is still unprocessed.

[5] *L. Trilling:* Isaac Babel's Fate, in: London Magazine, 1956/7; *W. E. Harkins*/(ed.): Babel, in: Dictionary of Russian Literature. New York, 1956. See the summary of literature on Babel in: *Stora-Sandor, Judith:* Isaac Babel, 1894—1941. L'homme et l'œuvre. Paris, 1968; *Ф. Левин:* И. Бабель. Очерк творчества. Москва. 1972. *Patricia Carden:* The Art of Isaak Babel. Ithaka — London, 1972.

[6] *Th. W. Adorno:* Vermittlung, in: Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie. Hamburg, 1968. Suhrkamp Verlag. 218—221.

[7] Indeed, Babel asks his sister Maria, living in Belgium, in his letter dated 12th May, 1925: "Try to find out if my book has already appeared in Russian in Paris." On 15th July, 1925 he asks her to send him "all translations that may crop up". In a letter of 31st March, 1926, he writes: "At the same time, I send you a registered parcel containing my booklet 'The Story of my Dove-cot'. I received from Berlin the 'Odessa Stories' published by Malik Verlag. It is a superb edition; I hope you will be able to buy it in Brussels. 'Red Cavalry' will appear in May, in Russian and in German." *Isaak Babel:* Racconti proibiti e lettere intime. Ed. by *Maria Olsoufieva.* Milano, 1961. Feltrinelli. I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Charles B. Timmer (Amsterdam) for making the photocopy of the Russian original of several hundred letters available for me. The more so, as it became clear, among others, that the last sentence quoted contains the title 'Red Cavalry' omitted from the Italian text, and therefore it does not refer to 'Odessa Stories'. My thanks are also due to Mr. Timmer for his generous help in clearing up philological problems often, and in essential points, emerging in connection with Babel's works, as well as in the preparation of their critical edition in Hungarian.

The first Hungarian translations of Babel's works also appeared quite early; first of all 'The Story of my Dove-cot', translated by József Pap, in *Korunk* [Our Age], 1927/12. For detailed data on the publication of Babel's works in Hungary, see *Lengyel Béla:* Szovjet irodalom Magyarországon, 1919—1944 [Soviet Literature in Hungary, 1919—1944] Budapest, 1964. Akadémiai. We should add here that in Hungary Babel, as Soviet writers in general, was at least as much read in German in the period indicated as in Hungarian. This fact is shown by the list of books whose importation was not approved by the censor. For publications, in various languages, of Babel's works, see *Isaak Babel:* Brieven naar Brussel 1925—1939, vertaald uit het Russisch en Ingeleid door Charles B. Timmer. Amsterdam, 1970. Monssault. 343—344.

[8] The function of readers in the generation of aesthetic experience is a topic often recurring in the letters of these two writers. Cp. e. g. Goethe's letters of 18th July 1796,

19th November 1796 and Schiller's 26th December 1797 letter, important for a number of other reasons, too.

[9] The investigation into 'taste configurations' of readers as manifested in preferences towards various works of fiction has been carried out for 2,700 readers on a corpus of 335 works meant to constitute a representative sample of the novel repertoire of world literature. The results indicate that Babel's 'Red Cavalry' belongs to the category of popular works in Hungary: 8,56%, of the subjects read it with a high (19,13%) index of approval. Cp. *Gondos Ernő:* Ízlésalakzatok. Prózai művek helyzete az olvasói tudatban a hatvanas évek elején [Configurations of Taste. The Position of Prose Works in Readers' Minds in the Early Sixties] Budapest, 1971. Népművelési és Propaganda Iroda. 396. Among the fourteen types of readers set up, those who like Babel's work also like, among others, Semprun, Golding, and Updike. That is, his readers are not those whose primary favourite is Russian literature! For more data, see: *Gondos Ernő:* Olvasói ízléstípusok [Types of Readers' Tastes] Budapest, 1975. Kossuth.

[10] *L. Goldmann:* Le dieu caché. Paris, 1976. Gallimard. 254.

[11] This sentence is to be found in the episode entitled 'Чесники', in 'Red Cavalry', and in the original it runs as follows: «Ворошилов разчёсывал маузером гриву своего коня.»

[12] *Bonyhai Gábor:* Értéknyelv [The Language of Values], in: Magyar Filozófiai Szemle, 1976/4. 609—610.

[13] *К. Паустовский:* Время больших ожиданий. Повесть о жизни. II. Москва. 1967. Советская Россия. 145—177.

[14] The short novel under discussion shows that quite clearly as this constitutes the essential issue in it. The relation towards Jews is not a generational problem in it; rather, a consequence of the differences in sense of position between East-European and American Jews. Similarly, talking of forms of survival of Babel's life-work is not the manifestation of a sort of romantic/impressionistic researcher's attitude here. The fact that this consideration is really involved in the text of the short novel is also proved by the figure of Anna Frank, appearing in another part of the novel as a phantasy of the type "what if she had survived".

[15] See in detail in: *Sinkó Ervin:* Egy regény regénye [The Novel of a Novel] Novi Sad, 1960. Fórum. II. 28., 64., 160.

[16] *E. Benveniste:* Problèmes de linguistique générale. Paris, 1966. 237—250.

[17] «В детстве, пригвождённый к Гемаре, я вёл жизнь мудреца, выросши — стал лазать по деревьям.»

[18] *Philip Roth:* The Ghost Writer. In: The New Yorker, June 25, 1979. Hungarian translation by *Péter Balabán*, 'A szellem árnyékában', in: Nagyvilág 1980/9.

[19] *Szegedy-Maszák Mihály:* A művészi ismétlődés néhány változata az irodalomban és a zenében [Some Varieties of Artistic Repetition in Literature and Music] In: Ismétlődés a művészetben [Repetition in Works of Art] Opus irodalomelméleti tanulmányok 5. Budapest, 1980. Akadémiai. 102—106.

[20] *Antal, László:* Content, Meaning, and Understanding. The Hague, 1964. Mouton.

[21] 'Ábécé' [Alphabet] in: *Gáll István:* Vaskor [The Iron Age] Budapest, 1980. Szépirodalmi. 310—312.

[22] This point has also been made by the earliest reviewers of the book. Let us quote *Mihály Sükösd*'s words about 'The Iron Age' from the same copy of *Új Tükör*: "It is a superb book, István Gáll's best, a real event in contemporary Hungarian fiction. The author's paragon must have been Babel with the series of episodes making up a cycle, or even a real novel, in 'Red Cavalry'."

[23] *Г. Гуковский:* Реализм Гоголя. Москва—Ленинград. 1957. 47.

[24] The reason why Uspensky regards 'external point of view' the most trivial of his four categories must be the fact that his typology has been set up on the basis of 19th century books (apart from a few exceptions); indeed, primarily on the basis of Tolstoy's and Dostoyevsky's novels. This choice has determined or basically influenced a number of his other conclusions, too. *Б. Успенский:* Поэтика композиции. Москва, 1970. Исскуство. 118. The problem of 'point of view' as that of the theory of literature was first raised in 1905 in Russian literary criticism. Cp. *А. Потебня:* Из записок по теории словесности. Харьков. 1905. 10—13.

[25] *F. Schlegel:* Nachricht von den poetischen Werken des Johannes Boccaccio, in: Characteristiken und Kritiken. II. 1801. In: KA. II. 395.

[26] *Б. Эйхенбаум:* Литература. Ленинград. 1927. 214. From the aspect of perception, it was Tinyanov who first pointed out peculiarities of this mode of narration; in particular, that "words become physiologically perceptible" by its help, while narration is turned into the process of a monologue that forces the reader to experience directly, without the

intervention of the author's interpretive activity, to enter the world of the work, whereby the reader "starts to intone, gesticulate, smile: he starts to act, rather than read, the story"; all that recalls the experience of folk-tales. Ю. *Тынянов:* Литературное сегодня, *in:* Русский современник. 1924. 1.

[27] «Отец любит своё дитя, мать любит своё дитя, дитя любит отца и мать. Но это не то, братцы. Любит и зверь своё дитя. Но породнится родством по душе, а не по крови, может один только человек.»

[28] This is, of course, not merely a 20th-century phenomenon, not even in this conscious form, either. See e. g. *Goethe's* talk with Eckermann on 3rd November 1823 where Goethe suggests that a manifold topic having numerous aspects should be treated in ten or twelve different ways, differing in their internal organization, that is. "By splitting it up, one makes it easier to express the paculiarities of various aspects of the topic. An overall treatment, on the other hand, is always more difficult, so that very rarely are perfect works created in that way." A poetically similar case is referred to by *Aristotle* in the 26th chapter of his 'Poetics': "If poets treat a single story in their heroic epic, it either becomes as short as a scut or gets diluted; I mean, there is a possibility to chain up several stories in a single epic, as Iliad and Odyssey likewise contain many parts that have their own scope."

[29] By 'jointure' generally something else is meant; the last, respectively the first, element of joining (syntactic) units. Ср. *В. Живов:* Опыт формального членения новеллы, материалы всесоюзного симпозиума по вторичным моделлирующим системам. 1. (5). Тарту. 1974. 201.

[30] *М. Петровский:* Морфология пушкинского «Выстрела». Проблемы поэтики. 1925. 179—181.

[31] An interesting exception, though apparently one based on a rather arbitrary choice is *Jackson J. Benson:* Ernst Hemingway as Short Story Writer, in: The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: Critical Essays. Durham, North Carolina, 1975. Duke University Press. 293—303. The analysis, starting from similarly arbitrary features ("In the eccentricity and narrowness of his view of life, Hemingway might best be compared to Kafka", ibid. 293.), reaches, in fact, really essential conclusions. However, the Kafka — Hemingway parallel still does not seem to be substantiated enough. Cp. also: *C. Gordon:* Notes on Hemingway and Kafka, in: Sewanee Review, 1949/2. 215—226.

[32] Ср. е. g. Ю. *Голованченко:* Героика гражданской войны в советской драматургии. Ленинград. 1957. Советский писатель. 210—211.

[33] "My book, written by an ordinary soldier of Budonny, is, to some extent, a reply to Babel" Vishnevsky wrote to Gorky on 20th March 1930. In: Литературное Наследство. 70. Москва. Наука. 43.

[34] *Bojtár Endre:* Az irodalmi mű értéke és értékelése [The Value and Evaluation of Works of Fiction] In: A strukturalizmus-vita [The Debate on Structuralism] Budapest, 1977. Akadémiai, Opus I. 152—171.

[35] A presupposition, implicitly contained by all opinions, whether favourable or unfavourable, about Babel's work, is that Babel proceeds quite arbitrarily in the representation of events and circumstances. Historical sources as well as memoirs convince us, however, irrespective of their ideological stand or the side the author fought on, that factual matters are very faithfully represented in 'Red Cavalry'. Cp. Illustrierte Geschichte der russischen Revolution, Berlin, 1928. Neuer Deutscher Verlag II. 408—441; *Г. Горбачёв:* О творчестве Бабеля и по поводу его. Звезда. 1925. 4. 277. *Norman Davies:* White Eagle, Red Star. The Polish-Soviet War, 1919—1920. London, 1972. MacDonald. 38ff.; *И. А. Кассирский:* Никто пути пройденного... Знание — Сила. 1967. 6: М. Ф. Андреева. Сборник. Москва. 1963. Исскуство. 309—311. The last-mentioned two works deal with referential genuineness of individual episodes of 'Red Cavalry'; Gorbachev's paper tells about that topic as well. The main witness, however, is Budonny himself, whose memoirs contain several dozens of pages about the self-same stories that have been questioned in Babel's book. *Sz. Bugyonnij:* Lovasroham [Cavalry Charge] Budapest 1964. 16., 17., 59., 70., 97., 99., 134., 216., 244., 293—4., 319., 355., 362.

[36] *Н. Равич:* Молодость века. Москва. 1960. *С. Кляцкин:* На защите Октября. Москва. 1965.

[37] *Юрий Яновский:* Вершники. Киев. 1976 (1935) Радянский письменник. 92.

[38] Ibid. 91.

[39] *А. А. Тростянецкий:* Юрий Яновский. Критико-биографический очерк. Москва. 1959. Советский писатель. 90—95.

[40] *Yury Yanovsky:* op. cit. 39 In the book of the Ukrainian writer, cross-references, unlike the appearances of the narrator, are often quite explicit. There are especially nu-

merous examples of that in the second part of the cycle; one of the most obvious places is the one where Danilo, grown up, gets back as a soldier to the place where he had lost his grandfather (in the second story). «Він подумав, як він писатиме про ще. У нього безліч мислей, про які треба розповісти людям. В його особі рід турбаї в дістане слово на землі!» (". . . and he was meditating about how to write up that feeling. So many thoughts were whirling round in his mind, thoughts he will have to tell people about. The generation of stormy fates will get the opportunity through him to have a word in this world." (Ibid., 78.)

[41] Ibid. 35. In the first edition, a few additional words preceded the last sentence of this quotation: ". . . the year of the famous and glorious deeds of the Taman troops led by Comrade Kovtyukh, the year of the treason of Grigoryev and Makhno !" The interest of these words (omitted from later editions) for literary history is that one of the people mentioned, Kovtyukh, who later on fell victim of the period of unlawful acts, figures as an important character in another main book of the early period of Soviet literature: "At a meeting of writers and readers where 'Iron Tide' was talked about, one of the readers asked 'Where does Kozhukh come from?'. Serafimovich simply said 'Real life. His original name was Kovtyukh'. *А. Караваева:* А. С. Серафимович, *А. С. Серафимович:* Железный поток. Москва. 1979. Советская Россия. 7.

[42] Alternatively, it is not without reason that 'Don stories' is a cover term often applied to all Sholokhov's stories written between 1926 and 1929; in particular, to the volumes 'Донские рассказы' [Don Stories] and 'Лазоревая степь' [Lazorev's Steppe] (both were published in 1926). However, an edition disregarding the original order of stories is to be seen as corruption of text.

[43] Ср. е. g. *Ф. Бирюков:* Художественные открытия Михаила Шолохова. Москва. 1976. Современник. This book, raising interesting points, does not even mention Babel's 'Red Cavalry' among books about the civil war, though in principle it does agree that this kind of literary representation is to be appreciated; it quotes approvingly Seyfullina's remark in that connection. Ibid., 207—213.

[44] This is an allusion to a famous passage in Babel's 'Gedali': «Интернационал, пане товарищ, это вы не знаете, с чем его кушают, — Его кушают с порохом — ответил я старику, — и приправляют лучшею кровью. . .»

[45] *Н. Великая:* Стилевое своеобразие «Донских рассказов» М. Шолохова. Михаил Шолохов. Статьи и исследования. Москва. 1975. Художественная Литература. 89.

[46] "I regarded it as obligatory for myself" Fadeyev wrote about that kind of prose construction. *А. Фадеев:* За тридцать лет. Москва. 1967. Советский писатель. 907.

[47] *Л. Якименко:* Творчество М. А. Шолохова, Москва. 1964. Советский писатель. 46—47.

[48] "Nobody can call 'Don Stories' the pre-image of 'Calm Don' except for those who are unable to distinguish day from night. Had I written 'Calm Don' by the help of scissors and glue, I would never have surpassed my' 'Кривая стёжка' [Meandering Lane], one of my poorest stories." *К. Прийма:* Шолохов в Вёшках. Советский Казахстан. 1955/5.

[49] 'Don Stories' are analysed as the antecedent of 'Calm Don' in the following paper, generally regarded as of basic importance. *В. Гура:* «Донские рассказы» М. Шолохова — предистория «Тихого Дона». Учёные Записки Вологодского Пединститута. Вологда. 1950. 7.

[50] Already in 1924, when Sholokhov peddled (in vain) with his first attempts at the paper 'Молодой ленинец' the answer telling him to work on patiently began: "You have sent us a story written in a flavourous, palpable language." *К. Муратова:* Михаил Шолохов. Ленинград. 1950. Государственная Публичная Библиотека им. Салтыкова-Щедрина. 6.

[51] *N. Velikaya:* op. cit. 96.

[52] *E. Hemingway:* A Moveable Feast, New York, 1964. 75.

[53] *Jackson J. Benson:* op. cit. 272.

[54] *E. Hemingway:* In Our Time. New York, 1970. Charles Scribner's Sons. 69.

[55] This can be reduced, in Babel's œuvre, to the motif of forbearing with vs. fleeing from violence, a motif which can turn out to be an important element of the interpretation of his works. For details, see *Gereben Ágnes:* Az elbeszélésciklus műfaji jegyeinek szemantikájához [Towards a Semantics of Genre Features of a Cycle of Short Stories] In: Filológiai Közlöny, 1980/4. 414ff.

[56] *George Steiner:* The Hollow Miracle, in: Language and Silence, Essays, 1958—1966. London, no date. 139.

[57] *E. Hemingway:* op. cit. 69.

[58] *Carl Fincken:* Point of View in Nick Adams Stories, in: The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway: Critical Essays. Durham, North Carolina, 1975. Duke University Press. 109—111.

[59] *Philip Young:* Ernest Hemingway: A Reconsideration. University Park, 1966. Pennsylvanian State Press. 66. See also: *Carlos Baker:* Ernst Hemingway: A Life Story. New York, 1969. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969.

[60] We should add, however, that Juan Rulfo, though at the time of writing 'Pedro Páramo' or the even earlier 'El llano en llamas' he could not have read Babel's book, attributed an important role in his becoming a writer to the reader's experience he gained from Russian books in his childhood, especially from Leonid Andreyev's and, strangely enough, Korolenko's works. *María del Carmen — Eugenio Matus:* Antología del cuento hispanoamericano. Habana, 1963. 262. For a poetical analysis of Rulfo's narrative art, touching numerous issues raised in the present paper, see *Arno Ros:* Zur Theorie literarischen Erzählens, Frankfurt/M. 1972. Athenäum Verlag. 131—223.

[61] *Juan Rulfo:* Pedro Páramo, Habana, 1968. Casa de las Americas. 196—197.

[62] *Tzvetan Todorov:* Grammaire du Décameron, The Hague — Paris, 1969. Mouton. 14.

[63] *В. Н. Волошинов* (Бахтин): Марксизм и философия языка: основные проблемы социологического метода в науке и языке. Ленинград. 1929. 152.

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Modern Fiction in America: Some Aspects of the Classic Phase

By

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What follows here is a brief consideration of some of the aspects of modern American fiction with a view to those qualities the importance of which extends, either by direct influence or through showing some parallelism of development, beyond the pale of American literature and which thereby lend themselves to the comparative approach. As to time, the focus is firmly on the period of the "classic phase": roughly the two decades between 1920 and 1940, with the work of Ernest Hemingway, Francis Scott Fitzgerald and William Faulkner in the centre, with important, though more cursory, glances at Sherwood Anderson, a precursor; Thomas Wolfe, a special case; and John Dos Passos, a writer of tremendous influence on the literature, whether American or European, of his day. Whereas this focus on the fiction of these two decades seems self-evident enough, the upper limit needs some explanation in the case of at least two of the authors concerned: while the dates of death of Sherwood Anderson (1941), Scott Fitzgerald (1940) and Thomas Wolfe (1939), and the relative, or perhaps absolute, unimportance of the later Dos Passos make a good enough case for treating 1940 as a convenient closing time for the literary phase concerned, Hemingway and Faulkner, of course, went on living (and writing) in the two decades following 1940 and, indeed, the recognition of Faulkner as a major writer took place only after the Second World War (triggered chiefly by Malcolm Cowley's critical work and insistence on Faulkner's importance in his *Viking Portable Faulkner*). On the other hand, a variety of reasons, both practical and aesthetic, lend some justification to drawing the line at 1940 even in the case of these authors. Hemingway's postwar work is, by common critical consent, largely self-derivative and deficient in quality; also, his influence (say, on French fiction in the prewar and immediately postwar period or on Hungarian practitioners of the short story in the Sixties) was largely due to his prewar work; while Faulkner himself, resigned to repeated unsuccess and critical obscurity after the publication of *The Hamlet* (1940) and the short-story collection *Go Down, Moses* (1942), considered his career as a writer all but finished; and, furthermore, his new lease of literary life, following Cowley's (and others') good offices, embodied in his later works (from the 1948 *Intruder in the Dust* to *The Reivers* in 1962) is ad-

mittedly secondary in importance to what critics describe as Faulkner's "great period", falling as it does between the dates of 1929 *(Sartoris)* and 1936 *(Absalom, Absalom!)*.

That American fiction in the Twenties and the Thirties constitutes a literary phase which can, with some justification, be described as "classic", nowadays needs hardly any extravagant support beyond listing a few platitudes. Thus, this was a period of literary emancipation; through a fusion of "native" traditions and more "cosmopolitan" influences,[1] fiction (and poetry) in the United States found its voice, which was both modern and uniquely American, and achieved a quality and degree of literary excellence which, in turn, proved to be a major source of influence and inspiration for writing outside the United States (witness Hemingway's far-reaching impact on various European literatures and as a more specific and perhaps more significant case, the crucial role of the Faulknerian idea of the novel in recent developments of Latin-American fiction).

As regards the "native", uniquely American (one is almost tempted to use the word "isolationist") element in this fusion, one important aspect of this is linguistic emancipation, that is, a rejection of a literary medium ultimately modelled on, and taking its normative standards from, British literature. In the work of the authors concerned, there is a conscious and systematic attempt to shape a language and a style more authentic, that is, truer to that peculiarly American experience whose definition and articulation is, in a range of varieties, the overwhelming literary concern of the period. This attempt involves, in varying degrees, drawing on regional, colloquial and substandard varieties of American English and in many cases (in Sherwood Anderson and, with more conspicuous success, in Hemingway and Fitzgerald) this means an emphasis on *spoken* colloquial forms, or rather their transmutation into a new, written literary medium. In this H. L. Mencken's influential work may have had a crucial role; while the attempt at a linguistic emancipation was a fairly logical development, the argument of *The American Language* (1919), stressing the complexity, productivity, vitality and almost Elizabethan energy of the home-grown variant, must have come in handy in providing these authors with some theoretical support of sorts in their more practical concern with the medium. Here there is a point of contact with the more properly "native" school in American writing; the impulse of realistic-naturalistic documentary associated with writers like Sinclair Lewis and Theodore Dreiser embodies a similar attitude towards language.

The native impulse of social documentary and realism is an important element in this fusion in a more general sense as well. Taken at one level, the work of Anderson, Fitzgerald, Hemingway and Faulkner is, in varying degree and emphasis, firmly founded on social observation, that is, on a sociologically accurate delineation of some segment of their contemporary American society

with its characteristic fabric of human types, attitudes, patterns of behaviour and tensions. What Robert Penn Warren, writing of Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha, says about the first of Faulkner's "two Souths", the South Faulkner "reports on", as opposed to the South he "creates" — "No land in all fiction is more painstakingly analyzed from the sociological point of view"[2] —, also holds good, if we allow for differences in the actual amount of pains taken, for Anderson's Winesburg, Hemingway's very American Paris of the "lost generation" or Fitzgerald's notations of the "Roaring Twenties".

Now, as to the other, "cosmopolitan" side in this fusion, Faulkner's "second South" can be taken as a good metaphor for what this side consists in. Whatever goes beyond, and subsumes in a unique vision, the documentary element in the work of these writers, owes a great deal to a conscious absorption, on the part of these writers, of what European modernism in the early decades of our century offered by way of principles, techniques, organization and thematic concerns. Part of this process of absorption was, of course, a matter of biographical fact: the Paris "expatriates" of this "lost generation" had some direct contact with cosmopolitan avant-garde figures like Pound, Joyce and others; and Gertrude Stein was a connective link not simply in the opportunities she provided for direct personal contacts but also as a general disseminator of ideas (partly her own ideas) about what modern art, poetry and fiction, and more particularly the language of modern fiction, should be. But even where this direct contact was minimal or non-existent, this process was fairly consciously and systematically pursued, as can be seen, for example, in the case of the more "native" social documentarist John Dos Passos, whose fictional techniques were obviously derived from early modernist European ideas, highly operative in the poetry, painting and cinema of the day.

The fusion of "native" heritage and "cosmopolitan" influences has an interesting and rather unique corollary in the best work of the period. This is an apparently paradoxical union of non-literary (in certain cases loudly anti-literary) "sincerity", or "authenticity", with highly sophisticated modernist "literariness". What these writers (particularly Anderson, Hemingway and Fitzgerald) wanted to be "sincere" about was experience; being sincere meant the presentation or evocation of personal, "lived" experience in the most direct way possible. Seen from this angle, literature, for them, becomes *littérature* (somewhat in the Verlaine sense), that is, the falsifier of, and the stale, hackneyed, stock-response obstacle in the way of, conveying experience in an authentic and undiluted form. On the other hand, this emphasis on sincerity is itself a *literary* programme in the sense that one source of it is again a characteristically European cluster of modernist ideas (witness, for instance, Ezra Pound on the "Image"), and, also, by virtue of the fact that it is always joined to a highly sophisticated degree of technical organization. Hemingway's much-commented style, for example, reveals, beyond its apparently simple casualness

and colloquial reductionism, an unprecedentedly systematic syntactic organization at work; Fitzgerald's *Great Gatsby*, while creating an impression of direct personal authenticity, contains a highly elaborate recurrence-system of symbolic emblems, motifs and pointers. In both cases a fine equilibrium of effect is achieved; the work is both "sincere" and "sophisticated" and, indeed, sophistication turns out to be one source of, or at least some kind of guarantor for, the overall effect of sincerity. On the other hand, the period also offers an example, in the work of Thomas Wolfe, where this interplay and equilibrium is never quite attained. Wolfe obviously erred on the side of too much sincerity; he took the stream-of-consciousness technique (itself a modernist, "cosmopolitan" and European literary commodity) and attempted to transform it into a non-*littérature* or anti-*littérature* medium of monomaniacally direct, personal, "confessional" self-revelation; in doing this, he systematically refused to consider questions of fictional coherence to the extent that it was in fact his editors who lent his books at least a semblance of properly novelistic organization by heavy (and, as has been shown recently, rather heavy-handed) editing.[3]

Now, this equilibrium of "sincerity" and "sophistication" (and the larger fusion it is an aspect of) finds its embodiment in the fiction of the period in a variety of areas, some of which I want to list and explore in this paper. No exhaustive classification of literary qualities is, however, attempted; what follows is rather a series of suggestions and indications as to where there is much more that is worth a closer and more systematic look.

First, there seems to be one area of experimentation in the fiction of the period which has been frequently noted, though never quite adequately described. This experimentation is, in one view, an experiment in generic form which can be witnessed in the conspicuous role two generic "hybrids" play in the work of some of the writers concerned: these "hybrids" are the *short-story novel* and the *novel-cycle* (both terms being tentative shots in the dark in default of better ones). The short-story novel is the kind of short-story collection where the fact of collecting the individual pieces in one volume is less a matter of external accident than a sign of some internal coherence; that is, the individual pieces, while retaining their independence, can still be read as "chapters" (quasi-chapters) of a "novel" (quasi-novel). Examples for this kind of book are Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919), Ernest Hemingway's *In Our Time* (1925) and William Faulkner's *The Unvanquished* (1938) and *Go Down, Moses* (1942). Instances of the other generic hybrid include, most importantly, Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha-cycle [itself including, apart from some ten novels, the two short-story collections and an even more complicated generic hybrid, *The Wild Palms* (1939)]; also, Thomas Wolfe's autobiographical tetralogy (*Look Homeward, Angel!*, 1929; *Of Time and the River*, 1935; *The Web and the Rock*, 1939; *You Can't Go Home Again*, 1940) has a place here.

Here, in the latter case, relatively independent "novels" play the role of "chapters" in some sort of supra-novel or *œuvre*-novel.

Now, while some antecedents can certainly be pointed out (Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Diary* from 1851 is in many ways an anticipation of the idea of a short-story novel[4] and the novel-cycle, at least in the form Thomas Wolfe handled it, does not necessarily go beyond a fairly ordinary nineteenth-century *roman-fleuve* in technical complication), this heightened concern for these generic forms in the fiction of the classic phase results in a few distinctly modern and uniquely American qualities. One of these lies in the special nature of interconnectedness between the apparently independent units in the series (whether "chapters" in the "quasi-novel" or "novels" in the "supra-novel"). Admittedly, part of this obtains on traditional grounds of character, story and situation (and, indeed, Faulkner's *The Unvanquished*, as opposed, in this respect, to his *Go Down, Moses*, uses a large number of these more familiar connective links), yet there are levels (especially in Hemingway's *In Our Time* and Faulkner's *Go Down, Moses*) where the relatedness of these seemingly independent units is established in a rather different way: here a unit is "aware of" and "reflecting on" other units in the series (partly as a result of absences and voids filled in by a drive, on the part of the reader, to complete the deliberately incomplete, itself so characteristic of the ways the reading process is conceived of in the modern period), without continuing or supplementing them in any of the traditional ways in which narrative, thematic, etc. continuity is generally achieved.

Also, this "hybridization" of the short story and the novel on the one hand and the novel and the novelistic cycle or *œuvre* on the other constitutes, in certain cases, a highly complex exercise in what may be called the aspect of literary "potentiality". That is, the idea seems to be here some sort of paradoxical intermediate zone between "potency" and "act" as the area where the fictional construct does its work; the short stories in this kind of short-story novel suggest a novel, attain, indeed, their fuller significance only if conceived of as interrelated parts of a novel, but this novel is only *there* by its absence, as it were; a potential novel, never actually written (though, of course, the reader has to "write" it, in Roland Barthes' sense of the *scriptible*, in his quest for the fuller significances).[5]

Another important aspect of these hybridized forms concerns the question of "boundaries", indeed it dramatizes this fairly uniquely modern question: are the final results of the creative process individual works, that is, finite, autonomous products, object-like entities with clear lines of demarcation, to be appreciated independently of whatever surrounds them? These experiments in the short-story novel and the supra-novel certainly make this idea of the autonomous work relative; here, individual pieces are both independent and self-containing *and* parts of a larger (if potential) whole which, by its being

potential, is obviously more of a process of production than an actual, "finished" product. Through this aspect emphasis is perceptibly shifted, then, from product to process, contributing, in fact, to this more general and widely-noted tendency in modern American culture.

Considered in this more general way, the two forms (the short-story novel and the supra-novel) turn out to be essentially the same thing, motivated by similar concerns and sharing the same qualities. For the recognition of this essential similarity, Faulkner's work is a case in point since, in the Yoknapatawpha cycle, he uses (and fuses) both forms, or, rather, employs the same idea on two hierarchically different levels and organizes these levels into analogous relationships: the way stories in *Go Down, Moses* interrelate is repeated, in a more complicated, though essentially similar, fashion, in the way novels in the cycle tie in with one another (and with *Go Down, Moses* as well).

Leaving behind the consideration of issues in generic form, another area where the work of Hemingway, Fitzgerald and Faulkner turns influences of "cosmopolitan" modernism to its own advantage is the creative absorption of certain tenets and techniques of modernist *poetry* into their fiction.

The first of these tenets results in what is, in fact, a rather general aspect of modern fiction, indicated whenever the term "poetic novel" is used to describe particular works. It consists in the fairly universal attempt, in novels of different sorts, to set up a system of symbolic-metaphorical motives, to be perceived in some kind of simultaneous fashion and, through this, creating a structure of concordances which supplements and, also, to some extent, suspends the linearity of, the usual and more traditional elements of narrative sequence, character-development, etc. Much of the American fiction of the period is patterned in this way, though the most conspicuous examples are, of course, Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925) and Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (1926).

Another feature of modernist poetics, where the influence on the fiction of Anderson, Hemingway and Faulkner seems to be more specific and direct is connected with the prevalent concern with the evocation of undiluted experience (noted earlier), or rather with the more linguistic, or stylistic, issues involved in this programme. While it was certainly a fairly logical "native" development, it also gathered some support from ideas about language and style generally associated with the poetics of Imagism, and, at least in certain phases of their careers as poets, with Ezra Pound and Thomas Stearns Eliot. The following two excerpts may serve to throw some light on the ways Anderson and Hemingway thought about this programme of direct rendering and evocation of experience and, in so doing, came rather close to the kind of treatment this cluster of issues received in the poetics of their "cosmopolitan" contemporaries.[6] The first passage is from Sherwood Anderson's *A Story Teller's Story* (1924):

> Now for the pen or the pencil and paper and I shall make you feel this thing I now feel — just the dark, brooding thing in the soul of that laborer going homeward under those trees. He is getting old and was born an American. Why did he not rise in the world and become the owner or at least the superintendent of a factory and own an automobile?
>
> Aha! You do not know, but I do. You wait now, I shall tell you. I have felt all, everything. In myself I have no existence. Now I exist only in those others.
>
> I have run home to my room and have lighted a light. Words flow. What has happened? Bah! Such tame, unutterably dull stuff! There was something within me, truth, facility, the color and smell of things. Why, I might have done something here. Words are everything. I swear to you I have not lost my faith in words. . .
>
> There is no reason at all why I should not have been able, by the instrumentality of these little words, why I should not have been able to give you the very smell of the ittle street wherein I just walked.

Hemingway, in a similar mood, dramatizes his own earlier struggles with words in this attempt at rendering undiluted experience in *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) as follows:

> I was trying to write then and I found the greatest difficulty, aside from knowing truly what you really felt, rather than what you were supposed to feel, and had been taught to feel, was to put down what really happened in action; what the actual things were which produced the emotion that you experienced. . .; but the real thing, the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion and which would be as valid in a year or in ten years or, with luck and if you stated it purely enough, always, was beyond me and I was working very hard to try to get it.

From these statements, reflecting as they do on their authors' aims in the kind, and quality, of writing they struggled to achieve, it seems to be a fairly obvious inference that these writers were motivated by concerns rather similar to those that were essential to more "cosmopolitan" formulations like Pound's "Image" and Eliot's "objective correlative". Also, if, in addition, we consider the peculiarly dense sensuous *Dinglichkeit* of Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha (a quality associated by John Crowe Ransom with the New in the poetry of the first decades of our century[7]) and note Faulkner's life-long interest in Eliot's poetry as a source of linguistic and stylistic inspiration for his own work,[8] it will be easy to see the aptness of Dennis Welland's summing-up of this aspect of the fictional work of the period: in his view "probably at no previous time had the novelist come so close to the poet in the nature of his concern with the words he used."[9]

Another related area where modernist theories and practices of poetry show a shaping influence in the American fiction of the period is the impact of the technique variously described as "diaphoric metaphor" or "radical juxtaposition" in discussions of modernist poetry and, also, of its ramifications in the painting and the cinema of the period.[10] This widespread technique, the sharp juxtaposition of commonsensically unrelated material where potential connections are established through a heightened "creative" activity of the recipient, found its definitive and highly influential embodiment in T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land* (1922) and, while other channels may have had some part

in the American dissemination of the idea (for example, in Dos Passos' *U.S.A.*, published between 1930 and 1936, the "Newsreel" form is more directly a fictional offshoot of European collage in painting and cinematic montage), Eliot's poem seems to be a more immediate model for at least two important works of Hemingway and Faulkner, the collection *In Our Time* (1925) and the novel, or "double novel", *The Wild Palms* (1939), respectively.

In Hemingway's short-story novel this technique of poetic juxtaposition is evident in the arrangement of the text in the form of an alternation between sixteen short, italicized "inter-chapters" (selected from the eighteen prose-vignettes of the 1924 *in our time* collection) and fifteen short stories, or "chapters"(counting the two parts of the *Big Two-Hearted River* as separate stories). No detailed thematic, narrative, etc. connection obtains between the two segments of the text; there is, however, an undercurrent of metaphorical, or "diaphoric", relations to be discovered or, rather, worked out by the hypothetical reader. He is helped by an intricate movement of two-way "framing" in the book, where sometimes two vignettes expand the significance of the story they "frame" while elsewhere two stories may function as a kind of interpretative "frame" for a vignette. A similar structure of two-way "framing" is the most conspicuous feature of Faulkner's 1939 experiment in writing a "double novel"; here, in *The Wild Palms*, two apparently separate and self-contained short novels are presented in an arrangement of chapter-by-chapter alternation. (Incidentally, Faulkner wrote the book exactly the way it stands now, alternating between the two stories; interlacing them was, emphatically, *not* an afterthought of some quaint "modernist" gimmickry).[11] Here, mutual "framing" expands meaning into a system of parallels and contrasts with a paradoxical distribution: disordered Nature creates moments of ordered humanity while an apparently ordered Society reveals deep-set "naturalistic" disorganization in the people whose lives it purports to arrange in some meaningful order.

Now, to move into another area where modernist poetics also exerted some influence, we may note that *The Waste Land* provided these writers with a model and a technique in another aspect of their work as well. What has been recently described as the "institutional" presence of Eliot's poem in shaping certain important qualities of the American fiction of the Sixties[12] holds, allowing for the inevitable differences, equally good for a significant part of the fictional output of the Twenties and the Thirties. What I have in mind here is the kind of precept and precedent *The Waste Land* offered for attempts at a mythic and archetypal organization of material in novels; this idea, with some important support from James Joyce's *Ulysses*, became prevalent in modernist fiction to the extent that we can, indeed, speak of a distinct twentieth-century subspecies, the modern mythic-archetypal novel; with, of course, some practitioners of the type in the classic phase of American fiction as well.

One important example of this, where, incidentally, not only the idea of this kind of organization but part of the actual mythic material as well owes a great deal to *The Waste Land* as a model, is Ernest Hemingway's novel, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926; in England, the book came out under the title *Fiesta* in the same year). Here, apart from a variety of references to archetypal pairs like Odysseus and Circe, Abélard and Héloïse, etc., a significant part of mythic organization is effected along the fertility/barrenness theme prefigured in *The Waste Land*, and its sexual aspect, Jake Barnes' wound and his resulting impotence, echoes Eliot's treatment of similar matters through the archetypal framework provided by the Fisher King legend in the Arthurian romances.

It was also T. S. Eliot who described Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* as "the first step that American fiction has taken since Henry James". This may have been partly the tongue-in-cheek recognition of a personal dept; while archetypal organization is effected along quite general lines in the book (Gatsby as mythic America; the archetypal poles of pastoralism and urbanism in the West Egg/Manhattan dichotomy, etc.), there are elements which testify to a more direct absorption of Eliot's poetry, the most conspicuous of them being the description of the valley of ashes at the opening of Chapter II, a fresh American version of the wasteland image of the "cosmopolitan" poet.

It is, however, with Faulkner that a systematic concern with myth and archetype becomes a central factor in a major fictional *œuvre* of our century; Hemingway's and Fitzgerald's experiments along these lines, if compared to the centrality of this concern for Faulkner, seem almost accidental exercises. Myth for Faulkner, as it was for the Greeks, is both theme and material, while in its handling the author employs a twofold strategy. Partly, myth and archetype are *found*, as it were, and recreated [such as the ancient ritual of the burying of the dead in the poor-white world of *As I Lay Dying* or the essential myth of Jesus Christ's passion in the later *A Fable* (1954)]. On the other hand, myth is also something *created*; Faulkner's "second" South, as it acquires its outlines in the making, itself assumes the dimensions and the significance of myth, in the sense that the actors of his Yoknapatawpha saga, the Sartorises, the McCaslins, the Sutpens, and the Snopes, embody, by their enactment of patterns of rise and fall, decadence and renewal, change and the inability to change, certain basic archetypal situations, tensions and conflicts of human history and psychology.

Finally, another aspect that requires a few remarks is the field of narrative technique, a central issue in most modernist fiction and one that is particularly relevant to the fusion of "native" and "cosmopolitan" influences in the literature of the period concerned. The work of Fitzgerald, Hemingway and Faulkner offers a remarkable variety in this area, with, however, various degrees of innovative significance. Fitzgerald's basic technique of narration (for instance, the first-person narrator-participant of the events in *The Great*

Gatsby, seen in a *post festum* act recalling and recounting), while eminently suited to the matter narrated, is handled without much inherent complication; the significance of this technique is, in turn, rather local in the sense that it is an interesting variant, though by no means a radically new version, of the familiar "confessional" mode of narration in American fiction, instances of which range from *Huckleberry Finn* to *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. Hemingway, on the other hand, patented a narrative style which proved, later, highly influential and found countless imitators for a time. Now, what is sometimes described as the "iceberg" principle of this style is best seen as a logical, and rather specialized, development of the Flaubertian idea of *impassibilité*; Hemingway's implied narrator is always some kind of hypothetical observer who, apart from refraining from emotional, etc. evaluation of what he observes, is sytematically restricted to recording only what is externally accessible in terms of sense-perception, while refusing to make inferences as to whatever internal factors (states of mind, attitudes or motives) may underly what is recorded in this fashion. This narrative technique, showing some curious resemblance to standards of descriptive procedures in American behaviourist psychology, enjoyed a certain vogue for a time; its significance as a piece of technical innovation is commented on rather less enthusiastically these days, though "scientific" ideals of narration (e.g., the French *nouveau roman*) may still recognize a valuable debt here.

As to innovation in the area of narrative techniques and strategies, it is again Faulkner whose contribution seems the most centrally significant. His achievement in this field was partly due to the singularly wide range of his assimilation and readjustment of all the important new technical developments in fiction generally associated with Henry James, Joseph Conrad and James Joyce, and indicated, in critical shorthand, by "point-of-view", "interior monologue", "stream-of-consciousness" and similar labels. Faulkner uses and, by doing so, modifies most of these narrative strategies in apparently eclectic, though, in fact, always thematically controlled and motivated combinations. Also, with Faulkner, narration becomes an aspect of what may be termed as the epistemological, or hermeneutic, theme of his novels; his narrative strategy, seen from the reader's point of view, is part of what Conrad Aiken describes as Faulkner's "elaborate method of *deliberately withheld meaning*, of progressive and partial and delayed disclosure, which so often gives the characteristic shape to the novels themselves".[13] These meanings are, in fact, "withheld" also from the characters (and narrators) of the novels themselves; their (the characters') narrative activity is always a combined hermeneutic act of remembering and imagining, and what gets narrated in this way invariably includes reconstructions of past events which are, in fact, constructions, or *possible versions*, of these events and their significance, always relative to the mind doing the work of (re)construction.[14] Narration here acquires a philo-

sophical dimension; in Faulkner's treatment it dramatizes certain highly important complexities involved in what is usually described as the act of knowing. To me, this seems to be the most important element in Faulkner's contribution to the modern novel; it is certainly the most important single achievement in the work of what is discussed, in this essay, as the classic phase of modern American fiction.

NOTES

[1] In using the idea of a fusion of "native" inheritance and "cosmopolitan" influence I draw, here and further on, on Malcolm Bradbury and David Storker's essay, "The American Risorgimento: the coming of the new arts", in *American Literature since 1900*, ed. by Marcus Cunliffe, Sphere Books Ltd, London, 1975, pp. 17—43.

[2] In Robert Penn Warren, "William Faulkner", *Selected Essays*, Vintage Books, New York, 1958, esp. pp. 59—62.

[3] See John Halberstadt's article "Who Wrote Thomas Wolfe's Last Novels?" in *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (March 19, 1981), pp. 51—52.

[4] Cf. Ursula Brumm's essay, "William Faulkner and the Rebirth of Dixie", in *American Literature since 1900*, p. 236.

[5] The idea of a short-story series as a "potential" novel has been quite productive ever since the classic phase. For a postmodernist, highly self-reflexive version of the same idea, see John Barth's *Lost in the Funhouse* (1968).

[6] The source of these two excerts and, also, of some of the conclusions drawn from them is Dennis Welland's perceptive essay, "The Language of American Fiction Between the Wars", in *American Literature since 1900*, see esp. pp. 48—50.

[7] In *The World's Body* (1938).

[8] For Eliot's influence on Faulkner see István Geher's essay "Olé, Grandfather: the presence of a missing link in William Faulkner's life and work", in *Studies in English and American*, Eötvös University, Budapest, 1975; esp. notes 45 and 67 on pages 267 and 272 respectively.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 50 (note 6).

[10] For a detailed discussion of this technique see my *T. S. Eliot a költői nyelvhasználatról* (T. S. Eliot on the Poetic Use of Language; in Hungarian), Akadémiai Kiadó (OPUS Irodalomelméleti Tanulmányok 3.), Budapest, 1978; esp. pp. 76—83.

[11] On the other hand, the fact that these two "novels" *do* create a deliberate impression of being separate and self-contained on levels unconnected with "diaphoric" extensions of meaning found some ironical corroboration in a curious venture of Hungarian publishing: what is known in Hungarian translation as *Az öreg* (1962) is, actually, *one* of the constituent "novels" of *The Wild Palms*, extracted and rearranged as a "normal" novel; while it must have been the recognition of the significance of the juxtaposition that, later, prompted the publication of a full translation in 1972 *(A vad pálmák)*.

[12] In Raymond Olderman's *Beyond the Waste Land: the American novel in the 1960s*, New Haven, Conn., 1972.

[13] Quoted by I. Geher, *op. cit.*, p. 270 (note 57).

[14] *Cf.* the highly relevant "self-reflexive" passage on pages 100—101 of *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936), The Modern Library Edition, Random House, New York, 1964.

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Splendeurs et misères du nouveau roman français

Par

MIKLÓS MAGYAR

A première vue rien de plus divergent que le roman existentialiste et le nouveau roman. En effet, ces deux types de roman n'ont aucun point commun en ce qui concerne leurs intentions et leurs influences. Si le premier, accentuant le message du roman, veut avoir sa part aux luttes politico-sociales de son époque, le second se glorifie de son étiquette de "non-engagé", ayant pour but la séparation totale de la littérature et de la vie sociale. Autre différence profonde: tandis que l'existentialisme possède sa propre philosophie, les influences idéologiques ne se reflètent que d'une façon indirecte dans le nouveau roman.

Ces deux courants littéraires, visiblement diamétralement opposés et les plus discutés au cours de ces dernières trente années, possèdent cependant maints points communs.

La littérature existentialiste naît, agit et se démode entre 1942 et 1950 pour céder le pas, d'une part, à une littérature traditionnelle, extrêmement diverse et toujours populaire en France et d'autre part à un nouveau courant: le nouveau roman qui lui-même, évoque deux prédécesseurs sur le plan de la révolution des formes: le Dada et le Surréalisme. Mais, alors que ces deux mouvements avaient l'ambition de renouveler non seulement l'art mais toute la société, le nouveau roman se fixe pour but de réaliser la séparation la plus complète de l'art et de la réalité, par conséquent — et il faut le dire tout de suite — sa prétention de réformer la formation sociale à partir de la révolution des formes romanesques restera dérisoire et ne troublera nullement les jeux des bénéficiaires de l'establishment.

Une chose est certaine: Dada, Surréalisme et Nouveau Roman sont tous les produits d'une crise, mais la différence remarquable est que les deux premiers proviennent d'une crise mettant en cause toutes les valeurs précédentes — il s'agit de la première guerre mondiale, — tandis que le nouveau roman lui, marque la crise d'une période plus consolidée.

La France, puissance mondiale, se retrouve, après le cauchemar de la seconde guerre mondiale, parmi les pays de second ordre. Après la Libération, les belles espérances de la Résistance s'évanouissent en quelques années. Les guerres d'Algérie et d'Indochine plongent la France dans un conservatisme, et les oppositions au sein du parti communiste montrent clairement, vers les

années 50, que la transformation démocratique de la France restera une illusion perdue.

Le nouveau roman français est une formation autonome et typiquement française venue au monde sur la plate-forme d'une tendance plus large qui est le structuralisme. Il voit le jour en même temps que *Tristes Tropiques* du sociologue Lévi-Strauss (1955) et son premier défenseur sera le sémiologue Roland Barthes.

Il faut souligner le fait que le nouveau roman est typiquement français, car malgré des affinités et convergences avec plus d'un écrivain européen et américain, malgré l'existence d'un nouveau roman américain, allemand ou italien,[1] les points communs ne résident que dans le refus d'une forme romanesque traditionnelle et dans une attitude néoavant-gardiste.

A l'opposé du nouveau roman français, tous les nouveaux romanciers non-français attachent beaucoup d'importance à la lutte sociale et leurs œuvres témoignent de cette attitude critique. Il est vrai que dans ses romans, pour la plupart édités à Paris, l'américain Burroughs est — tout comme ses confrères français — sensible à l'influence existentialiste, mais il n'en reste pas moins que, dans ses ouvrages partiellement autobiographiques, il traite des problèmes non moins importants et inquiétants que la drogue; Kerouac et Salinger, américains eux aussi, ne peuvent être dissociés de la génération beat et de ses problèmes. L'écrivain allemand Günter Grass, leader du Grouppe 47, qui séjourne à Paris de 1956 à 1960 et connaît bien les débuts du nouveau roman français n'adopte cependant pas l'attitude apolitique de ce dernier. Bien au contraire, la révolution verbale s'accompagne chez lui d'une profonde révolte contre toute forme de fascisme. L'engagement politique de l'Italien Sanguinetti, illustre représentant du Grouppe 63, est également indéniable même si l'écriture et la technique romanesque qu'il utilise, notamment celle du collage, le rapprochent du nouveau romancier français Claude Simon.

Tandis que tous les nouveaux romanciers non-français sont donc, d'une façon ou d'une autre, engagés et que leur engagement se reflète dans les œuvres, le nouveau roman français, lui naît justement d'une négation de la littérature engagée. Evoquant un nouveau vocabulaire apparu à la suite de l'existentialisme démodé, Bernard Pingaud attire l'attention sur un changement survenu en France dans la vie intellectuelle. C'est ainsi que les mots « conscience », « sujet » cèdent la place aux mots « règles », « codes » ou « système ».[2]

Cependant, l'existentialisme ne s'est pas démodé sans laisser de trace. Depuis l'apparition du nouveau roman, en France et en Hongrie également, on évoque, soit par allusions soit de manière très directe le roman existentialiste comme étant le précurseur de la nouvelle école romanesque. Nous avons déjà mentionné l'article de Bernard Pingaud. Le professeur d'université américain Bruce Morrissette n'est pas loin de partager cette même opinion lorsqu'il dit:

« Si l'on admet, comme il semble correct de le faire, que ces « yeux » sont ceux d'une conscience observatrice, on est en droit de rattacher directement Robbe-Grillet au courant de la pensée existentialiste, représentée principalement en France par Jean-Paul Sartre (. . .) ».[3] Dans ses analyses écrites sur *La Nausée*, Georges Raillard cite Robert Kanters qui considère le nouveau roman comme bâti sur les ruines des *Chemins de la Liberté* et ajoute qu'il faut souligner « le rôle de « révélateur » de *La Nausée* »;[4] Géza Nagy met l'accent sur la base philosophique commune quand il parle de l'éloignement du nouveau roman du roman moderne: « Dans leur philosophie, les nouveaux romanciers essayent de dépasser leurs prédécesseurs sur la base de la phénoménologie et de l'existentialisme français. »[5] György Konrád signale la succession et marque les limites du nouveau roman: « Le roman existentialiste recèle deux expériences fondamentales: le néant et la liberté. Le roman abstrait garde la première pour oublier la seconde. »[6]

D'une façon paradoxale, ce sont les nouveaux romanciers eux-mêmes qui refusent le roman existentialiste avec la plus grande vigueur. Il est vrai que leur chef de file, Alain Robbe-Grillet, tout en signalant la nouveauté des romans de Sartre et de Camus par rapport aux romans traditionnels, souligne l'absence du caractère dans le roman existentialiste comme étant précurseur du nouveau roman: « Aucune des grandes œuvres contemporaines ne correspond en effet sur ce point aux normes de la critique. Combien de lecteurs se rappellent le nom du narrateur dans *La Nausée* ou dans *L'Étranger?* Y a-t-il là des types humains? Ne serait-ce pas au contraire la pire absurdité que de considérer ces livres comme des études de caractère? »[7]

Mais l'attitude fondamentale n'en reste pas moins, chez lui, le refus de l'existentialisme. Dans un autre article, Robbe-Grillet accuse les mêmes romans d'être « humanistes ». C'est là un des traits caractéristiques de tous les romans traditionnels et existentialistes que le nouveau roman veut bannir: « Deux grandes œuvres au moins, dans les dernières décades, nous ont offert deux nouvelles formes de la complicité totale: l'absurde et la nausée (. . .) l'absurde est (. . .) bien une forme d'humanisme tragique. »[8] Il s'agit bien sûr de l'*Étranger* et de la *Nausée*.

Après avoir rejeté les métaphores dans l'*Étranger*, Robbe-Grillet reproche à *La Nausée* son monde tragique: « Nous sommes, cette fois encore, dans un univers entièrement tragifié: (. . .) « sourire complice des choses » s'active en un rictus: « Tous les objets qui m'entourent étaient faits de la même matière que moi, d'une espèce de souffrance moche ».

Mais le célibat triste de Roquentin, son amour perdu, sa « vie gâchée », le destin lugubre et risible de l'Autodidacte, toute cette malédiction du monde terreste, ne sommes-nous pas incités, dans ces conditions, à les porter au rang d'une nécessité supérieure? Où est alors la liberté? Puisque ceux qui ne voudront pas de cette malédiction sont bel et bien menacés de la condamnation

morale suprême: ils seront des « salauds ». Tout se passe donc comme si Sartre — qui ne peut pourtant pas être accusé d'essentialisme — avait, dans ce livre du moins, porté à leur plus haut degré les idées de nature et de tragédie. Une fois de plus, lutter contre les idées n'a fait d'abord que lui conférer des forces nouvelles. »[9]

Nous considérons ces deux passages de Robbe-Grillet que nous venons de citer comme fondamentaux pour comprendre non seulement l'ambiguïté de sa position envers l'existentialisme, mais aussi les différences qui séparent le nouveau roman du roman existentialiste. Car le refus du caractère, de l'intrigue, la mutilation du temps et de l'espace tant soulignés par la critique ne sont point les inventions du nouveau roman.

Ce n'est pas le refus même de tel ou tel élément caractéristique du roman traditionnel qui nous révèle la nouveauté du nouveau roman, mais bien l'aspect de ce refus. En effet, quand Robbe-Grillet parle du refus de l'intrigue, il pense avant tout à la tragédie. Ceci est une chose très importante à souligner, car le lecteur, ayant lu des critiques qui ne parlent que de l'absence de l'intrigue dans le nouveau roman, se verra fort étonné lorsqu'il lira des romans qui possèdent une intrigue non seulement fort compliquée, mais parfois même d'un caractère policier. Seulement, aucun acte humain ne cache de sentiment tragique.

Parlant du refus de l'intrigue, les critiques citent Flaubert. Pourtant, de ce point de vue, le vrai précurseur est Gide puisque c'est l'acte gratuit d'Edouard, dans *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* qui préfigure l'action du nouveau roman. Tandis que chez Flaubert la tragédie de la condition humaine se déploie à partir d'un thème banal, Gide va dans le sens contraire: il réduit le tragique à la banalité.

Mais c'est le roman existentialiste qui sera l'avant-coureur immédiat de la dissolution de l'intrigue dans le nouveau roman, car, en même temps qu'il détache l'intrigue du roman de l'Histoire, le roman existentialiste met en cause l'importance du dénouement.

L'intrigue du roman existentialiste remonte, d'une part aux contes philosophiques des XVIIe—XVIIIe siècles et d'autre part, au roman moderne, surtout américain (Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner). Tandis que les contes fourniront le modèle du romanesque, des pensées philosophiques, le roman moderne enseignera au roman existentialiste l'art de nouer l'action. Seulement, dans le roman existentialiste, ces deux influences se présenteront dans une sorte d'alliage spécial. Sans refuser et encore moins supprimer l'intrigue, les existentialistes ouvriront néanmoins la voie au nouveau roman, non seulement par la dissolution de l'action romanesque traditionnelle, mais aussi par celle du héros, de l'espace et du temps. Le caractère idéologique doublé de la technique du monologue intérieur sera dans le roman existentialiste, l'un des obstacles majeurs empêchant une intrigue trop compliquée. Deuxièmement, la théorie de la liberté exclut du roman tout ce qui pourrait suggérer une détermination

sociale du personnage — nouveau trait qui, éloignant le roman existentialiste du roman traditionnel, prépare la disparition totale du héros dans le nouveau roman. Enfin, dans la plupart des cas, le fait que le héros soit privé et de son passé et de son avenir non seulement modifie chez les existentialistes le temps romanesque, mais ampute également l'intrigue, car ni le passé, ni l'avenir du héros ne pourront être racontés sans une certaine ruse de la part de l'auteur.

Sans vouloir entrer dans les détails, il est important de souligner que, malgré les différences au niveau de l'intrigue du roman existentialiste chez les différents auteurs (placé dans une « situation » chez Sartre et chez Beauvoir ou métaphysique chez Camus), et malgré le refus catégorique de tout roman existentialiste chez des nouveaux romancier, le nouveau roman français n'existerait pas sans les existentialistes, d'où son caractère typiquement français.

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L'ouvrage déjà cité de Robbe-Grillet: *Pour un nouveau roman*, paru en 1963, mais qui recueuille des articles écrits entre 1955 et 1963, est déjà fruit des réflexions théoriques du phénomène spontané qu'est le nouveau roman français. Nous disons spontané, car au début, l'étiquette nouveau roman s'applique à des œuvres les plus diverses. La preuve en est les listes établies par les critiques pour classer les auteurs dans les catégories appelées: *nouveau roman*, *école du regard* ou encore *littérature objective*.

L'une des listes des nouveaux romanciers est due à la revue *Esprit*,[10] qui appelle nouveau romancier tout auteur refusant la forme romanesque traditionnelle. Cette liste comprend: Samuel Beckett, Michel Butor, Jean Cayrol, Marguerite Duras, Jean Lagrolet, Robert Pinget, Alain Robbe-Grillet, Nathalie Sarraute, Claude Simon, et Kateb Yacine. D'autres critiques appellent nouveaux romanciers les auteurs qui publient aux *Éditions de Minuit*.[11]

Par la suite, le tableau des auteurs étiquetés sous le nom de « nouveaux romanciers » devient de plus en plus complexe. Parlant d'une « alittérature », Claude Mauriac met dans le même sac Sartre, Robbe-Grillet, Sarraute, Kafka, Henry Miller, Michel Leiris, Virginia Woolf, Joyce et Faulkner.[12]

L'éventail ouvert par Jean Ricardou est encore plus large. Dans son livre: *Le Nouveau roman*, il cite tous les romanciers qui s'opposent à la forme traditionnelle.[13]

Sans vouloir continuer à citer les diverses classifications, nous remarquerons seulement les divergences que présentent ces listes, divergences qui prouvent le caractère hétérogène du nouveau roman qui, au début, n'est pas une quelconque école, mais plutôt la rencontre fortuite des aspirations fort diverses d'une volonté de renouveler le roman.

Les critiques parues sur le nouveau roman ne sont pas moins contradictoires que les classifications. Leur seul point commun est le ton passionné

des éloges comme des attaques — signe incontestable de l'importance littéraire du phénomène.

Dans l'ordre chronologique, l'une des critiques les plus pertinentes naît sous la plume de Bernard Dort qui salue d'abord *Le Voyeur* de Robbe-Grillet comme étant la création d'un nouveau genre romanesque, qualifiant le roman d'être une éclatante réussite.[14] Une année après ces éloges, il souligne le caractère artificiel du nouveau roman, démontrant ses faiblesses idéologiques et parlant d'un « formalisme total » et d'un « totalitarisme honteux ».[15]

Pierre de Boisdeffre n'est pas moins contradictoire dans ses propos concernant le nouveau roman. Après avoir nommé Robbe-Grillet le « Copernic du roman », il écrit un pamphlet sur le nouveau roman et invite Robbe-Grillet à brûler ses romans et à revenir à son premier métier d'ingénieur agricole.[16]

Les deux critiques cités ont ceci en commun: le refus du nouveau roman. Le premier le fait sur un ton objectif, le second sur un ton plein de passion. Leur plate-forme idéologique est très différente. Tandis que Bernard Dort analyse les dangers idéologiques et esthétiques du nouveau roman du point de vue de la critique marxiste, Boisdeffre défend la critique et le roman traditionnels, les valeurs de la démocratie bourgeoise.

Les éloges de cet art nouveau sont au moins aussi contradictoires que les critiques négatives. Tandis que la critique anglo-saxonne analyse le nouveau roman en utilisant avant tout les méthodes de la critique traditionnelle, les critiques français mettent entre parenthèses contenu, message, espace, temps, héros, pour ne parler que de structure, de système et d'écriture.

C'est ainsi que, pour Bruce Morrissette, professeur américain, les romans de Robbe-Grillet offrent le champ de recherches « classiques »,[17] pour Roland Barthes le nouveau roman offrira le moyen de se libérer de l'écriture bourgeoise, permettant ainsi la libération idéologique, donc sociale également.[18] Cette pensée restera pour longtemps le slogan favori des nouveaux romanciers français.

Le sociologue Lucien Goldmann, très sensible à la théorie du roman du jeune Lukács, porte également un jugement favorable sur le nouveau roman. Dans ses analyses littéraires, il applique les méthodes du structuralisme génétique et celles de la sociologie d'un point de vue du matérialisme dialectique. Partant de la conception que toute œuvre littéraire, étant en soi fragment de réalité imaginaire, peut fournir une image totale du monde, il affirme que le nouveau roman est né « d'un effort aussi rigoureux et aussi radical que possible pour saisir, dans ce qu'elle a de plus essentiel, la réalité de notre temps. »[19] Il pousse même si loin la défense du nouveau roman que, lors d'un colloque, il affirmera que le nouveau roman se situe au niveau du réalisme critique.[20]

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Vers la fin des années soixante, un changement profond se dessine au sein du nouveau roman qui n'est plus ni spontané ni hétérogène. Le changement se reflète d'une part dans le fait que de nombreux écrivains, classés auparavant parmi les nouveaux romanciers, ne partagent pas les positions esthétiques de Robbe-Grillet et se désolidarisent d'avec le nouveau roman. Leur œuvre devient solitaire, se frayant un sentier dans la jungle de la littérature contemporaine. Tel fut le cas pour Jean Cayrol, profondément marqué par ses expériences concentrationnaires, et dont les héros lazaréens aspirent tout naturellement à un monde plus humain. Le nom de Samuel Beckett est également de moins en moins mentionné avec celui de Robbe-Grillet. En effet, son univers romanesque se situe au-delà de celui du nouveau roman. Dans ses conclusions sur la condition humaine, Samuel Beckett va beaucoup plus loin que le nouveau roman et également beaucoup plus tôt. Certains écrivains des années cinquante sont oubliés, d'une part, à cause du nombre restreint de leurs romans et d'autre part, parce qu'ils n'étaient que les satellites de certains grands noms. Ainsi on ne parle plus, par exemple, de Kateb Yacine, de Paul Gegauff ou d'Hélène Bessette etc.

Le tournant décisif dans le caractère du nouveau roman peut être lié à l'année 1971, date où Jean Ricardou quitte le groupe Tel Quel pour relayer Robbe-Grillet en tant que chef de file. A partir de cette date, le nouveau roman est un mouvement littéraire conscient, homogène, ayant ses principes et une théorie littéraire suivie par les écrivains qui y appartiennent.

La nouvelle période prend le nom de nouveau nouveau roman, nom qui lui est donné au colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle en 1971. Au cours de ce colloque, le critique Françoise van Rossum-Guyon souligne trois spécificités qui séparent le nouveau roman du nouveau nouveau roman: « 1° la reconnaissance d'un certain nombre de procédés de composition et d'écriture qui sont à la fois nouveaux et spécifiques, 2° la prise de conscience d'une évolution et même d'une transformation du Nouveau Roman avec l'émergence de ce que l'on a désigné sous le vocable de « Nouveau Nouveau Roman ». 3° une conception idéologique commune, du moins pour l'essentiel. »[21]

Parmi les procédés d'écriture, elle mentionne la disparition du personnage comme centre organisateur de la fiction en faveur d'une multiplication des rôles et des centres de perspectives partielles et contradictoires, une prolifération des anecdotes, le rôle des motifs ou thèmes générateurs dans la fiction, la mise en jeu systématique des figures géometriques, arithmétiques et grammaticales, insertion littérale de textes, la multiplication des mises en abyme.[22]

Selon une boutade de Jean Ricardou, le nouveau nouveau roman est moins « l'écriture d'une aventure que l'aventure d'une écriture ».

Il s'agit effectivement d'une formalisation consciente du roman, formalisation que certains situent vers les années soixante[23] tandis que d'autres la rattachent à l'année 1960.[24] Sans entrer dans les détails, il est bon de remarquer

que la formalisation du nouveau roman ou la naissance du nouveau nouveau roman ne peuvent pas être liées à une seule date. Si Jean Ricardou publie dès 1965 un roman formalisé avec *La Prise de Constantinople*, Claude Simon, lui attendra 1970 pour aboutir à cette sorte de formalisation romanesque dans Orion aveugle. Robbe-Grillet lui-même, par son roman intitulé *Projet pour une révolution à New-York*, paru également en 1970, est à cette date beaucoup plus près du nouveau roman que du nouveau nouveau roman qu'il ne l'est en 1976 à la parution de *Topologie d'une Cité Fantôme*.[25]

On peut en conclure que, si la prise de conscience de l'existence du nouveau nouveau roman se rattache à la date de 1971, les auteurs eux-mêmes arrivent à ce stade à des époques différentes.

A partir des années 70, le nouveau nouveau roman ne compte plus, d'entre les nouveaux romanciers, que Alain Robbe-Grillet, Claude Simon, Robert Pinget et Claude Ollier. Ni Michel Butor ni Nathalie Sarraute ni Marguerite Duras ne peuvent s'associer à la formalisation du roman dirigée désormais par le théoricien N° 1 du nouveau nouveau roman: Jean Ricardou.

De nos jours, il paraît déjà évident que le nouveau nouveau roman français n'est plus ni nouveau ni roman. Plus exactement, ce qui en est romanesque n'est pas neuf et ce qui est vraiment nouveau ne peut plus être nommé roman.

Un quart de siècle a suffi au nouveau roman pour supprimer en lui tout ce qu'il avait d'attrayant. Il n'est donc point surprenant que le lecteur continue à lire les œuvres classiques ou traditionnelles que le nouveau roman n'a pas su détrôner.

Restreint à des jeux formels, toujours plus éloigné du lecteur, le nouveau nouveau roman est également très loin du nouveau roman qui, par son effort en vue de renouveler les formes romanesques, pouvait encore présenter certaines valeurs.

Le sort du nouveau roman est une nouvelle preuve du caractère de ces tentatives qui, en renversant les valeurs réelles, veulent déconditionner la société de l'époque donnée non pas du côté des changements sociaux, mais à partir de l'écriture. Ces tentatives sont vouées à l'échec et, à l'exception de certaines inventions formelles, elles resteront éphémères.

NOTES

[1] Cf. *Renato Barilli:* Nouveau roman: aboutissement du roman phénoménologique ou nouvelle aventure romanesque? In Nouveau Roman: hier, aujourd'hui, 1 p. 107.

[2] Cf. *Bernard Pingaud:* Sartre Aujourd'hui. In: L'Arc, No 30.

[3] Clefs pour Les Gommes. In: Les Gommes, Ed. 10/18, 1962.

[4] *Georges Raillard:* La Nausée de J.-P. Sartre. Editions classiques Hachette, pp. 88—89.

[5] *Nagy, Géza:* A francia nouveau roman rejtett valósága. Helikon, 1965. I. 41.

[6] *Konrád, György:* A lemondás irodalma. A francia « absztrakt » regény. Nagyvilág, 1960. 3. 416.

[7] *Alain Robbe-Grillet:* Pour un nouveau roman. Éditions de Minuit. Paris, 1963, p. 27.

[8] *Alain Robbe-Grillet:* ibid., pp. 56—58.

[9] Ibid., 60—61.

[10] Cf. Esprit, N°[3] 7—8 1958.

[11] Cf. *Françoise Baqué:* Le Nouveau roman. Editions Bordas, Paris, 1972.

[12] *Claude Mauriac:* Alittérature contemporaine. Editions Albin Michel, Paris, 1958.

[13] *Jean Ricardou:* Le Nouveau roman. Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1973.

[14] Les Lettres Modernes, 1957 juin.

[15] Esprit, 1958 juillet-août.

[16] *Pierre de Boisdeffre:* La Cafetière est sur la table. Editions de la Table Ronde, Paris, 1967.

[17] *Bruce Morrissette:* Les romans de Robbe-Grillet. Editions de Minuit, 1963.

[18] Cf. *Roland Barthes:* Le degré zéro de l'écriture. Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1953, et Essais critiques. Collection « Tel Quel ». Editions du Seuil, 1964.

[19] Pour une sociologie du roman. Editions Gallimard, Paris, 1964, p. 283.

[20] Réponse de Lucien Goldmann à MM Elsberg et Jones. In: Sociologie de la littérature. Recherches récentes et discussions. Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1973, p. 213.

[21] Nouveau Roman hier, aujourd'hui 1. Union Générale d'Editions, Paris, 1972. p. 402.

[22] Cf. ibid., 402—405.

[23] Cf. idem.

[24] Cf. *Renato Barilli* op. cit.

[25] Cf. Magyar, Miklós: A játék mint cél és eszköz Robbe-Grillet legújabb regényében. Filológiai Közlöny, 1977. 4. pp. 394—402.

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Historischer Abriss der deutschen Gegenwartsprosa

Von

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Die deutschsprachige Literatur der letzten fünfunddreißig Jahre läßt sich unter zwei Aspekten denken. Die zwei Aspekte ergeben jeweils ein grundsätzlich anderes Bild, als ob es sich nicht um ein und dieselbe Literatur handelte.

Zunächst kann die Rede sein von den letzten Jahrzehnten einer heute hundertjährigen Literaturepoche, die aber nach diesen hundert Jahren nicht zu Ende ist, in der wir uns also auch heute noch befinden. Ihr Anfang liegt beim Naturalismus, der an und für sich literarisch-ästhetisch nicht sehr ergiebig ist, dem dafür aber epochale Bedeutung als ein neues Bewußtsein zukommt, welches seinerseits wieder nur das Produkt einer neuen Weltlage war. Die neue Weltlage läßt sich am treffendsten als die moderne Industriegesellschaft bezeichnen, und die Homogenität der Literaturepoche hat ihren Grund in der substantiellen Homogenität des Gesellschaftsbilds seit den 80er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts bis heute. Zwar scheint es auf den ersten Blick töricht zu behaupten, daß sich seitdem lediglich im inneren Maßstab einer einzigen Epoche literarische Formen geändert haben, doch kann zum Bedenken die Frage empfohlen werden, was an Inhaltlichem wesentlich Neues entstand, wenn wir unter dem Inhaltlichen das ontologisch formulierbare Weltanschauliche zu begreifen bereit sind. Bei dieser Bereitschaft läßt sich folgendes sagen: In den 80er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts war die neue Struktur der gesellschaftlichen Gesamtproduktion zu erkennen, in der die Großindustrie die entscheidende Rolle spielt, mit all ihren Auswirkungen: mit der Reduzierung der Zahl der landwirtschaftlichen Bevölkerung und der abnehmenden Bedeutung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion, mit der ungeheueren Ansammlung von Menschenmassen in den Großstädten — wie man damals sagte: mit der Landflucht — und der Geschichts- und Gesichtslosigkeit in den großen Städten; mit dem Entstehen des Produkts dieser hochorganisierten Produktions- und Gesellschaftsform, der modernen Intelligenz, deren sie angefangen von den Natur- und technischen Wissenschaften über die Technik und die Bildung bis zu den Medien bedurfte und die fortan als Trägerin eines konturierbaren Bewußtseins die Schöpferin der Literatur wurde; mit den zwei Philosophen, die als erste zwei im Ansatz vergleichbare, in den Folgerungen grundverschie-

dene Antworten auf die Herausforderung der neuen Lage gegeben haben, mit Marx und Nietzsche. Sie und in ihren Spuren die moderne Intelligenz haben die Gefährdung der artspezifischen Entwicklung des Menschen, das Bedrohtsein des Individuellen, signalisiert. Die Utopie einer Möglichkeit der Harmonie von Individuum und Gesellschaft, die Wilhelm Meister und den Grünen Heinrich als Brüder erscheinen läßt, war zu Ende geträumt, und ihre Söhne und Enkel sind die Henschel und Xaver Zürn Gerhart Hauptmanns und Martin Walsers oder Peter Camenzind, Hans Castorp und Ludwig Anatol Stiller, alle bedroht von der »Vergewaltigung der Persönlichkeit« Naphtas, durch bekannte oder unbekannte und unnennbare Kräfte.

So gesehen sind die selbstbewußt tönenden Manifeste des Expressionismus oder die stolz hingeschleuderte Herausforderung in Princeton mitsamt ihren Folgen nur ein kleiner Wellenschlag; der Friedrich Ernst Tollers *(Die Wandlung)* greift genauso ins Leere wie die zerfahrenen Kaum-Figuren von Peter Handke. Sie sind alle Suchende, die nichts finden. Und was noch erstaunlicher ist: all die ungeheueren historischen Ereignisse und Umwälzungen haben sich fast ohne Folgen für den Geist der Literatur abgespielt. Wenn wir die Einsamen Menschen und den Kleist und die Günderode des *Kein Ort. Nirgends* nebeneinanderstellen, scheint die zeitlich zwischen den beiden Paaren liegende Vision Oswald Spenglers über die Krise des abendländischen Menschen nicht ganz unberechtigt gewesen zu sein.

Damit will nur soviel gesagt werden, daß wir seit hundert Jahren in ein und derselben literarischen Epoche leben und dieser Epochencharakter der Literatur genau dem Epochencharakter der Gesellschaft entspricht.

Ein ganz anderes Bild gewinnen wir jedoch, wenn wir den zweiten Aspekt wählen und uns einmal versuchsweise in das Jahr 1947 versetzen. Von dieser Warte aus spielt es keine Rolle, daß eine Kontinuität zwischen dem *Tonio Kröger*, dem *Zauberberg* und dem sowieso damals noch nicht geschriebenen *Erwählten* besteht und sich diese Kontinuität mit unwesentlichen Abstrichen fortführen läßt über den *Stiller* bis zum *Gruppenbild mit Dame* und weiter, daß sich andere, parallele Kontinuitäten vorstellen lassen, z.B. zwischen dem *Grubetsch*, dem *Siebten Kreuz* und der *Kraft der Schwachen*. Wenn wir unser Teleobjektiv auf das besagte Jahr 1947 fixieren, dann haben die historischen Ereignisse und vorübergehenden aber markanten Zustände eine überwältigende Wirkung auf die Literatur, dann scheinen sie viel stärker zu sein als die Grundmerkmale der historisch-gesellschaftlichen Epoche und dann gibt es, trotz aller jüngeren Beteuerungen über das Nicht-Dagewesen-Sein des »Nullpunkts«, in diesem literaturhistorischen Augenblick 1947 keine nennenswerte und literaturhistorisch organisch erfaßbare deutschsprachige Literatur. *Die Stadt hinter dem Strom* spricht zu leise, man kann ihre Stimme kaum hören, und der *Doktor Faustus* ist ein Buch von einem anderen Planeten, es ist keiner da, der diese mächtige Stimme hören würde. Eine deutsche Literatur findet nicht statt.

Für die jetzt folgenden Betrachtungen wählen wir diesen zweiten Aspekt. Die Überschrift des vorliegenden Aufsatzes kann aufgefaßt werden als ein Hinweis auf den Versuch, den Weg von diesem Nullpunkt bis zur Wiederherstellung der Kontinuität aufzuzeichnen.

Eine mögliche deutsche Literatur unmittelbar nach dem Krieg hatte nur potentielle Quellen.

Die erste wäre die Fortsetzung dessen, was an wirklicher Literatur — ob in der inneren Emigration oder nicht — vor 1945 in Deutschland selbst vorhanden gewesen ist. Die Unterscheidung durch »oder« will keineswegs das Vorhandensein einer Literatur der inneren Emigration in Frage stellen, sie will vielmehr darauf hinweisen, daß über die innere Emigration hinaus auch die von Hans Dieter Schäfer ins Licht der literarischen Öffentlichkeit gehobene Literatur der »jungen Generation« in der Tat da war.[1] Die Autoren der inneren Emigration sind in der Folgezeit nicht bestimmend in der Literatur geworden, und das Vorhandensein der »jungen Generation« mußte eben erst später »ins Licht gehoben« werden, so wenig waren die ihr Angehörenden unmittelbar nach dem Krieg bekannt und so sehr gingen ihre späteren Werke in einem mächtigeren Strom der Literatur auf.

Die zweite Quelle hätte sich aus der Literatur der Emigration nähren können. Hier müssen wir gleich zwei Möglichkeiten erwägen.

Die sozialistische Emigration war zu dem von uns gewählten Zeitpunkt noch nicht literarisch präsent und später konnte sie — bis auf wenige Ausnahmen — nur in einem Teilbereich der deutschen Literatur wirksam werden. Insofern sie wirksam wurde, ergab sich dadurch eine gewisse Kontinuität: sowohl die allgemeine Erwartung der Kulturpolitik wie auch die einzelnen Autoren selbst versuchten etwas weiterzuführen, was vor 1933 begann und während der Emigration fortgesetzt wurde. Nur wurde diese Kontinuität dadurch beeinträchtigt, daß die Autoren — wieder bis auf wenige Ausnahmen — entweder nur relativ kurz an der Gestaltung des literarischen Lebens teilhaben konnten, oder nur schwer einen organischen Kontakt zu einer neuen Bewußtseinslage und Situation der lesenden Gesellschaft fanden.

Der andere — größere — Teil der emigrierten Literatur ist eigentlich nie in den lebendigen literarischen Prozeß integriert worden, unabhängig davon, ob seine Angehörigen sich darum bemühten, wie z. B. Alfred Kerr oder Alfred Döblin, oder nur der Sprache nach deutsche Autoren blieben, wie Lion Feuchtwanger. Das meiste, was man erreichen konnte, war, daß man ein Klassiker wurde, ein Thema für die Literaturwissenschaft und für Jubiläumsjahre wie Thomas Mann, oder der Gegenstand später, übrigens erfolgsloser Entdeckung wie Heinrich Mann, beides immerhin erst in den 70er Jahren. Damals waren sie beide und viele andere ihrer Art einfach nichtexistent für das lesende und schreibende Volk und hatten folglich keinen nennenswerten Einfluß auf den Geist und die Formen eines Neubeginns.

Dieser Neubeginn kam — und das ist ein seltener Fall in der Literaturgeschichte — unmittelbar aus der Basis, war — mit anderen Worten — der direkte Ausdruck von Zeitstimmungen, zunächst ohne erfaßbare Vorbilder, weder in der eigenen Nationalliteratur noch in der ausländischen der damaligen jüngsten Vergangenheit oder Gegenwart. Die beiden bedeutenden Werke der ersten (zweiten?) Stunde, die Romane Hermann Kasacks und Ernst Kreuders, sind literaturhistorisch gesehen zeitlos oder nur zeitgebunden in der beabsichtigten Bindungslosigkeit der inneren Emigration. Zukunftsträchtige Literatur kam von Wolfgang Borchert und bezeichnend ist, was der spätere Konsensus über seine Traditionsgebundenheit in Form eines — übrigens in seinem Inhalt richtigen — Gemeinplatzes mit einer etwas vagen, nie bewiesenen Feststellung und mit der latenten Unsicherheit einer verschämten Bescheidenheit wiederholt: er — Wolfgang Borchert — greife auf fast völlig verschüttete Elemente des Expressionismus zurück. Was mit anderen Worten eigentlich bedeutet, daß er keine brauchbaren und damals aktualisierbaren Vorbilder hatte, weder in der inneren Emigration noch in der wie auch immer beinhalteten äußeren. Er wußte nur — und trotz der tragischen Kürze seiner literarischen Laufbahn immer mehr —, *was* er sagen will und stammelt nur, was die Form betrifft.

Am Anfang der kontinuitätsfähigen deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur steht auch nach Wolfgang Borchert die Unmittelbarkeit des Erlebens in den Kurzgeschichten von Heinrich Böll und Wolfdietrich Schnurre oder in den umfangreicheren Prosaarbeiten von Alfred Andersch und Hans Werner Richter. Bei dem paradigmatischen Autor jener und zum Teil auch späterer Jahre, Heinrich Böll, können wir von Werk zu Werk, etwa bis zum *Haus ohne Hüter*, verfolgen, wie sich ein Weltbild verfestigt, das sich in aussagekräftige umfassende epische Gestaltungen umsetzen läßt. Dieses Weltbild schien damals vom Erkenntnisweg eines sonst in der Labilität des Bewußtseins taumelnden Volkes beherrscht zu sein, zumal wenn wir uns die doch eine gewisse Repräsentativität mit Recht beanspruchenden Hervorbringungen der 50er Jahre vor Augen halten: *Die sterbende Jagd* und *Eine Stimme hebt an* von Gerd Gaiser, die *Tauben im Gras* und in der Nachfolge den *Tod in Rom* von Wolfgang Koeppen, die *Anfrage* von Christian Geißler oder *Engelbert Reineke* von Paul Schallück. Dieser Weg der Erkenntnis, der eigentlich zum gewichtigen, den Zeitgeist adäquat artikulierenden neuen deutschen Roman führt, läßt sich vereinfachend und — eingestandenerweise — auch etwas verfälschend an den Stationen der Klage über das Schicksal und die Lage des einzelnen, der Anklage gegenüber den Kräften der Nationalgeschichte und ihrer bestimmenden Trägerschicht, des Bekenntnisses der Schuld des gesamten Volkes und der Kritik am Weiterleben der Vergangenheit fixieren. So sah es wenigstens damals aus, und etwas davon können wir auch heute, aus der Perspektive eines Vierteljahrhunderts als Sinngebung eines literarischen Prozesses beibehalten, zumal als

vorläufiger Abschluß dieses Weges Werke stehen, die ihre Kraft und Tiefe aus dem zeitromanhaften Verständnis der Vergangenheit schöpfen wie *Billard um halbzehn*, der erste Band der *Abenteuer des Werner Holt* und ganz vornehmlich *Katz und Maus* bzw. *Die Blechtrommel*.

Als ein scheinbarer, d. h. nicht als ein wirklicher, kann dieser Weg von der Klage bis zur »Bewältigung der Vergangenheit« (in Anführungsstrichen, da der Sinn dieses terminusartigen Begriffs vielfach, u. a. auch von Heinrich Böll, m. E. berechtigt in Frage gestellt wurde) angesehen werden, weil die spätere Einsicht des literaturhistorischen Bewußtseins und die bessere Kenntnis der Werke und des Weltbilds der Autoren andere Bewußtseinsimpulse hinter den Romanen erkenntlich macht und infolgedessen die Werke selbst anders gelesen werden müssen als zur Zeit ihres Erscheinens. So z. B. auch beim Hauptrepräsentanten dieser Anfangsperiode selbst, Heinrich Böll. Das Schema scheint bei ihm in seiner vollen Gültigkeit aufzugehen, wobei die einzelnen Stationen etwa in den ersten Kurzgeschichten (Klage), den späteren satirisch angehauchten Kriegsgeschichten und in *Der Zug war pünktlich* (Anklage), in *Wo warst du, Adam?* (Bekenntnis) und dann in den zwei schon erwähnten umfangreichen Romanen (Bewältigung der Vergangenheit) gesehen werden dürften. Heute, in Kenntnis des späteren Werks und seiner eigenen Äußerungen, die doch eine gewisse Gültigkeit für seine Absichten und auch ihre Ergebnisse besitzen, also auch Folgen für das Verständnis dieser seiner Schriften haben, büßt das obige Schema an Stringenz ein und läßt diese Werke als die stofflich zeitgemäßen Gestaltungen der immer schon und auch weiterhin herrschenden Vorstellung des Autors über das Bild der wertvollen und autonomen Persönlichkeit in seinem Sinne und über die Möglichkeit oder Unmöglichkeit ihrer Entfaltung erscheinen. Robert Fähmel ist so gesehen einerseits zwar weiterhin ein »Bewältiger der Vergangenheit« und ein »Bekenner der deutschen Schuld«, Nettlinger bzw. die anderen »Büffel« von Hindenburg an sind im allgemeinen die Objekte der Kritik an der deutschen Vergangenheit und ihrer Fortsetzung in die Gegenwart, andererseits aber verkörpern sie jeweils die selbständigen, wertvollen, in sich bestehenden Persönlichkeiten — des Plurals wegen nehmen wir außer Johanna Fähmel noch Strella dazu, der sich in der Behauptung *seiner* Lebensauffassung und seiner Sicht auf menschliche Würde und Sinngebung sogar über einfache milieubedingte, allgemein anerkannte Konventionen bewußt hinwegsetzt, — und ihre Gegenbilder, die statt Persönlichkeit nur eine verinnerlichte Rolle haben, durch welche ihnen das jeweilige Unpersönliche, die Verhaltensweisen der Herrschafts- und Massengesellschaft aufgezwungen werden. Dies nur als Beispiel. Ähnlich ließe sich unter diesen zwei Aspekten, unter dem der »Bewältigung« und dem der Persönlichkeitsproblematik, *Die Blechtrommel* untersuchen, was aber einen Aufsatz für sich beanspruchen würde. Nichtsdestoweniger gilt jedoch die These, daß andere Werke — und hier könnten wir auch einen Blick auf die anderen Gattungen werfen —

nicht über die spezifisch deutsche Problematik hinausgehen. Zu diesen anderen Werken gehören unbedingt die oben erwähnten Romane Wolfgang Koeppens, Paul Schallücks und Christian Geißlers oder die etwas späteren Dramen *Eiche und Angora* und *Der Schwarze Schwan* von Martin Walser.

Wir wollen aber zurück zum zweiten Aspekt bei Böll: er führt uns nämlich zum anderen markanten Charakteristikum des Neubeginns im zeitlich etwas erweiterten Sinne, also zur Periode bis ungefähr 1960. Von dieser Zweiteilung der Menschheit, die sich im *Billard* ästhetisch im Symbol des »Lammes« und des »Sakraments des Büffels« materialisierte, sagt er selber, daß sie maßgeblich auf die Lektüre neukatholischer französischer Autoren Mitte der 30er Jahre zurückgeht. Damit sind wir bei der Aneignung ausländischer Literaturen durch die deutsche, die in diesem Böllschen Fall in ihrem zeitlichen Ablauf natürlich keine typische ist. Für typisch halten wir sie als Vorgang in einer Nachholphase: nachgeholt wird in den 50er Jahren die während der Nazizeit zwangsläufig versäumte Kenntnisnahme der jüngeren und jüngsten ausländischen Literatur. Diese Nachholarbeit bildet die zweite Hauptquelle der neuen deutschen Literatur.

Damit sind wir aber auf ein Terrain gekommen, auf dem wir uns nur mit der größten Vorsicht bewegen dürfen: wir kennen eher die Tatsache selbst und ihre Wichtigkeit als den genauen Verlauf und die Details dieses Prozesses. Wir wissen mit Sicherheit nur, daß dadurch die neue deutsche Literatur eine andere geworden ist als sie ohne ihn geworden wäre, synthetisierende Feststellungen und Darstellungen können wir uns jedoch ohne die Aufarbeitung der Einzelheiten kaum erlauben. Formen und darstellerische Methoden tauchen auf und verbreiten sich, die früher in der deutschen Literatur nicht oder nicht in dieser Weise da waren und auch nicht innerhalb der deutschen Literatur entstanden sind; schwieriger ist zu sagen, wer was von wem übernommen hat.

Wir dürfen als allgemein bekannt voraussetzen, daß sich vor allem die reichlich einströmende amerikanische Literatur auswirkte, allen voran Ernest Hemingway. Die kurzen Prosastücke der ersten Jahre und ihr emotionell unterkühlter, manchmal — aber gewiß nicht bei Heinrich Böll — gefühllos wirkender Berichterton könnte an und für sich auch von der Desorientiertheit und der Konzentrierung auf das unmittelbar Erlebte (oder Erinnerte) herrühren, ist jedoch ganz sicher zugleich eine Folge der überwältigenden Wirkung des großen Amerikaners und anderer bis dahin unbekannter angelsächsischer Auroren. Es hat schon seine Berechtigung, daß seitdem die Novelle als Genrebezeichnung nicht mehr ausreicht und auch in der Analyse und Beschreibung deutscher Literatur die Bezeichnung »Kurzgeschichte« oder sogar »short story« heimisch wurde. Die Verwendung der Rückblenden und ihrer entwickelten Form, der ineinandergeschachtelten verschiedenen Zeitebenen, bei Heinrich Böll fast von Anfang an, auf jeden Fall aber seit *Der Zug war pünktlich*, die

dann immer mehr an Wichtigkeit gewinnend im *Billard* zum kompositorischen Hauptmoment wird und das für den Roman so sehr charakteristische Auseinanderklaffen der Erzählzeit und der erzählten Zeit erst möglich macht, schreibt man dem Einfluß Graham Greens zu. Ähnlich ist es bei Alfred Andersch. Als schwieriger erweist es sich, den Einfluß Faulkners und Dos Passos' konkret erfaßbar zu machen, zumal ihr namhaftester möglicher Schüler, Günter Grass, mit seiner unerschöpflichen Sprachphantasie und seinem überbordenden Einfallsreichtum selbst der Mann zu sein scheinen kann, der fähig ist das hervorzubringen, was an die eventuellen Lehrmeister erinnert. Sein Bekenntnis zu Döblin gibt aber einen Hinweis wenigstens auf den letzteren. Martin Walser bot sich in seiner schriftstellerischen Jugend in den 50er Jahren gleichsam an, gegebenenfalls sehr schwierige aber kaum umgängliche Erfahrungen der europäischen Literatur auszuprobieren bzw. in den Kreislauf der deutschen Literatur einzuführen. So in seinen beinahe epigonenhaft wirkenden ersten Novellen, die auf den ersten Blick die Handschrift Kafkas verraten, und es ist nur eines der tragischen Momente der jüngeren deutschen Literaturgeschichte und nicht etwa ein Versuch, den deutschschreibenden Prager im Begriff der Kulturnation als einen Ausländer zu bezeichnen, wenn wir hier seinen Eintritt in die deutsche Erzählpraxis unter den wirklichen Ausländern anführen müssen. Der andere große Wurf Martin Walsers nach der gleich aufgegebenen Balzac-Nachfolge in *Ehen in Philippsburg* war offensichtlich James Joyce, von dem er den Bewußtseinsstrom und das gegebenenfalls fast bis zur Konturlosigkeit zerfließende und sich über die Sprachen hinwegsetzende zentrale Bewußtsein übernahm. Mit ihm zusammen wirkten am Heimischwerden Joycescher und anderer moderner Darstellungsmethoden Peter Weiß, Uwe Johnson und etwas später Wolfgang Hildesheimer mit. Die wirkliche Aneignung alogischen, alogisch scheinenden und symbolischen Erzählens erfahren wir bei dem fast unbekannten Großen moderner deutscher Literatur, Hans Erich Nossack, beinahe überbetont in *Nekya*, und als eine vollkommene Verschmelzung des Einflusses mit seinem eigenen inneren dichterischen Menschen, als organische Form *seiner* Idee, in der *Unmöglichen Beweisaufnahme* und in seinen Hauptwerken (wie vornehmlich *Das kennt man* und *Nach dem letzten Aufstand*), die überhaupt zum Besten und Schönsten in der jüngsten deutschen Literatur gehören. Für uns ist jedoch Nossack hier nicht vor allem in der Nachfolge Kafkas signifikant, sondern als der ausgeprägteste Existenzialist und insofern ein Vermittler französischen Geistesguts für die deutsche Literatur. In seinem Werk geht es ganz konkret um die — wir dürfen vielleicht so sagen — verlustlose Übertragung überwiegend philosophischer Erfahrung ins Medium der Literatur, und es unterliegt auch keinem Zweifel, daß diese philosophische Erfahrung in dieser Form zuerst in Frankreich gemacht wurde.

Trotzdem dürfen wir nicht behaupten, daß der Existenzialismus im allgemeinen durch Hans Erich Nossack allein und als ersten Bestandteil der

deutschen Literatur wurde. Sind doch die Zitate von Kierkegaard als Mottos im *Stiller* (1954) nur handgreifliche Zeichen für etwas Tieferliegendes und überaus Bedeutendes: daß nämlich das Ideenkonzept des Romans selbst auf die Kierkegaardsche Weltsicht und sein Verständnis der Situation des Menschen zurückgeht. Anatol Ludwig Stiller ist ein Einsamer und Bewußter in der Gesellschaft der Vielzuvielen und Rollenträger und versucht, sich selbst zu finden, um dieses Selbst dann zu verwirklichen.

Damit verlassen wir aber den Bereich des ersten Abschnitts unserer Übersicht, den Abschnitt über die Neukonstituierung der deutschen Literatur, gesehen aus der Sicht des Nullpunkts, des scheinbaren Zustands der Nichtexistenz dieser Literatur. Mit der Aufarbeitung der spezifisch deutschen und zeitbedingt vorübergehenden Problematik und der Übernahme modernster Darstellungsverfahren und -mittel hat die deutsche Literatur bis zum Ende der 50er Jahre den Anschluß an die Weltliteratur und an sich selbst, wie sie vor 1933 war und es in den höchsten Hervorbringungen der Emigrationszeit blieb, gefunden. Max Frischs *Stiller*, obwohl 1954 erschienen, steht nicht nur in der Kontinuität der Literatur seit der Jahrhundertwende, sondern ist zugleich eine Vorwegnahme der Literatur ab und nach 1960. Und als ein gleichsam symbolisches Zeichen dafür hebt auch Martin Walsers *Ein fliehendes Pferd* (1978) mit einem Kierkegaard-Zitat an. Was mit anderen Worten bedeutet, daß er — der *Stiller* nämlich — nur unter dem Aspekt der Hundertjahrperiode als organischer Bestandteil der deutschen Literatur behandelt werden kann. Wie übrigens die Werke Thomas Manns oder Hermann Hesses nach 1945.

Das gilt aber naturgemäß in fast vollem Umfang auch für die gesamte deutsche Literatur seit der *Blechtrommel* und der *Halbzeit*: sie sind geistige und künstlerische Produkte der fortgeschrittenen Phase des modernen Industriezeitalters. Für die seit 1960 vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnte gelten zwei konstituierende Elemente, übrigens beide nur die zeitgemäßen Erscheinungsformen der Periode seit 1880: die Persönlichkeitsproblematik als Inhalt und die Suche nach neuen Möglichkeiten ästhetischer Weltgestaltung als typische Verhaltensweise von in die Literatur neu einziehenden Generationen, die insofern auch als Suche nach neuen Inhalten aufgefaßt werden kann.

In diesem Sinne ist das *Billard* Heinrich Bölls Abschluß, und sind *Die Blechtrommel* von Günter Grass und Martin Walsers *Die Halbzeit* die Eröffnung einer Periode in der *Nachkriegsliteratur*, nicht aber in der Literatur schlechthin bzw. in der Großperiode seit 1880. Im Rahmen der Großperiode sind sie Fortsetzung eines Genres in zeitgemäß abgewandelter Form, doch auch in dieser Eigenart nicht die ersten: Max Frischs *Stiller* ging ihnen voraus und schließt sich dadurch sogar zeitlich den beiden letzten Monumenten des Romantypus der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts, dem *Doktor Faustus* und dem *Glasperlenspiel*, an. Das ist kein Zufall: Max Frisch, zwar der Kulturnation, nicht aber

der Nation angehörend, blieb erspart, was die Mitglieder der letzteren in seiner und der nächsten Generation traf und sie zwang, einen Sonderweg zu finden und einzuschlagen, der sie zum allgemein Gültigen zurückführte.

Wir wollen den Roman der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts hier — wenig glücklich aber durch den Benennungszwang entschuldigt — den »Entwicklungsroman der Innerlichkeit« nennen. »Innerlichkeit« bedeutet hier die Fähigkeit (des Protagonisten), die Welt in sich aufzunehmen und infolgendessen nach der Vollendung der Entfaltung seiner Persönlichkeit ihrer nicht zu bedürfen. Es geht in dieser Art von Entwicklungsroman um These, Antithese und Synthese, die zugleich die höhere Schellingsche und Hegelsche Einheit ist, als kompositionelles Schema. Worin dieses Schema besteht, soll hier ein Würdiger sagen: »Von (der) krankhaften Vereinsamung, von der Wüste (der) Versuchs-Jahre« — nach dem »ersten Ausbruch der Kraft« — »ist der Weg noch weit bis zu jener ungeheuren überströmenden Sicherheit und Gesundheit, welche der Krankheit selbst nicht entraten mag, als eines Mittels und Angelhakens der Erkenntnis, bis zu jener *reifen* Freiheit des Geistes«, bis zu dem Überschuß, »der dem freien Geiste das gefährliche Vorrecht gibt, *auf den Versuch* hin zu leben und sich dem Abenteuer anbieten zu dürfen. (. . .). Es gibt einen mittleren Zustand darin, dessen ein Mensch solchen Schicksals später nicht ohne Rührung eingedenk ist: ein blasses feines Licht und Sonnenglück ist ihm zu eigen, ein Gefühl von Vogel-Freiheit, Vogel-Umblick, Vogel-Übermut, etwas Drittes, in dem sich Neugierde und zarte Verachtung gebunden haben. Ein Schritt weiter in der Genesung: und der freie Geist nähert sich wieder dem Leben, langsam freilich, fast widerspenstig, fast mißtrauisch. Es wird wieder wärmer um ihn (. . .). Fast ist ihm zu Mute, als ob ihm jetzt erst die Augen für das *Nahe* aufgingen. Er ist verwundert und sitzt stille, *wo war* er doch? Diese nahen und nächsten Dinge: wie scheinen sie ihm verwandelt! welchen Flaum und Zauber haben sie inzwischen bekommen. Er blickt dankbar zurück, — dankbar seiner Wanderschaft, seiner Härte und Selbstentfremdung, seinen Fernblicken und Vogelflügen in kalten Höhen.«[2] (Hvgh. von Friedrich Nietzsche) Kompetent ist Nietzsche, weil die Handlung und Idee dieser Romane auf ihn zurückgeht, die »Selbstentfremdung« *und* die Selbstfindung der Helden kraft ihrer besonderen Individualität. — Die beiden Mottos am Anfang des *Stiller* lauten: »Sieh, darum ist es so schwer, sich selbst zu wählen, weil in dieser Wahl die absolute Isolation mit der tiefsten Kontinuität identisch ist, weil durch sie jede Möglichkeit, etwas anderes zu werden, vielmehr sich in etwas anderes umzudichten, unbedingt ausgeschlossen wird« und: » — : indem die Leidenschaft der Freiheit in ihm erwacht (und sie erwacht in der Wahl, wie sie sich in der Wahl selber voraussetzt), wählt er sich selbst und kämpft um diesen Besitz als um eine Seligkeit, und das ist seine Seligkeit.« Beide Sätze stammen — wie gesagt — von Sören Kierkegaard. Und die Helden der Romane der Gegenwart erreichen diese Seligkeit am Ende ihres Wegs nicht, sondern

entweder überhaupt nicht, oder vorübergehend unterwegs und auch dann nur durch bewußte Selbsttäuschung wie Anatol Ludwig Stiller.

Einfach und ohne Zitate besagt dies, daß der Phänotyp des Romans nach der Jahrhundertmitte nicht mehr unter dem Zeichen Nietzsches, sondern Kierkegaards steht, und das heißt: dem Menschen wird die Möglichkeit der Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit auch außerhalb der Gesellschaft abgesprochen bzw. abgesprochen wird ihm die Möglichkeit, sich gegenüber der die Persönlichkeit vergewaltigenden übermächtigen Gesellschaft zu behaupten. Selbstverständlich könnte Kierkegard genauso optimistisch ausgelegt werden wie früher Nietzsche (wie es übrigens auch vorkam, z. B. in einigen Werken Ernst Wiecherts, daß auch der Nietzschesche Weg zum Scheitern führte); nur scheint der Zeitgeist im literarischen Bewußtsein, das diesmal auch das Bewußtsein der Literaten heißen kann, jetzt ein anderer zu sein. Ein äußeres Zeichen dieser Änderung, das aber eines Bezugs zum Inhalt nicht entbehrt, ist, daß wir es mit »umgekehrten Entwicklungsromanen«, wenn mir dieser andere etwas gewagte Arbeitsterminus erlaubt ist, zu tun haben. Im Gegensatz zu früher nämlich ist der Weg der Helden nicht offen, oder anders gesagt: kein allwissender Autor begleitet seine Kunstfigur von ihrem »Aufbruch« in ihrem »Versuch« und darüber hinaus bis zum Ende ihrer »Wanderschaft«: der auf seine eigene Perspektive beschränkte Protagonist — was natürlich keineswegs in jedem Falle eine wirkliche Beschränkung bedeutet — beginnt mit seinem Bericht bzw. inneren Monolog nach dem Scheitern seines Unternehmens, das sich hier nicht mehr als der Weg der und zu der an sich gesetzten Persönlichkeit, sondern als der Versuch, zu sich selbst zu finden und den Zwängen der Gesellschaft, der Frustration zu entgehen, darstellt. Diese kompositionelle Eigenart hat uns zusätzlich ermutigt, *Die Blechtrommel* neben den *Stiller* zu stellen, wobei wir keineswegs behaupten wollen, daß der Roman von Günter Grass durch *diese* Eigenart in seiner Vollständigkeit erfaßt werden kann, — und sie berechtigt uns, neben so paradigmatischen Werken wie *Tynset* von Wolfgang Hildesheimer oder *Ephraim* von Alfred Andersch den bisherigen Höhepunkt des Böllschen Werkes, das *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, hier als weiteres und ausschlaggebendes Beispiel zu nennen. Für *Die Halbzeit* und ihre Fortsetzungen gilt dieses äußere Merkmal nicht, trotzdem kann nicht abgestritten werden, daß es in der Trilogie um den Menschen unter dem Druck des Rollenzwangs geht, der hier »Leistungszwang« heißt, und daß Anselm Kristlein sich von Stiller *im wesentlichen* nur darin unterscheidet, daß er sich seines inneren Triebs zur Verwirklichung seiner selbst nicht einmal bewußt wird. Wir brauchen kaum zu sagen, daß die Kunst Martin Walsers in den 70er Jahren von *Jenseits der Liebe* bis zum vorläufig letzten Buch, *Schwanenhaus*, vor allem gerade in der Darstellung des Identitätsverlusts als vollendet gelten kann. Ähnlich ist es in den ersten Romanen Uwe Johnsons, die trotz ihrer Entstehungszeit keineswegs zur »Aufholphase« der deutschen Literatur nach dem Krieg gehören: ihre Helden

sind »an und für sich verlorene Persönlichkeiten«, in einer Abwandlung der Lukácsschen »an sich gesetzten Persönlichkeit« gesagt.

Das wäre — kurz formuliert — eine vergebliche Identitätssuche, die jedoch gerade durch ihre Beharrlichkeit zeigt, daß der Anspruch auf die Identität nicht aufgegeben wird. In dieser Suche und Beharrlichkeit scheint sich in den letzten Jahren ein neues Moment durchzusetzen. Walter Jens hat vor zwanzig Jahren gemeint, eine Beschränkung der Autoren auf einen geographisch umgrenzten Bezirk als Schauplatz und im Personenkreis ihrer Werke feststellen zu müssen. So war für ihn — und man konnte nichts dagegen einwenden — Böll an Köln, Grass an Danzig und Umgebung, Siegfried Lenz an Hamburg — die Reihe ließe sich fortsetzen — gebunden. Daran hat sich inzwischen äußerlich nichts geändert. Aber diese Gebundenheit erhielt inzwischen bei einigen Autoren einen anderen Inhalt, und wenn Walter Jens sich damals berechtigt fühlte, das Wort »Heimatkunst« fallen zu lassen, haben wir den Eindruck, daß es jetzt in gewissem Sinne um etwas Entgegengesetztes geht: nicht um Absonderung oder Selbstbestimmung in der Begrenzung auf eine (wenn auch gegebenenfalls städtische) Landschaft, sondern um ein Selbstverständnis als Deutscher oder wenigstens um eine Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Sachverhalt. Es ist dann wiederum eine Folge der spezifischen Züge der deutschen Geschichte und auch der gegenwärtigen politischen und Bewußtseinslage im deutschen Sprachgebiet, daß sich dieser Versuch, die eigene Identität auch im Nationalen aufzufinden, der übrigens einem jahrhundertealten Bedürfnis in sich selbst und im Vergleich zu anderen Nationen entspricht, am persönlich und meistens durch Kindheitserinnerungen Bestimmten festklammert. So kommt es auch, daß in der ästhetischen Werkstruktur das übrigens stark hervorgekehrte geographisch Objektartige nur zu einem Mittel und das subjektiv Bewußtseinsmäßige substantiell wird, wie im *Kindheitsmuster* Christa Wolfs. (Weitere Beispiele: die bisherige Trilogie Horst Bieneks oder Peter Härtlings *Nachgetragene Liebe*.) Sonst aber füllt sich das Lokale mit historisch Nationalem auf, wie in *Der Butt* von Günter Grass, oder mit einer Auseinandersetzung damit, wie — in einer gewissen Nachfolge zu den Romanen Johannes Bobrowskis in den 60er Jahren — im *Heimatsmuseum* von Siegfried Lenz. Wichtig erscheint bei dieser Auseinandersetzung, daß sie nur zustande kommen kann, indem das Bekenntnis zum Nationalen — so umstritten es auch ist — als der eine Pol der Bewußtseinsspannung des Helden und mithin des Autors fixiert wird. Ähnlich ließe sich Uwe Johnsons *Jahrestage* zunächst als mecklenburgische Lokalgeschichte auffassen: durch die Einbettung des Schicksals des (berichteten) Protagonisten in die Geschichte Deutschlands, durch die Zeitdistanz der darstellerischen Perspektive und die Infragestellung seiner Taten und Entscheidungen, die sich zu einem Kommentar verdichten, durch das ständige Nebeneinander, den eigentlich latenten Vergleich zweier in vieler, aber nicht in jeder Hinsicht verschiedener Welten und die schwebende Zweideutigkeit

der nationalen Zugehörigkeit der in dieser Beziehung als Einheit aufzufassenden beiden (berichtenden) weiblichen Hauptfiguren (Mutter und Tochter) zwingt das Romanwerk jedoch zu einer Konfrontation mit dem Problem des Deutschseins. Dieses Problem besteht in modern ungelöster Form wenigstens seit Paul de Lagardes und Julius Langbehns Zeiten, d. h. seit dem Anfang des Industriezeitalters (und der damaligen nicht unumstrittenen Einheit Deutschlands). Und das ist eine Frage — wenn uns hier eine Bemerkung über die natürlichen Grenzen einer literaturhistorischen Betrachtung hinaus erlaubt ist —, deren Beantwortung zwar auch unheilvolle Folgen haben konnte, die sich jedoch nicht nur als unumgänglich, sondern auch als unbedingt notwendig erweist: es gibt keine Identität des Menschen in unserer Zeit ohne die nationale Komponente, unabhängig davon, ob man sie auf das »Kulturnationale« reduziert oder nicht. Bei Grass erweitert das fiktiv oder pseudo- bzw. halbdokumentarisch Historische die Lokalfrage zu einer nationalen Angelegenheit bzw. zu einem Lösungsversuch des nationalen Selbstverständnisses, sowohl im Roman selbst wie auch in der Zusammenschau des Romans mit dem *Treffen in Telgte*.

Hier können wir einen Schritt weiter tun. Daß das allgemeine Problem der Indentitätssuche und der nie aufhörende Kampf des Individuums gegen den Identitätsverlust, die wir meinen als den zentralen Inhalt gegenwärtiger deutscher Literatur feststellen zu dürfen, sinnfällig ergänzt und konkretisiert wird durch die überfällige Frage nach der eigenen nationalen Indentität, das wird erhärtet dadurch, daß sie als Bestandteil des allgemeinen intellektuellen Bewußtseins auch außerhalb des strenggenommenen Bereichs der Literatur problematisiert wird. Davon zeugen die Worte der Autoren und Literaten in ihren Äußerungen für das lesende und zuhörende Publikum. So z. B. Christa Wolf in ihrer Büchner-Preis-Rede: »Sind vielleicht, frage ich mich, diese beiden Länder von ihren Bewohnern nicht genug geliebt worden und neigen dazu — wie ein Mensch, der nicht geliebt wurde und daher nicht lieben kann —, sich und andere zu zerstören?« Oder Günter Grass: »Wenn wir als Deutsche nicht in der Lage sind, uns ohne Hybris als Nation zu definieren, sei es mit Hilfe unseres nach wie vor vagen Kulturbegriffs: dann entsteht ein Vakuum, das ist sogar schon da. Und die Gefahr tut sich dann auf, und das ist in deutscher Tradition immer so gewesen, daß dann dieses Vakuum eines Tages von rechts aufgefüllt wird.« Fritz J. Raddatz: »Die Politik zieht sich zurück, wo die Technik des Regierens aufhört. Menschen sind aber nicht nur Rentenempfänger, Benzinverbraucher, Hypothekenzahler — sie wollen nicht nur rechnen (und berechnet werden), sondern auch fühlen. Es ist wie im privaten Bereich: Wer kein Selbstwertgefühl hat, ist nicht partnerfähig. Ein Mensch, der sich nicht selber akzeptiert, ist Person — nicht Persönlichkeit. Ein Volk, das sich nicht mit sich selber identifiziert, mit seiner Geschichte, seiner Schuld, seiner Größe, kurz: mit seiner Tradition — das mag eine Ansammlung reinlicher

Reihenhausabzahler sein: Volk ist es nicht.«[3] Uns interessiert in all diesen Meinungen das Nachdenken über die nationale Komponente der Identität an sich, die wir als inhaltliches Moment in der Literatur der letzten Jahre signalisiert haben.

Zu verzeichnen im historischen Ablauf der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur ist noch — wie früher erwähnt — ihre letzte avantgardistische Geste. Es wurde auch schon angedeutet, daß sich solche Erdbeben während unserer Großperiode mit einer scheinbaren oder sogar anscheinenden Regelmäßigkeit alle fünfzehn Jahre ereignen. Kurz nach 1880 können wir den Aufbruch des Naturalismus ansetzen, spätestens mit dem Erscheinen der *Versunkenen Glocke* (1897) haben wir den Anfang des Jugendstils, der Expressionismus wird nach einem jetzt schon halbjahrhundertlangen Konsensus zwischen 1910 und 1925 als vorherrschend oder wenigstens anwesend angesehen, und die schon öfter erwähnte »junge Generation« wäre um 1940 sichtbar aufgetreten, wenn der normale Verlauf des literarischen Lebens keine Störung erfahren hätte. Nach dem Neuanfang um 1950 war also eine Wende Mitte der 60er Jahre zu erwarten.

Die Frage, ob dieser Zyklus ein Zufall ist oder dahinter sich doch eine Gesetzmäßigkeit verbirgt, mag hier dahingestellt bleiben. Immerhin wäre bei dem Versuch, diese Gesetzmäßigkeit zu finden, u. a. zu bedenken, daß bis auf den Jugendstil, der vorwiegend von früheren Naturalisten getragen wurde, bei diesen mehr oder weniger avantgardistischen Bewegungen die Vertreter einiger Jahrgänge aufgetreten sind — gleich die Naturalisten sind ca. zwischen 1860 und 1864 geboren und wuchsen also in die Bismarckzeit hinein und während des Sozialistengesetzes auf —, die in ihrer Jugend ganz andere lebensbestimmende Erlebnisse hatten als die Angehörigen der vorangehenden und in der jeweiligen Gegenwart führenden Generation oder Generationen. Darum ging es zum Teil auch zwischen 1965 und 1968: da waren die 20- und 25jährigen da, die Nazizeit und Krieg nicht mehr erlebt hatten. Wir sagen »zum Teil«, weil einerseits vieles am Neuansatz und am Experimentellen von Autoren getragen wurde, die zur Generation der »Etablierten« gehörten wie Helmut Heißenbüttel, Arno Schmidt, Reinhard Kipphardt u. a., andererseits war einiges — trotz mancher gegenläufigen Behauptungen von damals — nicht unbedingt neu, was die Vertreter der damaligen Avantgarde — mit der Grazer Gruppe voran — präsentierten und als solches hinstellten.

Nun scheint es eine wirkliche innere Gesetzmäßigkeit der nacheinanderfolgenden Erneuerungsversuche zu sein, daß der anfänglich vorherrschende (linke) politisch-weltanschauliche Impuls stufenweise zugunsten eines rein ästhetischen Neugestaltungswillens zurückgeht. Das führte nach 1965 dazu, daß z. B. ein gesellschaftlich-politisches Interesse von der Galionsfigur der Bewegung, Peter Handke, strikt abgelehnt, ja sogar die Frage nach der Inhalt-Seite der Literatur überhaupt als für ihn nichtexistent erklärt wurde. Was blieb,

das war ein unbedingter und reichlich betonter Wille zum Neuen an und für sich und höchstens eine Problematisierung des Mittels der Literatur, nämlich der Sprache, die die Verwendung des Mittels für die Literatur, praktisch die Hervorbringung einer Literatur, die diesen Namen verdient, eher erschwerte als förderte.

Was dann in den 70er Jahren von den Repräsentanten der Initiative, allen voran von Peter Handke selbst, an erwägbarer Literatur produziert worden ist, läßt sich mit dem Instrumentarium herkömmlicher Analyse ohne Schwierigkeit erschließen. (Bei Handke selbst *Wunschloses Unglück* und *Die linkshändige Frau.*) Eine Literatur, die besondere Maßstäbe der Aufnahme und der Beurteilung für sich in Anspruch nehmen könnte — eine »neue Art des Lesens«, ein »neues Leseverhalten« — und die zugleich in irgendeiner Form auch immer als Kunst bzw. als ästhetischer Wert aufgefaßt werden kann, ist nicht zustande gekommen.

Es wäre wohl eine konsequente Folge davon, wenn jetzt selbst die zeitlich fällige neue Initiative ausbleibt. Jedenfalls spricht kein Anzeichen dafür, daß sie vor der Tür steht.

ANMERKUNGEN

[1] Die nichtfaschistische Literatur »der jungen Generation« im nazionalsozialistischen Deutschland. In: Horst Denkler und Karl Prümm (Hrsg.): Die deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich, Stuttgart 1976. S. 458—503.

[2] Friedrich Nietzsche: Menschliches, Allzumenschliches, I. Bd. Werke, hrsg. von G. Colli u. M. Montinari, IV. Abt., II. Bd. Berlin/New-York 1967, S. 12/13.

[3] Alle drei Zitate: Die Zeit, Nr. 44/Jg. 35 (1980), S. 51; Nr. 35/Jg. 35, S. 31; Nr. 4/Jg. 36 (1981), S. 37.

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La narrativa latinoamericana en la literatura mundial

KATALIN KULIN

Los escritores latinoamericanos aunque tengan su inspiración en experiencias fundamentalmente propias de su tierra, por falta de eminentes predecesores y ejemplos a seguir en el marco de la narrativa nacional, o porque éstos no hayan logrado despertar interés más allá de las fronteras no sólo del país sino del continente, han escogido dos principales rumbos de orientación: uno norteamericano y otro europeo.

Entre los norteamericanos se destacan Faulkner y Dos Passos a los cuales les une cierta afinidad por haberle dado ellos una nueva vitalidad al género narrativo y por haber partido — en el caso de Faulkner — de un ambiente cuyos problemas ofrecen una nada desdeñable similitud con los de algunos países latinoamericanos (pequeña ciudad con carácter rural, dependencia de las capas campesinas de ciertas personas familias pudientes, discrepancias raciales que se traducen también en divergencias culturales).

El *Manhattan Transfer* de Dos Passos ha influido con su técnica de representar la vida urbana en sus múltiples facetas, con personas que se entrecruzan y se separan por una casualidad que delata el sinsentido de su destino, con una trama urdida de signos que se aniquilan dejándonos con una fuerte sensación de futilidad y contingencia. La influencia europea no es precisamente de tipo narrativo y llega a los autores por la mediación de tres famosos creadores latinoamericanos: Borges, Asturias y Carpentier. Los dos últimos, como consecuencia de su larga estancia en Europa, se pusieron en contacto con el surrealismo francés, mientras que Borges, después de su viaje por Francia y España, al comienzo de los años veinte, se hizo propagador de la poesía vanguardista. Los tres se disociaron más tarde de la vanguardia y del surrealismo formando su propio estilo y cosmovisión. Sin embargo, la experiencia juvenil dejó sus huellas en su obra que con el tiempo y el resurgimiento del interés por las vanguardias dio origen a una segunda ola surrealista.

El efecto de influencias norteamericanas y europeas surge a raiz de su técnica y lenguaje por ser éstos propicios para trasmitir una concepción y una realidad vivida por los escritores latinoamericanos quienes con su narrativa deslumbraron el mundo en los años sesenta y setenta.

El gran acierto de su creación ha sido justamente — como siempre en el caso de las obras maestras — la indivisibilidad de la técnica y lenguaje literarios y de la verdad narrativa. (Entiendo por ésta el conjunto de experiencias y/o la realización del concepto formando por el escritor acerca del mundo a base de estas experiencias.)

Las vanguardias, así el surrealismo, se distinguen por su voluntad de rechazar la retórica establecida, favoreciendo un nuevo lenguaje, más sugestivo por ser más espontáneo. El valor que atribuyeron al lenguaje ha adquirido más peso todavía por las consideraciones estructuralistas sobre el mismo que — dentro de una obra literaria — lo hacen equivaler a la literalidad. Es decir, es el lenguaje hecho narrativa: el discurso de la obra literaria el que produce lo estético y que sirve de clave para vislumbrar su secreto. Es fácil advertir que, de una manera impasible y científica, los estructuralistas han renovado la idea surrealista acerca de la magia de las palabras.

En la narrativa de Jorge Luis Borges el lenguaje actúa como fuerza mágica, creadora de nuevas realidades, y por ello su obra se ha vuelto una experiencia casi inevitable para muchos narradores cuyo estilo se enriquece por su ejemplo, habiéndoles impulsado a crear un mundo ficticio sin pretensiones de imitar la realidad. Por su vasta cultura, Borges sirve de mediador entre los narradores latinoamericanos y las tendencias europeas y norteamericanas.

En un sentido más amplio de la palabra, Faulkner también propone cierto lenguaje, un sistema de comunicación, construyendo un mundo mítico cuyos signos: sucesos y situaciones comprensibles para cada ser humano abren vías de comunicación entre dos culturas (la de los blancos y la de los negros) — un lenguaje para el cual no sirve el inglés, portador y creador del modo de pensar de la cultura de procedencia europea y, por consiguiente, incapacitado de absorber y reflejar esencias creadas por la cultura y lenguas africanas.

En resumen, las herencias y sugerencias recibidas por los autores latinoamericanos proyectan una luz especial sobre el lenguaje en su doble aspecto: por un lado, como sistema de comunicación y fuerza creadora de mundos ficticos, por otro, como técnica para estructurar la narración de una manera aparentemente casual, discontinua y fragmentaria.

La segunda guerra mundial, tan devastadora para Europa, dio ímpetu a las inversiones en la economia nacional de los países de América Latina. Se formó así una industria proveedora de productos que antes habían sido importados. Aunque en varios países regían dictaduras, y algunas veces con fuertes matices fascistas, el creciente bienestar y el desarrollo de la industria nacional, así como la previsible victoria de las fuerzas antihitlerianas alentaron la confianza del pueblo y especialmente de los intelectuales en alcanzar pronto regímenes más democráticos. Como se sabe, estas esperanzas se vieron frustradas. Al final de los años cincuenta, desaparecida la coyuntura económica, la victoria de la revolución cubana abrió nuevas perspectivas. Sin embargo,

dentro de poco se hizo evidente que sus consecuencias, así el fortalecimiento de los movimientos revolucionarios y el despertar de una conciencia política iban a la par de nuevos obstáculos en el camino de la democratización, puesto que aún en las reformas más mínimas los Estados Unidos sospechó la voluntad de alzar un gobierno comunista. En Guatemala el gobierno de Arbenz todavía pudo mantenerse por unos pocos años, pero en Santo Domingo las fuerzas de izquierda fueron derrotadas por una intervención inmediata, las tendencias progresistas fracasaron en Bolívia y el Brasil y, después de diez años de luchas fratrícidas, Colombia se ha sumergido en un estancamiento político-social. La empresa fracasada de Che Guevara pareció comprobar factual y simbólicamente que en aquellas condiciones no se podía contar con un inmediato y afortunado desenlace político. La mera existencia de Cuba se ha hecho fuente de ansias y desilusiones revolucionarias, frutos amargos éstas últimas de las tentativas fracasadas en otros países del continente.

Esta situación, tan conflictiva para el individuo con responsabilidades colectivas, ha resultado ideal para el novelista. Un problema individual bien puede ser suficiente para crear una alta tensión en la poesía que es y seguirá siendo válida a la vez para los coetáneos y las generaciones futuras, para conciudadanos y extranjeros. Esta validez universal no obstante se alcanza difícilmente en una novela que si quiere seguir fiel a la demanda del género épico, ha de situar socialmente a su héroe para hacer participar al lector en su proceso vital. Evidentemente el héroe se realiza incluso si se retrae de la contienda con su ambiente social, y ningún argumento puede concebirse sin relacionarlo activa o negativamente con el ambiente. Si el héroe está encerrado en sí mismo y en su conflicto, casi ningún lector se reconoce ni descubre en su postura un posible comportamiento para una situación posible, de manera que la creación narrativa no tendrá repercusión ni en los lectores de un gusto más raro y refinado. Incluso aquellos que no esperan de la novela un argumento rico en acciones y sorpresas exigen cierta validez universal en la situación y conflicto del o de los personajes.

Por ello es tan difícil que una narrativa con origen en un lugar de determinadas condiciones sociales sea apreciada en otro país o continente donde estas circunstancias hace ya mucho tiempo que fueron superadas. El drama ofrece ejemplos aun más evidentes. Ibsen, tan dedicado a los problemas típicos de su época, casi ha perdido su antigua atracción. Por otra parte, si en un país por cualquier razón se pierde el interés por los problemas de la colectividad, el género narrativo queda mermado en su misma esencia por mostrar al héroe únicamente en sus aspectos individuales. Para la épica existirán épocas y circunstancias sociales ideales en las cuales una acertada proporción entre los aspectos colectivos e individuales permite la formación de personajes complejos, multifacéticos, íntegros. El escritor latinoamericano, frente a su colega de una sociedad de consumo altamente desarrollada tiene la ventaja de que le es

imposible olvidar el conjunto de conflictos originados por el sistema económico-político de su país, hecho que le capacita para realizar la novela o cuento según las básicas normas épicas cuyo arquetipo representa al héroe en busca de la justicia/felicidad, pasando por una serie de aventuras.

Las condiciones sociales retrasadas suelen determinar desventajosamente el nivel cultural de los intelectuales. Como consecuencia de la insuficiente categoría intelectual el autor es incapaz de elaborar su tema valiéndose de las técnicas más modernas, productos y productoras a la misma vez de una concepción moderna.

Por ello, es de gran utilidad que varios creadores latinoamericanos hayan pasado cierta época en Europa como lo hicieran sus mayores precursores: Rubén Darío, César Vallejo, Jorge Luis Borges, Miguel Ángel Asturias, Alejo Carpentier. Por medio de estos artistas, para quienes la experiencia humana jamás perdió su cara nativa, la cultura europea y norteamericana se han vuelto patrimonio latinoamericano. Esta fusión entre las tradiciones, costumbres y formas de vida de América Latina, por un lado, y los logros artísticos e intelectuales europeos, por otro, ha preparado el camino para que la literatura del continente no sólo se ponga en pie de igualdad con la del mundo viejo, sino para que, en su momento más afortunado, sea también aleccionadora a un nivel mundial. La situación ideal para la narrativa puede cambiar según las épocas. Sin embargo, tal vez no sea demasiado arriesgado suponer que una situación conflictiva no velada o minimalizada por un aceptable nivel de vida, y contemplada con una agudez intelectual habituada a analizarla y describirla en fórmulas abstractas, haya contribuido al desenvolvimiento de la alta categoría alcanzada por los narradores latinoamericanos en los últimos veinte-veinticinco años y también al despliegue del interés general manifestado por el público lector más allá de las fronteras del Nuevo Mundo.

El autor cuyo modo de ver el mundo armoniza más con las tradiciones literarias de su país es Juan Rulfo. Es verdad que éstas se nutren de una sociedad indudablemente más avanzada en el continente ibéroamericano, de condiciones que habían producido a un narrador tan excepcional como Mariano Azuela. Su modernidad sin par en visión así como en forma de expresión en las letras latinoamericanas de su tiempo es fruto de una situación histórica que hizo que México se adelantara a todos sus países hermanos. (Me refiero a la revolución mejicana de 1910.) Sin embargo, existe cierta distancia entre el grado de desarrollo del ambiente donde Rulfo sitúa sus obras y lo moderno de su visión. Esta distancia la refleja el escritor, muy ingeniosamente mediante una sencilla modificación del enfoque. El registro realista de los acontecimientos cobra inesperadas dimensiones debido a la atmósfera desprovista de toda realidad, creada por las almas en pena de *Pedro Páramo.*

La importancia de la atmósfera se afirma mediante indicaciones climáticas (sequía, viento, etc.) que se completan con los efectos de un sugerente clima

sonoro. Los fenómenos (ruidos, calor) sin corporeidad, que forman la atmósfera de la novela se convierten, en el sentido literal de la palabra, en protagonista. Los personajes de Rulfo, envueltos todos en la misma materia impalpable, se funden en una masa donde desapareciendo las diferencias prevalecen tan sólo la amargura y el resentimiento, resultados de la vida que se les ha hecho imposible.

Al crear un clima sugerente Rulfo se habrá inspirado en las obras de Faulkner quien también escogió este método para hacer sentir vínculos inquebrantables entre personajes pertenecientes no sólo a distintas capas sociales, sino también a distintas razas. Para reafirmar la sensación de una densa atmósfera que aumente la tensión del conflicto, Rulfo — como Faulkner — se vale también de pequeños lugares, es decir, ubica en un espacio reducido la escena de sus narraciones.

Como se ve, Rulfo ha sacado las últimas consecuencias de ciertas características de la narrativa faulkneriana. El clima que resultó sugerente en Faulkner, el mejicano lo transforma en protagonista de su obra. Además de crear un marcado fondo emotivo, deja manifiesto que todos sus personajes están sujetos al mismo destino, al cual responden con una actitud semejante. En cambio, en las novelas y cuentos de Faulkner siempre hay caracteres excluidos del conflicto que enfrentan los protagonistas.

El realismo de Faulkner, igualmente, admite algunos elementos maravillosos, no obstante la irrupción de los mismos jamás llega a dominar la totalidad de su narración. En cambio, en *Pedro Páramo* la realidad como unidad ininterrumpida se sitúa consecuentemente en lo irracional. ¿Para qué sirve esta atmósfera irracional? Tiene un doble fin. De una parte, condena la sociedad mejicana que ha hecho degenerar la revolución y priva a sus ciudadanos de su derecho elemental de poder gozar de la vida, poniéndolos en manos de caciques quienes disponen de su cuerpo y alma y convierten su existencia en una larga agonía que más es muerte que vida. De otra parte, la atmósfera irracional — las sombras que no encuentran reposo ni en la tumba — extiende la validez de la novela que, en vez de referirse tan sólo a un pueblo mejicano, se hace ejemplar: modelo de cierto tipo de existencia humana. Los destinos trazados, inexorablemente miserables, amargos, frustrados, carecen de un solo momento libre y feliz. Revelan por ello que la obra se basa en una visión a priori del mundo, traducida en un mundo-modelo mediante el cual Rulfo formula su protesta.

La técnica moderna se adapta maravillosamente a este limbo de los muertos. El orden de los sucesos se tergiversa fácilmente allí donde el tiempo ni existe ni tiene importancia. La mezcla de episodios que pertenecen a distintos momentos en el curso real del tiempo profundiza aún más la impresión de que todo está detenido en un instante-espacio estático. El lenguaje mismo acentúa también, mediante estructuras sintácticas sin predicados y el uso recurrente del gerundio, lo estático del mundo creado.

Al círculo de los autores que, con cierto derecho, se pueden considerar como seguidores de Faulkner, se incluye otro creador del Caribe, Gabriel García Márquez. La distancia que separa su concepción de la que sería adecuado al nivel socio-cultural de su país parece mayor que en el caso de Juan Rulfo. En Colombia no hubo una revolución como la de Méjico. La lucha entre liberales y conservadores no se emprendió por mejores condiciones sino únicamente por el poder. Sin embargo, en la época de la violencia la gente tenía que participar y sumergirse en odios y dolores provocados por crueles matanzas que ambos grupos cometían. Verlo y juzgarlo todo esto con cierto distanciamiento era una tarea difícil que García Márquez llegó a cumplir debido, probablemente, en parte a su larga estancia en Europa.

Sus primeras obras fueron qualificadas de neorrealistas. También suele mencionarse el parentesco que le une a Faulkner. Por lo general en sus novelas la acción tiene lugar en un ambiente sencillo, cotidiano y al rico argumento se añaden detalles realistas. La escena, Macondo o un pueblo vecino, es un espacio tan reducido como el que tenemos en la narrativa de Faulkner o Rulfo. El clima que sirve de fondo emotivo para Faulkner y cobra un papel eminente en las obras de Rulfo pertenece también a los recursos artísticos de García Márquez. Épocas de disfortunios son señalados mediante condiciones climáticos especiales, diluvio o sequía devastadores, siguiendo ejemplos fabulosos o míticos. Ambos extremos fenómenos climáticos se arraigan en la experiencia del autor, hijo del trópico. No obstante, logra transfigurar su experiencia de manera que las estaciones tropicales desmesuradamente alargadas actúen como voluntad y fuerza mágicas de la historia.

Su lenguaje le debe mucho a Borges, tiene la misma calidad imaginativa y prestidigitatora. El mundo de García Márquez parece emerger del lenguaje, casi sin intervención ninguna de planes previos.

Ya se ha aludido a los elementos irracionales de la narrativa de Faulkner y de Rulfo. Estos elementos tienen sus repercusiones en las obras de García Márquez también. Sin embargo, no son únicamente señales de la irrupción de lo irracional en el mundo racional, sino que forman parte de un sistema mayor a cuyo meollo tenemos que llegar por otro camino.

La tendencia evidente en la narrativa faulkneriana de construir un mundo donde los mimsos personajes aparecen en el mismo ambiente llega a su culminación en *Cien años de soledad*. Todas las obras anteriores del escritor colombiano abren la puerta al pequeño universo macondiano, pero como totalidad éste aparece únicamente en la novela mencionada. Las figuras y lugares recurrentes de Faulkner le permiten al lector recrear la leyenda, el mito en el cual se ha transformado el mundo de la infancia del escritor norteamericano. Algo semejante ocurre en la narrativa de García Márquez, anterior a *Cien años de soledad*. En esta novela asistimos a la fundación de Macondo cuya historia el autor sigue relatando hasta el aniquilamiento del pueblo. Ya en el hecho de

que García Márquez escribe una crónica completa de la comunidad de este pueblo se nota la diferencia entre él y su predecesor literario. Algo iniciado por Faulkner (por supuesto, tampoco él es el primero, basta pensar en la *Comedia humana* de Balzac) se lleva a sus últimas consecuencias por el autor colombiano. Al crear su mito, aplica — con una libertad que nos hace recordar a los surrealistas — elementos irracionales que, lejos de ser arbitratios, son unos tantos dientes del engrenaje que hace progresar la obra hacia su plenitud. Los elementos fantásticos que en sí señalan la irrupción de lo irracional en la realidad inmediata forman parte de la estructura del mito que funciona como un perpetuum mobile, repitiendo sus giros según el principio mítico del eterno retorno.

Como su colega mejicano, Juan Rulfo, García Márquez también funde a sus personajes en un todo, pero no mediante la atmósfera, sino por medio de una intencional monotonía que se crea con la repetición de nombres, situaciones y comportamientos, logrando de esta manera que su conjunto sugiera una misma idea: la soledad del ser humano. Al igual que Rulfo, García Márquez tampoco refleja la realidad, sino que nos ofrece un modelo de un mundo posible. La novela surge naturalmente de su propia visión nacida de sus propias experiencias, pero la eliminación de todo fenómeno que pudiera al menos modificar su concepción comprueba que el mundo creado es tan sólo un modelo, o sea, según los procedimientos científicos de hoy, un método para conocer el mundo, una abstracción hecha para probar su validez, aplicándola sobre la realidad.

El que entre los mejores narradores latinoamericanos escogió — como único — la representación realista, sin dar lugar a ningún elemento fantástico y maravilloso, es Mario Vargas Llosa. En su modo de ver el mundo sigue tradiciones nacionales. Su realismo no recurre a las profundas emociones despertadas por los neorrealistas o Faulkner que envuelven sus obras en un halo sumamente sugerente. El calor y el humor, tan característicos en éstas, faltan en las creaciones de Vargas Llosa que se distingue precisamente por el registro eminentemente objetivo de la situación del hombre en la sociedad. (No se piense aquí en *Pantaleón y las visitadoras*, excursión del escritor en una región que no suele frecuentar.)

El realismo de Vargas Llosa, en clara oposición a Rulfo y a García Márquez cuyos personajes pertenecen a la misma categoría, por lo menos en lo concerniente a su aspecto básico — las diferencias no se dan, sino en el distinto grado de un mismo comportamiento —, queda manifiesto en la amplia gama de sus caracteres. Su particularidad más distintiva, su mayor osadía (no perdiendo de vista que Vargas Llosa conoce a fondo la actual producción narrativa mundial) consiste en aceptar su innata capacidad de re-crear la vida en toda su riqueza, por lo tanto, también en la riqueza de los diversos tipos humanos, y en seguir las huellas del realismo crítico del siglo pasado, confiando en la novedad de su propia visión, así como en su manejo original del material capaces de llevar a cabo un realismo moderno en el sentido más exigente de la palabra.

Las grandes innovaciones de nuestro siglo de componer la novela dejando de lado el orden temporal de los acontecimientos han llegado a su punto culminante en *Conversación en la Catedral* donde con una insuperable maestría se urden en la misma tela gruesa del discurso monólogos, diálogos, relatos pronunciados en voz alta o rememorados en silencio en el curso de una conversación de cuatro horas: en un lapso fantásticamente breve para los acontecimientos, situaciones y comportamientos acumulados en este magno y magnífico cuadro de la sociedad peruana donde queda revelada toda la compleja trama de intereses opuestos y entrelazados, obsesiones y vicios de las más diversas capas sociales, con todos los conflictos que destrozan, corrompen y aniquilan al individuo.

Su técnica de tergiversar el tiempo parece ser la consecuencia natural de la situación: la conversación en la taberna. El discurso corre con fluidez espontánea y sólo la lógica nos advierte que la soltura con la que se narran los más diversos episodios debe ser fruto de una composición realizada con una agudez y concentración nada frecuentes. Este discurso sigue cambiando de rumbo, con un efecto comparable al de las aguas turbias y turbulentas de una peligrosa corriente, engañosa y voraginosa.

El discurso convierte la narrativa de Vargas Llosa — y más que nada *Conversación en la Catedral* — en un receptáculo donde se funden la tradición realista del Perú y el uso del lenguaje propuesto por las modernas teorías semióticas como discurso creador de la realidad literaria. El lenguaje como serie de vocablos o frases apenas tiene importancia en esta obra, donde queda subordinado al discurso volcánico, irresistible por medio del cual queda constituida toda la compleja, antagonística realidad del Perú.

Pues, ¿puede ser una obra, producto de un discurso, reflejo inmediato de una realidad inmediata? o ¿existe en esta novela realista también una transposición que le priva de inmediatez? Obviamente es el mismísimo discurso el que sirve de mediación. No imita la vida, sino que la denuncia con toda su latente discontinuidad. Oculta y revela a la misma vez las profundas rupturas en la vida de los individuos y de la colectividad, la anarquía disfrazada en orden y la enloquecida marcha del tiempo que en vez de avanzar no cesa de dar vueltas.

El discurso, al estructurar la novela, constituye el modelo de la estructura socio-económica del Perú y, por extensión, de cada sociedad regida por principios semejantes. El discurso desempeña, pues, en las obras de Vargas Llosa el mismo papel que la atmósfera de Rulfo y los sucesos y motivos míticos de García Márquez, o sea, transmite su visión del mundo, abstraida de las experiencias vitales.

El *Hijo de hombre* de Roa Bastos se sitúa más bien en lo imaginativo que en lo real, aunque escoge sus temas del pasado y presente de dos pequeños pueblos cuya vida se entrelaza con la historia del Paraguay. Para el escritor

que vive en el exilio el doloroso destino de su país se ha vuelto leyenda, todo un ciclo de hazañas y torturas. Para relatarlas se vale de elementos maravillosos, simbólicos y míticos. Es difícil decir si Faulkner influyó en su arte, y en qué medida, pero es indudable que éste por los matices sacrales de su concepción muestra ciertos rasgos afines con el escritor paraguayo. Ambos conciben al ser humano en su doble aspecto de pecador y víctima — asesino y víctima en el caso de Faulkner, traidor y víctima-héroe en el caso de Roa Bastos — lo que explica perfectamente la división de *Hijo de hombre* en dos tipos de capítulos según el papel de Miguel Vera, si es el narrador o el protagonista de la acción, si la narración trata al víctima-héroe cuyo arquetipo es Jesús, hijo de hombre, o al traidor Vera cuya figura evoca a Judas. Sin duda alguna tal estructuración no surge de la representación inmediata de la realidad sino de su esencia extraida por Roa Bastos quien interpreta la historia como proceso sometido al grado de presencia de la lealtad y la traición, la voluntad y la incapacidad de acción de los hombres. El lenguaje da un fondo emotivo — como en las obras de Faulkner — a este mundo concebido en términos de los mitos más representativos de la humanidad.

En *Hijo de hombre* la fe del autor en la fuerza elemental del pueblo toma forma en la aparición milagrosa de un vehículo que pone a los personajes a salvo de sus perseguidores. La esencia de este milagro es, pues, que esta fuerza elemental escapa de todo posible poder opresor. *Hijo de hombre* desiste a ofrecernos la representación de la realidad pero nos brinda un modelo de ésta reavivando un antiguo género didáctico con su clara ejemplaridad.

Yo el Supremo trasforma la historia del doctor Francia y del Paraguay en un vertiginoso torrente verbal donde el constante juego de palabras sirve para denunciar tanto a los enemigos del dictador como a éste mismo. Siendo ficticiamente el doctor Francia quien dicta y escribe el texto, hay una subrepticia identificación de su persona con el autor, circunstancia que se afirma aun más por el hecho de que la escritura no cesa ni después de la muerte del Supremo y que varios pasajes se escriben evidentemente con el conocimiento del futuro, si tomamos por presente la época cuando vivía el dictador. El texto completado por documentos no sirve para narrar los hechos, sino que — valiéndonos del recurso utilizado por Roa Bastos parar penetrar en el sentido original de una palabra — los re-produce, re-creando la figura de Francia y más que nada la historia de su país. La posibilidad de vislumbrar — aunque muy débilmente y sólo contadas veces — al autor detrás del dictador los confunde a los dos y carga sobre el autor una responsabilidad que en cualquiera novela histórica únicamente sería asumida por el héroe. El texto que va más allá de su vida realiza la eternidad del dictador y no sólo opera como homenaje a su figura, sino que también expresa su castigo: le priva del reposo brindado por la muerte ya que había deshecho el justo equilibrio entre el pueblo autorizador de su poder y su persona, entre la existencia y el pensamiento, rompiendo con

la unidad del ser humano al hacerse puro cerebro con su segundo nacimiento del «útero» de un cráneo.

Es inevitable pensar en el estructuralismo y tendencias críticas semióticas que consideran el lenguaje como máxima verdad de la creación literaria, tanto más cuanto que en el texto mismo se incrustan unas largas consideraciones acerca de la escritura que, de una parte, equiparan su funcionamiento al del poder, y, de otra, llegan a la conclusión de que «escribir no significa convertir lo real en palabras, sino hacer que la palabra sea real».

Evidentemente Roa Bastos con el *Yo el Supremo* abre una nueva etapa en su arte. No representa la realidad, ni nos da un modelo de ella, sino convierte la escritura en un agente transformador de la realidad.

El narrador más atento a nuevas corrientes y teorías literarias es Julio Cortázar. En la Argentina los círculos intelectuales siempre han tenido estrechos contactos con Europa y más que nada con Francia, donde Cortázar pasará su vida. La orientación hacia lo raro, fantástico, casi esotérico queda dentro de la clase de narrativa representada por Borges siendo además ésta una tradición rioplatense. En oposición a los demás escritores ya aludidos, Cortázar se vincula a la gran ciudad, sea ésta Buenos Aires, París o cualquier otra metrópoli. Incluso en la capa más profunda de su cultura se identifica siempre con el hombre urbano, con sus preferencias, costumbres, nostalgias. Aunque gran parte de su obra está arraigada en sus experiencias bonarenses, es un cosmopolita para quien, sobre todo en los últimos veinte años, el conflicto principal de la vida equivale al de un intelectual, en último análisis a su propio conflicto. En su apreciable afán de renovarse absorbe y trata de poner en práctica las nuevas teorías literarias, admira especialmente a autores, tendencias, actitudes y filosofías que se han puesto de moda en Francia. Así es que se siente muy atraído por el surrealismo y sus precursores, propaga la supresión de las convenciones del género narrativo intentando sustituirlo con formas cercanas al periodismo y se inscribe entre los zelotas del zen buddhismo. Casi todo lo que ha escrito después de *62. Modelo para armar* pudiera servir de documentación para comprobar no sólo la decadencia, sino hasta la desaparición de la novela y de las formas narrativas menos extensas.

Afortunadamente sus obras anteriores han contribuido al apogeo de la narración latinoamericana. Incluso sus cuentos más fantásticos parecen representar situaciones humanas muy reales donde lo irracional no es sino un recurso más eficaz y sugestivo que la descripción realista. En vez de utilizar sucesos y caracteres para comunicarnos su concepción abstracta bajo el disfraz de una historia real, Cortázar, con un relato irreal, reconstruye sus vivencias reales. Antitéticamente en *El perseguidor* que carece de elementos irreales, mediante los balbuceos del protagonista ha logrado trasponer la esencia de su propia visión del mundo que luego repetirá en una forma menos cabal en la *Rayuela*.

En la *Rayuela* y aún más en el *62 Modelo para armar* el modo de estructurar la narrativa y el manejo del lenguaje delatan influencias procedentes del *nouveau roman* francés. Mas, con toda su técnica parecida, estas obras tienen un claro objetivo, que jamás está presente en un *nouveau roman* ejemplar: llegar al autoconocimiento, objetivo que se proponen las novelas-camino. La innovación de Cortázar, que concuerda perfectamente con la estructura que emplea, consiste en transformar este camino en un círculo vicioso de donde sólo prometen salida la locura o la muerte.

En *62 Modelo para armar* el ambiente humano cobra más significado que en la *Rayuela*, por extender la validez de la búsqueda frustrada del protagonista. En vez de un solo individuo, toda una comunidad — aunque no lo es en la acepción íntegra de la palabra — vive el sinsentido de la existencia que se expresa también por la incapacidad de ayudarse mutuamente, a pesar de las mejores intenciones. Extrañamente, en Cortázar, el autor más dado a las teorías estéticas y filosóficas entre los escritores latinoamericanos, los sentimientos — ocultos o apenas perceptibles en las obras de éstos — se encuentran más a flor de la escritura y es él, propagador de la antinovela, quien insiste en exigirle a la novela una constructividad que la convierta en una totalidad. Su obra resulta por ello la difícil mezcla de una escritura basada en una visión a priori del mundo que por su naturaleza tiende a destruir el discurso — pensemos, como en el ejemplo más sencillo, en el bis bis de Feuille Morte que termina la novela — y en una escritura dirigida a construir la totalidad de lo real sometiendo el destino de todos los personajes a la misma ley férrea del encuentro unión, comunión imposibles entre los seres humanos.

A otro autor de la misma región rioplatense, al uruguayo Juan Carlos Onetti, que, además, ha pasado gran parte de su vida en Buenos Aires, sería más difícil encontrarle predecesores. Emir Rodríguez Monegal, en el prólogo a sus obras completas, habla de los extraños presentimientos políticos de Onetti. Estos nos revelan a una persona quien en el fondo más profundo y oculto de su ser mantiene un contacto misterioso con el mundo. Esta sensibilidad suya, por supuesto, ha facilitado su orientación estética y nos hace comprender que su primera novela, con marcados rasgos existencialistas, pudo publicarse aproximadamente al mismo tiempo que *La Nausée* de Sartre. Su cautela al trazar a sus personajes es casi científica. Sus dudas y reservas acerca de la posibilidad de conocer al hombre recuerdan la toma de posición de la sicología behaviorista. Vive su época con una agudeza intelectual y una sensibilidad extraordinarias sirviéndole de inagotable fuente su propia existencia herida. Así se comprende que un filósofo como Kierkegaard haya entrado en su perspectiva, ejerciendo en su pensamiento una influencia duradera.

Desde ciertos puntos de vista su arte se vincula al de Faulkner. Él también inventa un mundo imaginario y lo puebla de personajes que vuelven a aparecer en varias obras suyas. Santa María, lugar inventado por él determina

su arte en la misma medida que Yoknapatawpha en la obra faulkneriana. En la narrativa de Onetti también se nota cierto carácter rural y el clima desempeña un papel tan significativo como en las novelas del autor norteamericano. Sin embargo, en cuanto al ambiente y la visión del mundo se podrá suponer más bien correspondencias que una influencia directa de Faulkner sobre el escritor uruguayo.

Aunque muchas veces sus personajes viven en un medio rural, son productos de la vida urbana de nuestro siglo que llegan a Santa María deshechos y desilusionados. Pertenecen todos a la categoría de los marginados. El autor no se interesa por los rasgos distintivos de sus personajes, más bien los pone en pie de igualdad, siendo todos cuativos de la misma trampa, incapaces de escaparse de ella. La novela se escribe como un experimento — no artístico sino existencial — para comprobar cuánto vale el ser humano, cómo es capaz de enfrentar la desesperanza, qué respuesta le da al desafío de la sociedad que sólo tolera a los que se adaptan a sus normas. Por haber escogido a marginados como personajes de su narrativa Onetti renuncia conscientemente a representar o construir una totalidad como imagen de la sociedad. Tampoco hay grandes diferencias en las respuestas — comportamientos — de los distintos caracteres. En su probablemente mejor novela, *El Astillero*, la variedad de las respuestas se reduce a dos y dentro de cada tipo las diferencias de actitud representan diversos grados de intensidad. Los personajes encarnan cierta verdad esencial sobre la existencia humana. Al mismo tiempo que son portadores de la visión del mundo del autor sirven para estructurar la novela y darle movimiento según que se mantienen en la posición que han tenido en su grupo o se desplazan en mayor o menor medida. Como consecuencia de que los personajes siguen con la misma actitud o cambian de posición la estructura de *El Astillero*, a pesar de su escaso argumento, llega a formar una vorágine, con sus apenas perceptibles lentas revoluciones.

La palabra «vorágine» se ha aplicado también al caracterizar la estructura de *Conversación en la Catedral*. Este amplio panorama de la sociedad y la novela de Onetti con su restringido número de marginados — donde la sociedad se dibuja como un vacío, y hasta para descubrirlo como vacío exige una lectura penetrante — coinciden en una estructura cuyo simbolismo es tan obvio que ni necesita interpretación.

La constructividad de *El Astillero* no se traduce en un camino, sólo en un movimiento circular con unos pocos elementos lanzados o arrastrados por fuerzas centripetales y centrifugales. Sin embargo, por escasa que sea su constructividad da testimonio de una voluntad y postura críticas. La estructura-vorágine y el discurso discontinuo producido con situaciones y episodios casuales en perfecta armonía con el tema convierten la novela en un posible modelo del mundo. Este modelo, siendo una invención, opera como recurso antitraumático por ser diagnósis y profilaxis a la vez.

En su más reciente obra, *Dejemos hablar al viento*, Onetti interrumpe aun más la continuidad del discurso y, en vez de ocultar la catástrofe en la estructura la hace aparecer al nivel del argumento. Ni la invención salva al protagonista-narrador-autor de mandar incendiar su mundo. El desarrollo del argumento hace prescindible toda una serie de episodios que no se vinculan a la intriga con ninguna causalidad. Estos episodios no-violentos dejan manifiesta una negatividad donde la fe en una acción sensata está tan completamente ausente que no da ni siquiera la impresión de estar perdida. La falta de organización de estas partes concuerda con el mundo sin sentido, incomprehensible, que al nivel de la intriga empuja al protagonista a matar y matarse. Extrañamente, sólo está organizada la intriga que culmina en un acto destructor. La misma organización estructural, aunque no revele otra cosa, por lo menos sugiere la exigencia de una acción de protesta. Con el doble plano estructural la obra de Onetti se inscribe en las tendencias aniquiladoras de la novela, a la vez que conserva el rasgo fundamental de la épica: el camino del héroe en su ambiente social.

Del análisis esquemático de la obra de los más renombrados autores de la gran época de la narrativa latinoamericana se espera cierta conclusión respecto a las características comunes que habrán contribuido a su éxito. ¿Cómo han podido renovar el género, dándole una modernidad cuya autenticidad nunca brotaría de artificios, sino únicamente de nuevas visiones?

El factor común en la obra de cada autor consiste en un realismo que en la mayoría de los casos se manifiesta en la descripción de detalles, en el manejo del argumento o en diálogos que imitan con su lenguaje el habla cotidiana. En la obra de Vargas Llosa están presentes todas estas manifestaciones realistas mientras que en la narrativa de los demás, sólo algunas de ellas, o, si todas, pues van unidas a elementos o motivos simbólicos, irracionales, maravillosos o fantásticos. Aunque éstos últimos faltan en la obra de Onetti, la voluntaria restricción del mundo en unos marginados sin lugar o papel en la sociedad señala, ya por sí misma, que el autor no pretende reflejar la realidad en su totalidad.

Los rasgos realistas, sin embargo, hacen posible que el lector se sumerja en la narración como si se tratara de acontecimientos verdaderos y que se identifique con los caracteres.

Gran parte de los escritores mencionados aluden en sus creaciones a lo maravilloso o fantástico. Pero ni lo maravilloso ni lo fantástico son en sí una novedad. Aunque puedan contribuir a lo atractivo de las obras, no sirven para dar suficiente explicación al porqué han alcanzado éstas su rango en la literatura mundial, tanto menos cuanto que estos elementos no siempre están presentes en cada una de las creaciones. Con la excepción de la narrativa de Vargas Llosa, los personajes no se destacan por sus rasgos distintivos, sino al contrario, por un profundo parentesco que surge entre ellos como consecuencia de su situación y/o comportamiento. Por ello su conjunto forma a un personaje colectivo.

Revisando esta producción narrativa parece significativo que, en oposición a la novelística tradicional, donde argumento, personajes y ambiente tienen su bien determinado lugar y papel, los autores han operado mediante cierto desplazamiento. Rulfo ha hecho protagonista la atmósfera, García Márquez ha cargado el peso de la estructura sobre los motivos míticos, Vargas Llosa en *Conversación en la Catedral* y Roa Bastos en *Yo el Supremo* han podido armar la estructura por medio del discurso. En cuanto a Onetti, estructura *El Astillero* a base del comportamiento de sus personajes.

Como hemos visto, el desplazamiento se refiere casi siempre a la estructura que en nuestro siglo viene despertando cada vez más el interés de la crítica literaria. Las estructuras de las obras que tratamos pertenecen a dos categorías: son estáticas o cíclicas. Rulfo, sacando los acontecimientos del tiempo real y cambiando su secuencia, crea una intemporalidad estática, García Márquez repitiendo sucesos, motivos, situaciones, etc. y sumergiendo el lugar de la ficción en la no-existencia de donde lo hizo surgir, basa la estructura en el principio cíclico. Al mismo tiempo, le asegura también un carácter estático mediante la anacrónica acumulación de acontecimientos que caracterizan distintas épocas históricas. Vargas Llosa, con el fantásticamente complejo tejido de su texto, le infunde al lector la sensación de unos círculos viciosos que excluyen cualquier salida y por ello su estructura, como la de Onetti, forma un tipo especial: la estructura-vorágine de la categoría cíclica. En realidad, las revoluciones cíclicas que se vienen repitiendo sin cesar son afines con una concepción estática: en ambos tipos el tiempo está paralizado.

El mundo parece ser dado a priori para ellos, lo encuentran estático, o, si no es inmóvil, su movimiento circular excluye toda posibilidad de cambio que no sea la repetición de sucesos y situaciones anteriores. Estática o cíclica, la estructura es igualmente trágica por no caber en ella la esperanza del progreso. Puesto que la mayoría de los autores son partidarios del cambio social, el pesimismo que emana de la estructura de sus obras — aunque en cierta medida éste se explica por la condiciones socio-políticas del continente — está en contradicción con sus convicciones políticas.

Sin embargo, conviene recordar que ninguno de ellos se ha propuesto reflejar la realidad en su inmediatez — la habrán encontrado demasiado ininteligible para hacerlo — sino que, basándose en una esencia ideológica abstraida de sus experiencias, han creado un modelo de un mundo posible.

Algunos esperarán exorcizar el «encantamiento» que paraliza su sociedad revelando la imposibilidad de correciones o reformas en pequeña escala. García Márquez condena Macondo a la destrucción en el marco de cierto «juicio final» y otros — como Onetti – buscan en su modelo un recurso para hacer vislumbrar en la desesperanza del individuo la corrupción de la sociedad y para tratar de comprender el sentido de la existencia mediante las acciones y reacciones de sus personajes.

Trátense de una estructura estática por la falta de distinción entre pasado y presente o de una estructura cíclica por el enredo inextricable del discurso, por la repetición estéril de situaciones y sucesos o por sus revoluciones vertiginosas, toda la narrativa latinoamericana que alcanzó fama mundial en los últimos decenios denuncia un desorden en la esfera social i/o individual. A pesar de lo desesperanzado que parezca el mundo que impone semejantes estructuras, éstas novelas nacen de una concepción que parte de la necesidad de un sentido inmanente. Si bien estos autores no aspiran a representar la totalidad del mundo se arraigan en la cultura greco-cristiana que concibe la historia como un proceso que tiene su principio, su fin y un centro organizador — la verdad inmanente — que se refleja en la estructura organizada de su narrativa.

En cambio, José Donoso con *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* arma una estructura que carece de un centro de esta índole. Mientras el lector cree estar a punto de captarlo, parece que el autor continuará desplazando este centro carente. Mediante un permanente juego de sustituciones desaparecen no solo un posible centro organizador, sino también los personajes cuyas continuas transformaciones acaban por aniquilarles la personalidad y hasta la existencia. Lo que Donoso está laboriosamente construyendo resulta ser la nada.

El pesimismo de los demás autores, amargo que sea debido justamente a la estructura de sus novelas, nunca degenera en mera negación del mundo. La negación absolutamente consecuente de Donoso, cuya prueba es justamente su modo de estructurar, si bien puede incitar a imitaciones no ofrece un camino transitable a los que quisieran progresar tomando el mismo rumbo.

Hay promociones más recientes que se orientan hacia posturas sarcásticas. Su desilusión carece de protesta resignándose a la nimiedad del mundo. El máximo representante de esta postura es Manuel Puig, de notable talento y originalidad. Compone sus novelas a la manera del pop art, de fragmentos fielmente reconstruidos de la vida cotidiana, de cartas, diálogos nauseabundos en sus emociones baratas, mentalidades formadas por la peor tradición cinematográfica de Hollywood. Su arte nos deja con una sensación de vacío, no existe valor alguno en sus personajes de novela rosa. Su última obra, *Maldita sea quien lea estas páginas* — aunque relata una fracasada tentativa de comunicación entre dos personas — tiene ya más calor humano y da testimonio de que el camino que venía siguiendo se ha vuelto intransitable incluso para él mismo. Un posible vínculo entre Puig y los autores que tratamos es que sus novelas resultan ser modelos también, aunque no tanto por la voluntad del autor, sino por su extremada restricción en la representación que no se sale jamás de un plano de dos dimensiones. Con la excepción de su última obra a Puig lo caracteriza una frialdad, una distancia tomada de sus propias figuras que lo separa de sus predecesores implicados siempre existencialmente en su labor de creación por medio de la cual esperan darle una solución a su propio conflicto individual o social.

Résumés*

Ágnes Gereben: Isaak Babel, notre contemporain

La question de la durée d'une œuvre d'art (c'est-à-dire de sa modernité à toute époque), se pose d'habitude dans le contexte des précédents de l'œuvre et de son destin ultérieur. Au sujet de la *Cavalerie rouge*, recueil de nouvelles d'Isaak Babel, il serait sans doute utile d'examiner aussi l'apport de la littérature russe de Gogol avant tout (et de la littérature française de Maupassant surtout). Pourtant, la présente étude, au lieu de suivre le chemin menant de la tradition vers l'œuvre qui s'en est nourrie, prend la direction opposée: elle suit des traces diverses qui partent de la *Cavalerie rouge*, se ramifient et mènent loin dans l'espace et dans le temps. La raison doit en être cherchée, en plus de l'attrait intellectuel de suivre des chemins non battus, dans le fait que c'est la matière elle-même qui détermine la méthode. C'est que l'œuvre de Babel relève de ces productions artistiques du premier quart du XXe siècle dont la persistance et l'influence intensive pour une durée qui, du point de vue de la sociologie littéraire, peut être qualifiée de longue, s'expliquent justement par le fait qu'elles assument, de manière indirecte, la continuité de leurs précédents littéraires immédiats en s'y opposant violamment, au lieu de suivre cette continuité en s'y identifiant, ce qui se manifeste par des marques habituelles, presque normatives, aux époques d'ascension de telle ou telle littérature nationale. Ces œuvres des littératures européennes s'opposent non seulement à la plupart de leurs précédents nationaux et internationaux, mais plusieurs d'entre elles, telle la *Cavalerie rouge*, restent des œuvres isolées d'auteurs solitaires même durant leur époque, tant dans le jeune État soviétique que, sous diverses formes, partout en Europe, au milieu de tendances et de groupements littéraires dont émane un sentiment nouveau de la collectivité et l'assurance d'une conscience de groupe. Pourtant, malgré leur « flottement », malgré l'absence en elles de toute appartenance à quoi que ce soit, ces œuvres sont les sources, ou plus exactement les piliers sur lesquels repose la première arche qui joint les grands sommets de la littérature du XIXe siècle à celle de

* Voici le résumé en français des études relatives à certains moments représentatifs de la littérature narrative contemporaine.

notre époque, de ce grand mouvement que l'on appelle Weltliteratur au sens goethéen. Des piliers nécessairement rares et isolés dans un monde qui, ayant vécu la plus terrible conflagration de son histoire, ayant vécu des révolutions qui ont balayé des systèmes de valeurs considérés jusque là comme inébranlables, et ayant laissé derrière lui les « générations perdues » de la guerre, proclama sa foi en une existence qui, économiquement et socialement, paraissait encore prospère. Ces œuvres, dont la *Cavalerie rouge* que l'étude oppose à la littérature critique (en vérité, à presque toute la critique, soviétique comme occidentale) et veut voir en elle l'image d'une campagne historiquement et idéologiquement fort intéressante de la guerre civile soviétique, ces œuvres donc, et la *Cavalerie rouge*, expriment la crise et la conscience de la crise de l'humanisme, telles qu'elles se reflètent à travers les transformations d'une nouvelle prise de conscience intellectuelle et artistique. En considérant cette œuvre non pas comme une suite désordonnée de trente-cinq récits, mais comme un tout cohérent, il ressort clairement de l'examen poétique et structurel du genre, des changements de position du narrateur dans l'œuvre, de la relation des récits entre eux et des renvois « anaphoriques » et « cataphoriques » d'un récit à l'autre, que la campagne polonaise n'est, dans le système de tensions du sujet et de l'anecdote de la *Cavalerie rouge*, qu'un ensemble de repères assurant l'ordre chronologique, un cadre qui élargit les perspectives poétiques. En confrontant la *Cavalerie rouge* à la position de l'écrivain envers son sujet et, en tant que témoignage de cette position, au journal de Babel écrit pendant la campagne, journal malheureusement inédit jusqu'à ce jour, il devient évident que le cadre dont nous parlons fait ressortir le déchirement d'un homme entre les merveilleux objectifs humanitaires et les moyens inhumains de leur réalisation, montre le chemin solitaire qui mène l'écrivain à l'acceptation des nouvelles valeurs représentées par la révolution, et doit être interprété avant tout dans ce contexte. Ainsi l'œuvre de Babel appartient à celles qui au premier quart de notre siècle, naquirent sous différentes formes dans les littératures européennes les plus diverses, suivant la même impression que « Tout ce qui fut un est brisé en morceaux ». Impression que la philosophie de l'époque, conformément à la logique de son évolution, projeta sous la forme de théories de débâcle, entre autres dans l'esprit heideggerien de l'*Angst vor Sein*, contemporaine à la *Cavalerie rouge*, et que les œuvres littéraires, comme celle de Babel, réalisèrent selon les lois internes de la création artistique.

Partant de cette constatation, et considérant donc l'œuvre de l'écrivain soviétique comme pilier d'un pont conduisant aux grandes œuvres littéraires de notre époque, l'auteur de l'étude cherche une réponse à la question — ouverte dès le début — de savoir pourquoi, dans les régions les plus diverses du monde, la *Cavalerie rouge* resta, avec son univers particulier et unique, une lecture vivante jusqu'à nos jours, surtout depuis la fin des années cinquante et comment l'art de son auteur peut encore influencer les écrivains d'aujourd'hui.

A partir d'un récit américain paru en 1979 — *The Gost Writer* de Philip Roth —, l'auteur analyse les alternatives possibles de la continuation, par l'expérience vécue, d'une conception artistique du monde, qui est aussi celle de Babel. L'influence de Babel sur l'œuvre américaine apparaît non seulement au niveau de la technique littéraire dont les éléments sont à la portée de tout bon artisan des lettres; mais ce que l'étude considère comme plus important est l'apparition, dans le récit, de l'attitude babelienne assumée comme programme conscient. Dans une œuvre hongroise contemporaine, publiée en 1980 — *Age de fer*, recueil de nouvelles d'István Gál —, à l'opposé du récit américain, ce n'est pas une conception globale du monde, dépassant l'univers de l'œuvre pour embrasser la réalité qui l'entoure que l'écrivain emprunte à Babel dont il assume explicitement l'héritage. L'étude dévoile en effet l'influence de Babel dans les efforts même de l'écrivain visant à transformer en donnée poétique une réalité horrible, cauchemar incroyable dépassant toute fiction. La troisième œuvre moderne citée par l'étude, *Pedro Páramo* du sud-américain Juan Rulfo, diffère encore des deux précédentes en ce qu'elle ne constitue pas une continuation consciente, mais une nouvelle étape, indépendante d'une simple casualité linéaire dans le temps et/ou dans l'espace, du mouvement que nous avons appelé Weltliteratur.

Au sujet de ces possibilités de la continuation de l'œuvre babelienne, l'auteur mentionne brièvement quelques cas, contemporains à la première publication de la *Cavalerie Rouge*, des réponses possibles, provoquées dans le domaine littéraire. Cette partie de l'étude oppose les œuvres visant à « rappeler à l'ordre » Babel-œuvres que l'auteur considère comme simples sujets morphologiques — aux créations artistiques qui traitent de sujets semblables ou en partie identiques, représentées par une œuvre russe et une anglaise.

FERENC TAKÁCS: Esquisse du roman américain moderne

C'est dans les années vingt et trente de notre siècle que la littérature américaine arrive, dans l'histoire du roman moderne de la littérature mondiale, à la période décisive de sa « majorité ». Ce fait est dû avant tout aux œuvres d'Ernest Hemingway, de Francis Scott Fitzgerald et de Wiliam Faulkner, ou plus exactement à leurs œuvres nées à cette époque même si l'activité d'Hemingway et de Faulkner dépasse cette période, il n'en reste pas moins que l'essentiel de leur production littéraire date d'avant la seconde guerre mondiale; mais est dû également aux œuvres de Sherwood Anderson qui apporta une grande innovation, à celles de Thomas Wolfe qui représente une variante particulière de l'époque et à celles de John Dos Passos qui, pendant un certain temps, joua un rôle central, même si le bilan final de sa production littéraire ne justifie pas aujourd'hui l'influence qu'il exerça alors.

Dans ses tendances, cette littérature est à la fois « isolationniste » et « cosmopolite ». Isolationniste, car un de ses objectifs principaux est la rupture avec l'anglais en tant que langue littéraire gérée par des modèles britanniques, et la création d'un moyen d'expression linguistique proprement américain, issu du vécu américain cela signifie, pour chacun des représentants de cette littérature, en particulier pour Sherwood Anderson et pour Ernest Hemingway, l'implantation de l'américain *parlé* en tant que moyen de communication littéraire. La possibilité et nécessité de ce fait sont démontrées dans un important ouvrage linguistique de l'époque: *The American Language* de H. L. Mencken, paru en 1919, ouvrage dont l'auteur découvre dans la langue courante américaine de son époque, une fertilité, une vitalité et une créativité égales à celles de l'anglais à l'époque de Shakespeare. (Cette tendance correspond, en partie, au besoin en documentation réalistico-naturaliste exprimé par les œuvres de Sinclair Lewis et de Theodore Dreiser et dépasse même en partie ce besoin grâce à son cosmopolitisme.

Cette prose est cosmopolite, car nombre de ses représentants ont des relations personnelles avec les représentants du modernisme européen; membres « expatriés » de la « génération perdue », ils se réunissent à Paris autour de Gertrude Stein qui, par ses propres expériences de prosateur et par sa conception de la langue, exerce une influence sur eux et qui, de plus les relie à la poésie et au roman modernes européens: mais même les écrivains qui n'ont pas ces contacts personnels, choisissent pour exprimer leur expérience typiquement américaine, les moyens d'expression adéquats qu'ils trouvent dans le stock du modernisme européen.

Tout cela aboutit, dans les meilleures œuvres de l'époque, à une synthèse particulière du « vécu » et du « littéraire ». Sherwood Anderson, Hemingway, Scott Fitzgerald cherchent à exprimer des expériences vécues, personnelles, cautionnées par leur vie, cherchent à saisir cette expérience authentique avec une sincérité absolue, et voient dans le caractère artistique de l'expression ou tout au moins dans ses variantes traditionnelles, une falsification introduite entre l'expérience et l'expression; cependant, ce programme lui-même est « littéraire » et l'authenticité de l'expérience est garantie par une structure travaillée et un soin artistique conformes aux principes du modernisme européen (le style d'Hemingway par exemple, simple en apparence, présente une recherche syntactique extrêmement conséquente; *The Great Gatsby* de Scott Fitzgerald qui, à première vue, suggère une authenticité vécue, n'est qu'un système complexe de répétitions de motifs et éléments symboliques). Dans une certaine mesure, Thomas Wolfe serait une exception: il utilise la technique de la conscience continue empruntée à l'Europe pour exprimer un « vécu » autobiographique, négligeant toute limite et toute discipline de construction: si bien que c'est par ses rédacteurs que ses manuscrits furent souvent arrangés en romans.

Dans le domaine de cette structuration accompagnée de l'authenticité de l'expérience, la littérature romanesque de l'époque présente les caractéristiques suivantes (sans vouloir ici prétendre à une classification exhaustive, nous limitant plutôt à des indications):

1. Du point de vue du genre, le croisement particulier de la nouvelle et du roman donne le roman-nouvelle, union de l'ensemble et des parties d'une chaîne de nouvelles dont chaucune est également un tout, mais toutes se liant ensemble selon les principes de la construction romanesque ou quasi-romanesque. (Sh. Anderson, *Winesbourg, Ohio*; E. Hemingway, *In our Time*; W. Faulkner, *The Unvanquished* et *Go Down, Moses*).

2. C'est une semblable expérimentation avec les genres qui rend relatives les « limites » des romans de Thomas Wolfe et de William Faulkner: pris séparément, ces romans ont chaucun une signification individuelle, mais, en les lisant en tant que parties d'un tout supérieur, de l'*œuvre*, cette signification s'enrichit. Chez Thomas Wolfe, cela rappelle le roman-fleuve du XIXe siècle, mais les rapports entre les romans individuels et la série de Yoknapatawpha de Faulkner constituent une variante plus spéciale et particulièrement moderne.

3. La transformation moderne du genre romanesque se voit fortement encouragée par la *poésie* anglo-américaine moderne et par son esthétique (Pound, Eliot, imagisme). Cela se manifeste dans l'arrangement poétique de certains éléments de la prose et dans le système « synchronique » de motifs métaphorico-symboliques, système indépendant de la nature linéaire du roman, mais s'y superposant (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises*; F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*). Le programme de la représentation immédiate, sans réflexions, de l'expérience chez Hemingway révèle, à son tour, l'influence des idées correspondantes de l'imagisme. Toujours chez Hemingway, dans la méthode de construction du volume *In Our Time*, nous voyons apparaître des particularités de la poésie moderne, les principes d'une construction basée sur la juxtaposition radicale (rapport des « miniatures » et des « nouvelles » dans le volume). Ce sont encore les poètes de la juxtaposition radicale, de même que les exemples de cette juxtaposition dans les beaux-arts et dans l'art cinématographique qui inspirent les expériences romanesques de Dos Passos, principalement dans sa trilogie des *U.S.A.*

4. C'est également à la poésie, et tout d'abord aux tendances qui se retrouvent chez Pound et Eliot, que refèrent les expériences visant à donner au texte une dimension mythico-archétypique (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises*; Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*). Faulkner y excelle comme personne: d'une part, ses romans utilisent les archétypes mythiques (son roman tardif, *A Fable* le fait sous la forme la plus pure), d'autre part, ils créent eux-mêmes des mythes: l'histoire des Compson, des McCaslin, des Sutpen, des Snopes reproduit, en leur conférant une signification générale, les situations et les conflits historiques et psychologiques fondamentaux de l'humanité.

5. Dans un autre domaine à savoir dans la technique narrative du roman moderne, c'est encore Faulkner qui alla plus loin que les autres, et devint par là l'écrivain dont l'influence se révéla être la plus durable. Il met à profit tous les résultats de l'évolution qui, depuis Henry James jusqu'à Joyce, mène dans cette direction, varie et confond les méthodes de narration d'une manière qui pourrait paraître éclectique, mais qui est en réalité rigoureusement motivée: c'est toujours le sujet qui conditionne l'emploi de telle ou telle méthode. C'est également chez Faulkner que domine, mieux qu'ailleurs, l'élément dit épistémologique de la technique narrative moderne: la relation entre l'histoire et sa narration, entre « ce qui s'est passé en réalité » et l'activité d'évocation, d'analyse et de narration de ceux qui essayent d'y répondre devient, dans ses romans, la démonstration des relations — souvent paradoxales et problématiques — entre la réalité et la connaissance.

MIKLÓS MAGYAR: Splendeurs et misères du nouveau roman français

L'article se propose de donner une vue rétrospective d'une des tendances les plus remarquables de la littérature française de ces dernières trente années. Effectivement, il est peu de courants littéraires à avoir suscité tant de querelles passionnées que le nouveau roman français.

Dans la première partie de l'étude, l'auteur analyse les affinités et les divergences entre le roman existentialiste et le nouveau roman, affinités et divergences si souvent évoquées par les critiques sans pourtant avoir fait objet d'une analyse comparative approfondie.

La littérature existentialiste si vivement contestée par le nouveau roman fut sans aucun doute le précurseur immédiat de ce dernier. L'article montre comment les existentialistes ont préparé la voie au nouveau roman pour que soient bannis l'intrigue, le héros, le temps et l'espace traditionnels.

Analysant la carrière du nouveau roman, des « splendeurs » aux « misères », l'étude met en relief son caractère hétérogène dans les années cinquante où malgré les étiquettes « école du refus », « école du regard » etc., le nouveau roman n'est nullement une école, mais la rencontre fortuite des efforts spontanés de certains auteurs (Alain Robbe-Grillet, Nathalie Sarraute, Michel Butor, Claude Simon, Claude Ollier, Robert Pinget, Marguerite Duras, Jean Cayrol etc.), pour renouveler le roman depuis longtemps qualifié de moribond.

Ce n'est que vers les années soixante-dix que le nouveau roman, tout en perdant son caractère spontané, deviendra une véritable école romanesque et prendra le nom de nouveau roman. Le changement est tout d'abord marqué par le fait que s'éloignent tous les romanciers qui refusent la nouvelle discipline dictée par Jean Ricardou à savoir la formalisation la plus complète du roman. Après cette rupture au sein du nouveau roman, peu d'auteurs resteront fidèles

aux principes indiqués lors du colloque organisé à Cerisy-la-Salle en 1971. La nouvelle conception idéologique commune doublée de la volonté de formaliser le roman auront transformé « l'écriture d'une aventure » en une « aventure d'une écriture » pour reprendre les mots de Jean Ricardou.

Mettant l'accent sur le caractère typiquement français du nouveau roman, l'auteur de l'article, en faisant une comparaison entre les nouveaux romanciers français, américains, italiens et allemands, montre comment les premiers diffèrent de tous les autres par le refus de tout engagement politique dans le roman. Tandis que les auteurs des nouveaux romans américain, allemand ou italien mettent toutes leurs inventions techniques au service d'un message profondément humain, le nouveau roman français excelle à réaliser la séparation la plus complète de l'art et de la société mais en révélant néanmoins la transformation de l'époque dans le déconditionnement du lecteur. On ne connaît que trop le sort de toutes ces tendances qui, renversant les valeurs réelles, vaulent changer le monde non pas du côté des changements sociaux mais à partir de l'écriture.

Ces tentatives du nouveau roman furent encouragées par ses premiers critiques dont le sémiologue Roland Barthes et le sociologue Lucien Goldmann.

De nos jours, on peut déjà affirmer sans risquer de se tromper que le nouveau roman français n'est autre que le produit d'une crise, tout comme le furent le Surrealisme et le Dadaïsme avec néanmoins une différence loin d'être négligeable, à savoir que ces deux derniers mouvements furent issus d'une crise mettant en cause toutes les valeurs précédentes tandis que le nouveau roman français marque la crise d'une période plus consolidée.

MIKLÓS SALYÁMOSY: Structure historique de la littérature allemande contemporaine

Depuis un siècle, c'est-à-dire depuis le naturalisme, la littérature allemande peut se concevoir dans la période unie qui est celle d'une société industrielle avancée, elle est donc une continuité littéraire correspondant à celle de l'infrastructure, et dont l'essence ne s'est guère ressentie des événements historiques et politiques, pas plus que des « révolutions » littéraires. D'un autre côté, pour utiliser une hypothèse qui embrasse la littérature d'aujourd'hui, nous pouvons partir du fait que toute continuité a été interrompue après la guerre, et que la littérature s'est trouvée dans une situation dénuée de toute tradition. Dans ce sens, on peut parler d'une nouvelle littérature, s'abreuvant à de deux sources; l'une est la représentation directe du monde présent et la mise au point intellectuelle du passé immédiat, l'autre est l'intégration à la littérature allemande des influences étrangères, absentes depuis 1933. (Hemingway, Joyce, Dos Passos, Faulkner, F. Kafka, la philosophie existen-

cialiste, etc.) Ce processus de régénération s'est achevé vers 1960. A partir de cette époque, les questions essentielles que se pose la littérature allemande sont la dialectique de l'individuel et du social, c'est-à-dire la réalisation, la conservation ou la destruction de la personnalité. Dans ce sens, elle perpétue la problématique d'avant 1933, c'est-à-dire celle de l'émigration; pour caractériser la différence entre la littérature de l'après-guerre et la littérature précédente, nous pourrions dire symboliquement que la première se place sous l'égide de Nietzsche, la seconde — depuis le *Stiller* de Max Frisch — sous celle de Kirkegaard. A l'intérieur de cette problématique générale, le complexe de l'identité nationale allemande, jamais encore éclairci de façon convaincante, revêt une importance de plus en plus grande. Parmi les mouvements d'avant-garde, qui, au cours de cette longue période, se répètent en général tous les quinze ans, le dernier, né entre 1965 et 1968, n'a apporté aucun résultat significatif, ni dans le contenu, ni dans la forme.

KATALIN KULIN: Le roman latino-américain dans la littérature mondiale

Le roman, de par la nature du genre, a pour sujet une carrière ou du moins une de ces périodes. Ses héros, pour réaliser leur personnalité, sont en lutte contre leur entourage. La valeur générale du roman augmente ou diminue selon le degré d'engagement, individuel et social à la fois, de la lutte humaine qu'il représente. Mais l'œuvre ne peut dépasser les frontières nationales ou celles de la communauté culturelle donnée quand elle reflète des formes sociales arriérées, à travers une vision correspondante.

Les seules traditions nationales ou continentales n'auraient pu suffire à inspirer, à un grand nombre de romanciers latino-américains, des œuvres comptant dans la littérature mondiale. Pour suppléer à ce qui manquait dans les traditions de leur propre littérature nationale, ceux-là se tournèrent, d'une part, vers les écrivains nord-américains, vers Faulkner et Dos Passos, et profitèrent, d'autre part, l'intermédiaire de Borges, d'Asturias et de Carpentier, des résultats des avant-gardes européennes (dont le surréalisme), c'est-à-dire du structuralisme. La réforme de la langue, le refus des conventions linguistiques précédentes, les associations hardies de l'imagination et le libre emploi des éléments irrationnels sont dus, avant tout, à l'influence des tendances européennes, mais si l'on considère la langue comme moyen de communication, la création de mythes par les successeurs de Faulkner est elle-même un nouveau « langage ». Dos Passos exerce une influence d'abord par la structure de ses romans, qui évoque le caractère désagrégé, gratuit et accidentel de la vie métropolitaine.

Dans les pays d'Amérique Latine, la conjoncture économique de la seconde guerre mondiale avait donné naissance à d'importantes initiatives

industrielles indépendantes. La défaite du fascisme n'ayant pas apporté la transformation démocratique souhaitée, le nombre des entreprises industrielles basées sur des capitaux nationaux diminua fort dans les années cinquante, la révolution cubaine incita non seulement les sentiments révolutionnaires, mais aussi la vigilance des USA, ce qui entrava même les tendances réformistes. Le résultat en fut une diminution des espoirs et une prise de conscience des difficultés.

Cette grave situation économique et politique favorisa le développement du roman latino-américain. A l'encontre des écrivains vivant dans des sociétés industrielles avancées, sociétés du bien-être, les artistes de ce continent ne pouvaient oublier les aspects communautaires de l'existence humaine, et leur orientation artistique et idéologique leur permit de donner une valeur universelle à l'appréciation et à la représentation de ces aspects.

Dans ce qui suit, nous résumons les conclusions que nous avons tirées de l'analyse des œuvres les plus importantes:

1. Les écrivains ne prêtent pas à leurs personnages des caractéristiques particulières (Vargas Llosa seul étant une exception), pour, au contraire, accentuer leur ressemblance, résultat de réponses et conduites semblables dans des situations semblables. L'ensemble des personnages peut être ainsi considéré comme un seul être collectif.
2. Dans leurs œuvres (cela vaut pour la plupart des écrivains) apparaissent des éléments merveilleux et/ou fantastiques.
3. Ils intensifient l'atmosphère du roman en donnant des conditions climatiques ou acoustiques; l'atmosphère, surtout dans les œuvres proches de celles de Faulkner revêt une importance capitale et peut même jouer le rôle principal.
4. Les auteurs sont réalistes dans la description des détails et/ou de l'intrigue et/ou des dialogues. Ils inserrent exception faite de Vargas Llosa et d'Onetti les éléments symboliques, irrationnels, merveilleux ou fantastiques dans les phénomènes réalistes, ces derniers permettant au lecteur de ressentir l'action comme réelle et de s'identifier aux personnages.
5. Ils modifient la place traditionnelle de l'action, des personnages et de l'atmosphère. Cette dernière peut ainsi avoir le rôle principal; la structure peut reposer, non pas sur l'action, mais sur des motifs mythiques ou sur les nuances de l'attitude identique des personnages; la structure peut résulter du discours. La modification du rôle et de la place des éléments du roman vise presque toujours la création d'une structure.
6. La structure peut être statique ou cyclique (cette dernière offre la variante « en abîme »); elle présente donc un univers donné a priori (il n'y a que des répétitions sans changement).
7. Le sujet est une entité abstraite de l'expérience, porté par le protagoniste collectif, l'ensemble des éléments mythiques ou le discours qui assurent aussi la structure.

8. Le roman n'est pas une représentation du réel, mais le modèle d'un univers possible. Ce modèle comporte un double rôle; démasquer la société et soulever des questions sur le sens de l'existence.

La structure sans noyau est une entreprise nouvelle, probablement sans issu. Le discours, en se développant à travers d'incessantes dislocations et substitutions, fonctionne comme l'espace-temps de la négation de la personnalité et de l'existence humaine.

Il existe encore une autre tendance qui aboutit également, malgré elle, à la création d'un modèle d'univers. La restriction exagérée et la reproduction cinématographiques des mécanismes conventionnels les plus banals qu'elle pratique ne peut aspirer à aucune totalité.

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Le immagini del vulcano in Miklós Zrínyi e l'Ode all'Etna di Scipione Herrico

Sándor Iván Kovács

A proposito di una delle voci del catalogo della biblioteca di Miklós Zrínyi (1620—1664), il più grande poeta epico del barocco ungherese *(Poetae Itali 1. La Babilonia distrutta. Poema heroico, authore Pietro Paolo Tozzi, Libellus parvus in 12.)*[1] è stato appurato da Mária Derényi che l'autore del volume in questione non è Pietro Paolo Tozzi, bensì Scipione Herrico, poichè Zrínyi (e non sappiamo se sia stato lui, oppure piuttosto un suo scrivano malinformato) « aveva copiato dal frontespizio nel catalogo, per svista, il nome dello stampatore veneziano ». « Finalmente sono riuscita a trovare *La Babilonia distrutta!* » — esclama con gioia la Derényi nel suo saggio su *L'Alderano dell'Assedio di Sziget*,[2] mentre, purtroppo, non comunica il nome della biblioteca in cui ha trovato l'esemplare da lei consultato. Eppure sarebbe importante elencare e confrontare gli esemplari rimasti, perchè tra i libri di Zrínyi, passati in seguito a Zagabria, non si trova più il volume di Herrico. La Derényi si esprime in modo contraddittorio anche a proposito delle edizioni. « L'edizione veneziana » della *Babilonia distrutta* « mi è stata inaccessibile. Ho usato l'edizione messinese del 1653 » — scrive a conclusione dei suoi riferimenti bibliografici, prima però dice che « il successo » dell'epopea di Herrico « era ancora abbastanza recente, allorchè Zrínyi si recò a Roma nel 1635. Infatti, due anni dopo la prima edizione veneziana, l'epopea era stata nuovamente edita a Roma ». Conclusione alquanto affrettata: osservando più attentamente la raccolta biografica di Antonio Mongitore dell'inizio del secolo XVIII — a cui la studiosa fa riferimento —, risulta che l'epopea era già stata pubblicata nel 1624 a Venezia (dopo la prima edizione messinese del 1623). La *Biblioteca sicula* di Mongitore menziona anche un'edizione romana del 1626. Io ho usato quest'ultima e ho visto sul frontespizio che nel 1626 fu stampata quale « terza impressione » dal tipografo Francesco Corbelletti a Roma.[3] Non mi è stato possibile sino ad ora consultare l'edizione veneziana del Tozzi, mentre ho sfogliato anche il volume delle *Poesie liriche* di Herrico (Venezia, 1646)[4] e l'edizione messinese del 1653, consultata dalla Derényi.[5] Questi tre volumi di Herrico comprendono, oltre al poema eroico, vari idilli, sonetti, poemetti (1626, 1646) e un « dramma musicale » (1653). Tra gli idilli di Herrico la Derényi mette in risalto l'idillio di Arianna, dimostrando con raffronti

dettagliati in che modo *Il lamento di Arianna* ha influenzato l'idillio omonimo di Zrínyi.

Nell'edizione del 1626 si può trovare l'*Arianna* giovanile di Herrico che aveva visto la luce per la prima volta nel 1611, ed è presente in tutte le ulteriori edizioni; lo stesso avviene nel caso dell'*Ode al Monte Etna*, quindi queste due poesie non possono essere sfuggite all'attenzione di Zrínyi neppure nell'edizione veneziana allora in suo possesso. La Derényi sottolinea l'importanza dell'influsso esercitato su Zrínyi dal volume di Herrico non solo a proposito delle analogie inconfutabili con l'Arianna e con la figura di Alderano, ma anche per la ragione che Zrínyi con ogni probabilità « aveva preso da Herrico anche l'idea di pubblicare la sua epopea insieme ad alcuni idilli ».[6] Con questo, però, le ricerche su Zrínyi non hanno esaurito affatto le possibilità offerte dal libro di Herrico, epigono di Tasso. Meritano attenzione, per esempio, i richiami relativi all'uso delle allegorie nelle epopee classiche pagane e cristiane, nel proemio dal titolo *Allegoria del poema*; anzi è ancor più interessante l'Ode all'Etna di Herrico.

L'*Ode al monte Etna* infatti è, tra le numerose opere letterarie riguardanti il famoso vulcano siciliano, un esemplare degno di nota. L'*Aetna*, l'*Etna* o, come lo avevano denominato gli italiani con la contrazioni di *Monte* e *Gibel* (ambedue significano monte), in base all'arabo *Giabal Huttamat* ('Monte incandescente'):[7] il *Mongibello*, aveva sempre stimolato la fantasia dei poeti e degli scienziati sin dall'antichità. Mi riferisco qui solo alla famosa descrizione contenuta nel canto III dell'*Eneide* di Virgilio (567—587):

interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,
ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.
Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens
ipse: sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis,
interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem
turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla,
attollitque globos flammarum et sidera lambit;
interdum scopulos avolsaque viscera montis
erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras
cum gemitu glomerat fundoque exaestuat imo.
fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus
urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam
impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis,
et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem
murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo.
noctem illam tecti silvis inmania monstra
perferimus, nec quae sonitum det causa videmus.
nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra
siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo,
et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat.

Virgilio aveva codificato già così dettagliatamente il mito dell'Etna, quindi non c'è da meravigliarsi se l'epopea latina dell'*Aetna* del secolo I d. C., che si occupa già esclusivamente del vulcano, fosse attribuita fino a poco tempo

fa addirittura a Virgilio. A partire dal secolo XVI l'epopea dell'*Etna* fu pubblicata più volte e tra gli altri anche Pietro Aretino si espresse in merito (*De Aetna ad Angelum Gabrielem liber*. Venezia, 1530).[8]

L'Etna, naturalmente, non interessava i posteri solo come problema filologico: la poesia latina se ne servì ampiamente come esemplificazione anche dopo Virgilio.

Il paragone tra il fuoco d'amore e la fiamma dell'Etna si può trovare già in Ovidio (« Il mio fuoco non è inferiore a quello dell'Etna », Epist. Sapphus 12.), anzi, la lirica neolatina del secolo XVI ne aveva fatto un luogo comune. Lo ritroviamo per es. in Georgius Sabinus, in Angerianus, in Johannes Secundus. Ad Ovidio e ai due ultimi autori menzionati attinse sempre con piacere Bálint Balassi, il grande poeta rinascimentale ungherese del secolo XVI, che seguì il loro esempio nel canto scritto *Al nome di Borbála Csák:*

Del monte Etna al di là del mare si dice
che non fa che bruciare senza cessa;
Anche del mio cuore, acceso ormai
di grande amore per te da lungo tempo,
Non spegne il fuoco nè dolore nè malanno,
nè altra tristezza . . .

La poesia di Balassi, composta in seguito, *In cui confronta Celia con Julia* rievoca già così semplicemento il paragone giovanile: « Mi accendo come il monte Aethna ».[9]

Balassi, pur potendo conoscere naturalmente anche i riferimenti italiani, impiega il trito paragone della poesia neolatina. Le nozioni di Zrínyi a proposito dell'elaborazione letteraria del tema dell'Etna sono più complesse, e abbracciano quasi tutto l'arco della poesia italiana, da Dante a Marino. Già Dante menziona l'Etna, e nell'*Inferno* dedica quasi un intero canto alla storia dei terribili giganti che mossero guerra a Zeus, anche se non menziona il gigante Encelado sepolto nell'Etna, l'eroe mitologico tanto caro a Zrínyi. (Menziona invece Tifeo, di cui più tardi.) I riferimenti di Petrarca al Mongibello e ad Encelado sono molto più numerosi. Non sono rari gli esempi in Ariosto, e il Tasso in particolare offre molti punti di riferimento. Uno dei suoi sonetti *(Donne se ben le chiome . . .)* usa la metafora della brina e del ghiaccio che ricoprono l'Etna e della fiamma eterna che ne riscalda l'interno, mentre il madrigale che inizia con le parole *Etna d'amor son io* presenta il protagonista della poesia quale Etna d'amore e da questo concetto derivano altri termini di paragone, come vampa e sospiri, cuore e gelo.[10]

All'inizio del nuovo secolo, naturalmente, anche Marino che leggeva « con il rampino » e incorporava tutti i concetti altrui nelle sue opere, inserisce l'esempio Etna-Encelado ne *La sampogna* e nel suo idillio, *La Proserpina*. Posso ancora menzionare i nomi di Mario di Leo, Battista Guarini, Francesco Balducci, Guidobaldo Benamati o Francesco Bracciolini; la grande enciclo-

pedia degli epiteti di Giovanni Battista Spada ci informa sui loro frequenti richiami alla metafora di Encelado, citando ancora molti poeti.[11] Tra i seguaci di Marino merita particolare menzione Girolamo Preti, il cui sonetto intitolato *Fontana di Paolo V nella piazza di San Pietro* investe Paolo V, che fece scaturire le fonti dalla roccia come un nuovo Mosè, con l'epiteto di « nuovo santo Encelado » perchè, secondo il sonetto, il Pontefice innalza e muove i blocchi di marmo e di pietra allo stesso modo del gigante ribelle che ora freme sotto l'Etna.[12]

Scipione Herrico fu valido rappresentante del culto dell'Etna dell'inizio del secolo XVII. Egli era siciliano: nato a Messina nel 1592, dove aveva studiato teologia, colà era stato insignito del titolo di « teologo e poeta laureato della Accademia di Messina » e sempre in quella città era morto, già cieco, nel 1670. Ma finchè non perse la luce degli occhi potè guardare molte volte la cima (3279 metri) del più alto vulcano europeo, il « gentil Mongibello » e provare l'orrore di Encelado, fulminato da Giove nell'Etna, perchè sia nel 1603, sia nel 1607, nel 1610 e nel 1614 si erano verificate delle eruzioni, e il vulcano fino alla metà del secondo decennio del secolo era quasi sempre attivo. Aprendo la grande carta topografica, pubblicata con testo inglese e italiano, comprendente una cronologia dettagliata della storia delle eruzioni, emessa nel 1824, dedicata alla Illustre e Dotta Società Geologica di Londra, possiamo conoscere non solo le date delle eruzioni, ma anche le dimensioni e il percorso dei torrenti di lava.[13] L'argomento Etna, quindi, era « nell'aria » anche nella realtà all'inizio del secolo XVII e il teologo-poeta siciliano doveva sentirsi predestinato a parlare di questo a lui tanto vicino.[14] A maggior ragione, perchè Marino aveva pubblicato proprio in quel periodo *La sampogna* (prima nel 1620 a Parigi, poi nel 1621 a Venezia) e anche l'*Adone*, più volte ristampato a partire dal 1623, è pieno di allusioni al Mongibello.[15] In mancanza di una cronologia precisa degli idilli di Herrico, è difficile decidere se l'uno poteva o meno conoscere la rispettiva opera dell'altro. Comunque è un fatto che l'ode all'Etna di Scipione Herrico, pur non essendo esente dai luoghi comuni della poesia d'amore di moda nel Seicento, non è così sovraccarica di « Varie digressioni » e di « descrizioni » come la poesia di Marino che caratterizzava in tal modo se stesso. I riferimenti di Marino al Mongibello sono inoltre solo intarsi sparsi, a scopo decorativo (solo la digressione di *Proseprina* è più estesa), mentre l'*Ode al monte Etna* è una poesia dignitosa, omogenea, una dichiarazione dal tono veramente all'altezza dell'ode. Si tratta naturalmente di una dichiarazione d'amore, dedicata al nobile Mongibello e all'amata immaginaria o reale del poeta:

[1] Hor l'acceso pensiero
E l'arte, e le parole
Mi fa volgere a te gran Monte altero,
Ne la cui vasta mole
E calda, e fredda, e rigida, e fiorita,
I miracoli suoi Natura addita.

[2] In te seggio d'ardori
Sta Primavera assisa
Entro ruvidi sassi, e molli fiori,
E sei temprato in guisa,
Che col tuo caldo, e col tuo ghiaccio eterno
Mostri uniti, o stupor, la state, e 'l verno.

[3] Tu d'un vivo, e defunto
Orgoglioso gigante
Sei prigione, difesa, ed arme a un punto:
Che protervo, e arrogante
Contra il nemico cielo, in foggie nove
Fulmini, fulminato in darno move.

[4] In qual famosa guerra
s'udì tromba simile,
Tromba con che disfida il ciel la terra?
Anzi machina ostile,
Ond'esce con gran fremito, e rimbombo,
Quasi da cavo bronzo, acceso piombo?

[5] O quanto, o quanto eguali,
Mentre avien ch'io ti miri,
Conosch'io che sian noi. Tu fumo esali,
Ed io mando sospiri;
Tu al ciel indirizzi il fumo, e verso il mio
Ciel di beltà drizzo i sospiri anch'io.

[6] In tenebroso velo
Tu col fumo, che aventi,
Del Pianeta sovran, che nacque in Delo,
Turbi i raggi lucenti;
Io d'un bel volto il sol, che m'innamora,
Col fumo de' sospir turbo talhora.

[7] Di metal varie vene
Tuo vasto seno accoglie:
Ed io nel petto mio timore, e spene
Nascondo, e brame, e doglie,
Anzi col pari freddo e pari ardore
Dentro il fuoco tenemo, e 'l ghiaccio fuore.

[8] S'ode il tuo gran muggito
Per mille piagge, e lidi;
E per mille contrade il suono è udito
De' miei tormenti, e stridi.
Una non ode i miei penosi lai,
Ma al continuo rimbombo è sorda homai.

[9] Tu, se mai troppo avvampi,
Sgorgi gran fiume ardente,
E di fiamme, e ruine ingombri i campi.
E s'io sgorgo sovente
Il foco onde tropp'io nel seno abbondo;
Mille disegni miei guasto, e confondo.

[10] Tu tremi, o monte acceso,
Quando Encelado oppresso
Vuol sottrarsi talhor dal suo gran peso.
E tremo ancor io spesso,
Quando per gire al volto almo, e sereno,
Vuol uscire il mio cor da questo seno.

[11] Ma che vaneggio, e fingo?
Dove converto e tiro
L'anima errante, ove 'l mio ben depingo?
E non conosco, e miro
Che per forza d'Amore anco è formato
L'idol de le mie voglie Etna animato?

[12] Tu sei di ghiacci, e sassi
E di bei fiori pieno:
Ella rigida, e dura immota stassi,
E marmi, e ghiacci ha in seno;
E pur ne membri candidi, e vermigli
Tien congiunti in bel modo e rose, e gigli.

[13] Tu quantunque di nevi
Sia tua mole ingombrata,
Grave incendio dal centro in aria elevi:
E di nevi è formata
Questa crudel, ma da' begli occhi sui
Spira fiamma, e faville a l'alma altrui.

[14] In te forma Vulcano
Le potenti saette
Con tre ministri al gran Motor sovrano:
E son le gratie elette
A far nel sen di questa vaga Dea
I dardi al bel fanciul di Citerea.

[15] A te vien per la fama
Spesso d'huom saggi un stuolo;
E a quel viso gentil con calda brama
Corron le genti a volo,
Però che meraviglie eccelse, e rade
Posero in te Natura, in lei beltade.

[16] Entro gl'incendi tuoi,
Per haver chiara morte,
Lanciossi un saggio: ed a gli ardori suoi,
Vaghe d'un egual sorte,
Corron lasciando le corporee salme,
Fatte Empedocli novi, a gara l'alme.

[17] Il tuo costante, e saldo
Ghiaccio mai non disface
Il Pianeta sovran co'l suo gran caldo:
E con la sua gran face
Tenta il ghiaccio disciorre in darno Amore
Dal suo gentil, dal suo gelato core.

[18] Così imago sei fatto
De la bella, e crudele,
O Monte acceso, e così sei ritratto
Del misero, e fedele:
Così, di forme due fatto ricetto,
Sembri Giano bifronte al doppio aspetto.

[19] Ma non sol bello sei
Monte famoso, e vago,
Che all'aspetto talhor somigli lei;
Ma perché da l'imago,
Ond'io languisco in van non mai sei lunge,
Che foco a te col suo bel foco aggiunge.

[20] Felicissimo Monte,
Tu per costei ben puoi
Sopra tutti inalzar l'altera fronte:
Faccino a gli honor tuoi
Un ben dovuto, un riverente inchino,
Alpe, Olimpo, Pirene, ed Appenino.

[21] Idalo alter non vanti
La Dea del terzo cielo,
Né le sue nove Dee Parnaso canti
Col bel signor di Delo.
Taccia Latmio il leggiadro Endimione,
E Ida le tre ignude, e taccia Enone.

[22] Ch'or più chiaro divieni,
O gentil Mongibello,
Mentre tanta bellezza in te contieni.
Eri famoso, e bello
Per Proserpina tù, ma per costei
Vi è più famoso, a vi è più chiaro sei.

[23] Calpe ne' falsi humori
Fù meta al navigante:
Tu sei meta al desir di mille cori.
Vantisi pure Atlante
Di sostenere il ciel, che d'un più degno
Ciel d'eccelsa beltà tu sei sostegno.

[24] Come al pari avventate
Vive fiamme, ed ardori;
Come antrambi egualmente oimé brugiate
E le campagne, e i cori:
A che tutto il tem'io non si consumi
Col tuo gran fuoco, e con gli amati lumi.

[25] Ma tu troppo la miri,
Par, che troppo talhora,
Rimirando il bel viso, incendio spiri.
Ohimé che il duol m'accora,
S'è pur ver, che ancor tù del bel sembiante,
Monte insensato, divenisti amante.

[26] Par che troppo sovente
Sfoghi amorosi lai,
Mandando alto fragor dal'uscio ardente.
Hor in qual luogo homai,
Che in gelosia m'agguagli amanti stassi,
Se mi sono rivali ancora i sassi?[16]

La monografia di Tibor Klaniczay aveva già richiamato l'attenzione sulle immagini della roccia, dello scoglio in Zrínyi e, recentemente, si sono concentrate su questa questione ricerche più dettagliate. In parte perchè, al posto dell'analisi secondo il metodo tradizionale, in cui si confrontano riga per riga le fonti di Zrínyi, a proposito delle quali Klaniczay ha stabilito giustamente che hanno portato un risultato scientifico minimo per quanto riguarda le poesie liriche,[17] è necessario vedere gli orientamenti poetici in una prospettiva più vasta; in secondo luogo perchè, nell'ambito del sistema di motivi della poesia zrínyiana, proprio la rete organicamente coerente delle immagini della roccia è

testimonianza di un inserimento più ampio nella letteratura mondiale, e anche indice di un processo di maturazione interna.

Non vi sarebbe nulla di più facile che riportare le strette corrispondenze tra l'*Ode al monte Etna* e la poesia di Zrínyi. Le antitesi tra caldo e freddo, vampa eterna e gelo, fuoco e ghiaccio, incendio e neve, fiamma e cuore gelato, favilla ardente e durezza marmorea si possono documentare ampiamente anche in Zrínyi. Questo sistema di metafore era stato però elaborato già da Petrarca nella sua pœsia amorosa, quindi queste immagini erano già da lungo tempo di pubblico dominio e la prassi poetica neolatina e italiana dei secoli XVI—XVII si era quasi esclusivamente limitata a variarle fino all'assurdo.

Le ricerche fanno risalire tradizionalmente pure al Petrarca, allo scopritore del Monte Ventoso, l'inizio del culto rinascimentale dei monti, delle sommità. Sotto questo aspetto Scipione Herrico non ha ormai molto in comune con il Petrarca. Per il poeta siciliano, il Mongibello è da una parte un accessorio naturale e conosciuto del paesaggio, della terra natale, mentre dall'altra è un ottimo terreno, anzi, possiamo dire una ricca riserva di caccia per abbattere paragoni, antitesi, motivi. In sostanza, il Mongibello non compare nella sua realtà naturale-geografica, sebbene si menzionino la sua enorme massa calda, fredda, brulla e fiorita, il fumo emesso, la moltitudine dei metalli nascosti nelle viscere, il fiume ardente che da esso scaturisce ecc. Tuttavia, i soci dell'Illustre e Dotta Società Geologica Londinese non avrebbero potuto trarre eccessivo profitto dall'ode all'Etna di padre Herrico, dato che questa poesia d'amore non raffigura l'Etna nella sua determinazione geografica, bensí in quella mitologica e metaforica. Secondo quest'ultima, in seno al Mongibello non alloggia solo una forza immane che scaglia « acceso piombo » verso il cielo, ma anche un gigante fulminato e sepolto dalla forza divina: Encelado, incapace di liberarsi da questo immenso peso. Naturalmente l'Etna è il monte più straordinario: oscura i raggi splendenti del massimo Pianeta nato a Delo; il sole non riesce a sciogliere il manto di ghiaccio che lo ricopre; in esso Vulcano batte il martello sulle frecce enormi; altre montagne, quali le Alpi, l'Olimpo, i Pirenei, gli Appennini, Gibilterra, Atlante non possono essere comparate all'Etna, perchè ognuna di esse perde nel confronto. Tutte quante gli devono riverenza, così, per esempio, Gibilterra era *solo* l'ultima meta dei naviganti, mentre il Mongibello è l'aspirazione di migliaia di cuori. Menzionando il cuore siamo arrivati allo strato di significati più importanti dell'*Ode al monte Etna*. L'autenticazione geografica-topografica e la sfilata di tutto l'apparato mitologico servivano solo come punti di riferimento per illustrare i simboli dell'amore. L'enorme vulcano emette il suo fumo verso il cielo come il poeta invia i suoi sospiri verso il suo bel paradiso, cioè verso l'amata; come il velo di fumo del Mongibello offusca il cielo, anche il poeta vela con il fumo dei suoi sospiri il volto splendente di colei che ha rapito il suo cuore; il monte conserva nel grembo le vene dei metalli, il poeta nasconde la paura e la speranza; il muggito del vulcano in

eruzione può essere comparato ai lamenti causati dal mal d'amore (sebbene la persona a cui sono dirette queste parole sia sorda anche al clamore dei lamenti); la fiamma che si sprigiona dal suo cratere brucia ogni cosa; il fuoco emanato dal poeta rovina e confonde mille piani; il cuore che vuol uscire dal petto innamorato trema e si dimena come Encelado; in una parola l'idolo delle sue brame, grazie alla forza di Amore, è simile all'Etna animata; perchè anch'esso, similmente al monte, è freddo come il marmo, duro come la pietra, immobile come la corazza di ghiaccio; anche la neve che ricopre il vulcano riflette la fiamma e le scintille che emanano dai suoi occhi; anche l'amata è ammirata e bramata ardentemente da tutti come l'Etna. E ora il poeta non ha che da concludere le analogie sempre più ardenti così: le fiamme del Mongibello sono incrementate anche dal bel fuoco della donna celebrata; proprio per questo il vulcano può levare sopra ogni altra montagna la fronte orgogliosa: essa l'ha reso più luminoso e famoso di quello che era già divenuto per Proserpina. Dopo tutto questo si può dire ancora qualcosa a proposito del Mongibello, arricchito anche dalla bellezza dell'amata? Il poeta barocco italiano è capace anche di una simile assurdità. Egli finisce per fermare il torrente di lava della sua dichiarazione d'amore con un giro di parole sorprendente, che non è però esente da una sua logica, e cioè che il Mongibello emana una fiamma più cocente e vulnerante di ogni precedente, perché *si è innamorato* della sua amata e così fa rimbombare i suoi lamenti amorosi: diventando il rivale del poeta!

Il fulmine di Giove aveva fatto sprofondare in fondo all'Etna un altro gigante ribelle, Tifeo, raffigurato in modo efficace da Ovidio nelle *Metamorfosi* (V. 346—358):

> Vasta Giganteis ingesta est insula membris
> Trinacris et magnis subiectum molibus urget
> aetherias ausum sperare Typhoea sedes.
> nititur ille quidem pugnatque resurgere saepe,
> dextra sed Ausonio manus est subiecta Peloro,
> laeva, Pachyne, tibi, Lilybaeo crura premuntur;
> degravat Aetna caput; sub qua resupinus harenas
> eiectat flammamque ferox vomit ore Typhoeus.
> saepe remoliri luctatur pondera terrae
> oppidaque et magnos devolvere corpore montes:
> inde tremit tellus, et rex pavet ipse silentum,
> ne pateat latoque solum retegatur hiatu
> inmissusque dies trepidantes terreat umbras.

Secondo la descrizione, le membra del gigante Tifeo sono imprigionate sotto la punta dello « stivale » italiano e i promontori del triangolo siciliano, mentre la testa è coperta dalle falde e dalla vetta dell'Etna. La figura umanizzata dell'isola non è però una « fantasia poetica » unica nella letteratura antica ed italiana. Nell'*Adone* del Marino (V. 86.), il locus in cui il poeta antropomorfizza una grande roccia che ha il volto umano piangente, con la barba boschiva, sarebbe da ricondurre, secondo le ricerche italiane, al *De re rustica* di Columella, contemporaneo di Seneca.[18] Nessuno può dubitare del fatto che

Zrínyi conosceva a fondo Ovidio e Marino; e quando nel suo idillio *Il cacciatore ed Eco* paragonava le due belle gambe dell'amata alle colonne d'Ercole, doveva aver presente le immagini antropomorfiche classiche ed italiane. L'enciclopedia degli epiteti di Spada riporta, attingendo alle *Gemme liriche* di Giovanni Battista Fusconi, un brano di sonetto in cui le gambe sono colonne di alabastro vive e genuine.[19]

Cercando di stabilire i nessi tra l'*Ode al monte Etna* e l'opera poetica di Zrínyi, sembra poco proficuo limitarsi all'esame dell'apparato mitologico, come non si potrebbe arrivare a nulla di rilievo passando in rassegna le concordanze del motivo del fuoco e del ghiaccio. Zrínyi non era meno pratico di mitologia di quanto lo fossero i suoi contemporanei italiani. D'altra parte, i vocabolari latino-ungherese, ungherese-latino di Albert Szenci Molnár, dell'inizio del secolo XVII, davano già spiegazioni geografiche e mitologiche del tutto precise. Secondo Albert Molnár, l'Etna è « un monte sempre *infocato* della Sicilia », l'Atlante è un « monte in Mauritania ». Per i poeti è, invece, « un gigante che sostiene sulle spalle il cielo ». Encelado, invece, è « il più grande gigante che Giove abbattè con un fulmine, rovesciandogli addosso il monte Etna ».[20] (Il nostro Molnár non ha un'espressione più precisa per il vulcano se non quella di *monte infocato.*)

Se, invece, seguiamo la rete di metafore pietra — roccia, scoglio — vulcano, che intesse gli idilli di Zrínyi, possiamo scoprire un sistema organico di rapporti; ribadendo ancora che non cerchiamo di individuare certe concordanze meccaniche dei testi. Le due « fantasie poetiche »: *Il cacciatore ed Eco* e *Titirus e Viola* sono poesie di carattere diverso, quindi non possono darci altre analogie oltre a quella già menzionata. I due *Idilli* ed alcune tra le altre poesie ci offrono interessanti possibilità di confronto.

Gli esempi da mettere in risalto possono essere raggruppati in determinati modi. Vi sono semplici cenni, paragoni:

La grande crudeltà di Viola bella,
La ritrosia dell'*alto scoglio*
(*Idillio. Il cacciatore*, 6.)[21]

Perchè mi rallegro se la neve è sparita *dal monte?*
(Ibid., 10.)

Più che onda *lo scoglio*, o vento il grande albero in riva. . .
(Ibid., 11.)

Col tempo *sulla roccia* si scorge anche la traccia delle formiche. . .
(Ibid., 17.)

Come l'onda del mare non distrugge *il grande scoglio*
(Ibid., 18.)
Se a me non credi, domanda pure *i sassi*
(Ibid., 42.)

Vo scagliando *la pietra* di Sisifo contro il *gran monte*
(Ibid., 53.)

Ah, non essere più dura *dei sassi e dei marmi!*
(*Idillio, A Viola*, 1.)
Non è meraviglia: sei *di pietra*, sei più dura
Dell'*alabastro*, del ghiaccio d'inverno, del *porfiro*[22]
(Ibid., 9.)

Ma nemmeno *marmo* sei, perchè se *marmo* fossi
(Ibid., 20.)
Parchè lamentandosi solo *ai sassi* parla
(*Lamento d'Arianna*, 18.)

Oltre alle colonne d'Ercole, cioè la proiezione mitologica di Gibilterra, vi sono in Zrínyi altri riferimenti geografici, sempre con un valore metaforico: Parnaso, Scilla e Cariddi, ecc. Ben più concrete e vigorose sono però le immagini ove monti, mari, fiumi e scogli sono presenti nella loro realtà tangibile:

Thule ed Islanda, Tanais non valgono a nasconderti,
Né *l'Atlante* se, aprendosi, nelle viscere ti nasconde.
(*Idillio, Il cacciatore*, 4.)

I fuochi del *Hekla* mi sono pietosi,
I sassi del *Késmárk*[23] mi sono obbedienti,
Le acque del *Drava* per me non sono rapide,
Solo i tuoi begli occhi non mi son pietosi.
(Ibid., 12).

Oh quante volte bramavo: *Mongibel* mi cadesse addosso,
L'ora mia triste passasse insieme con la mia vita!
(Ibid., 14.)
Oh tu crudo metallo! tu, sola crudele!
Sulla terra, *sui grandi scogli*, nei mari profondi,
Negli implacabili inferni, negli alti cieli
Si trova amore: ma non nel tuo cuore.

Perchè a quest'ora, a tante mie preghiere,
A questi miei versi umili, lo stesso *grande Késmárk*
Si sarebbe commosso a tante mie lagrime versate,
Il Danubio sarebbe rifluito sui *monti alti.*
(Ibid., 38—39.)
Se mai ti tradissi, amorosa mia Viola,
Tosto su di me piombi il *gran Vesuvio!*
(Ibid., 44.)
Prego, non mi fuggire! ti rammenta:
La figlia di Peneo venne avvolta in un tronco,
Si mutò in alloro, come un dio volle,
Perché pure un dio è crudele, incontrando crudeltà.
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
Se Dio lo volesse, muteresti in cosa prodigiosa:
Muteresti, non credo che in tenero ramo d'alloro,
Ma in dura quercia cresciuta in cima al *Késmárk*,
A sostenere guerra con il signore dei venti.

Esso pure s'intenerirebbe alla mia preghiera,
Credo si metterebbe a parlare a tanti miei versi.
(*Idillio. A Viola*, 7, 10—11.)

Le onde tumultuose del *mare Adriatico*
Eguaglian forse il diluvio degli occhi miei?
Eguaglian forse le fiamme del *Mongibello*
La possente fiamma del mio cuore ardente?
(*Lamento d'Arianna*, 1.)

Ma tu forse credi, son morti gli dei
Che *di sassi coprirono Encelado,*
Fecero sbranare Prometeo dagli avvoltoi,
Seppellirono sotterra re Salmoneo in rovine?

O che cambiarono *Atlante* in *grande scoglio...*

(Ibid., 35—36.)

Ma tu, se volevi colpirmi per i miei peccati,
Perchè ti abbandonasti a tale eccesso di crudeltà,
Giove, e perchè non sfogasti l'ira con me,
Distruggendomi coi tuoi fulmini furibondi?

O, se tanta beltà non volesti soffrire,
Perchè non hai *coperto anche me,*
Come Encelado, dell'Etna ponderosa?

(*Dolore d'Orfeo*, 4—5.)

Potresti guarirmi solo tu, o Fato crudele!
Uccidendomi con torture orribili,
O *gettandomi sulle spalle il Késmárk* d'improvviso,
Facendomi crollare addosso i cieli, senza pietà.

(Ibid., 16.)

Se ruina *l'Atlante*, se il gran cielo cade

(*Assedio di Sziget*, V., 3.)

Uomo più selvaggio non potrebbe nascere dalla terra,
Se questa volesse *partorire un gigante* per nuova vendetta,
A *scagliare monti contro il gran cielo...*

(Ibid., VI., 5.)

Colpisti Encelado col tuo folgore terribile,
Facesti sbranare Ixione dagli artigli delle aquile,
Son piccoli affanni al cospetto del mio:
Non è dolore se soffre solo il corpo con fermezza.

(Ibid., XII., 99.)

La frequenza dei semplici cenni e paragoni ove l'immagine della roccia è presente, indica solo la preferenza di Zrínyi per questo topos poetico, di lunga tradizione, per presentare in modo efficace la forza, la durezza, la « crudeltà ». Tutto ciò non dimostra alcuna originalità particolare; ma tali preferenze rivelano che questo è il suo registro, il suo tono naturale, che acquista maggiore forza (e si manifesta in modo più omogeneo) nella sua epopea.

Il contrasto eccessivo, così caratteristico del barocco, la frequenza e il significato attribuito ai motivi della roccia e del vulcano in Zrínyi testimoniano la sua profonda conoscenza della poesia italiana. Nelle poesie liriche di Zrínyi l'Etna non è solo l'Aetna classica, ma anche il Mongibello, come nell'ode di Herrico e nell'idillio di Marino. Zrínyi non riprende dell'ode all'Etna di Herrico dei motivi saltuari, delle piccole coincidenze: l'*Ode al monte Etna* esercita il suo ascendente su di lui nel suo insieme; la dichiarazione solenne riferita al vulcano maestoso, gli diventa ricca fonte d'ispirazione nella sua integrità. Anche se le antitesi di Zrínyi non sono così raffinate, portate all'assurdo, pure richiamano i vari motivi dell'ode. Così, per es. là dove accenna al fatto che anche sulle « grandi rocce » « esiste l'amore »; là dove menziona « i fuochi del vulcano Hekla », più pietosi « dei suoi begli occhi » e le « fiamme del Mongibello », con-

frontate con le « fiamme possenti » del cuore infocato; o nelle strofe che ricordano l'esempio di Encelado, il gigante che si era ribellato agli dei. Nell'epopea troviamo soltanto due volte l'esempio di Encelado: nella quinta strofe del VI canto, pur senza dirlo, gli paragona Demirham che scaglia contro il cielo grandi massi; e paragona anche il dolore di Cumilla alla sofferenza di Encelado colpito dalla terribile saetta divina. Il più bel brano lirico dell'epopea ripete la parabola presente nelle poesie liriche, derivata dall'ode all'Etna.

Zrínyi non potè far tesoro degli altri cenni mitologici. È vero che allude al caso di Proserpina e Plutone (anche qui si tratta di una credenza mitologica ambientata in Sicilia), ma non menziona affatto Empedocle. Secondo la tradizione, il medico-filosofo dell'imperatore Adriano si era suicidato gettandosi nell'Etna; e si dice che le rovine della cosidetta Torre del Filosofo, tuttora visibili, siano i resti del suo osservatorio. La selezione effettuata da Zrínyi è cosciente. Il caso della coppia divina Proserpina-Plutone è per lui un motivo poeticamente fecondo, mentre gli rimane estranea la filosofia che porta al suicidio. Il suo eroe preferito è il gigante valoroso e ribelle, Encelado.

Ritengo necessario ripetere che non sono importanti le concordanze che si potrebbero ancora lungamente elencare; l'altezza del tono, l'impeto e l'audacia del discorso rivolto a qualcosa di gigantesco, sono i tratti la cui genesi è affine in entrambi i poeti. L'*incipit* maestoso ed inconfondibile de *Il lamento d'Arianna* è prova eloquente che si tratta veramente di un poeta dalla forza vulcanica; è qui che Zrínyi, apparentemente, ha assimilato maggiormente Scipione Herrico:

> Le onde tumultuose del mar Adriatico
> Eguaglian forse il diluvio dei miei occhi?
> Eguaglian forse le fiamme del Mongibello
> La possente fiamma del mio cuore ardente?

Tuttavia–almeno per quanto riguarda questa strofe di rara perfezione — egli ha offuscato il suo ispiratore italiano. Padre Errico canta in un tono più lezioso, velato, anche se si sfoga a lanciare i massi immani del *proprio vulcano siciliano*. Il Mongibello s'affaccia sul mare; quindi non c'è nulla di più naturale dell'antitesi mare-monte, utilizzando le fiamme del cuore e le lacrime. L'esecuzione tecnica precisa di Zrínyi affianca al vulcano un'antitesi che, oltre ad essere efficace, è anche *ungherese*: « Le onde tumultuose del mar Adriatico »! — Se Scipione Herrico è il poeta dell'Etna, se Marino è la sirena del Tirreno, Zrínyi qui è già il poeta dell'Adriatico.

Zrínyi tende coerentemente alla trasposizione dei topos poetici sul suolo ungherese. Proprio per questo, accanto all'Adriatico — allora anche magiaro — compaiono i fiumi ungheresi, la Drava e il Danubio, e proprio per questo il poeta cerca e rinviene il « Mongibello ungherese », che sarà il monte più alto dell'Ungheria di allora, il *Késmárk*! Che si tratti veramente di un'invenzione cosciente, lo dimostrano la settima-ottava e decima strofe del secondo *Idillio*.

In queste strofe — come egli riferisce in una chiosa di suo pugno — Zrínyi allude all'esempio mitologico di Dafne, trasformata in alloro: « La figlia di re Peneo, Dafne, per sfuggire all'amore di Apollo, si trasformò in Lauro.»[24] La fonte è evidentemente Ovidio, il poeta delle *Metamorfosi*,[25] nonchè Marino, della cui *Sampogna* (benchè Marino abbia cantato anche Dafne), qui tiene presente *La Ninfa avara*:

S'havesse in pianta a transformarti il Cielo,
Non di tenero lauro,
Ma *d'aspra quercia alpina*.[26]

Qui Zrínyi traduce con assoluta precisione, ma con una modifica d'importanza fondamentale:

Se Dio lo volesse, muteresti in cosa prodigiosa:
Muteresti, non credo che in tenero ramo d'alloro,
Ma *in dura quercia cresciuta in cima al Késmárk*,
A sostenere guerra con il signore dei venti.

L'aspra quercia alpina di Marino si trasforma così in quercia dura, cresciuta in cima ai Tátra, al Késmárk, capace di lottare anche contro il dio dei venti. Anche i « fuochi di Hekla » sono menzionati insieme ai « sassi di Késmárk »; pure il « grande Késmárk » « si sarebbe commosso » alle infinite implorazioni (come il Mongibello). Possiamo comunque liberare tranquillamente dalle parentesi caute il vulcano siciliano, perchè il *Lamento di Orfeo* non lascia dubbi sul fatto che si tratta di una analogia ben precisa e cosciente: « Solo tu potresti guarirmi, o Fato crudele ! Se tu d'improvviso *gettassi* Késmárk sulle mie spalle. » Ciò è l'equivalente di quanto egli scrive nel primo *Idillio* « O, quante volte bramavo: cadesse su di me il Mongibello », oppure, sempre là « Mi crollasse addosso subito il gran Vesuvio ! »

La visione dell'Etna, del Vesuvio, del Késmárk che crolla sull'innamorato, in sostanza, è una parabola di Encelado che Zrínyi parafrasa chiaramente nel secondo *Idillio* e nel *Lamento di Orfeo*:

Ma forse credi che sono morti gli *dei*,
Che *di sassi ricoprirono Encelado*

*

Perchè *non hai ricoperto* anche me
Come Encelado con la pesante Etna?

L'immedesimazione del poeta lirico con Encelado è naturalmente un ruolo, un travestimento mitologico dell'uomo amoroso; e noi dobbiamo prenderlo per quello che è: una figura retorica, simile a quella di Scipione Herrico.

Ma seguendo proprio il filone del motivo *Késmárk* nell'epopea, abbiamo dimostrato altrove[27] che dal luogo comune delle allusioni topografiche Zrínyi è capace di arrivare ad una sintesi, ridotta all'essenziale ed originalissima, delle caratteristiche sparse del motivo, grazie ad una trasformazione interna, ad una

maturazione anche cronologicamente ininterrotta. Se esaminiamo attentamente l'intera opera poetica, possiamo infatti scoprire un analogo processo di arrichimento di significati del motivo Mongibello-Encelado.

Zrínyi usa il verbo *coprire* nelle metafore citate degli idilli, e cioè « coprirono di pietre Encelado » e « non mi hai coperto » anche nella sua epopea:

Come la rena son tanti i pagani;
Per cui potrebbero *coprirci* di *sassi*.
(V. 73.)

Or dalla moltitudine la terra è *ricoperta*,
Come se un *monte* si muovesse sulla pianura.
(VII. 15.)

Il verbo *coprire* si collega ambedue le volte alla stessa *pietra*, allo stesso *monte*, ma conformemente all'argomento ha un carattere generale e non vi ha parte l'immagine del vulcano. Affrontiamo quindi il problema da un altro punto di vista: non è rimasta qualche cenere delle « fiamme del Mongibello »? Allorchè nel 1651 Zrínyi consegnò al tipografo viennese per le stampe il manoscritto del volume *La sirena del mar Adriatico*, effettuò sull'epopea alcuni ritocchi e fece alcune aggiunte. Tra l'altro accluse una strofe che manca dal manoscritto conservato attualmente a Zagabria, e che si può leggere solo nell'edizione del 1651. Allorchè la furia Aletto « incendia » « il duro cuore » del sultano contro gli ungheresi colpevoli, « lasciandolo acceso dalla fiamma divampante », salta su e

Grida il Sultano: « Tu che al coraggio,
A così grandi cose mi induci!
Sei più che un uomo, seppure
Ti abbia visto parlare sotto umane sembianze. »
(I. 47.)

Il poeta aveva giudicato insufficiente questa risposta di una sola strofe, e ai versi scritti nell'inverno del 1645—46 aveva aggiunto nel 1651 la seguente strofe:

« Pronto è Sulimano, ad andar là
Dove mi hai imposto, a far cataste di giaurri;
Tingerò il mio cavallo in un lago di sangue cristiano,
Di cenere coprirò città e castelli. »[28]

László Négyesy, l'eminente studioso di Zrínyi, osserva che « la 48-esima strofe non era compresa originariamente nel manoscritto e l'attuale 49-esima strofe portava il numero 48; il poeta l'aveva aggiunta in seguito. » Da sottolineare ciò che egli osserva tra parentesi: « Ottima aggiunta. »[29] Ed è ben vero!

Le città e i castelli ungheresi incendiati, poi coperti di cenere, l'Ungheria subissata dalla cenere: una grande metafora di Zrínyi! L'immenso vulcano turco, incendiata dell'ira di Dio nasconde sotto la cenere la piccola Pompei ungherese . . . Ma per non essere solo noi a spiegare la poesia, parli nuovamente

Zrínyi che scrisse nel 1651, contemporaneamente alla strofe aggiuntiva citata, la *Perorazione* riferita all'epopea:

> Non solo con la mia penna cerco la fama,
> Ma anche con la mia sciabola in tenzone:
> Finchè vivrò, lotterò con la luna ottomana,
> *Lasciandomi coprire, sereno, della cenere della mia patria.*

L'espressione *cenere della mia patria* si collega strettamente alla riga «Di cenere coprirò città e castelli»; il poeta-soldato si impegna a lottare fino alla morte, si lascia sereno coprire dalla cenere della patria incendiata e bruciata al suolo dalle schiere ottomane. Quel *lasciandomi coprire* comprende un richiamo più lontano: è un riferimento al mitologico Encelado, citato nella bella parabola delle poesie liriche, a quell'Encelado che osò ribellarsi contro gli dei e che, per punizione, fu ricoperto dalla massa enorme del Mongibello. Nel fuoco del vulcano siciliano arde il furore eterno del gigante Encelado; anche la terra dell'Ungheria, nascosta dalle ceneri, bruciata per punizione di Dio, nasconde, in muta accusa, il figlio poeta pronto a morire sereno.

NOTE

[1] *Bibliotheca Zrínyiana. Die Bibliothek des Dichters Nicolaus Zrínyi.* Wien. 1893. Verlag von S(igmund) Kende. 76.

[2] Mária Derényi: *A Zrínyiász Alderánja* (L'Alderano dell'Assedio di Sziget). Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny (Bollettino Filologico Universale), 1940. 235—242. Fonte dei dati biografici e bibliografici relativi a Scipione Herrico: *Bibliotheca sicula sive de scriptoribus siculis . . . Auctore. . . Antonio Mongitore. . . Panormi. . . MDCCXIV.* Tom. II. 210—212. Cfr. anche Angelico Aprosio: *Bibliotheca Aprosiana. . .* Bologna, 1673. 88—89. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (in seguito: Bibl. Vat.) Ferraioli VI. 846.

[3] *Babilonia distrutta. Poema heroico del Sig. Scipione Herrico con una scielta delle sue belliss. rime, con l'allegoria universale e tavola delle cose più notabili nel poema, con gli argomenti in ottava rima à ciascun canto del Sig. Giuseppe Vistarchi. Terza impressione. In Roma. . . MDCXXVI. . . Per Francesco Corbelletti.* Bibl. Vat. Ferraioli VI. 424. Nè la Biblioteca Vaticana, nè la Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, nè l'Angelica e neppure la Vallicellina non conservano l'edizione veneziana di Tozzi. Ho avuto modo di effettuare ricerche in queste biblioteche romane nell'inverno del 1980.

[4] *Poesie liriche di Scipione Herrico. In Venetia MDCXLI. Appresso Giacomo Hertz.* Bibl. Vat. Chigiana VI. 1444. int. 1.

[5] *La Babilonia distrutta. . . con altre poesie. In Messina. Nella Stamp. di Iacopo Mattei. MDCLIII.* Bibl. Vat. Dramm. Allaccia 308.

[6] I suoi rilievi sono accettati anche da Tibor Klaniczay: *Zrínyi Miklós.* Budapest, 1964. II. ed. 68, 115, 356.

[7] Cfr. Carmelio Giardina: *L'Etna negli scrittori latini.* Catania, 1919. 8.

[8] Cfr. *Incerti Auctoris Aetna.* Edited with an introduction and commentary by F. R. D. Goodyear. Cambridge, 1965. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 2.

[9] Cfr. Sándor Eckhardt: *Balassi Bálint irodalmi mintái* (Modelli letterari di Bálint Balassi). Nel Vol.: *Balassi-tanulmányok* (Studi su Balassi). A cura di Tibor Komlovszki. Budapest, 1972. 178—179, 188. Le citazioni da: Balassi Bálint *Összes versei, Szép magyar komédiája és levelezése* (Bálint Balassi: Tutte le poesie, Bella commedia ungherese e corrispondenza). Ed. Béla Stoll e Sándor Eckhardt. Budapest, 1974. 15, 138.

[10] Accenno ai casi elencati riassumendoli. — Dante: *Inferno* XIV, 56; *Paradiso* VIII, 67; sui giganti ribelli: *Inferno* XXXI, 44; *Purgatorio* XII, 33. Petrarca: *Le rime* XLII; *Trionfi, Trionfo d'Amore* IV, 155; *Trionfo della Pudicizia* 26, 144 (cfr. anche *Appendice ai Trionfi* III, 48); *Africa* II, 399, 405; *Ecloga* VIII, 24. (Francesco Petrarca: *Rime. Trionfi e poesie latine.* A cura di F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, N. Sapegno. Milano—

Napoli, 1951.) Ariosto: *Orlando furioso* XII, 1. (*Tutte le opera* di Ludovico Ariosto. A cura di Cesare Segre. Vol. I. Milano, 1964. A pag. 1308 anche un accenno a Claudiano: *De raptu Proserpinae* I. 154—155.) Tasso: *Gerusalemme liberata* IV, 8; XVIII, 83: Mongibello; VI, 23, XV, 34: Encelado. (Torquato Tasso: *Opere.* Vol. III. A cura di Bruno Maier. *Gerusalemme liberata.* Milano, 1963.) Gli altri riferimenti a Tasso nell'ed. citata di Bruno Maier: *Opere.* Vol. II. *Rime, Rinaldo, Il re Torrismondo.* Milano, 1964. 205, 222, 710: Encelado. Inoltre: *Opere.* Vol. I. *Aminta, Amor fuggitivo, Intermedi, Rime.* Milano, 1963. 326, 492, 508: Etna, Mongibello. Il sonetto menzionato ibid: 453—454, il madrigale a pag. 505 *(Madrigali per musica ad instanza di Don Carlo Gesualdo, principe di Venosa)*: «Etna d'amor son io, / il mio amore è la fiamma / che a mezza notte mi consuma e 'nfiamma, / e i miei caldi sospiri / son le rote di fumo e i torti giri, / e l'indurato gelo / presso a le fiamme e l'amoroso zelo, / e 'n un istesso core / il ghiaccio serba fede al vivo ardore. »

[11] Riprendo gli altri esempi dal libro di Giovanni Battista Spada: *Giardino de gli epiteti, translati et aggiunti poetici italiani del padre maestro F. Giovanni Battista Spada di Firenzuola Piacentino dell'ordine de' predicatori, di nuovo ristampato et corretto da un virtuoso. In Bologna, per l'Erede di Vittorio Benacci, MDCLXV.* 244. Questa raccolta monumentale di epiteti, di 832 fogli, stampata in due colonne, contiene un materiale veramente ricco. In sostanza è un dizionario poetico italiano. Sotto le singole parole, nomi, espressioni, ecc. si allineano gli esempi poetici con testo secondo gli attributi, le metafore, ecc. Per esempio, l'Encelado di Ariosto è « fulminato », quello del Guarini è il « gigante fiero », del Balducci è il « titano superbo », del Marino è « orgoglioso » (così anche l'Encelado di Scipione Herrico !); l'Etna di Francesco Bracciolini (a pag. 255) è la « Tomba Siciliana ». Secondo il dato di una delle schede della Bibl. Vat., l'esemplare segn. Capponi II è un'edizione del 1648 (e lo era in effetti !), mentre il volume « di nuovo ristampato et corretto », da me usato fu pubblicato nel 1665. Lettera citata di Marino (1620) nell'antologia di Imre Bán: *A barokk* (Il barocco). Budapest, 1962. 65.

[12] « Meraviglie di Paolo: i marmi e i monti, / novo Encelado santo, inalza e muove, / e trae, novo Mosè, de pietre i fonti. . . » *Opere scelte* di Giovan Battista Marino e dei Marinisti. A cura di Giovanni Getto. Vol. II. Torino, 1954. 177.

[13] Giuseppe Gemmellaro: *Quadro istorico topografico delle eruzioni dell'Etna, cominciando dell'epoca dei Sicani sino oggi 1824, formato dietro lo studio de' più accreditati scrittori del vulcano e dopo molte accurate osservazioni che ha per oggetto principale mostrare l'origine il corso e l'epoca d'ogni eruzione. Alla Illustre e Dotta Società Geologica di Londra . . . s. l.* 1824. Bibl. Vat. Mai. XI. X. I. 6.

[14] La storiografia della letteratura italiana tratta l'operato di Scipione Herrico prevalentemente per la parte avuta nei dibattiti a favore di Marino e non menziona la sua ode all'Etna. (Anche l'antologia citata di Giovanni Getto ne pubblica solo tre sonetti.) Non fa eccezione neppure l'unico studio più concreto su Errico, la piccola monografia di Giorgio Santangelo: *Scipione Errico. Critico e poeta del Seicento.* Palermo, 1970. Eppure Santangelo pone un forte accento sulla sicilianità di Errico (« l'Isola mia di Sicilia »; « la nostra patria Messina »; « il famosissimo porto della mia patria, in cui della natura si stupisce l'arte » — elenca a pag. 21 le sue dichiarazioni di fede), ma a proposito dell'Etna cita solo in una nota la descrizione dell'Etna in prosa della « tragicomedia in comedia » *Le liti di Pindo* (Messina, 1634), a pag. 51. Santangelo non dà informazioni neppure per quanto riguarda la storia delle edizioni. Egli menziona l'edizione del 1619 delle *Rime* e la prima messinese del 1623 della *Babilonia distrutta,* nonchè la seconda edizione veneziana del 1624 dell'epopea, alle pagg. 36 e 98. In appendice al libro, Santangelo pubblica testi di Errico: l'idillio di *Arianna* alle pagg. 234—254. — Carratterizzazione di Marino a proposito del proprio stile: Bán, I.: Op. cit. 61—62.

[15] Giovan Battista Marino: *L'Adone.* A cura di Giovanni Pozzi. Vol. I—II. *Tutte le opere* di Giovan Battista Marino II. *L'Adone.* Milano, 1976. II, 23, 163; III. 50; IV. 142; VII. 193; VIII. 97; XII. 91; XIV. 134; XIX. 232: Mongibello; XVIII, 31, 142: Encelado. (Cfr. con l'accenno alla fonte indicato a pag. 652 del vol. II: Claudianus: *Rapt. Pros.* III. 182—188.) Nella biblioteca di Zrínyi vi era sia la *Sampogna* che l'*Adone* (Vedi *Biblioteca Zrínyiana.* Edizione cit. 19.)

[16] Ringrazio qui Erzsébet Király per il gentile aiuto offertomi non solo nel l'interpretazione del festo italiano dell' *Ode all'Etna,* ma anche nello studio delle indicazioni di Marino e della carta dell'Etna; inoltre ha corredato il testo del mio saggio con utili osservazioni. Ha servito come base per la pubblicazione del testo il volume delle *Poesie liriche* (Venezia, 1646. 29—35), ma ho tenuto conto anche della pubblicazione del testo della edizione del 1653 (631—637).

[17] Klaniczay, T.: Op. cit. 272, 68. In occasione della conferenza sul barocco tenuta a Győr nel 1977, le due relazioni, quella di Amedeo Di Francesco (*Kőszikla és forgószél:*

jelképek a Szigeti veszedelemben — Roccia e turbine: simboli ne L'Assedio di Sziget) e quella dell'autore di queste righe (*Zrínyi kősziklái* — Le rocce di Zrínyi), sono state pronunciate contemporaneamente. Vedi quest'ultima in Sándor Iván Kovács: *Zrínyi-tanulmányok* (Studi su Zrínyi). Budapest, 1979. 31—54.

[18] « Tra discoscese e solitarie piagge / volge gran rupe al sol le spalle alpine; / ombran la fronte sua piante selvagge / quasi del'aspra testa ispido crine; / per l'occhio d'un canal, distilla e tragge / lagrime innargentate e cristalline, / apre un antro le fauci a piè del fonte / quasi gran gola e fa la bocca al monte. » Cfr. nota corrispondente dell'edizione critica di Marino citata da Giovanni Pozzi: vol. II. 316. Questa strofe di Marino corrisponde quasi pienamente alla raffigurazione antropomorfizzante del monte in base ad Arcimboldo, che Zrínyi conosceva dall'*Ars magna* di Athanasius Kircher. Cfr. Kovács, S. I.: Op. cit. 36—39. Per il punto di Ovidio cfr. anche il cap. 6. dell'op. cit. di Carmelo Giardina: *Il mito di Tifeo presso Ovidio.*

[19] Giovanni Battista Spada: Op. cit. 31. Fusconi scrisse prevalentemente melodrammi ed è considerato anche il redattore della galleria poetica marinista, *Le glorie de gli uomini illustri dell'Accademia de' signori Incogniti di Veneta* (Venezia, 1647). Bibl. Vat. Capponi IV. 629.

[20] Szenci Molnár Albert: *Lexicon latino-graeco-hungaricum . . . item dictiones ungaricae . . .* Hannoviae, 1611. Bibl. Vat. Palatina V. 1664. (E un esemplare famoso, Con una dedica di suo pugno.)

[21] Le citazioni sempre secondo il testo di Négyesy: *Opere* del conte Miklós Zrínyi. I. vol. *Költői művek* (Opere poetiche). Bp. 1914. La traduzione delle citazioni è di Erzsébet Király.

[22] Il porfiro: porfirite, porfido.

[23] Una delle vette più alte dei Carpazi, sinonimo di « altissima montagna ».

[24] Négyesy: ed. citata di Zrínyi, 393.

[25] Secondo la *Bibliotheca Zrínyiana* (21, 73), Zrínyi possedeva più di mezza dozzina di volumi di Ovidio. Le *Metamorfosi* in italiano si trovano tuttora a Zagabria. Io ho consultato l'esemplare n. 4000 Stamp. Ross. della Biblioteca Vaticana: *Le Metamorfosi di Ovidio, ridotte da Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara, in ottava rima, impressione sesta, al Christianissimo Re di Francia Henrico Secondo. Di novo dal proprio autore revedute et corrette, con annotazioni di M. Gioseppe Horologgi, con postille et con gli argomenti nel principio di ciascun libro di M. Francesco Turchi. In Venetia, appresso Fabio et Agostino Zoppi Fratelli. MDLXXX.* I capitoli in versi della rielaborazione estremamente prolissa sono completati da annotazioni in prosa, per cui il volume può essere considerato una raccolta completa di esempi mitologici.

[26] Compilazione dettagliata, ma solo meccanica dei paralleli Marino-Zrínyi nel libro di Imre Várady: *La letteratura italiana e la sua influenza in Ungheria.* Vol. I. Roma, 1934. 204—217. L'esempio citato — senza alcuna illazione — a pag. 213.

[27] Cfr. Kovács, S. I.: Op. cit. 46—51.

[28] Questa riga non significa solo che: dipingo di rosso il mio cavallo nel lago del sangue dei cristiani. A suo tempo era in uso nella realtà dipingere con vari colori i cavalli, particolarmente i destrieri. Il sultano, quindi, dipinge di rosso il suo cavallo, ma non con colori, bensì con il sangue cristiano versato.

[29] Négyesy: ed. citata di Zrínyi, 398.

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Nikolai Rostov in War and Peace: Patterns of Behavior

By

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I

In the Homeric tales and the dramas of Shakespeare war is considered the game of the kings. The reader has a feeling that war is always present in the life of a nation and that a *casus belli* is lurking just around the corner ready to be invoked at a moment's notice. Battle descriptions of the late Middle Ages were rooted in the sea-robber experience and the warlike spirit of the great and petty kings imbued the heroes dying formidable — even enviable — deaths despite their frequent gory details. The chroniclers praised hostilities as the acme of human existence and war as the consummate glory of man. Even destiny was on the side of war regardless of the laudable efforts of reasonable men to avert it as Giraudoux pointed out in his drama *La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu*: "Hector, – back from battle, comes as a peacemaker and convinces Ulysses and the populace of the insanity of war; and together they agree that the Trojan War shall not take place. But the poets need a war for their elegies and dirges; the king, because it is custom; the lawyer, because of his honor; and the others, for various mean reasons. And so, in spite of all logic, the war erupts".[1]

As is well known Tolstoy in *War and Peace* showed the failure of this heroic value system and exposed the moral bankruptcy of such false glory. At the Enns bridge observing the French cannons fire at the Russians, young Nesvitsky, usually so gay and carefree, moans "as if in excrutiating pain" as he exclaims "Lock, a man has fallen!" adding in disgust "If I were Tsar, I would never make war".[2] As he sees a wounded soldier, the Tsar himself says in despair "Quelle terrible chose que la guerre".[3] At Borodino Prince Andrei bitterly condemns war: "The aim and end of war is murder...".[4] Thus, we read *War and Peace*, in which the vanity of generals and the jingoism of diplomats is often contrasted with the savage reality of actual warfare, as a great anti-war novel debunking the carnage of battles as an outrage against humanity. Tolstoy's anger is especially directed against the foreign and Russian "super-

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patriots" who mask their dishonesty and greed in cleverly phrased prefabricated feelings and second-rate sentiments. We are meant to see how senseless war is and we do.

However, it would be wrong to believe that with his all-encompassing eye and combat experience as a veteran in the Crimean campaign Tolstoy would not have seen the whole reality of war. Not only its cruelty, the suffering and death, but also the surrounding aura of its poetry, majesty, and glamour; not only the cheap opportunism posturing under a veil of patriotism, but also the true heroism and the self-sacrifice of its simple and noble participants. This happens in *War and Peace* when the novelist admires the "fine order" in which two battalions of the 6th Chasseurs march into battle at Schongraben with a captain at their head whose "one idea at the moment was to march past the commander with a swagger" despite the French shells falling into his columns, and calling on his soldiers with "a jaunty voice" to close ranks after some were killed, only to die in the battle a few minutes later.[5] Tolstoy proudly refers to Thiers who said that "The Russians behaved valiantly . . . " and quotes Napoleon that "some of the Russian battalions showed complete fearlessness".[6] But the novelist also pays respect to a valiant adversary and, as the Russians see the French advance, he makes someone in Bagration's suite praise them "They march well . . . ".[7] Thus, for Tolstoy war was not only a brutality, it also appeared at times as "a glorious war, a war with a meaning".[8]

Tolstoy, the psychologist, also used war as a catalyst in the life of his main heroes. The trauma of the battlefield assailed their sensibilities, asked embarrassing questions, stripped them of their preconceived notions, false airs, and inauthenticity, and often determined their behavioral pattern. If *War and Peace* is about the conditions in which a man meets or fails to meet his fate; if the novel is regarded as a spiritual journey in search of some fundamental values, war then serves as an instrument, a sort of *rite de passage*, a kind of a fitness test,[9] through which such a search is conducted. In this extreme situation of life Tolstoy finds a ceaseless urgency with which the problems of ethics press upon the heroes making the moral philosophy of the novel very much alive and rendering the consciousness of the heroes a terrible responsibility. In Theodore Redpath's words " . . . the main purpose has been given to life by a national war".[10]

In his great novel Tolstoy looks for a law that governs human behavior and, at times, stumbles upon shared and common feelings. He also tries to find the diversity, particularity, and privacy of conduct, conduct which, at times, may seem incomprehensible, illogical and instinctive, the things in life that are seen but somehow remain unnoticed and disregarded. It is his genuine preoccupation with moral life that informs much of the behavior of his heroes. Throughout *War and Peace* concern with moral ideas remains a burning issue and, indeed, an organizing principle of the novelist's craft.

Tolstoy studies how exposure to war shapes and signals individual and collective identity. As a result of their war experience Andrei and Pierre undergo a radical change; the former shedding his pride after Borodino and finding love instead, and the latter, after his ordeal in a French prison camp, embracing the simple joys of life.

However, Nikolai Rostov goes a different way in the novel. This paper will focus on him to record some of his fortunes in the Napoleonic wars as he leaps and falls, recovers and fails to recover his moral equilibrium. Through him Tolstoy explores the mystique of the common man, of heroism, and the ambiguity of attaining ideals. Simultaneously actor and witness, participant and observer, victor and victim, this puzzled young man unconsciously tries to define his moral commitment: what is right and what is wrong. Tolstoy prepares the reader to expect that, under the shock of a sudden awareness of the brutalities and contradictions of war, Nikolai will forge a new set of ethical values. Indeed, as Berlin indicates, in *War and Peace*, there are "wonderful descriptions of moments of illumination in which the truth about the human condition dawns upon those who have the humility to recognize their own unimportance and irrelevance."[11] Yet, this expectation remains largely unfulfilled.

II

As a spiritual prelude to "his" war, Nikolai, the impetuous and enthusiastic "undergraduate",[12] first appears in the cozy warmth of his family, a place so safe that he unconsciously assumes the outside world to be just such a warm and secure place. Full of excitement, idealism, and anticipation, he looks forward to his army life in the war against Napoleon, in which he feels the Russians "must die or conquer".[13]

He is the traditional and uncritical Russian with a binary system of values — we are the good man and they are the bad ones — reflecting the splendid naïveté and simplicity of the people.[14] In an earlier version Tolstoy gave the name *Prostoy* ("simple") to Nikolai's family and this name at once established a norm, a spontaneity and naturalness. Nurtured by the wonderful and terrifying innocence of childhood he begins his troubled journey from the passionate beliefs of his adolescence through the hard experience of a growing-up process characterized by a number of identity crises to manhood.

He enters the army with an automatic "good boy" orientation: to seek approval, to conform to the stereotype images of the majority, and to be judged by his good intentions. Yet, everything turns out to be different. His first attempts to translate his juvenile dream into reality misfire and "adult" realities intrude on his fairy-tale imagination. He exposes a thief, but later has a bad argument with his commanding officer over the ethical complexities of

this matter and, despite his vehement protest, is forced to apologize. He now has to learn the painful fact that, in this situation, which he had assumed to be so simple and uncomplicated, in reality, two distinct truths exist side by side and that his private truth — the truth of the individual — is less important than official truth, the truth of tradition, ritual and authority.[15]

His preconceived notions about the nature of a battle deceive him and make him overlook the real existential situation. As his squadron is rushing to burn the Enns bridge, "not looking where he was going", he comes "on some slimy, trodden mud", stumbles and falls. He does not have any idea what to do now. "There was no one to hew down (which had always been his idea of a battle), nor could he help to fire the bridge because he had not provided himself with burning straw like the other soldiers."[16]

His belief in his courage also receives a bad jolt when he goes into action for the first time and finds himself exposed to the French artillery barrage. "He was glancing round at everyone with a serene, radiant expression, as if asking them to notice how calmly he sat under fire." Yet, even though he had already adopted the unspoken ethic of the regiment, namely that a man who is afraid of being killed is a scoundrel and a coward, he could not quite control his instinctive fear. With fine psychological insight Tolstoy shows the clash between a man's unconscious primal urges and his superimposed social mask. "But into his face too there crept, against his will, that line about the mouth that betrayed something novel and stern."[17]

On the bridge he now sees the agony of several of his wounded comrades and hears their pitiful groans. For the first time he recognizes the difference between the illusion of the army tales he had read before and the awful reality of the battle. The proximity of death, the awareness of his own mortality turns his idealism into self-doubt. He envies the serene beauty of nature which will go on living regardless of battles, finds it more attractive than ever and prays to God for help.

> Nikolai . . . turned away, and, as if searching for something, started to gaze into the distance. . . How beautiful the sky looked. . . How brilliant. . . was the setting sun ! . . . And fairer still were the purpling mountains. . . the mysterious gorges, the pine forests veiled in the mist to their summits. . . There was all peace and happiness. "I should wish for nothing. . . if only I were there" thought Rostov. "In myself alone and in that sunshine there is so much happiness, while here. . . it is. . . suffering and confusion. . . death is all above me. . . A moment more and I shall never see this sun, this river and that gorge again. . ." And the fear of death. . . and love of the sun and of life all merged into one sickening agitation. "O Lord God ! . . . save, forgive and protect me !"[18]

Further disappointments await Nikolai at the cavalry charge at Schongraben. All of his expectations of a heroic attack are shattered. On that occasion he assumes that "at last the time has come to experience the intoxication of a charge of which he had heard so much from his fellow hussars", and he gets ready to kill the Frenchmen. However, instead of finding the enemy, his horse

is shot down from under him and he is wounded. He wonders whether this was "the regular way of things" at the battlefield as he "joyfully" sees men running towards him, convinced that "they will help" him. Tolstoy knows that anticipating optimistic outcome of undecided situations is part of the innocent human nature. However, when Nikolai hears them say something "in a strange language that was not Russian" and sees that they are holding by the arms "a lone Russian hussar",[19] it finally dawns upon him that these men are the enemy.

He looked at the approaching Frenchmen, and in spite of the fact that only a moment before he had been dashing forward solely for the purpose of getting at these same Frenchmen to hack them to pieces, their proximity now seemed so awful that he could not believe his eyes. "Who are they? Are they coming at me? . . . To kill me? *Me* whom everyone is so fond of?"[20]

If perception of danger formed Nikolai's behavior on the Enns bridge before and turned his natural optimism into a justified existential fear, the reader may now well expect a similar reaction. Yet, this is not what happens. If perception discloses a reality too frightening to contemplate, psychology provides a welcome safety valve in Nikolai's Peter Pan world. Thus, as an escape mechanism in this mortal danger — so characteristic of the behavior of children — he vividly recalls glimpses of his childhood roots, the sweetness of "his mother's love" and the enduring affection of his family and friends. At the evocation of this tender and sensuous detail, overcoming time and distance, and bringing back his happy, carefree childhood where everything was ordered and understandable, a sense of security and well-being pervades him to such an extent that "the enemy's intention of killing him seemed impossible".[21] This is a magic moment: the act of recollection offers his imagination the reassurance of a continuous flow in time, the miraculous past overwhelms the concrete present; everything is all right now, nothing will change, and nobody will die.[22]

A similar situation occurs again when, after his escape from the French, Nikolai sits miserably, hungry and in physical pain alone in the falling snow. His thoughts again wander back to the smell and taste of his home in quest of confidence, peace and comfort. In this state of half-delirium, as Tolstoy was to say on another occasion, "Impressions from the most distant past in which dreams fuse with reality"[23] come back to Nikolai. The memory of his rich childhood saves him from despondency, but not from his doubts.

"Nobody cares about me!" thought Rostov. ". . . Yet once I was at home, strong, happy, and loved." . . . He gazed at the snowflakes . . . and thought of winter at home. . . the warm, bright house, his soft fur coat, the swiftly-gliding sledge, his healthy body, and all the love . . . of his family. "And what did I come here for?" he wondered.[24]

As a result of his disappointments, fears, and doubts, Nikolai is now expected to be cured of his illusions. Yet, disregarding logic, Tolstoy, by an artis-

tic fiat, erases Nikolai's doubts, cancels his fears and disappointments, and restores his optimism. Nikolai seems to have quickly forgotten his earlier trials and, in the next episode is ready to impress his friend Boris "by looking so thoroughly a hussar, who has been under fire and suffered the rigours of the front".[25]

In his conversation with Boris, he learns another strange lesson: in certain situations it is not possible to tell the truth. When Boris asks him how he received his wound — his red badge of courage — he discovers the futility of trying to tell his adventures as realistically as possible.

> He described the . . . affair exactly as men who have taken part in battles . . . describe them — that is, as they would like them to have been, as they have heard them described by others, and as sounds well, but not in the least as they really had been. Rostov was a truthful young man and would never have told a deliberate lie. He began his story with the intention of telling everything exactly . . . but imperceptibly. . . he passed into falsehood. If he had told the truth to his listeners who. . . had heard numerous descriptions of cavalry charges . . . and were expecting a precisely similar account from him. . . would not have believed him. . . He could not tell them simply that. . . he had fallen off his horse, sprained his arm, and run. . . into the woods. . . His listeners expected to hear how, forgetful of himself and all on fire with excitement, he had rushed down like a hurricane. . . slashing the French right and left. . . And that was what he told them.[26]

Happiness awaits Nikolai when he sees his adored Emperor inspecting the troops at Austerlitz. He is now serving under Bagration who entrusts him with an important mission and he feels "cheerful, bold, and resolute". He is in that happy frame of mind which "makes everything seem possible, pleasant and easy".[27]

> All his hopes were being fulfilled that morning: there was to be a general engagement, and he was taking part in it; more than that, he was in attendance on the bravest of generals; and still more, he was being sent with a message to Kutuzov, perhaps even to the Sovereign himself . . . His heart was full of joy and happiness.[28]

Yet, on the battlefield he finds confusion and chaos. He first witnesses the ignoble retreat of the Russian Uhlans and sees the enemy troops right behind the Russian lines, a clear indication that the army has suffered a disaster. Although overwhelmed by panic, he still tries to cling to his optimistic belief that this "*can't* be"[29] the real thing. However, after meeting fleeing and wounded Russian soldiers everywhere, he is forced to admit that the battle was lost.

He finally catches sight of his beloved Tsar who is alone "pale, his cheeks . . . sunken and his eyes hollow".[30] Despite the fact that he was ordered to give the Tsar Bagration's message, he finds himself unable to go to him since his own text-book version of a war with its romantic finale obviously did not prepare him for such an incredible thing as meeting the unhappy Emperor after a defeat on the battlefield.

"It might be disagreeable . . . for him to see a strange face at this moment of sorrow. Besides, what could I say to him now, when my heart fails me and my mouth feels dry at the mere sight of him?" Not one of the innumerable speeches he had addressed to the Tsar in his imagination could he recall now. Those speeches were . . . framed for quite different conditions: to be spoken. . . at moments of victory. . . above all, on his death bed, as he lay dying of wounds and the Sovereign thanked him for his heroic exploits, while he gave expressions as he died to the love he had proved by his conduct.[31]

Next we see Nikolai at home, enjoying greatly his vacation, basking in the glow of affection and admiration due to a favorite son, and a decorated and wounded officer. Yet, after the initial euphoria shows signs of exhaustion, the complexities of social life, the petty problems and everyday worries, the constant uncertainty and unpredictability of other people's behavior catch up with him, and he begins to hanker for the easy and carefree life in his regiment. After losing a huge sum at cards to Dolohov and feeling guilty of burdening his father, already deep in financial trouble, with his request for money, he returns to the army.

He loses no time in adjusting to the simple and straightforward life in the army, for "the regiment was home, too, and one as unalterably dear and precious as his parental home".[32] The routinized occupation of the peaceful army with its uncomplicated rituals gives him confidence since his performance only requires behavioral conformity. Thus, military life provides him with a vocation that exactly fits his energetic, but narrow lifestyle. It makes no demands on his character development, nor does it require such elaborate motivation as curiosity, spirit of inquiry or imagination. Nikolai happily reacts to its fundamental and limited features which are obvious and do not have to be analyzed.

. . . after getting back into the current of all the little interests of the regiment, after taking leave of his liberty and letting himself be nailed down within one narrow, inflexible framework, Rostov experienced the same sense of peace, of moral support . . . as he felt under the paternal roof. Here was none of that turmoil of the world at large in which he found himself out of his element and made mistakes in exercising his free will. . . The whole world was divided into two unequal parts: one, our Pavlograd regiment; the other, all the remainder. . . In the regiment everything was definite: who was lieutenant, who captain, who was a good fellow, who was not, and, above all, who was a comrade. . . Stepping back into these explicit conditions of regimental life, Rostov felt the delight and relief a tired man feels in lying down to rest.[33]

Perhaps the most compatible element for him in his army life was that most of his perceptions of it were exactly on the level of an average soldier. The limitations that handicapped him in coping with the problems of civilian life became a virtue in the simple atmosphere of the army. He believed, as did his comrades, in personal integrity and manly independence, pride in service, and in the absolute importance of never letting a buddy down. Thus, when his friend Denisov was threatened with a court-martial, he immediately decided to petition the Tsar for a pardon.

The episode at Tilsit is a highly critical stage in Nikolai's character development because of its complexity, ambiguity and potential shock value.

In this scene full of suppressed tension, shifting impulses, torn loyalties and unspoken sentiments — indeed a psychologist's dream — Tolstoy asks this bewildered young man: What will you do when your idol is shattered?

Unknown to Nikolai, the international political scene has shifted, sudden affinities were discovered, and old enemies have now become friends. Between Russia and France a historical compromise has been attained and between Alexander and Napoleon a temporary détente of ambition and power reached, although too much glitter surrounded the event — a Tolstoyan symbol for lack of substance and permanence — to imply that this peace was hardly strong enough to survive.

Nikolai has lived in his regiment in splendid isolation, has heard no political news from the outside world, and consequently received the shock of his life when, after his painful experience in the sloth and filth of the hospital where Denisov was treated, he arrived in Tilsit to see Alexander, his idol, embrace Napoleon, his implacable foe. To the "wise" Boris such apparent opportunism was merely the symbol of political greatness, but to Nikolai, lacking intellectual sophistication for the interpretation of this historical rapprochement, basic patterns and fundamental meanings seemed to disappear suddenly from his world. He could not see that all that actually happened was that men stopped appearing as gods. For him right and wrong, truth and untruth, so neatly delineated in his mind, now became hopelessly mixed and the dividing line blurred and undistinguishable. Was it really possible that Alexander was not better than Napoleon? As the dramatic proportion of this political somersault unfolded before his eyes, Nikolai had the awful sensation of having been cheated, hurt, and alienated. His Emperor was naked.

> Rostov stood a long while at the corner, watching the feast from a distance. His brain was seething in an agonizing confusion which he could not work out to any conclusion. Horrible doubts were stirring in his soul. He thought of Denisov. . . and the whole hospital with those amputated legs and arms, and its dirt and disease. So vividly did he recall that stench of putrefaction that he looked around to see where the smell was coming from. Then he thought of that self-satisfied Bonaparte with his little white hands who was now an emperor, liked and respected by Alexander. For what, then, those severed arms and legs, why those dead men?. . . He caught himself harbouring such strange reflections that he was terrified at them.[34]

For the first time Nikolai became aware of a clash of contradictory impulses within himself — two fatefully linked issues of belief and non-belief — a terrible dilemma without a satisfactory resolution. Yet, regardless how difficult this moment was in his life, he had to decide, participate, and choose. At the time when his most cherished moral premises were about to be destroyed, when he precariously teetered on the brink of loss of faith, no matter how compelling the case and damning the evidence, he found himself unable to cut the umbilical cord linking him to the emperor and decided to side with the silent majority. In the final analysis perception could not change deeply in-

grained patterns of behavior. Habit proved to be stronger than recording intelligence.

> Nikolai. . . drank. . . in silence. . . The conflict working within him still fretted him and found no solution. He was afraid to give way to his thoughts, yet could not rid himself of them. Suddenly, when one of his companions remarked that it was humiliating to see the French, Rostov began to shout with uncalled-for violence. . . "And how, pray, can you judge what would have been the best?" he cried, the blood rushing to his face. "Why do you criticize the Emperor's actions? What right have we to sit in judgment on him? We cannot appreciate or understand the Emperor's aims. . ." "But I never said a word about the Emperor!" protested the officer. . . But Rostov did not heed him. "We are not in the diplomatic service, we are soldiers. . . Command us to die — then we die. . . it's not for us to judge. If it's. . . the Emperor's pleasure to recognize Bonaparte as emperor. . . it must be the right thing to do. If once we begin arguing. . . there will be nothing sacred left. . . we shall soon be saying there is no God. . ." shouted Nikolai banging the table with his fist. His outcry seemed utterly irrelevant to his listeners, but it was quite consistent with the train of his own thoughts.[35]

This unjustified outburst against his innocent fellow officers and the unnatural heat of his voice reflect his inner turmoil and heretical ideas. He acts as if he were trying to escape an inward psychological battle by provoking an outward physical fight. Thus, he reduces the spontaneity of life to a barren formula and returns to his former mechanical responses. As a result, he succeeds in retreating to an earlier two-value developmental level by interpreting every problem in terms of a syndrome that the Emperor is automatically right and everyone else is wrong, a developmental level which involves less mature responses and a denial of responsibilities. Therefore, when one of his comrades, anxious to shift the conversation away from this perilous topic, suggests a drink, Nikolai welcomes the opportunity of running away from the situation rather than continuing to confront it. Following the timeless example of Falstaff, he orders "another bottle" — *in vino veritas* — after which, we assume, he will go peacefully to sleep.

In spite of what had promised to be the beginning of a new wisdom and a dramatic catharsis, the opposite occurred. Tolstoy seemed to suggest that Nikolai was not a tragic hero. Instead of a grave situation, instead of the dignity and nobility with which a tragic hero would be invested, we see the conflict becoming ridiculous and resolved by a bottle of wine.

Because of the Rostovs' wretched financial situation, his mother urgently begs Nikolai to come home. Although reluctant to leave the undemanding atmosphere of the army, Nikolai still rushes home to help his family. In this vignette the novelist praises the uncomplicated mind of his hero which made the otherwise difficult decision possible. "He possessed the common sense of the mediocre man which showed him what he ought to do."[36]

Tolstoy presents us a somewhat mellowed and wiser Nikolai back again in the army. He seemed to have grown skeptical of his earlier big, splashy concepts, ashamed of the lack of "moderation in his opinions and feelings",[37] and to have decided that expressions of egomania and bragadoccio really had

to go since they were distracting and discomfiting, and that serious affairs are better pursued with restraint than with cudgels. Some of his new behavioral traits are revealed in an incident when a fellow officer tells him about General Raevsky's exploit in the Saltanov battle.

> The officer . . . grandiloquently described the dam at Saltanov as being a "Russian Thermopylae" and declared the heroic deed of General Raevsky . . . to be worthy of antiquity . . . Rostov heard the story and not only said nothing. . . but. . . looked like a man ashamed of what was being told him. . . After Austerlitz and the campaign of 1807 Rostov knew from his own experience that men always lie when reporting deeds of battle. . . But he did not give voice to his thoughts; in that, too, experience had taught him wisdom. He knew that this tale redounded to the glory of our arms, and so one had to pretend to take it in, and he acted accordingly.[38]

By this time Nikolai has learned that few people look at such an emotional event as a battle with unbiased eyes and ideal observers do not exist. There are factors, such as precondition and expectancy, which affect the recall of events. The above scene indicates that Nikolai's understanding of human behavior had evolved beyond his first adolescent perception, and distance and detachment now give him a new perspective on the world.

Another set of his newly acquired attributes includes control, moderation, and understanding. These are disclosed during a cavalry charge.

> Advancing into action in the early days, Rostov had felt afraid but now not the slightest sensation of fear. He was fearless not because he had grown to being fired, but because he had learned how to control his thoughts in face of danger . . . During the first period of service, earnestly as he had tried. . . he had not been able to do this, but with time it had come of itself. . . He felt a pang of pity when he looked at the excited face of Ilyn who talked fast and nervously. He knew from experience the agonizing state of anticipation of terror and death in which the cornet was plunged and knew that only time could help him.[39]

The most important trait that Nikolai has recently developed was a sense of humanity — a revulsion from unnecessary bloodshed. We become acquainted with this admirable feature during an attack against the French, in which he acts on his own, without waiting for an order from his commander.

> He . . . rode at full trot. . . at the dragons [and] picking out one. . . flew after him. . . An instant later Rostov's charger dashed its shoulder against the officer's horse. . . and. . . Rostov. . . raised his sword and struck at the Frenchman. The instant he had done this all Rostov's eagerness suddenly vanished. The officer fell, not so much from the blow. . . as from fright. . . The French officer. . . glanced up at Rostov. . . in terror. His pale mud-stained face — fair-haired, boyish, with a dimple in the chin and clear blue eyes — was not at all warlike or suited the battlefield, but a most ordinary homely countenance. Before Rostov could decide what to do. . . the officer cried, "I surrender". . . . Rostov . . . was conscious of a sort of ache in his heart . . . he had been overcome by a vague, confused feeling, which he could not at all account for.[40]

Even later Nikolai continues to be oppressed by that strange, obscure sentiment which he calls a "moral nausea", a kind of guilt-feeling. He is asking himself what it is that troubles him and finally finds the answer. "Something else was fretting him like remorse. 'Yes, yes, that French officer with the

dimple. And I remember how my arm hesitated when I raised it.'"[41] This oppressive feeling colors his behavior for days.

> Rostov caught sight of the prisoners being led away, and galloped after them to have a look at his Frenchman with the dimple in his chin. He was sitting in his strange . . . uniform . . . glancing uneasily about him . . . He simulated a smile for Rostov and waved his hand . . . Rostov still felt uncomfortable, as if something were weighing on his conscience. All that day and the next his friends . . . noticed that Rostov . . . was silent, thoughtful and preoccupied. He drank under protest as it were, tried to be alone, and obviously had something on his mind.[42]

Nikolai learns that while it is natural to feel hatred toward the enemy soldiers seen as a threatening dark mass of destruction in the distance, it is difficult not to be moved by their plight when they are close by, individualized, sensitivized, and helpless prisoners at your mercy.

This incident is better understood when the original Russian word "komnatnoye"[43] — which Rosemary Edmonds rendered as "homely" in the description of the French officer's face — is given a somewhat more pertinent interpretation.

The word literally means "something or somebody belonging to a room; something or somebody you might find in a room". However, in the actual context it is clear that Tolstoy used the word to characterize a very unmilitary person you might meet in a room who is the exact opposite of a battle-hardened soldier in the field. Thus, the interior of a room with its calm and quiet atmosphere, and its protective walls conveying the sense of intimate security is being here contrasted to a distant, exposed, sinister battlefield where life is always in danger of being lost.

Furthermore, it is quite probable that the connotation of Tolstoy's "komnatnoya" in addition to being a place of warmth, comfort, and affection, also involves the cherished image of the Rostovs' family home which the novelist lovingly evoked before in connection with Nikolai's troubles on the battlefields at Schongraben and Austerlitz. Thus, when Nikolai describes the young Frenchman with his "komnatnoye" face, he must have had his own nursing room in mind with the tender memories of his childhood games with Natasha and Petya. Also, the word "komnatnoye" is often used in such phrases as "komnatnoye igry" meaning "indoor [often children] games". This sentimental recollection is harmoniously complemented by reference to the Frenchman's boyish dimple.

Hence, Nikolai's hesitant strike at the childish, gentle, and unmilitary Frenchman, and his subsequent guilt-feeling might have been due to a sudden sense of identification with him. The Frenchman's troubles might have reminded Nikolai of his own military misadventure at Schongraben and the two episodes have, indeed, some shared features: Nikolai was caught under his falling horse and had some difficulty in extricating himself and, similarly, the Frenchman could not get his foot out of the stirrup and was hopping with the

other on the ground until he was helped. Both cut a rather comical, unmilitary figure, in this pose. The hypothesis of an identification is further reinforced when Nikolai affectionately refers to him as "his" Frenchman [svoyego francuza.][44]

The supreme irony of this incident is that while Nikolai who has acted without orders in attacking the French and was afraid that he would be punished for breach of discipline, is, instead, thanked by his commanding officer and even promised a St. George cross. Again, as before at Tilsit, he cannot make sense of this event.

> He was going over that . . . exploit of his, which to his amazement had gained him the St. George cross . . . and there was something that he could not make out at all . . . "Is this, then, all that is meant by . . . heroism? And did I do it for my country's sake? And where was he to blame with his dimple . . . And how frightened he was! He thought I was going to kill him. Why should I kill him? My hand trembled. But they have given me the St. George cross. I can't make it out . . . at all."[45]

Nikolai's moral dilemma — which he cannot adequately articulate — is concretely translated into a physical phenomenon and erupts as a psychosomatic disorder.

Tolstoy is at his mocking best when, in his quiet fashion, he concludes this tragicomical scene as follows:

> But while Nikolai brooded over these questions . . . the wheel of fortune . . . turned in his favor. After the affair . . . he received recognition and was given the command of a battalion . . . and whenever an intrepid officer was needed, it was he who was picked for the job.[46]

III

Having reached the epilogue, we now have to consider the question: Has Nikolai's character changed? Have his experiences in the army during the Napoleonic wars exercised a notable and enduring effect on his behavior? Has war been his moral gymnasium?

There are two radically opposite views of this question in scholarly literature. In an essay "Patterns of Character Development in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*: Nicholas, Natasha and Mary," John Hogan indicates that Nikolai undergoes a definite transformation " . . . by changing . . . from one who destroys to one who creates, from one whose values are life-denying to one whose values are life-affirming" and concludes: "Nothing less than a revolution has quietly taken place in his soul."[47] In disagreement, T. G. S. Cain in his *Tolstoy* states that " . . . Nikolai . . . changed least over this long period; his development, considerable though it is, has an inevitability about it . . . The Nikolai whom we see . . . on the bridge at Enns or in the justly famous hunting scene is essentially the same man as the succesful Tolstoyan landowner we see in the Epilogue . . . "[48]

Both Hogan and Cain analyzed Nikolai's military *and* domestic experiences while this paper limits itself to his exploits in the army only and therefore its focus is slightly different. However, even taking this different approach into consideration, my conclusion diverges from both of these commentators. I disagree with Hogan's view that a radical transformation took place in Nikolai, and, in this respect, I share Cain's opinion that the change is not significant. But I also take sharp exception to Cain's characterization of Nikolai as a succesful landowner and nothing else.

After some initial disappointments, ambiguities, and doubts in the Napoleonic wars, Nikolai comes to enjoy his life in the peacetime army, reforms his romantic nature, and even seems to acquire a sense of wisdom and humanism. Yet, this development is interrupted and, in the epilogue, we find his basic beliefs unchanged and his reverence of authority undiminished.

In the epilogue Tolstoy paints an ambivalent portrait of Nikolai. We are not sure that we know him the way we know the other protagonists of the novel, since he is described almost in terms of a split personality. The innocent reader may be well justified in asking: Am I reading Tolstoy or Dostoevsky?

On the one hand, Nikolai appears as a prosperous and skilled farmer who not only repaid all of his father's debt — which he had honorably accepted although not obliged to do so — but was also preparing to buy back his ancestral estate. He shows keen interest in his peasants, their lives, customs, language and can even grasp "the inner meaning of their sayings". He feels "akin" to them in the same way he used to feel about his comrades in the army. He understands them so well that when he appoints "by some unerring instinct" the village elders and peasant representatives, these people are "the very men the peasants would have elected themselves".[49] The peasants like him very much, neighboring serfs "came to beg him to buy them" and after his death "the peasantry cherished a pious memory of his rule".[50] He denies the importance of virtue and theories, does everything in the name of enlightened self-interest, and observes order, discipline, and fairness concerning his peasants.

On the other hand, he is also shown as a mediocre absolutist and even an anti-humanist. Inflexibility and dogma that blinded him during most of his army career are still among his dominant traits. One may suspect that the praise lavished on him as an excellent farmer reflects doctrinaire enthusiasm rather than critical acceptance. By upstaging him Tolstoy may be illustrating a thesis, in which physical labor is elevated to be the equal of spiritual development — a thesis which the novelist was to elaborate in greater detail in the life of Levin in *Anna Karenina*.

Despite the fact that Nikolai went to Paris with the Russian army which included also Pestel and Kuechelbecker, future leaders of the Decembrists, and was exposed to the free intellectual atmosphere of the French capital, it

had apparently no effect on him. "Ideas and discussion," as Pierre later remarked, were "only amusement — almost a waste of time"[51] to Nikolai. Thus, he was politically uneducated and indifferent, and the issues that Pierre raised about corruption in the political process, larceny in the government, flogging in the army, and the duty of honest men to band together in a society to reform the political fabric of the country, made absolutely no sense to him. It has often been pointed out as one of the characteristics of a mediocre mind that it does not perceive the contradictions of life. Hence, when Pierre proposed a definite action because "Civilization is being crushed . . . Everybody sees that it can't go on like this. The strain is too great, something's bound to snap", an intimation that Russian political life has reached a breaking point, Nikolai felt that it was merely "another hare-brained scheme".[52] All that really mattered to this farmer was that "a warm, fine rain [should be] falling on the dry and thirsty shoots of the young oats".[53] Thus, the urgency imbued with the inquiring spirit of the Decembrists and the turmoil and excitement of the times that the reader perceived in Pierre found no echo in Nikolai.

It is well known that people with a low self-esteem are generally more conformist and this influences Nikolai's private emotional behavior as well as his relation with the local nobility. He feels that moral values reside in maintaining the given political and social order for its own sake and in performing the right roles — that is, doing one's duty — as a sign of respect for the authorities. As Natasha remarked at one point that "It's a weakness of Nikolai that unless a thing is generally accepted he will never agree with it".[54] Like other conformists he wants the status quo and the discipline of an authoritarian government. Therefore, in case the government — any government — ordered him to go against the society Pierre wants to establish, he knows that "it would be [his] duty to obey the government" and even to "mow [Pierre] down," adding darkly that "I shouldn't hesitate for a second".[55] Can one call Nikolai who would unhesitatingly kill his brother-in-law by order of the notorious Arakcheyev in defense of oppression and serfdom, as Hogan does, a person with "life-affirming" values? Nor can one talk about Nikolai as "the successful Tolstoyan landowner" as Cain does, without mentioning his negative traits.

One can only talk of a cosmetic change in his character development within the limited sphere of his estate and peasants. His life is now similar to the one he had previously led in the army when he had been just as much devoted to his regiment and its simple routine. One absolute — blind adulation of the emperor — has now been replaced by another absolute — his passion for his estate and for all that it stands for. It is no wonder that his sensitive wife, dreaming of more than this narrow horizon, cannot understand him and, indeed, there is something troubling and dehumanizing in his all-absorbing devotion. He never lives what Kierkegaard called "the ethical stage," nor

does he feel the necessity for a wider moral perspective. Spiritually he has led an uncommitted life and consequently has not gained any new dimensions. His orientation, embedded in a stagnant type of conventional morality, has remained strictly legalistic.

In the vocabulary of modern existentialism Nikolai lives in a kind of "bad faith". The attitude a person in "bad faith" adopts is to think that the basic pattern of life will go on forever as it is now without any important change. He is particularly prone to worship whatever is called useful, helpful or beneficial. One of the favorite attempts to escape into social and political irresponsibility is the practice of trying to make oneself nothing but the role demanded by his parochial surroundings. Nikolai wishes to remain a farmer and nothing else.

In the characterization of his heroes Tolstoy often seems to imply how prejudice and partisanship underscore boundaries while thought and imagination transcend them. If *War and Peace* is a quest for meaning, ideals, and spiritualization of life's impulses, Nikolai may do justice to the immediacy and concreteness, but not to the poetry and transcendence of life. He remains an unawakened sleeper.

IV

There is one disturbing element in the character development of Nikolai. It is well known that Tolstoy's major strength as a novelist lies in creating an illusion of life — that is real characters and believable situations. He usually explains everything and his protagonists are evolving with true psychological force. Yet, in two instances in the novel, this is not the case with Nikolai. We see him wounded and freezing at Schongraben, yet a few days later he reappears without showing any emotional battle-scars or psychological after-effects. This is contrary to normal human behavior pattern.

Again a similar situation occurs at Austerlitz where he, although physically not wounded, is in total despair and emotionally drained as he witnesses the defeat of the Russians and the humiliation of the Emperor. However, without any indication of a meaningful transition, without any attempt to give a satisfactory explanation concerning Nikolai's apparently smooth passage from despondency to normalcy, indeed with a total absence of references or anecdotes of his cognitive development in the interim period, Tolstoy again sends him home in a happy and carefree frame of mind.

How can one explain this psychological non-sequitur? One cannot attribute it to some hesitation, indirection or even temporary lapse in the composition of the novel, since *War and Peace* was rewritten and revised several times.

I suggest two possible explanations for these inconsistencies. One is the time factor. The battle of Schongraben occurred on November 4, 1805 (old calendar) and Nikolai visited Boris on November 12 of the same year, while the battle of Austerlitz was fought on November 20, 1805 and Nikolai went home on a leave early next year. Thus, in both cases one could assume that, with the passage of time and the help of his healthy natural instincts — a quality praised by the commentators — Nikolai could have regained his emotional equilibrium. Yet, even if this explanation is acceptable, the reader will still sorely miss Tolstoy's usual analysis of the scenes, transforming despair into love of life.

My other explanation is based on the assumption that, from the very beginning of the novel, Tolstoy had "silently" assigned the role of the devil's advocate to Nikolai in the Decembrist affair and that is the reason that the latter's emotional makeup is so zig-zagging — and at times even contradictory — throughout the novel. Perhaps it was the gradually evolving irresponsible streak in Nikolai erupting in the last scene that Tolstoy had in mind all along when he permitted the otherwise incomprehensible discrepancy in the former's behavior. With his celebrated awareness of all the human issues involved, the novelist might have wanted to prepare the reader for this final shock.

V

The concluding pages of the novel may well be read as a prophecy concerning the ill-fated Decembrist uprising. On the eve of the coup when fiction again becomes history and Pierre and young Nikolai Bolkonsky are about to don their Decembrist uniforms, Tolstoy shows widespread social inertia, political apathy, and bitter disagreement among those whose cooperation would have been necessary for the success of that uprising.

The four men in the scene seem to stand for four different layers of the Russian society at the time: Nikolai for the landowners, Denisov for the army, Pierre for the intelligentsia and young Nikolai Bolkonsky, who silently but full of hidden inner turmoil observes them, stands for the future generation.

There is dissension among these symbolic figures. Since in the novel Nikolai represents the "norm" — that is the majority of the Russian landowners and the gentry — his vehement reaction may be interpreted as the absence of support as well as a lack of political maturity on the part of a large segment of the Russian society. As we have seen throughout the novel, it is political sophistication that Nikolai lacks most.

Nikolai's negative response was predicted by a previous scene in the novel in which, before Borodino, the nobility, gentry, and merchants were asked to meet with the Tsar and to make a strong contribution to the war effort. Pierre came to the meeting with "thoughts of the *Contrat Social* and the French

Revolution" in his head and the words of the manifesto that "the Sovereign was coming ... for consultation with his people" reinforced his thoughts about the possibility of a democratic evolution of the Russian political life. However, he could not find "any echo of the ideas that engrossed him" in the congregation and when he dared to voice the politically advanced idea of asking for the clarification of the situation " ... we should ... ask the Emperor to inform us of the exact number of troops we have and the position in which our armies ... now find themselves ... " he courted trouble for he was "attacked from three sides at once" and angrily shouted down by the noisy crowd which believed, like Nikolai, that any form of inquiry is unpatriotic. "Not only was Pierre prevented from speaking but he was rudely interrupted, pushed aside, and backs were turned to him as though he were the common enemy." Thus, Pierre's dream and "the constitutional tendency of his speech" based on Rousseau's thought lost out.[56]

This scene marked a tremendously important event in the evolution of Russian historical and political ideas. Pierre innocently stumbled upon the frontier of free inquiry and legitimate dissent. His concept, of a monarchy founded on an agreement between the ruler and his subjects and with the rights of the former narrowed down — or broadened enough — by popular opinion and moral restrictions, was one of utmost significance in the history of human ideas. Had his suggestion been accepted, it might have radically changed the shape and thrust of the Russian political system — perhaps even the destiny of mankind — as a tentative first step towards the establishment of a constitutional democracy — indeed the aim of the future Decembrists.

But, to return again to the last scene of the novel, the support from the army is also questionable because Denisov does not quite agree with Pierre either. It is true that he is "much dissatisfied with the present progress of public affairs," but his protest is narrow and personal in nature since he "bore a grudge against the government because of his own disappointment" and therefore limited in scope. He does not talk about important political issues touching the whole Russian society, but only of "follies" in Petersburg, and this lack of vision makes him a half-hearted ally at best. Furthermore, on an intimate personal level, he does not seem to care much for Pierre. It is obvious that the Pierre—Nikolai—Denisov confrontation has its roots in the dramatic difference in the situation and political culture of the three men. Thus, prominently displaying this sharp division among the three different layers of society, Tolstoy puts on trial the Russian way of life, its moral conscience and its fear of innovations. The novelist implies that domestic reconciliation and considerable time will be needed for the Russians to work out a new consensus for their future.[57]

Yet, this somber atmosphere is not permitted to prevail. The final impression left by the novel is not a clouded and warped attitude toward life,

nor a picture of disorder. The ending suggests that strong support will soon come from the new generation as young Bolkonsky, the only person in wholehearted agreement with Pierre's Decembrist ideas, has a noble dream of marching with Pierre at the head of an army toward their glory. A better future for Russia is clearly implied.

Although Tolstoy was a realist, he never declared hopes and dreams impossible, never defined a beautiful idea as dead and dispersed, because he knew that, in the absence of such ideals, the world would be forlorn and filled with nightmares.

VI

In conclusion I would like to attempt to compare some aspects of Nikolai's pattern of behavior with the theory of behaviorism, a branch of psychology which, taking its cue from Freud, has become an important subject of scientific investigation in our times. As B. F. Skinner, a leading American behaviorist said, "the major problems facing the world today can be solved only if we improve our understanding of human behavior".[58] In this attempt I follow the lead of Aldous Huxley and C. P. Snow who have been propagating the idea of building an intellectual bridge linking the two cultures — the arts and the sciences. Nothing like a definite interpretation can, of course, be essayed here. In connecting the art of life and the life of art I can only hint at some strategies and attitudes of mind.

One of the most enduring of Freud's thoughts was about the continuity of human development. He saw the experience of infants as crucial and assumed that personality is formed in childhood and remains relatively unchanged. Reinforcing this theory Zimbardo and Ruch, two contemporary American psychologists, point to the conditioning effect resulting from the events of childhood: "Our first impressions bias us strongly and subsequent evaluations are reinterpreted so as to fit in with the original 'true' view. Once established, a belief needs little evidence to support it, but much to refute it."[59]

Thus, Nikolai carries the values of his happy childhood and the image of his father, respecter of law, order, and authority, with himself through his life. He looks upon the world with the eyes of a naive idealist/realist and believes in everything he sees. Even more than that, he feels incapable, in his *egocentricity*,[60] to imagine the world from any other perspective than his own. Yet, it soon becomes evident that, out in the adult world, this is not a positive asset. Indeed, Karen Horney, one of the most important American psychologists today, regards egocentricity as a moral problem. She feels that "the characteristics of an impairment of moral integrity are a decrease in sincerity and an increase in egocentricity," since egocentricity "entails making others subser-

vient to one's own needs".[61] Nikolai remains egocentric through the whole novel and this quality is most disturbingly displayed in his vehement argument with Pierre at the end.

It is obvious that, as a result of his one-sided view of the universe, Nikolai clashes with his army environment, in which new forces appear and apply pressure on him to modify his views and to change his outlook. Thus, he is experiencing what the American psychologist H. Selye defines as *emotional stress*, which is "the non-specific response of the body to any demand made on it and it requires readjustment or adaptation".[62] Zimbardo and Ruch add that "contrary to popular opinion, stress is not some terrible circumstance to be avoided; rather it is a process that is continually evoked throughout one's life".[63]

One of Skinner's dominant ideas is conditioning together with reinforcement. When Nikolai is forced to apologize to his commander in the thief-incident, he is, in Skinner's view, *conditioned* to do so, and the positive *reinforcement* is his acceptance by the officers of the regiment.

We saw what a difficult time Nikolai had in adjusting to such new situations as the reality of war, going into battle for the first time, and being almost captured. He now goes through a general adaptation syndrome, which, according to Selye, occurs in three major phases: *the alarm reaction, the stage of resistance*, and *the stage of exhaustion*.[64] All three of these phases are well documented in the novel.

"Life in the inner world of emotion and motivation is dramatically illustrated by the Freudian . . . *defense mechanisms*," Skinner indicates. "They have been defined as 'personality reactions by means of which an individual attempts to satisfy his emotional needs: e.g. to establish harmony among conflicting strivings; to reduce feelings of anxiety or guilt arising from wishes, thoughts, and emotions that are not acceptable.'"[65] To many of Nikolai's behavior traits we can assign one of the features of Freud's defense mechanisms.

After his disappointment over the sad outcome of the thief episode — and several times later in the novel — he undergoes an *emotional insulation*, that is he temporarily withdraws into passivity to protect himself from being emotionally hurt.

When in the battle Nikolai sees the Frenchmen rushing at him, he refuses to perceive its seriousness by *a denial of* [its] *reality*. Hence he "joyfully" watches these people, "convinced" that they are friends and that they "will help him" in his predicament.[66]

However, when he can no longer deny the reality of the situation, and has to face in all earnestness the Frenchmen who, in the heat of the battle, want to kill him — the enemy — he instinctively finds another defensive device. He now protects himself with the ingratiatingly naive rhetorical ques-

tion "To kill me? *Me* whom everyone is so fond of?"[67] In this case he *compensates*, i.e. he tries to cover up his weakness by emphasizing his attractive trait in another area. This is patently absurd since the root of the problem — the physical danger — and his solution — the love of his family and friends for him — are totally unrelated and thus Tolstoy interjects here a sense of comic relief. His egocentricity, mentioned before, also plays a role in this incident, since he "judges" the situation exclusively from his own point of view, and thus distorts it again.

He suffers another disappointment at Austerlitz when the battle is lost and he notices his beloved Emperor standing forlorn, pale and unhappy. His desire to serve the Emperor in a victorious battle having been totally frustrated — he is even ashamed to approach him for fear of embarrassing him — he now seeks relief in *fantasy*, that is, in an imaginary achievement. He daydreams of having sacrificed his life for the Emperor, of dying of wounds at the sweet moment of victory, and "the Sovereign thanked him for his heroic exploits."[68]

How strongly daydreaming — finding relief in *fantasy* — is part and parcel of Nikolai's nature is shown by the fact that this is the second time he uses this Freudian defense mechanism. The first time it occurred at the end of the episode with the thief when Nikolai thought that his commander wanted to test his courage on the battlefield in order to punish him for his earlier independence and insubordination. "And then again, he imagined how after the attack Bogdanich [his commander] would come up to him as he lay wounded and magnanimously extend the hand of reconciliation."[69]

His great love for the Tsar is, in reality, a search for an idealized image, an *identification* with him. By identifying himself with a person of illustrious standing, he increases the feelings of his own worth, since an idealized image substitutes for realistic self-confidence and pride.

The emotional drama in the Tilsit episode requires several of Freud's dynamisms for its psychological/behavioral explanation.

Trapped by contradictory impulses Nikolai finds *displacement* in discharging his pent-up feelings for the Emperor and Napoleon by shouting at his fellow officers who just happen to stand by peacefully at the moment. Thus, he transfers his hostility to people less dangerous than those who had initially aroused his emotion.

He follows up this outburst by a *reaction formation*, that is he thwarts his rebellious thoughts from being expressed by endorsing opposing attitudes and types of behavior and using them as "barriers". "If it's . . . the Emperor's pleasure to recognize Bonaparte as emperor . . . it must be the right thing to do."[70]

Nikolai thus prevents these painful ideas from fully and lastingly entering his consciousness by trying to ignore them. This is *repression* which

Skinner defines as follows: "A process or mechanism of ego defense whereby wishes or impulses that are incapable of fulfilment are kept from or made inaccessible to consciousness," and adds that "behavior which is punished becomes aversive, and by not engaging in it or not 'seeing' it, a person avoids conditioned aversive stimulation".[71]

After Tilsit a different Nikolai is shown to the reader. With time and experience he seems to have acquired a new wisdom and apparently developed a logical understanding of the world. In the view of Erik Erikson, another important contemporary psychologist, during adolescence the young adult begins to develop multiple ways of perceiving things, can now see things from another person's viewpoint, behaves differently in different situations according to what is deemed appropriate. Erikson calls this stage *identity vs. role confusion* and feels that, in playing these varied roles, the person must develop an integrated sense of his identity as distinct from all others, but coherent and personally acceptable.[72]

As a last example of this linkage between art and science let us look at the vignette with the French officer when Nikolai experiences "a vague, confused feeling" on the verge of becoming a physical pain. Skinner calls this a *conversion*: "The transformation of an unconscious conflict into a symbolically equivalent somatic symptom," and explains it as "one of the more dramatic manifestations of the supposed power of mental life in the production of physical illness. As an idea in the mind is said to move the muscles which express it, so nonsomatic activities in the psyche are said to affect the soma."[73] Thus, the physical pain Nikolai feels is the result of a tangible conversion of his unconscious guilt-feeling.

As we cross these disciplinary boundaries we find that the Freudian and modern behaviorist theory closely follow and parallel Tolstoy's imaginative representation of Nikolai's pattern of behavior. As we match their wits, the novelist and the scientists seem to complement harmoniously one another. If it is the novelist who, through his sensititive antenna, first perceives the uncharted field of strangeness in human behavior, it is then the scientist who joins his company, and elaborating and codifying the novelist's themes, builds a system. Thus, the novelist may be seen as a pioneer and the scientist as a colonizer in this intellectual enterprise. Daring the unknown the novelist innovates and raises his artistic flag, and, after him, the scientist takes possession and becomes the curator of this newly discovered *Kulturgut*.

Indeed, it was Wordsworth who, long before Freud, with his immortal verse "the child is father of the man" established continuity as the traditional principle of behavioral psychology. Yet, almost as a counter-point, Byron with his equally celebrated line "Time strips our illusions of their hue" implied that change, and not stability, was the most promising characteristic of early life.[74] Jean Piaget, the noted non-Freudian psychologist, would surely agree.

Although it was about Dostoevsky that Freud, after an unsuccessful attempt to be more perceptive than the novellist's characters, said that "Before the problem of the creative artist analysis, alas, lay down its arms,"[75] he might have said it about Tolstoy just as well.

NOTES

[1] "Story of the Play," Jean Giraudoux, *Tiger at the Gate*, tran. Christopher Fry (New York: Samuel French Inc., 1955), p. 1.

[2] L. N. Tolstoy, *War and Peace* tran. Rosemary Edmonds (Baltimore: Penguin, 1967), p. 108. Subsequently referred to as *WP*.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 210—11.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[8] Theodore Redpath, *Tolstoy* (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1960), p. 64. This ambivalence about the war finds a parallel in the following episode from Tolstoy's life: "On one occasion, the anti-militarist Tolstoy walked together with Gorky in the streets of Moscow and saw in the distance two soldiers of the Guard. 'The metal of their accoutrements shone in the sun; their spurs jungled; they kept step like one man; their faces, too, shone with the self-assurance of strength and youth. Tolstoy began to grumble at them; "What pompous stupidity! Like animals trained by the whip!" But when the guardsmen came abreast with him, he stopped, followed them with his eyes, and said enthusiastically: "How handsome! Old Romans, eh? What strength and beauty! How fine it is when man is handsome, how very fine." (Janko Lavrin, *Tolstoy*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946, pp. 65—6.)

[9] At the Enns bridge just before the skirmish begins ". . . Rostov . . . had the happy air of a schoolboy called up before a large audience for an examination in which he feels sure he will distinguish himself." *WP*, p. 163.

[10] Redpath, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[11] Isaiach Berlin, *The Hedgehog and the Fox* (New York: Simon and Schuster, n. d.), p. 27.

[12] Tolstoy, *WP*, p. 44.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[14] "I am not a diplomatist, I am not good in disguising my feelings." *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 168—69.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 215—16.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Even after he ran away in real fear "like a hare fleeing from the hounds," he still tries to console himself that "there's some mistake . . . They can't have meant to kill me". *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[23] In a conversation with Natasha before their sledge ride. *Ibid.*, p. 615.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 327.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 331.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 334.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 462.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 488.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 488—89.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 575.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 594.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 765—67.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 771—72.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 775.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 776.
[43] L. N. Tolstoy, *Sobraniye sochinenii, Tom shestoy* (Moskva: Gosizdat, 1951), p. 68.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Tolstoy, *WP*, p. 776. How differently Heinrich von Kleist treats such a military disobedience in *The Prince of Homburg*. The Prince is credited with victory, cited for valor in the rolls read in church, and duly condemned to death for disobedience. One can draw a useful parallel in the strictness — or absurdity — of the military code in the Russian and German armies.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 776.
[47] *PMLA* (1064), pp. 235, 239.
[48] T. G. S. Cain, *Tolstoy* (New York; Barnes & Nobles, 1977), p. 75.
[49] Tolstoy, *WP*, p. 1358.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 1360.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 1395
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 1386—87.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 1359.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 1395.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 1389.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 802, 803, 805, 807.
[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 1374, 1385.
[58] B. F. Skinner, *About Behaviorism* (New York, Random House, 1974), p. 9.
[59] Philip G. Zimbardo, Floyd L. Ruch, *Psychology and Life* (Glenview, Ill., Scott, Foresman and Co., 1977), p. 412. The Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget dissents in the sense that he feels that there is a discontinuity between the cognitive processes of the child and the adult.
[60] For better understanding I supply the glossary of psychological terms with a stress.
[61] Karen Horney, M. D., *Our Inner Conflicts* (New York, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1945), pp. 162—63.
[62] Quoted by Zimbardo, Ruch, *Psychology*, p. 377.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 380.
[65] Skinner, *About* . . . pp. 170—71. The examples of Freud's defense mechanisms and their definitions are based on Zimbardo, Ruch, *Psychology* . . ., p. 415.
[66] *WP*, pp. 215—16.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 216.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 334.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 165
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 489.
[71] Skinner, *About*. . . p. 171.
[72] Quoted by Zimbardo, Ruch, *Psychology* . . . pp. 418—9.
[73] Skinner, *About*. . . p. 173.
[74] Wordsworth, *My Heart Leaps Up*; Byron, *Don Juan*.
[75] Sigmund Freud, "Dostoewsky and Parricide," *Dostoevsky, Twentieth Century Views*, ed. René Wellek (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1962), p. 98.

Die wichtigsten literaturkritischen Strömungen in Ungarn in der Zeit des Positivismus

Nach der Revolution und dem Freiheitskampf von 1848—49 wurde in Ungarn vom zentralisierenden Wiener Hof eine absolutistische Herrschaft eingeführt, die die Unterdrückung der nationalen Bestrebungen und eine sehr langsame, von oben gelenkte bürgerliche Umgestaltung mit sich brachte. Infolge der Schwächung der Macht der Habsburger war der Hof 1867 gezwungen, einen Ausgleich mit den ungarischen politischen Kräften zu treffen. In der dualistischen Donaumonarchie wurde der österreichische und der ungarische Partner prinzipiell gleichranging, doch blieb letzterer infolge der ökonomischen Überlegenheit des ersteren in einer gewissen abhängigen Stellung. Dennoch wurde der ungarische Staat und in ihm das ungarische Bildungswesen in modernem Sinne neuorganisiert und erreichte bis zum Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts den Stand der landwirtschaftlich-industriellen Länder Europas. Diese drei, dreieinhalb Jahrzehnte des Erreichens, des Sich-Anschließens bildeten die erste Phase in der Geschichte der Donaumonarchie. Die zweite Phase währte bis zum Zerfall der Monarchie, bis zum Ende des ersten Weltkrieges.

Will man kurz die Lehren und Ergebnisse des literaturkritischen Denkens der ersten Phase umreißen, können sie — sozusagen um Leitmotive gruppiert — wie folgt zusammengefaßt werden.

In Ungarn war weder eine so theoretisch philosophische, noch eine so pragmatisch angewendete, noch eine so praktizistisch aufgefaßte positivistische Kritik bzw. Literaturwissenschaft zustande gekommen, wie sie zu dieser Zeit in Frankreich, England und Deutschland herrschte. Die ist auch verständlich. Jenes positivistische Umstimmen des Liberalismus, das in den erwähnten Ländern auf die bezeichnete Weise erfolgt war, wurde in Ungarn von der historisch-gesellschaftlichen Lage weder notwendig noch möglich gemach. Die romantisch-liberale, bürgerliche, adlig-nationale geschichtsphilosophische Auffassung lebte im ungarischen intellektuellen Leben noch stark, was ihre Progressivität betrifft, zwar in zahlreichen unterschiedlichen Abarten, in Varianten, die den verschiedenen existierenden Schichten, Gruppen und Phasen entsprachen.

Die auf das geschichtliche Recht aufbauende und das Prinzip der sog. »Weltordnung« der traditionschützenden, christlich-religiösen Weltordnung befolgende hierarchische Variante kam in der kritischen Vertretung der herrschenden Klassen zur Geltung; die mit Hegelschen, Kantschen oder anderen Auffassungen vermischten Abarten äußerten sich in den Gruppen der älteren Generationen, die das Volkstümlerische und das Volksnationale erhalten wollten. Pál Gyulai und seine alten persönlichen Freunde sind die charakteristischsten Beispiele für diese Variante. Doch waren auch sie nicht frei von einem gewissen Einfluß der positivistischen Auffassung, vor allem von der Milieudarstellung, von dem Grund- und -Ursache-Akzent der psychologischen Folgen determiniert. Doch bestanden sie bis zum Ende auf dem in den 50er Jahren entwickelten, noch in vielem progressiven, doch stark antirevolutionär eingestellten Idealbild des Liberalismus

des sog. Reformzeitalters von vor 1848. Und damit zusammen bestanden sie auch auf einer Kritik, die nationale Ideale stellte und forderte, nationalen Charakter und Geist zum Ausdruck brachte, die eine harmonische menschliche Haltung ausstrahlte und im Interesse der historischen und organischen Tendenzentwicklungen auftrat.

Von dieser, — man könnte sagen, — nationalen, altliberalen, in ästhetischer Hinsicht jedoch auf der Grundlage der Genreregeln stehenden, stark normativen, und zwar vorschreibend-normativen kritischen Auffassung wich die von den 80er Jahren an von der Staatsgewalt unterstützte Tendenz von Zsolt Böethy ab, obzwar sie sich als Fortsetzerin und Weiterentwicklerin jener betrachtete, die Böethy selbst als konservativ-pragmatischen Liberalismus bezeichnete, obzwar das Wesen besser von der Bezeichnung restaurationeller nationalistischer Liberalismus ausgedrückt würde. Sowohl dem Liberalismus des Reformzeitalters und der 50er Jahre, als auch dem Taine-schen-Spencerschen Positivismus dieser Periode entnahm er jene Elemente, die zum Schutz der nach 1875 restaurierten und reorganisierten gesellschaftlich-gewaltmäßigen Einrichtung der besitzenden Klasse dienen konnten, und die den Fortschritt, das Voranschreiten mit der langsamen Kontinuität sozusagen des pflanzlich Organischen zu sichern schienen. So wurde bei ihm der ästhetische Gesichtspunkt genauso auf den zweiten Platz verdrängt, wie auch der Gesichtspunkt der *literarischen* Tendenz im engeren Sinne. Gyulai würdigte in erster Linie, vor allem in seinen jüngeren Jahren, über die Ästhetik hinausweisende historische, moralische, gesellschaftliche Ideen und Zielsetzungen in Werken, die den ästhetischen und tendenzmäßigen Anforderungen entsprachen. Beöthy war sowohl in ästhetischer Hinsicht, als auch was die Tendenz anbelangt, nachgiebiger. Bis heute schreiben das viele dem höheren Grad seines Liberalismus als bei Gyulai, der wahreren Qualität zu. Obzwar doch, was seine, d. h. Beöthys Urteile betrifft, vom Vordringen des nationalistischen ideologischen Gesichtspunktes die Rede ist; jedes Werk, in dem er die angenommene faculté maîtresse, die Grundeigenschaft, die staatsbildende Fähigkeit der führenden Besitzerschichten der Nation sich äußern sah, fördern und beweisen wollte, fand bei ihm, — unabhängig von der literarischen Tendenz des betreffenden Werkes, ja sogar auch unabhängig von seiner ästhetischen Qualität — Würdigung und Anerkennung. Den mittelmäßigen Schriftsteller hielt er sogar für wichtiger, was die Formulierung dieser Grundeigenschaft anbelangt, und so auch für wichtiger, was das historische Bewußtsein der Nation anbelangt, als den ganz großen Autor, weil ersterer, seiner Meinung nach, vom zu starken Grad der Individualität und des Selbstbewußtseins nicht zur Mißachtung von Nationalbewußtsein, Allgemeingeschmack verleitet wird. So unterbricht dieser die organische (auf Spencerscher Grundlage vor sich gehende) biologisch langsame Entwicklung nicht mit seinen übertrieben individuellen Initiativen. Schon in seiner Jugend wollte Beöthy den Liberalismus des Reformzeitalters, von dem er der Meinung war, daß er die Traditionen aufgibt und die angenommene Grundeigenschaft der führenden nationalen Schichten nicht ausreichend in Betracht zieht, mit der Auffassung der rechtsgeschichtlichen Schule von Savigny und des Spencerschen Organizismus geeignet machen zur Wahrung der nationalen Interessen.

Gyulai and Beöthy unterschieden sich grundlegend voneinander, was ihre Methoden und ihre Auffassung anbelangt. Obzwar Gyulai im Verhältnis zur Schaffensmethode der kritischen Denker um die Mitte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, vor allem im Vergleich zu János Arany, János Erdélyi und Zsigmond Kemény, die Methode der analysierenden Interpretation viel weniger verwendete, führte er jedoch sowohl im Falle der anerkannten, als auch der abgelehnten Werke eine psychologische, betrachtungsmäßige und genremäßige Analyse durch. Zwar bedeutete dies bei ihm immer mehr die Analyse der Psychologie, der Betrachtungsweise des *Autors* und *nicht der Werke*; die genremäßigen Eigenschaften forderte er jedoch immer mehr als vorschriftsmäßige Normen. Beöthy jedoch

legte in seinen reifen Jahren in den meisten Fällen das Gewicht auf die reichhaltige Beschreibung, auf die Heraufbeschwörung irgendeines Erlebnisses und seine nationalcharakterologische Würdigung (oder Ablenkung). Ob er nun aber anerkannte oder ablehnte, tat er dies in einer besonderen oratorischen, wissenschaftlich beschreibenden Form. In den Fällen der Anerkennung berichtete er begeistert über den Gehalt des Werkes, über die äußerlich behandelte Form; in seinen negativen Urteilen dagegen drückte er sein Bedauern, seltener seinen Zorn aus, und trug die überredende, überzeugende Konfrontation seines Ideals vor.

Die Generationen der 70er Jahre, die eine neue Richtung vertraten, strebten nach einer modernen bürgerlichen Umgestaltung des ererbten Liberalismus. Sie hofften dies durch die starke Einbeziehung des Nützlichkeits- und Interessenprinzips des Positivismus und durch die Anwendung der allgemeinen natürlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten zu erreichen. Diese drei Prinzipien beinhalteten naturgemäß bei allen von ihnen eine andere Variante. László Arany legte den Akzent auf die nationalen kulturellen, politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Fragen; János Asbóth stellte neben ihnen noch die Achtung vor den bestehenden Zuständen als Interesse in den Vordergrund. Toldy wollte dagegen ein fast utopisch scheinendes soziales Interessenprinzip und ausschließlich »wissenschaftliche« natürliche Prinzipien zur Geltung bringen. Davon waren sie jedoch alle überzeugt, daß ihr positivistischer Liberalismus in der Epoche nicht eine mögliche Richtung, sondern daß er die notwendige Richtung der Epoche war, sowohl in Ungarn, in ihrer Heimat, als auch in Europa. Das bedeutet, daß sie die zu Comte und Spencer zurückweisenden Phasen der Entwicklung der Gesellschaft und des Bewußtseins überaus ernst nahmen, und geneigt waren, innerhalb der »positiven« Epoche andere Tendenzen und Bestrebungen als nebensächlich zu bezeichnen. Im Zeichen dieser Auffassung schlugen sie alle eine starke kritische Literatur vor, vor allem die Epik, und besonders den Roman. Eine Literatur, die Kritik an der Kultur, Gesellschaft und Auffassung enthält, und eine Kritik, die die kritischen Elemente an Gesellschaft und Kultur fordert. Die Authentizität der von ihnen vorgeschlagenen Tendenz erkannten sie in der Psychologie der dargestellten Welt und im rationellen und modernen, d. h. wissenschaftlichen Gesetzen folgenden Verhalten des Schriftstellers oder der den Schriftsteller vertretenden Helden. Arany und Asbóth führten im Zeichen dieser Anforderung ausgezeichnete Analysen durch, und zwar so, daß sie zuerst die Bestrebungen des Autors zu Papier brachten, diesen dann mit den ihrer Meinung nach richtigen Idealen konfrontierten. Der doktrinäre, ja sogar fast dogmatische Nachfolger der »Doktrinären« des Reformzeitalters, Toldy, ließ die Analyse zum Großteil außer acht, d. h. er fällte in einem deklarierenden Stil eher nur Urteile; Arany schrieb außerordentlich gedrungen formuliert und auf objektive, begriffliche Weise; Asbóth wendete außerdem noch emotionale Effekte an, wobei er in dieser Hinsicht das meiste von Zsigmond Kemény gelernt hatte. Toldy behandelte dagegen diese Fragen meistens mit der publizistischen, polemischen Rhetorik der Journalistik.

In der Gruppe um die Zeitschrift »Figyelő« [Beobachter] verlangten im gleichen Jahrzehnt der im gesamten ungarischen kritischen Denken bedeutende Sándor Endrődi, doch auch Aladár György und die anderen vom liberalen bürgerlichen Staat, der seine Institutionen auszubauen begann, und von seinen Vertretern die gleichen Rechte für alle Individuen im Zeichen des Gleichheits- und Freiheitsprinzips. Und zwar das von ihnen selbst für ideal gehaltene, das Recht der Realisierung des auch gegen die Interessen der anderen nicht verstoßenden Lebensideals. Vom Staat erwarteten sie keine zentralisierende Leitung, sondern die Schaffung der gleichen, selbstentfaltenden Möglichkeit der Individuen. Die Transponierung des Prinzips »laisser faire« auf die individuelle, individualistische Ebene. So wollten sie in der Literatur die Aufmerksamkeit einerseits auf die Bedrohung der Rechte des Individuums durch die Gesellschaft, durch den Staat, durch

die Institutionen, durch die Vorurteile lenken, andererseits wollten sie die Aneignung der unbeschränkten Ausdrucksrechte der inneren Welt des Individuums sichern. Das nationale Interesse im »natürlichen« Sinne lehnten sie nicht ab, doch wiesen sie die sich selbst beschränkende, das Individuelle in den Hintergrund rückende, das Inländische im vorhinein bevorzugende Auffassung ab, die sich in der Zeit des Absolutismus herausgebildet hatte. Sie forderten den »Kosmopolitismus« (der in ihrem Wortgebrauch die Universalität, das allgemein Menschliche bedeutete), das Gedankliche und das Recht der Äußerung der individuellen Lebensatmosphäre, wenn diese auch optimistisch, resigniert oder geradezu pessimistisch wären.

In der Kritik betrieben sie die Kritik der gegen diese Rechte verstoßenden Gesellschafts- und Literaturauffassung, die erlebnisvermittelnde Rolle der Intuition, die Übertragung des Erlebnisses auf eine philosophische Ebene, sowie den konfrontierenden und ableitenden Vergleich zwischen den historischen und den literarischen Epochen. Aladár György blieb zwar meistens auf dem Niveau des allgemeinen Leitartikels stehen (der manchmal disharmonisch und phrasenhaft war), Endrődi jedoch schuf mit Hilfe der Methode der Einfühlung ausgezeichnete Werkkritiken und mit Hilfe seines reichen Begriffsschatzes beachtenswerte Problemdarstellungen. Die »romantische« Ideenwelt des Jungen Deutschland, Victor Hugos und Heinrich Heines vermengte sich bei ihnen damit, was im allgemeinen mechanistischer Materialismus und positivistische Soziologie genannt wird. Doch auch mit Elementen, die bereits das naturwissenschaftliche Sicherheitsgefühl, das Selbstbewußtsein des Positivismus untergruben, mit Motiven, die zum Teil auf den Neukantianismus, zum Teil auf den Vitalismus verwiesen, vor allem durch die Verkündung des inneren Befehls, der individuellen Intuition und des historischen Erlebens. Sie polemisierten mit Gyulai und seinen Anhängern nicht; Gyulai verehrten sie, zu Arany bekannten sie sich direkt als zu ihrem Ideal; seine »übertrieben nationale« Richtung faßten sie jedoch als schon der Vergangenheit angehörend auf.

Die dritte Gruppe der Generation der 70er Jahre, die sich um die Zeitschrift *Reform* zusammengeschlossen hatte, arbeitete in erster Linie an der bürgerlichen Erweiterung der Thematik und der Gleichwertigmachung des städtischen Milieus. Sie betrieben eine nicht so sehr prinzipielle Literaturkritik, als eher eine polemische und propagierende Literaturpublizistik für die größere Beteiligung ihrer Gruppe und der bürgerlichen (kleinbürgerlichen) Gruppen im allgemeinen an der Kultur und am öffentlichen Leben. Das positivistische Element zeigte sich bei ihnen vor allem in der Verkündung des Nützlichkeitsprinzips, vor allem aber in der Betonung jener Meinung, daß ihre Klasse, ihre Schicht jetzt schon in einem immer wichtigeren Faktor des geistigen Lebens, in den Naturwissenschaften, vorherrschend ist, also muß es langsam auch in der Literatur, in den Künsten zu einem derartigen Faktor werden. Auch sie griffen Gyulai nicht an, die gesellschafts- und naturwissenschaftliche Auffassung des Blattes von Gyulai, *Budapesti Szemle* [Budapester Rundschau], lobten sie geradezu, doch protestierten sie im Zeichen des oben Gesagten unablässig gegen die Auszeichnungen der exklusiven, tendenziös volkstümlich-nationalen Wettbewerbsausschreibungen der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Kurz gesagt, das erste Jahrzehnt nach dem Ausgleich von 1867 stand im Zeichen der fieberhaft suchenden, modernisierenden Bestrebungen. Sie wollten das Erbe der vorhergehenden Generationen fortsetzen und modernisiert erneuern, oder wollten es durch ein neues Erbe ersetzen. Die Vertreter dieses Jahrzehnts hatten einen großen Anteil an der realistischen, bürgerlichen, städtischen und individuellen Umstimmung des Geschmacks, des Interesses und der Urteilsbildung des Publikums. Vor allem jedoch daran, das öffentliche Publikum Europa und dem wissenschaftlichen Denken näherzubringen. Ein Unglück für die Bestrebungen aller war jedoch, daß sie die Modernisierung

der Tradition mit Hilfe der *positivistischen Lehren* zu einem Zeitpunkt in Angriff nehmen wollten, als diese in Europa zum großen Teil schon ihren progressiven Gehalt verloren hatten. Vergessen wir nicht, daß die große Satire dieser Richtung, *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, gerade in diesem Jahrzehnt im einstigen großen Anwender dieser Richtung, in der Seele Flauberts, entstanden ist. Es trifft zwar zu, daß sich infolge der nach Territorien ungleichmäßigen Entwicklung diese Tendenz in Mitteleuropa länger als ideologische Triebkraft erhalten hatte. Denken wir nur daran, daß in der Geschichtswissenschaft Henrik Marczali, in der Demographie und Statistik Károly Keleti ihr großes Lebenswerk im Zeichen dieser Tendenz erst später hervorbringen werden. Doch auch in der Literatur verdanken nicht nur die auf der schematischen Determinationslehre beruhenden Romanversuche von sehr zweifelhaftem Wert eines Zsigmond Justh, doch auch die Novellistik (basierend auf der Milieu- und Abstammungslehre) von Elek Gozsdu und Zoltán Ambrus viel der Psychologie, der soziologischen, vor allem der biopsychologischen Einstellung dieser Tendenz. Und sogar die radikale Zeitschrift *Huszadik Század* [Zwanzigstes Jahrhundert] und der liberalradikale Galilei-Kreis, dieser gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Diskussionskreis, und in ihnen ausgezeichnete, ideale liberale Intellektuelle von großer sozialer Empfänglichkeit wie Oszkár Jászi, der hervorragende Politologe, blickten mit Hochachtung und dem Wunsch, sich diese anzueignen, zur Gedankenwelt Spencers auf und gebrauchten diese erfolgreich als Argument.

Es war jedoch kein kleineres Unglück für diese Generation mit ausgezeichneten Fähigkeiten, daß sie sich bei der Beurteilung der Ideen, der Moral ihrer Gesellschaft und so auch im Einschätzen ihrer eigenen Tätigkeit gründlich geirrt hatte. Die Grundbesitzer wollten den Reformliberalismus der 40er Jahre nicht weiter vorantreiben, die bürgerlichen Schichten dagegen waren der Aufgabe des Vorantreibens und der Erneuerung noch nicht gewachsen. Die Repräsentanten dieser Epoche gerieten zu sich selbst in einen Widerspruch, als sie teils an das Interesse, teils an die Einsicht appellierten. Letztere konnte bei den Massen naturgemäß nur dann in Betracht kommen, wenn sie mit ersterem zusammenfiel. Dennoch leisteten sie sowohl durch die Einbürgerung der neuen (positivistischen, naturwissenschaftlichen, psychologischen) Betrachtungsweise, durch die Beibehaltung des Wertbewußtseins des Reformliberalismus, als auch durch die Forderung der realistischen Literatur, der komparatistischen gesellschaftlichen und konfrontierenden analysierenden Kritik große Dienste.

Die Restaurationsregelung des Jahres 1875 der bis dahin ziemlich unsicher aufgebauten Struktur, in der sich damals die Hoffnungen der bürgerlich-intellektuellen Führung vereitelt hatten, festigte an der Spitze der Staatsgewalt die Macht der Besitzer. Dies war mit sehr wichtigen bildungsmäßigen und innerhalb dieser mit literarischen und literaturkritischen Folgen verbunden. Drei von ihnen sind besonders bedeutend. Die Einbürgerung der westlichen Reformideen im Inland, die Modernisierung der Ideen der 40er Jahre sind langsamer und weniger umfassend geworden. Die positivistische Tendenz der Zeit zeigte sowohl in der Literaturkritik als auch in der Geschichtsphilosophie im allgemeinen ihr retrogrades Profil. Über die Lehre von der Auswählung, über die Idee der natürlichen Determiniertheit, die mechanistische Auffassung der Vererbungslehre, die organisistische Betrachtungsweise bereicherte sie das Arsenal des restaurationellen, reduzierten, verbal gewordenen Liberalismus, verschmolz sie mit der überlieferten romantischen Nationencharakterologie der rechtsgeschichtlichen Schule Savignys, mit dem traditionellen Glauben an die Vorsehung und die Weltordnung, der ideologisch leer geworden war, und mit dem fürsprecherischen Geist des adligen Denkens. Zweitens wurde das Langsamwerden der inneren Bewegung eine Folge dieser Regelung. Die Öffentlichkeit interessierte sich kaum für das belletristische Leben, sie behandelte auch die bedeutenden Schriftsteller als *Lektüre*. Und die Schriftsteller selbst nahmen die neuen Entwicklungen

resigniert auf. Jenes lebhafte literaturkritische Schaffen, das charakteristisch für die Periode der Suche nach dem Ausgleich war, ist sozusagen mit einem Schlag verschwunden. Die Teilnehmer an dieser ersten Periode verstummten, und zugleich wurde die Tendenz Beöthys und seiner Gefährten in raschem Tempo zum Repräsentanten der von der besitzenden Klasse vertretenen Ordnung, sogar gegen Gyulai. Ein großer Teil der Schriftsteller und Kritiker fand sich mit der neuen Lage ab, wie u. a. Endrődi und sein Freundeskreis. Einige Gegner der Ideologie der Regelung wurden sozusagen aus dem Bewußtsein der Öffentlichkeit verdrängt.

Diese Regelung bzw. die mit ihr verbundene Stabilisierung hatte jedoch eine dritte und sehr vorteilhafte Folge. Das war die umfangreiche Verbreitung der belletristischen Bildung durch die Schulen und die regelmäßige, institutionalisierte und systematische Beschäftigung mit der Vergangenheit der Literatur. Die Zeitschrift von Gusztáv Heinrich Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny [Allgemeine philologische Mitteilungen], von 1877 an, wurde zuerst, was die Philologie anbelangt, zu einer hervorragenden Schule, dann auch in bezug auf die komparatistische Gegenstandsgeschichte zu einer Werkstatt von europäischem Niveau, zu einer Schule für die zukünftigen gelehrten Generationen. Der Gymnasialunterricht selbst jedoch wurde — absichtlich oder unbeabsichtigt — zum Erzieher einer Schriftstellergarde der Zukunft mit breitem Horizont und einer die Literatur aufnehmenden Öffentlichkeit.

Den Stempel des vereinbarten Gleichgewichts der Stabilisierung, der einander gegenüberstehenden, miteinander konfrontierten Kräfte drückte der umgeschichteten Struktur die *Diskussion über das Tragische* auf, indem sie scharf das Wesentliche der in der Literaturauffassung der einander Gegenüberstehende formulierte. Das fast 200 Seiten dicke Buch über das Tragische von Zsolt Beöthy (A tragikum [Das Tragische], 1881) wollte beweisen, daß der tragische Held immer schuldig ist, weil er mit dem öffentlichen Denken seiner Nation, seines Publikums, vor allem aber mit dem organisistischen Entwicklungsprinzip, dem Entwicklungsgang, die von der Vorsehung in die Gesellschaft eingepflanzt wurden und sich auf natürliche Weise durchsetzten, konfrontiert wird. Das Tragische lehrt gerade, daß man sich nicht gegen diesen Entwicklungsgang wenden darf. Dem Buch von Jenő Rákosi ähnlichen Titels (1882) zufolge können nur die außergewöhnlichen Menschen, die wirklich Großen tragisch sein, die zu den das Leben erhaltenden Kompromissen außerstande sind. Ihre Rolle ist eine doppelte: sie machen die aus normalen Formaten bestehende Gesellschaft darauf aufmerksam, daß ständig Reformen durchgeführt werden müssen, und sie machen die Leitenden und die Geleiteten ständig darauf aufmerksam, daß sich ihre Reformbestrebungen ständig durch Kompromisse realisieren müssen. Jenő Péterfy war in seinen drei großen Studien über das Tragische der Meinung, daß das Tragische überhaupt keinen Lehrsatz enthält, nichts lehrt jedoch die allgemeine Lebenskenntnis bessert als dieses. Er stand der Auffassung vom Tragischen Solgers und noch eher Hebbels nahe, und antizipierte auch die Meinungen von Th. Lipps. Er war der Meinung, daß der Lauf der Geschichte das Individuum nicht berücksichtigt, der tragische Held ist nicht schuldig, der tragische Untergang ist keine Strafe. Die Tragödie erzieht den Menschen zur Vergänglichkeit des Schicksals des Einzelnen und zugleich zur stoischen, pflichterfüllenden Moral seines Ertragens. Wenn Rákosi den sich an die Gewalt der Besitzenden anpassenden, doch sich nach ihrer Reform sehnenden Kleinbürger vertrat, repräsentierte Péterfy den einsamen Intellektuellen von hoher emotionaler und intellektueller Kultur, der sich nach dem Glauben an den Fortschritt sehnte. Sein Beispiel zeigte auch deutlich, daß der, der keiner der das Gleichgewicht schaffenden Parteien angehörte, notwendigerweise ausgeschlossen blieb.

Die ihm ähnlichen Außenstehenden, Ausgeschlossenen hätten zusammen eine bedeutende geistige Kraft vertreten können, doch nie sind sie gegenüber der vorherr-

schenden Auffassung zu einem einheitlichen oder gar verbündeten Faktor geworden oder konnten sie es werden. Ihre Epoche waren die 80er Jahre. In ihrer Auffassung hinterließ die positivistische Auffassung tiefe Spuren, doch einen mindestens genau so tiefen Eindruck hinterließen auch die anlaufenden antipositivistischen Strömungen. Manche griffen sogar zu den schon klassisch gewordenen großen europäischen ästhetischen Traditionen zurück; dadurch boten sie in Wirklichkeit eine blassere Parallele zu jenen bürgerlichen Bewegungsrichtungen des Auslands, die als Neo-Richtungen erwähnt werden (Jenő Péterfy, Menyhért Palágyi, Zsigmond Bodnár u. a.). Denn dieses reichhaltige Nebeneinander, diese Häufung von verschiedenen Tendenzen, die charakteristisch für das Ende des Jahrhunderts war, wurde in ganz von diesen Neo-Tendenzen vorbereitet, sowohl was ihre positiven als auch was ihre negativen Züge anbelangt.

Und in der Tat, wenn sie auch nicht den Weg zueinander fanden, sind fast alle zu irgendeiner Gruppe der Nachfolger gelangt, wenn auch nicht durch ihre Gedanken, so durch das Vorbild ihrer Haltung. Péterfy kann für den ersten Fall ein großer Beweis sein, Lajos Tolnai für den zweiten Fall. Es gibt kaum einen talentierten Kritiker im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts, der in seiner Auffassung, in seiner Methode oder in seinem Stil nicht bemüht gewesen wäre, seine Verwandtschaft oder zumindest seine Sympathie mit Péterfy zu erwähnen, der die Autonomie, die ontologisch-anthropologische Rolle der Kunst betonte und ihre zur stoischen Ethik erziehende Aufgabe hervorhob. Zur gleichen Zeit bekannte sich eine ganze Reihe von emotional oppositionellen, im öffentlichen Leben und moralisch oppositionellen Kritikern, vor allem Schriftsteller und Kritiker als Verehrer und Anhänger Tolnais. Riedl jedoch wurde zum Schutzherrn der impressionistischen-positivistischen Essayisten, der emotional gestimmten, biographisch interessierten, auf kleinen Fakten aufbauenden Essayisten und Lehrer, sowie zum Gegenstand ihrer Verehrung.

Bei diesem Moment des Erbes muß gesondert die Sache der Literaturwissenschaft bezw. Literaturgeschichte im engeren Sinne des Wortes behandelt werden. Wenn in dieser Duplizität des kritischen Zögerns und der Stabilisation im Staatsaufbau in den Jahren nach 1875 Gusztáv Heinrich, der immer ein sicheres Gefühl für das Einschätzen der Situation hatte, erkannte, daß die Zeit zur systematischen, ideologisch neutralen, erschließenden wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit, zur Erziehung einer erschließenden Wissenschaftlergeneration angebrochen ist, hatte er genau so gut am Ende der 80er Jahre erkannt, daß durch die erzieherische Tätigkeit der Zeitschrift Philológiai Közlöny schon eine Garde bereit stand, die schon die Publikation einer spezifisch ungarischen literaturgeschichtlichen Fachzeitschrift übernehmen kann. Und wenn wir das Organ Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények [Literaturgeschichtliche Mitteilungen] (1891), ohne dessen umfangreiches und vielfältiges Material die ungarische Literaturgeschichtsschreibung des 20. Jahrhunderts einfach unvorstellbar ist, mit ähnlichen europäischen Zeitschriften vergleichen, ist sein Niveau überhaupt nicht niedriger als das der anderen. Eine andere Frage ist, daß die literaturgeschichtliche Arbeit, die materialerschließende und komparatistisch-faktivistische Philologie ausgenommen, damals in ganz Europa ziemlich eintönig und ärmlich war. Das vom Marxismus inspirierte soziologische historische Bestreben war auch noch nicht vorhanden, auch der Instinkt der Synthesen nach kulturellen, emotionalen und ideengeschichtlichen Tendenzen nach Dilthey fehlte bei der Mehrheit der Betreiber dieses Wissenschaftszweiges noch.

Kurz gesagt: wenn wir jenen Lieblingsgedanken der europäischen Literaturwissenschaft der Zeit, vor allem der deutschen und der französischen Literaturwissenschaft, metaphorisch anwenden wollen, wonach die Blütezeiten von Phasen der Ruhe, des Schlafes und des Keimens abgelöst werden, ist dies eine, man kann sagen, aus drei Phasen bestehende Periode, die zu letzteren gehört. Für ihre erste Phase ist das Streben

nach der positivistisch bürgerlichen Modernisierung der ererbten reform-liberalistischen Ideen charakteristisch. Bezeichnend für die zweite dagegen war im Prozeß der (modernisierten) Wiederherstellung der Ordnung der Besitzenden das Schaffen des Gleichgewichts zwischen dem restaurationellen oder konservativen Liberalismus und den Bestrebungen nach der Raumgewinnung des Bürgertums aufgrund einer Übereinkunft. In der dritten Phase waren die in der Atmosphäre der im Zeichen des Gleichgewichts zustande gekommenen relativen Stabilisierung und Prosperität initiierenden, die Bildung und Gesellschaft der Zeit kritisierenden Bestrebungen an die Peripherie verdrängt oder waren sogar aus dem direkten Prozeß der Wirkung der Literatur auf die Kultur ausgeschlossen worden. Die Ideen, die Verhaltensweisen jedoch, die im Zeichen dieser Bestrebungen entstanden waren, übten einen bedeutenden Einfluß auf die Literaten- und Kritikergenerationen, auf die Belletristik, die Literatur und das allgemeine Denken aus. Und was nicht weniger wichtig ist, sie stellten für die junge Generation um die in den 1890er Jahren aufblühenden Zeitschrift A Hét [Die Woche], die im darauffolgenden Jahrzehnt schon als Richtung auftrat, ein anregendes Vorbild zum Widerstand gegen die »Offizielle« Richtung dar. Die dieser einen Aufschwung verleihende Polarisierung, die von der kritischen, literaturpublizistischen Tätigkeit der Zeitschrift A Hét ausgelöst wurde, konnte schon damals wahrgenommen werden. Darauf läßt sich zumindest zurückblickend schließen. In der Atmosphäre der schon frontalen Angriff von A Hét wurde der Gegensatz zwischen den in den 80er Jahren abgeschlossenen Bewegungen, Auffassung und denen Beöthys noch deutlicher erkennbar. Um so mehr, weil letztere von der offiziellen Richtung in ihrer kulturellen, ideologischen Verteidigung endgültig zu ihrer eigenen Sache gemacht wurden. Es war eindeutig geworden, obzwar Beöthy und seine Gefährten sich immer wieder auf die Lehren der Vergangenheit im Prozeß der Dialektik der Geschichte beriefen, daß sie zu Gegnern der Erben der progressiven Traditionen des Reformzeitalters und der 50er Jahre geworden waren.

Béla G. Németh

The Janus Pannonius Codices of Sevilla and the Tradition of Janus Texts

It is close on two hundred years since Samuel Teleki edited in Utrecht in 1784 the collected works of Janus Pannonius in a critical edition which matched the standard of the epoch.[1] His edition was based on the manuscript marked Cod. Lat. 3274. of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Vienna. This was that codex containing the works of Janus Pannonius which was the first to become known to scholarship and which, even to date, is the most important codex to comprise the largest Janus material. The Vienna codex (henceforth B-codex) was brought as early as 1666 by P. Lambeck, the Emperor's librarian, from the books strewn in the royal palace of Buda.[2] (It includes the following: 388 epigrams (in Teleki's labeling: Book One of Epigrams), 15 elegies (in Teleki's labeling: Book One of Elegies) and the Guarino-panegyric. The epigrams and elegies drawn from other, printed sources Teleki arranged in Book Two of Epigrams and in Book Two of Elegies.

A hundred years after Teleki, it was Jenő Ábel who rummaged through scores of libraries in quest of newer Janus manuscripts.[3] What unkown text he had found he edited

in his "Analecta". Then in the twenties-thirties of our century József Huszti and László Juhász carried out intense Janus research. However, they failed to find codices containing unknown manuscripts.[4] Nor did the grandiose work of manuscript-disclosure of P. O. Kristeller result, as for Janus scholarship, in relevant new material.[5] After these antecedents it appeared that odds were overwhelmingly against the turning up of unknown, substantially new Janus manuscripts.[6]

It caused all the more sensation when in 1968 Josef Hamm, a professor of Vienna, struck upon a Janus codex profoundly dissimilar in character of composition from any previously known in the holdings of the Biblioteca Colombina y Capitular of Sevilla. The codex contains unknown Janus texts as well. Following the preliminary review of Mária Horváth,[7] the manuscript was written down in detail by János Horváth and the unedited Janus texts were also published by him.[8] Both scholars have performed their examinations on the basis of the microfilm of the codex.

When in 1974 I was able to go to Spain on a longer study-tour sponsored by Unesco with the aim of exploring codices of Hungarian origin, I envisaged of course to visit the library of Sevilla as well. I did this because on the one hand where such an important Hungarian codex had cropped up there might also others to be chanced upon and, on the other, I intended to investigate the environment of the Janus codex, the circumstances how it had got there, and ultimately to scrutinize the codex by way of autopsy, as the microfilm could not provide an answer to all questions (watermarks, colours etc). Here I was taken by surprise that the Biblioteca Colombina y Capitular houses not only one Janus codex but another as well (henceforth: Sevilla II, or S-II codex for short). In this codex there is scarcely any unknown Janus text. Still, upon a thorough scrutiny of the volume and the collation of its content with the other codex found earlier in Sevilla (henceforth: Sevilla I, S-I codex for short) and with the material of extant Janus manuscripts, I was led to conclude that the S-II codex bore an essential significance as far as the whole tradition of Janus texts was concerned and that from several aspects it would shed new light on the S-I codex as well.

The Description of the Sevilla-II Codex

While the Sevilla-I codex is in that part of the library of Sevilla which was bequeathed by Fernando Colon, the natural son of Christopher Columbus to the chapter of Sevilla (its signature: 7—1—15), the Sevilla-II codex is to be found in another part of the library of Sevilla, in the capitular library independent of Fernando Colon's donation. (its signature: 82—4—8). It does not contain Colon's regular note on the data of acquisition in the way it can be seen in the S-I codex. Nor is there any other note in it, however, which could permit the verification of a different origin. Yet, it is highly unlikely that another Janus codex should have reached this implausibly far-off place through a different channel, and not from Colon's donation. And the volume, containing no note whatever, may well have passed to the other part of the library.

This seems all the more feasable as the capitular section of the library of Sevilla is a characteristically ecclesiastic library. In its manuscript holdings today the liturgic and other modern material is preponderant. But classical and humanist material is meagre even in that inventory which was compiled in 1522, prior to Colon's donation.[9] Out of the 512 items there are 157 volumes on church and civil law, 12 Biblical manuscripts and exegeses, 20 volumes of St. Thomas Aquinas, 9 volumes of Nicolaus de Lyra, 8 sermonaria, etc.). In this list of 1522 no trace of the Janus codex is to be found. As opposed to this, Fernando Colon was a book-collector and erudite humanist who not

only perused his books but emended even his printed books. His library-list written in his own hand containing 4231 items, which precisely yields the data of acquisition, has also been preserved.[10]

These acquisitions were effected on a larger scale mainly between 1510—1522. Manuscripts and printed books were acquired alike, these are mingled in the list; the bulk is printed matter, mostly from the early sixteenth century. The places of acquisition are: Nuremberg, Frankfort, Venice, Florence, Rome, "In Alamania". There are additional entries also from the period between 1522—1530, but these are few. At that time, the places of acquisition are: Sevilla, Medina, Valladolid. The S-I codex does not figure in this book-list, yet we do precisely know the place and time of the acquisition from the recording on the first endpaper: he bought it in Basel in 1531.

Colon must have been particularly interested in the poetical works of Janus Pannonius,[11] as the above book-list reveals that he had purchased two printed Janus-editions. One is an edition of Vienna from 1514 (no. 1288). This he acquired in Cologne in 1522. Unfortunately, this copy is now missing from the holdings. However, the library does possess the other Janus print, the edition of Beatus Rhenanus, Basel, 1518. (no. 1572). This was purchased in August 1520. He fails to disclose the place of acquisition, presumably it was the city of Basel, where the book had been printed. (Its signature: 2—3—24).

The S-I codex is a fairly small-size (215×147 mm) paper codex in a condition extremely marred, or even frayed, from humidity. As against this, the S-II codex is in an entirely good condition, its smooth sheepskin binding is also flawless. The material of this is again paper. Its size is 280/285×209 mm. The watermarks in both codices are different varieties of the Libra watermark, similar to those found in the Chronicle of Buda by András Hess and in the pages of printworks of the so-called "second Hungarian press".[12]

No possibility occured to thoroughly scrutinize them on the spot, as on the one hand, we were not equipped with devices (fluorescent appliance etc), and on the other, the paper material of the S-I codex is in so frayed, so decayed a condition that a close examination of the watermarks could well have been a hazard to the text. At all events the watermarks testify to the Hungarian origin of the codex and to its dating around 1470.

The S-II codex includes: 2 endpapers, 1—34 leaves with original numbering, 74 unnumbered leaves and once again an endpaper, ie. 111 folios altogether. Its incision appears to have originally been yellow, but it has faded, and bears the inscription: IOANIS PANONII EPISCOPI OPERA. In the numbered leaves there are 10 elegies, three of which are Italian: two of these in turn missing from the B-codex and which were published by Jenő Ábel on the basis of a Vatican codex (henceforth: V-codex).[13] There are besides 137 epigrams, two of which are unknown, and two unknown verse-fragments. Moreover, six other epigrams have so far been known only from the aforementioned V-codex. After two empty leaves, in the unnumbered part, ensues the text of the Guarino-panegyric extending to 23 half-leaves. This is followed again by two empty half-leaves and finally the text of 101 leaves with the title "Epistolae Jani Pannonii".

In the material of the S-I and S-II codices only the Guarino-panegyric, 5 elegies and 7 epigrams are identical.

The S-II codex is written throughout in the gothic by probably the same hand in a careful manner early on, then more hastily. The scribe's mastery of the Latin language was by no means perfect, for he committed not only mistakes, which might ever occur in the event of transcription, but these errors of copying had produced words which are actually non-existent, or are meaningless in the locus where they figure. Thus he copied in a way that on occasion he could not grasp the text. Eg. instead of "solventur"

he puts "solitenter", instead of "cecos(= caecos)" he writes "secos". There is no illumination, only redlettered titles here and there, and a few ornate initials. There is even no blank space left for the initials. This accounts for the fact that it was not meant to be the final text but only a *raw material, a working copy to be elaborated.* This is attested to by its character of cursive, and not bookhand, writing. Another proof is that originally the text had commenced without any title whatever, and it was only later that another hand put over it on the margin left rather narrow: "Ioannis Pannonij Vitesii Quinqueecclesiarum Episcopi Poete Clarissimi elegiarum (deleted) silvarum (substitute for the deleted work) liber".

However, there are not only elegies here, but after four elegies an epigram, then again three elegies. These are followed by epigrams without a separate chapter-title, but at the end of the collection there come 3 elegies again, mixed up in epigrams.

The lyrics are for the most part without a title. If there is a title, with few exceptions it was inserted later on. But if the transcriber did put down the title (this occurs mainly among the elegies), even then this title is usually corrected. No wonder, then, that the transcriber would sometimes join the text of lyrics he had found untitled, and would take apart coherent texts. Moreover, there are extremely fragmented lyric passages as well. It is not an infrequent occurrence that the same text had been copied twice, then one of them was crossed later on. It is also remarkable that if the name Janus figured in the title of the verse, it was always to be deleted by a correcting hand, as the author's name, justified in the case of separate verses, would be superfluous within a work in preparation which was to contain Janus works.

From this it clearly follows that the S-II codex was not copied from some other codex, but it is the very first transcription from the original autograph drafts written on single separate pages. For it is all too obvious that Janus "created" his epigrams and elegies starting from his school-years not in some sort of exercise-book, in a volume sewn beforehand, in the manner of school papers, but he just committed his ad hoc ideas to paper. This is why the chronology of the epigrams poses today so great a problem to define. Quite likely he himself did not immediately give them titles. The titles were added later by editors who coined them consciously on the basis of the contents.

The text of the elegies and epigrams in the S-II codex has been emended by two hands. One of these, a hand of slightly vague tracing, is met with only sporadically. The other one can be seen all along. That is the hand which performed the title-corrections and title-additions, and which even put in front of the whole manuscript the words: "Ioannis Pannonii Vitesii . . . liber".

The Content of the Codex

Before trying to provide an answer to the question who the emendator was and before discussing the date and circumstances of origin of the codex, we should give a detailed description of its content collating each item with the B-codex. In the comparison we take stock only of the divergence of verse-titles, since the disclosure of numerous variants of the text would be beyond the scope of the present study, this task would be performed in another article. It is to be remarked that as the lyrics are unnumbered in the B-codex, we refer to the numbers given in the Teleki-edition incorporating the entire material of the B-codex, or if the verse is not to be found in the B-codex, we refer to other sources.

1. Originally it did not have a title. The title inserted later: "Quod posthabitis musis amoenioribus velit transferre animum ad leges discendas. Silua elegia (this word

is crossed) prima." (It is not in the B-codex. It was published by Ábel on the basis of a Vatican codex in the Analecta as the 30th elegy, untitled.)

2. "Johannis Episcopi. Q. (crossed thus far) de laude Andree Mantegne pictoris Patauini. Carmen (crossed). Silua secunda. (In the B-codex: Eleg. I. 2. "Laus Andree Mantegne pictoris patauini MCCCCLVIII°.")

3. "Johannis Pannonij Carmen (crossed thus far) de fonte Narnensi (substitute:) Silua tertia." (B-codex: Eleg. I. 1. "Naiadum italicarum princip. Diue feronie Janus Pannonius cecinit in reditu Ex urbe. Nonis Junijs Millesimo CCCC°LVIII°."

4. "Eiusdem (crossed) Ad Blasium Armigerum (added:) De febre eum torquentem." (B-codex: Eleg. I. 3. "Blasio militanti Ianus febricitans. M°cccc°Lviii°.")

5. "De obitu Georgy Castellani. Q." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 372. "Epytaphium Georgij More.")

6. Untitled. (B-codex: Eleg. I. 7. "Inuehitur in Lunam quia inter Lunio matrem amiserit Millesimo CCCC°LXIII°.") The first 70 lines crossed.

7. "Responsio Mathie Regis per Johannem Episcopum Quinquecclesiensem Anthonio Constantio phanestri." (B-codex: Eleg. I. 8. "Mathias Rex Hungarorum Antonio Constantio Poete Italo M°CCCC°LXIIII°.")

8. "Iohannis Episcopi Q. De febre ipsum torquentem." (B-codex: Eleg. I. 9. "De se egrotante in castris. M°CCCC°LXIIII°.")

9. "De bino Triumpho Moldauie et Transsiluanie per Inclitum Mathiam Regem obtento." (B-codex: I. 8. "Gratulatur de duplici uictoria Matthie.")

10. "De uexillo proprio". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 9. "De signo suo". In contrast with the manuscript Teleki altered the title of the epigram on the basis of Sambucus' Janus-edition of 1569 in the following way: "De signo Iohannis Vitezii Archiepiscopi", and this was mistakely taken over by newer disclosures as well, ie. that the verse is about the troops and ensign of János Vitéz instead of Janus.)

11. "De vexillo obtento a moldauis." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 10. "De signis quae Moldauis erepta in templo uirginis Bude", the predicate, that they were deposited, is missing. — B-codex: Epigr. I. 12. "Se ipsum excusat quod non prelia tractet.")

13. "Epitaphium Johannis Wayuode Gubernatoris" (added by another hand:) "Pannonie". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 13. "Epitaphium Iohannis Matthie regis patris.")

14. "De Manswetudine cuiusdam Cerui." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 16. lines 1—16).

15. "Eiusdem ad Caesarem Fridericum pro Corona Hungarie." (The whole line is crossed, instead:) "In Fridericum III., romanorum imperatorem Coronam Hungarie detinentem." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 17. "De corona regni ad fridericum Cesarem.")

16. "Aliud Epithaphium Johannis Wayuode." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 18. "Epitaphium Johannis Hunniadis.")

17. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Reuerendissimum dominum (crossed from here on) osualdum episcopum Zagrabiensem" (the subsequent part is deleted so as to be utterly unreadable and in another hand:) "Jo. stgon. epm." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 19. "Ad Joannem Archiepiscopum Strigoniensem.")

18. "Reverendissimi domini Quinqueecclesiensis de Frederico Romanorum imperatore" (crossed, instead:) "In fredericum Romanorum imperatorem III." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 20. "Ad Fridericum Caesarem.")

19. "Eiusdem ubi (crossed thus far) inuitat regem in edes proprias." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 21. "Inuitat regem Matthiam ad hospitum suum.")

20. Without title written as one with the previous epigram. Title written in the hand of the second emendator: "De Thalete." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 25. "De Thalete ad onu irriso.") The entire lyric is crossed, as it figures again later on.

21. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Cur nomen mutauerit." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 130. "In Immutationem sui nominis.")

22. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad dionisium". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 129. "In Dionisium.")

23. Originally untitled. Title inserted later: "Ad Paulum." The last 4 lines are missing. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 131. Title the same.)

24. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Bartholomeum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 133. Title the same.)

25. "Ioannes ne rome requirat testiculos pauli pape." (Deleted, instead:) "De testiculis Pauli Pontificis." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 52. "De paulo summo pontifice.")

26. Untitled, written as one with the previous epigram. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 53. "De eodem.")

27. Untitled, written as one with the previous epigram. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 53. "Ad eundem.")

28. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 66. "Ad paulum.")

29. "Joannes (crossed) ad regem Mathiam, ut differat bella in tempora veris." (B-codex: I. 3. "Conqueritur.")

30. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad lodouicum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 91. "Ad Carbonem poetam.")

31. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "ad Paulum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 92. Title the same.)

32. Originally untitled. The title inserted later by the second emending hand: "Epitaphium Magni pompei." The whole is crossed, as it is repeated under No. 46. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 102. "De magno pompeio.")

33. "Ex Nicandro." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 144. "Cum etatem exuant serpentes, cum senio intereant homines, ex Nicandro.")

34. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 109. "De Theodoro Gaza.") entirely crossed.

35. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 110. "In Nicolum (!)".)

36. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 111. "De docto simulato.")

37. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 112. "De Aurispa.")

38. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "De Venatore suo." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 29. "De prodigio cladem summo Pontifici significante.")

39. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad guartianum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 85. Title the same.)

40. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "In gryllum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 86. Incorrectly "In Gallum".)

41. "Eiusdem In laudem pannonie Carmen." (crossed, instead:) "De seipso arroganter." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 61. "Laus pannonie.")

42. "Ad (crossed) In Petrum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 83. "In Petrum.")

43. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "De arquada. Viro Patauino." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 89. "De Arquada.")

44. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "In Carbonem." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 90. "In Carbonem poëtam.")

45. Written as one with the previous epigram, then this verse is crossed, as it figures under No. 30 already. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 91.)

46. "Eiusdem Ladislao Vetesio Preposito Wesprimiensi." Beside it in the margin: "non e uero". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 88. "Ad Philelphum".)

47. Untitled, written as one with the earlier, then the verse is crossed. Beside it in the margin in a different hand: "Non." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 92. "Ad Paulum."

48. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Laurentium". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 99. Title the same.)

49. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "De Pompeio Magno." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 100. "De magno Pompeio.")

50. Untitled, written as one with the previous epigram. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 102. "De magno Pompeio.")

51. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Franciscum Aretinum. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 80. Title the same.)

52. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Lodouicum." (B-codex: I. 101. Title the same.)

53. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad episcopum Mutinensem. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 82. "Ad eundem episcopum, viz. that there the earlier verse too is addressed to the bishop of Modena.)

54. Untitled. The whole is crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 23. "Laudat opus Theologi cuiuspiam.")

55. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 49. line 20.)

56. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "De vitae humanę breuitate." (B-codex: I. 24. "De iactura uitę humanę".)

57. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "De Thalete." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 25. The same piece figured already under No. 20, but it is crossed there.)

58. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 26. "De lepore et uulpe.")

59. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 49. lines 11—12)

60. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 28. "De Amigdalo in Pannonia nata.")

61. Untitled. Separated starting from line 6, as if it were the first line of a new verse. The whole is crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 95. "Commendat Verone suum libellum.")

62. Untitled, crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 96. "In Greciam.")

63. Untitled. (Missing from B, unknown, crossed:)

"Quantum nec Titus Anthie flagrauit
Nec marasius arsit angelinam
Nec Laurem sicula satus panormo
Anthia pulchra totum ionianum cinnama torquet
Aut odoratis stiue cinnamoni."

64. As two separate, untitled verses, crossed (B-codex: Epigr. I. 97. "De Roma.")

65. Untitled, crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 98. "Veris pronosticon.")

66. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "In defectionem Transsyluanie" (B-codex: Epigr. I. 57. "De rebellione regni Transsiluanie.")

67. "Jo. Epi. Q." (crossed) "Galeotto, ut habeat Amicum Secretorum." (Missing from B, Ábel disclosed it from the V-codex in his Analecta, p. 122. "Ad Galeottum.")

68. "In laudem waradiensis, cum fuit factus Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis." (deleted, instead:) "Ad Joannem episcopum Varadiensem. Translatum in sedem Metropolitanam strigoniensem. Auunculum suum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 51. "De translatione Johannis Episcopi Varadiensis in ecclesiam Strigoniensem.")

69. "In laudem Gwarini". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 56. "De Guarino.")

70. "In laudem Accipitris prehendentis Leporem." (Missing from B, Ábel disclosed it from the V-codex in his Analecta, p. 122.)

71. "Continuat" and beside it by the emending hand "Idem alias" (Missing from B, Ábel disclosed it from the V-codex in the Analecta, p. 122. "De eodem.")

72. "Continuat" and as above "Idem alias." (Missing from B, published: as above p. 123. "De eodem".)

73. "Ad polycarpum qui semper sua rogabat carmina." Missing from B, Published: as above. "Ad Polycarpum."

74. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad (crossed) In Robertum Dominum Prepositum Zagrabiensem." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 50. "Ad Rubertum.")

75. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "In furem." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 48. "In Cynedum furacem.")

76. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad antonium (crossed) Ad Reverendissimum Dominum Antonium Sancfalua, dominum postea episcopum nitriensem." The scribe made the first line of the previous epigram to be the continuation of the first part of line 1, then he deleted it and started again properly. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 143. "Ad eundem", viz. there the addressee of the previous verse is also the same.)

77. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 113. "De Guarino.")

78. "Respondet Anthonio de vitris dono missis et via fractis." (Deleted, instead:) "Ad eundem." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 142. "Ad Antonium.")

79. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 116. "Ad Ruffum.")

80. Untitled, crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 123. "In prosperum.")

81. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad philisteum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 125. "In philiticum.")

82. "Epitaphium in Thaddeam Guarini vxorem." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 135. "Epitaphium Thaddee.")

83. "Epithaphium Valle." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 134. "De Laurentio Valla.")

84. Eiusdem ad Galeottum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 35. "Ad Galeottum.")

85. "Jo E Q" (deleted) "de reditu Policarpi ab vrbe." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 140. "Ad policarpum.")

86. "Ad Galeottum". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 139. "Ad eundem", viz. also before it, a verse addressed to Galeotto.)

87. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 138. "Ad Galeottum".)

88. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Az auellum". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 94. "In Anellum.")

89. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 15. "De Munitionibus ad Archiepiscopo strigoniensi constructis.")

90. "De mille florenis conprestis (!) Gallo" (crossed, instead:) "De pecuniis mutuo datis." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 70. "Ad Gallum".)

91. Untitled. The whole verse crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 33. "Disticon in vallam", this also crossed)

92. Untitled, the whole verse crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I 34., here also untitled. Teleki discloses it under title: "Ex Graeco".)

93. Untitled. Crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 79. lines 5—6)

94. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Mutinensem episcopum". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 81. "De Episcopo Mutinensi.")

95. Untitled. Unknown. The whole crossed.

> "Nam vicia ipsa vno vel tota apprendere captu
> Perfacile est via prona patet, nec longius absunt
> Prolare virtutis sudorem eterna locarunt
> Numina longa illuc et preceps semita ducit
> Aspera et imprimis sed cum stetit arte superna
> Que modo dura sint, facilem se prestat eunti."

96. "De moribus cuiusdam gentis." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 84. "Ad crudelem pretorem.")

97. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad guarinum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 127. Title the same.)

98. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad gryllum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 126. Title the same.)

99. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 116. "Ad ruffum.")

100. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Chaterinam Regis Matthie sponsam." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 6. "De Catherina Regina Hungarie.")

101. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad agapetum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 71. Title the same.)

102. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "In obitum Guarini praeceptoris." (Epigr. I. 136. "Epitaphium Guarini.")

103. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Epithaphium in Valerium Marcellum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 137. "Epitaphium Valeri (!) Mercellj.")

104. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Quendam." (B-codex: I. 200. "In furem Vergilianum.")

105. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Hortatur Regem, vt redeat ex diutino bello." B-codex: Epigr. I. 5. "Conqueritur de mora Regis Mathie in Moldauia.")

106. Untitled, written as one with the previous. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 4. "De captiuitate Dragol Wayuode transalpini.")

107. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Marcum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 198. "In Mendacem.")

108. Untitled, written as one with the previous. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 99. lines 1, 2 and 4 of "In Eundem", but line 4 delated.)

109. Untitled, but the whole verse deleted, because it figured also under No. 104. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 200.)

110. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "In quendam." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 201. "In Eundem.")

111. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Galeottum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 64. Title the same.)

112. Untitled. The whole verse deleted. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 121. "de signo Amphitrionis.")

113. Untitled. The whole verse deleted. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 122. "Ad lectorem.")

114. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 124. "In Ruffum.")

115. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 117. "In Bertum.")

116. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "De Marcello." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 79. Title the same.)

117. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Regem." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 46. "Ad Mathiam Regem.")

118. Untitled. The whole deleted. Unknown.

> "Tum subiti sonitus et clamor et horrida matrum
> Lamenta, Abtruso gaudet procul hostis in Antro."

119. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 76. "Quando primum Rome musis sit honor habitus.")

120. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 78. "Ad Ennium.")

121. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 27. "In Pumilionem.")

122. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "In laudem Marcelli Patricy Veneti." (Epigr. I. 36. "De comparatione Marcellorum.")

123. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Ruffum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 42. Title the same.)

124. "Ad Galeottum cur habet albos crines. The whole verse, together with the title, is crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 43. "Ad Galeottum.")

125. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Galeottum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 44. "Ad Eundem.")

126. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad librum suum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 38. "Librum suum alloquitur.")

127. "De Caruo In vexillo Mathie Regis", the first two lines of the verse is crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 1. Untitled.)

128. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Marcum gub", (The last fragment-word crossed) (Missing from B, it was disclosed by Ábel from the V-codex in his Analecta, p. 123.)

129. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "In Rullum," (B-codex: Epigr. I. 118. "Ad Rullum.")

130. "Ad Martem." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 7. "Ad Martem imprecatio pro pace.")

131. "Eiusdem de pomilio Blasio de deformitate (an unreadable abbreviated word deleted) nature". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 128. "In Blasium pomilionem.")

132. "Ad Galeotum" (B-codex: Epigr. I. 65. "Ad eundem", also before it, a verse addressed to Galeotto.)

133. "Jo. Epi. Q. de apro." (B-codex: Eleg. I. 5. "De apro et cervo. Millesimo cccc °lxiij°" first part of the elegy.)

134. "Jo. Epi. Q. de Ceruo". (A B-codex: Eleg. I. 5. second part of the elegy, as a separate verse)

135. "Epitaphium Valle.", the verse crossed. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 134. "De Laurentio Valla.")

136. "Pro Rege Mathia vt dy fauerant Bello contra Turcos." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 2. "Imprecatio deorum pro rege Matthia in turcos bellum sumentem.")

137. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 72. "Ad Clementem.")

138. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 73. "Ad Guarinum.")

139. Untitled. (B-codex: Epigr. I. 67. "Ad Laurum.")

140. "Johannis Episcop. Q. de Invndatione imbrium." (B-codex: Eleg. I. 13. "De inundatione. MCCCC°LXVIII°.")

141. "De Cerwo per Stephanum Baionum apud vbrem acciso." (Missing from B, Ábel disclosed it as the 32nd elegy on the basis of the V-codex).

142. Untitled. (B-codex: I. 160. "In spem et fortunam.")

143. "De agna nutriente lupum." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 161. "De agna que paruit lupum.")

144. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Tribrache" (!). (B-codex: Epigr. I. 49. the first 12 lines of "Ad Tribrachum poetam").

145. Originally untitled. The title inserted later: "Ad Antinum." Unknown.

> "Quid frustra miseros victa tegis Anthyme canos
> Celare nequiunt tussis, amor senium."

146. "Ad galeottum". (B-codex: Epigr. I. 22. "Galeotti peregrinationem irridet.")

147. "Alloquitur in Beatum Petrum in cuius sede Femina tenuit papatum" (crossed, instead:) "De femina quondam Pontifice maximo." (B-codex: Epigr. I. 58. "Quare nunc ut quondam summorum pontificum testiculi non explorantur.")

This is followed by the Guarino-panegyric. And finally the third, prosaic, part of the codex, the epistles titled: "Epistole Jani pannonij". Surprisingly enough only a minor portion of the letters are written in the name of Janus Pannonius. Out of the 101 items only 10 all told. (Beside these there figure 3 discourses and 1 epigram by Janus.) 3 epistles

are written in the name of János Vitéz, 6 belong to prelates and royal councillors. The major part of the letters, 80 pieces, are assumed to have been written by King Matthias.

The epistles carry no address. Nor is the writer given in the bulk of them, the dates are recorded in only a few letters, they do no follow in chronological order either. Nevertheless their identification can be performed with precision in the eighteenth-century collection, the largest as yet, of King Matthias' letters, the Epistolae Matthiae Corvini,[14] or if not there, then in Fraknói's source-edition.[15]

Thus for the identification of the epistles we provide the item-numbers of these two works. The letters are as follows:

1. Epistle of Janus Pannonius to Jacobus Ammanatus. 1462. (Ep. M. I. 35.)
2. Janus Pannonius to Alexander Oliva. Sept 28, 1463. (Ep. M. I. 36.)
3. Janus Pannonius to Franciscus Todeschinus Piccolomini. 1462. (Ep. M. I. 53.)
4. Janus Pannonius to Bishop Carvajal. Apr. 20, 1464. (Ep. M. I. 34., here the letter is dated: Apr 20, 1462.)
5. King Matthias to Pope Paul II. 1465 (Ep. M. II. 32. Fraknói 99.)
6. The same to the same. Jan 10, 1466. (Ep. M. I. 33. Fraknói 102.)
7. The same to the same. Dec 1467. (Ep. M. I. 49, here the date is 1463. Fraknói 29., the date: spring of 1463.)
8. Vitéz János to Jacobus Ammanatus. 1460. (Ep. M. I. 9.)
9. King Matthias to Pope Pius II. Sept 28, 1463. (Ep. M. I. 50. Fraknói 33.)
10. Janus Pannonius to Alexander Oliva. Sept 28, 1463. (Ep. M. I. 68.)
11. King Matthias to Paul II. Jan 22, 1464. (Ep. M. I. 73. Fraknói 36.)
12. King Matthias to Moro, Doge of Venice. Apr 1464. (Ep. M. I. 92. Fraknói 37.)
13. King Matthias to Emperor Frederic III. Mid-October 1465. (Ep. M. II. 45. Fraknói 85.)
14. King Matthias to Groffnitzer. No date (Ep. M. III. 48.)
15. Janus Pannonius to Johannes Garzulo. No date. (Ep. M. III. 49.)
16. King Matthias to Moro. Sept 1464. (Ep. M. II. 40., here: spring of 1465. Fraknói 47.)
17. King Matthias to the College of Cardinals. Early Febr. 1465. (Ep. M. II. 39. Fraknói 55.)
18. King Matthias to emissaries staying in Rome. Early Febr. 1465. (Ep. M. II. 37. Fraknói 56.)
19. King Matthias to Moro. Early Febr. 1465. (Ep. M. I. 38. Fraknói 57.)
20. King Matthias to Paul II. Early Febr. 1465. (Ep. M. II. 35. Fraknói 54.)
21. The same to the same. Mid-Fenruary 1465. (Ep. M. II. 34. Fraknói 52.)
22. The speech of Janus Pannonius before the pope. 1465. (Ep. M. II. 48., Analecta, p. 85)
23. The speech of Janus Pannonius before the pope. 1465. (Ep. M. II. 48. and Teleki Vol. II. pp. 64—66)
24. The speech of Janus Pannonius before the pope. 1465. (Ep. M. II. 49 and Teleki Vol. II. pp. 66—69)
25. King Matthias to the College of Cardinals. Summer of 1463. (Ep. M. I. 76. Fraknói 32.)
26. King Matthias to Moro. Sept. 28, 1463. (Ep. M. I. 77. Fraknói 34.)
27. King Matthias to Andreas Paumkircher. 1465. (Ep. M. I. 46.)
28. King Matthias' manifesto. Apr 8, 1468. (Ep. M. I. 45.)
29. King Matthias to the city of Breslau. Apr 8, 1468. (Fraknói 144.)
30. King Matthias to the Bohemian Catholic estates. Apr 8, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 44. Fraknói 144.)

31. King Matthias to Rudolf of Rüdensheim. Apr. 8, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 34. Fraknói 142.)
32. King Matthias to Pius II. July 1464. (Ep. M. I. 74. Fraknói 40.)
33. King Matthias to one of his Bohemian faithful. May 5, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 35. Fraknói 153.)
34. King Matthias' order to his envoy. No date. (Ep. M. III. 36.)
35. A prelate to the King of Poland's envoy. May 3, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 29.)
36. King Matthias to Paul II. Apr. 30, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 11. Fraknói 145.)
37. King Matthias to his envoy in Rome. Apr. 30, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 12. Fraknói 146.)
38. A royal councillor to King Matthias' envoy in Rome. Apr. 30, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 13.)
39. A prelate and a councillor to the envoy in Rome. May 10, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 37.)
40. King Matthias to the estates of Poland. Spring 1468. (Ep. M. III. 28. Fraknói 147.)
41. King Matthias to a Polish aristocrat. 1468. (Ep. M. III. 30. Fraknói 174.)
42. A Hungarian baron to the Polish people. 1468. (Ep. M. III. 31.)
43. Hungary's barons to the Polish people. 1468. (Ep. M. III. 32.)
44. King Matthias to the aristocrats of Bohemia. End of 1468. (Ep. M. III. 14. Fraknói 161.)
45. King Matthias to the county of Trencsén. 1468. (Ep. M. III. 16.)
46. King Matthias' proclamation of war to Victorin Podjebrad. March 16, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 8. Fraknói 140.)
47. A royal councillor to the envoys in Rome. Apr 10, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 17)
48. King Matthias to the city of Olmütz. Apr. 8, 1468. (Ep. M. 18. Fraknói 143.)
49. The same to the same. Apr. 10, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 19. Fraknói 155.)
50. King Matthias to Rudolf of Rüdesheim. Early May 1468. (Ep. M. III. 38. Fraknói 150.)
51. King Matthias to Ragusa. 1468. (Ep. M. III. 9.)
52. King Matthias to Protaz Boskovits. March 3, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 39. Fraknói 151.)
53. King Matthias to Victorin Podjebrad. May 23, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 10. Fraknói 160.)
54. King Matthias to a churchman. June 28, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 33.)
55. King Matthias to Rudolf of Rüdesheim. June 1, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 20. Fraknói 162.)
56. King Matthias to his envoy sent to the emperor. July 11, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 21. Fraknói 164.)
57. King Matthias to Rudolf of Rüdesheim. July 11, 1468. (Fraknói 167.)
58. Unknown to Victorin Podjebrad. No date. Unedited.
59. A prelate to a cardinal. 1465. (Ep. M. II. 50.)
60. King Matthias to György Handó. Apr. 25, 1467. (Ep. M. I. 63. Fraknói 194.)
61. King Matthias on Transylvania. No date. (Ep. M. III. 6.)
62. King Matthias to Victorin Podjebrad. March 30, 1467. (Ep. M. III. 5. Fraknói 132.)
63. King Matthias to a foreign diplomat. 1467 (?) (Ep. M. III. 7. Fraknói 139.)
64. King Matthias to the Transylvanians. 1463. (Ep. M. I. 64.)
65. King Matthias to a cardinal of Rome. March 17, 1467. (Ep. M. I. 53. Fraknói 131.)
66. King Matthias to Miklós Sternberg. Autumn 1466. (Ep. M. II. 51. Fraknói 108.)

67. King Matthias to Paul II. March 17, 1467. (Fraknói 127.)
68. King Matthias to a cardinal of Rome. March 17, 1467. (Ep. M. I. 54. Fraknói 120.)
69. King Matthias' letter of credentials to his envoy. 1463. (Ep. M. I. 55.)
70. King Matthias to cardinal Carvajal. March 17, 1467. (Ep. M. I. 60. Fraknói 129.)
71. King Matthias to a cardinal of Rome. March 17, 1467. (Ep. M. I. 56. Fraknói 128.)
72. King Matthias to Moro. Apr. 7, 1467. (Fraknói 133.)
73. The same to the same. Apr. 27, 1467. (Ep. M. I. 65. Fraknói 135.)
74. Janus Pannonius to Dénes Széchy. 1464. (Ep. M. I. 93.)
75. King Matthias to his envoy in Rome. Spring 1468. (Ep. M. III. 42. Fraknói 149.)
76. King Matthias to a German prince. Spring 1468. (Ep. M. III. 22. Fraknói 148.)
77. King Matthias to Paul II. Early 1466. (Fraknói 101.)
78. King Matthias to a cardinal in Rome. Nov 24, 1465. (Fraknói 94.)
79. King Matthias to one of his Bohemian faithful. Nov 11, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 23. Fraknói 165.)
80. King Matthias to the city of Breslau. July 11, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 24. Fraknói 166.)
81. King Matthias to one of his Bohemian generals. July 11, 1468. Only the second part of the letter. (Ep. M. III. 25. Fraknói 163.)
82. King Matthias to his envoy in Rome, May 22, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 41. Fraknói 159.)
83. King Matthias to Ferdinand King of Naples. Oct. 15, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 43. Fraknói 171.)
84. King Matthias to a German prince. Jan. 1467. (Ep. M. III. 26. Fraknói 123.)
85. King Matthias to Paul II. May 22, 1468. (Ep. M. III. 40. Fraknói 158.)
86. King Matthias to János Vitéz. June 1467. (Ep. M. III. 27. Fraknói 137.)
87. King Matthias to László Vezsenyi. Summer 1462. (Ep. M. I. 66. Fraknói 28.)
88. King Matthias to Victorin Podjebrad. May 1463, (Ep. M. I. 57. Fraknói 31.)
89. King Matthias to Pius II. June 1464. (Ep. M. I. 67. Fraknói 39.)
90. King Matthias to a cardinal of Rome. Aug. 1466. (Ep. M. I. 79. Fraknói 107.)
91. King Matthias to De Corcullis. Aug. 1466. (Ep. M. I. 80. Fraknói 106.)
92. King Matthias to Paul II. 1468. (Fraknói 173.)
93. King Matthias to Ragusa. No date. Unedited.
94. King Matthias to János Rozgonyi. 1466 (?) (Ep. M. I. 81.)
95. King Matthias to György Podjebrad. Nov. 1465. (Ep. M. I. 58. Fraknói 90.)
96. King Matthias to János Vitéz. Nov. 1465. (Ep. M. I. 59. Fraknói 89.)
97. King Matthias to György Podjebrad. 1466. (Ep. M. I. 61. Fraknói 121.)
98. King Matthias to Florence. Febr. 17, 1470. (Ep. M. I. 46. Fraknói 177.)
99. János Vitéz to cardial Ammanatus. 1464. (Ep. M. I. 94.)
100. The same to the same. 1464. (Ep. M. I. 95.)
101. The epigram of Janus Pannonius concerning the lions sent from Florence. Bp. M. III. 47.)

All the letters but two have been edited (the unedited ones in our list: Nos 58 and 93.) The letters follow one another without any particular division and are written in the same cursive as has been observed in the verses. No place is left for subsequent insertion of initials or addresses, i.e. it is a characteristically preliminary collection. Nor is it emended, this did not come to be performed in this part of the codex. The sequence

of the letters is entirely mingled, with no regard to arrangement according to subject, time or person. Hence it follows that the collection was drawn from original drafts and not from a book of epistles regularly kept.

The Significance of the Sevilla Codices

While the S-I codex has turned out to contain quite a number of important and unknown Janus-texts, the S-II codex in this respect has revealed much less novelty. It contains four unknown verses or fragments altogether. However, more relevant information can be gained from the examination of text-corrections, as these are established to have been executed by Janus Pannonius himself.

One of the most symptomatic points in this regard is to be found in the item under No. 105. This is the 5th epigram of Book One of Epigrams, from which the transcriber has omitted the 8th line, "Diceret adhuc magno, nec licet ore: uenit". The emendator — very likely not having the manuscript to be copied before him — has re-written this line: "Nec re uidet arctoum pannonis ora ducem."

Another, perhaps even more important, correction is to be found in the last line of Epigr. I. 133 (in our list: No. 24). This reads in the manuscript, just as in the codex, somewhat clumsily as follows: "Quod scripsi, scripsi, quidlibet, i, facias." This was emended by the corrector to a much more fluent text: "Alias" "Quod libuit, scripsi, quodliber i facito."

Who else than Janus Pannonius himself should have been that person who could substitute a new line for the lacunae of Janus' texts, who was in this manner to correct the text and the correction came off much better than the original text? But this assumption is tenable only in case the textual analysis should not prove otherwise.

Unfortunately, we are not too well advanced as far as the Janus autography is concerned. True indeed, there is the Greek-Latin Vocabularium of Vienna, which is with his own hand, but it is the transcription of a dictionary from his school-years.[16] Thus it can be utilized in the inquiry into the autography of the verse-drafts to a certain degree only. Whatever else there exist are partly uncertain, partly very little, and mainly texts written with a different aim and on different material.

Of indisputable authenticity and quite characteristic is that Jo Q signature which Janus affixed with elegant, subtle and resolute letters to the text of royal charters.[17] We possess one single charter which puts forth something additional: "emendata in cancellaria Jo Q". However, the writing here simulates that of the charter.[18] Beside these there is a Janus-letter which may be autographic in text as well as in signature, but this is a careful letter-writing.[19] His epigram written into the Ficinus codex which he possessed may be considered his own handwriting, yet it is again a calligraphic bookhand.[20] And ultimately the name recording in one of the Janus codices of Leipzig appears to be autographic.[21]

Still, if we should collate the common features of all these with each other and with the hand emending the S-II codex, it is well-nigh certain that the steady, resolute and occasionally vigorous hand belonged by all means to Janus.

And if the texts were indeed emended by Janus, especial attention should then be devoted not only to minor alterations but to the numerous text-variants of the S-II as well which differ from those found in the B-codex and which up to that time was accepted by every Janus-edition, as the texts of the S-II are assumed to have been equal to the author's intention. But beyond the philological result, the autograph notes have a major importance as far as the genesis of the codex is concerned.

First of all the time of origin of the codex can be established. But its provenance is also ascertainable. The date of origin falls between February 26, 1470 (the date of the letter that can be ascribed to the latest date in the epistolary part of the codex) and March 27, 1472 (Janus' death).

As for its provenance it turns out that around 1470 Janus, following the example of other humanists, set about compiling the whole collection of his own works, a task never before carried out. Up to that period he had been as much neglectful with his manuscripts as with his books.[22] He may have been spurred, just at that time, by his aggravating disease or perhaps his fear that his conflict with the king would be fatal to the survival of his works as well. This late date may have caused his correction to break off, the emendation of the Guarino-panegyric is already quite incomplete, while that of the letters did not come about at all.

As a first step at any rate he made his own men copy the raw material. Probably in more volumes — one of these is the S-II codex. Perhaps this raw character accounts for the fact why the S-II codex started originally without any title and it includes only about a third of the known elegies and epigrams, and from the longer poems only one. The rest must have been gathered in other volumes. That the S-II is a working copy can clearly be seen, beyond the afore-mentioned factors, from the fact that a number of verses occur in it twice and one of which is subsequently deleted by the emending hand. The twofold copying may have been brought on by the fact that the verse involved had two manuscript copies among those to be transcribed. An additional proof is the many title-insertions, title-corrections which have quite defaced the codex. Therefore, by no means does it appear to be a codex moulded into final form.

Now examining the S-I codex in terms of these aspects, we find that the above scrutiny will on several points modify the view formulated about the S-I when it was familiar only by itself and from microfilm. As a matter of fact it is not, as János Horváth contended, that the Janus-epigrams were collected by Péter Váradi on behalf of King Matthias, the longer poems, again on Matthias' instructions, were collected by Osváth Thuz and the compilation should be some sort of conscious arrangement.[23] In effect, the S-I codex is the kindred copy of the S-II. It is another pieces of Janus' undertaking which, however, leaves still much to be found to complete the Janus œuvre. Thus there may be chances that the further pieces of the collection will crop up somewhere in Europe.

The close connection between the two codices is attested to by that the S-I codex, as for the sequence of the pieces in it, completely haptararded. Its date of origin may again be ascribed to about 1470—1472. Here, too, one of the emending hands must have been that of Janus, although the soaked condition of the codex has quite blurred the written symbols as well, so it is not a definite claim. The close kinship of the two codices is affirmed by the peculiar circumstance, which we shall discuss separately at the end of our study, that the name of Janus occurs in both codices in a profoundly unusual manner in the form Johannes Pannonius Vitezius or Vitecius.

The genesis of the codices, then, can be restored as follows: Janus started to collect the corpus of his own works still at Pécs. The S-II was made here and at least the initial work on the S-I was also performed in that city. When Janus made up his mind to flee, he took the S-I and S-II codices or perhaps other similar stuff with himself, the two volumes containing his translations of Greek prose included, which later on have emerged in Leipzig and are preserved there even today. He did not, however, take along those autographic verse-drafts from which the S-II codex had been transcribed. Those have been left at Pécs. Only in this way could they become the raw material of the Péter Váradi collection which has been preserved, complemented with elegies and the Guarino-panergyric, in the B-codex and which is fully independent of the S-II codex. Not only

because it comprises much more epigrams, but also because the order of the lyrics is entirely different and the titles of verses given later do not agree.

Presumably, the emendation of the S-II codex and the insertion of suitable titles to the verses was effected by Janus already after his flight, on the estate of Osvát Thuz at Medvevár, where he died as well. The evidence for this is that if two or more lines had been left out of a longer text (Guarino-panegyric) and the omission was not particularly damaging to the sense, Janus did not supplement them. No wonder, as the original manuscript was not at his disposal. But when the omission of a line made an epigram void of sense, Janus did re-write it.

Janus, however, took with himself verse-texts which had not yet been copied, and these were to pass into the S-I codex. The transcription of this codex must also have started back at Pécs, or at least it was prepared for transcribing This is affirmed by the fact that the S-I and S-II consist of papers of similar watermark. The copying of the S-I, however, or at least for the major part, must have been carried out at Medvevár and perhaps, when the poet had died, Bishop Thuz had it finished. In this manner could the bishop's coat-of-arms find its way into the text, and not to the first page of the text.

Then the manuscript material copied into the S-I perished. It did not get back to Pécs, thus it was not included in the Várady collection, its content has remained unknown in the text-tradition of Hungary. But the S-I codex, having passed abroad, did preserve the epigrams it contained, and this must have been the sole source of the 1518 Janus edition of Beatus Rhenanus.[24]

The S-II codex in turn, although in a similar way it had passed abroad and probably again to Basel, had not reached Beatus Rhenanus, or perhaps later on he was to continue the disclosures but this did not come about. So the S-II codex avoided utilization, and both the S-I and the S-II were taken by Fernando Colon to Sevilla where they had sunk in the material of the capitular library for centuries.

We ought to discuss separately a singularly important point of the S-II codex. And this is, as has been seen from the review of its content, that the codex contains a great deal of King Matthias-epistles and letters written in the name of János Vitéz under the title "Epistles of Janus Pannonius". We have long known that Janus worded letters for his king, in his name. Here, however, there is concrete evidence: which are those letters that Janus found so important among his intellectual creations in order to include in his collected works. So far, we have known no more than 24 letters by Janus Pannonius.[25] The S-II codex increases this number many times over and thus uncovers a vast source-material for the examination of Janus' prosaic style.

Janus Pannonius Vitezius

We have mentioned the common feature of the two Sevilla codices that the name of Janus occurs in them in the above peculiar form. Until the first Sevilla codex was familiar only and the relation of this codex to Janus had not been clarified, it was an adequate supposition that an error was involved and this error alluded to a foreign environment more remote from Janus (János Horváth's opinion) which seemed to have been aware of the kinship of Janus and János Vitéz. Hence the error. But the strange name-form appears not only one but in two codices, and, what is more, both of these were brought into being on Janus' initiative, he himself corrected them and the insertion of his name in this form in the S-II codex is very likely by his own hand. This, then, sheds an entirely new light upon the issue and the name-form can be adduced as yet another proof that the S-I codex is related not to foreign countries but to the person of Janus.

But indeed, whence this strange name-form? Various theories are being held as to the surname of Janus Pannonius: Csezmicei — Kesincei.[26] Scholarship has always departed from the fact that János Vitéz was the uncle of Janus Pannonius, the brother of his mother, i.e. his maternal uncle. Janus himself calls him "avunculus", which in Classical Latin is really maternal uncle, while the paternal uncle is "patruus". In this case, however, Janus' coat-of-arms poses an almost insurmountable problem. This blazon is identical with that of János Vitéz. And, actually, a collateral, a female-line descendant was denied the use of the blazon.

The crux, however, would be overcome if it should turn out that Vitéz was Janus' paternal uncle, and not his maternal uncle. The word avunculus was employed in the Middle Ages in both senses. Thus Janus' father can have been a brother of unknown name of Vitéz, and then his surname is the same as that of his uncle. But the surname generally was not used by either, Vitéz as well as Janus marked either his church dignity beside his Christian name — Vitéz: Johannes episcopus Varadiensis, Johannes archiepiscopus Strigoniensis; Janus: Johannes episcopus Quinqueecclesiensis — or the place of birth was put by their Christian name for discernment. In this manner do we find Vitéz as Johannes de Zredna, and Janus as "Johannes de Csezmice" or, now properly, "de Kesince". But neither de Zredna nor de Kesince is an authentic surname.

There is also evidence to the fact that the alias "János Vitéz" of Janus Pannonius was not unfamiliar earlier. János Zsámbéky in his Janus-volume edited in Padova in 1559[27] writes in these terms: "Janus hic Pannonius Vitesiorum gente quidem illustri, sed cui primam ipse lucem intulit, oriundus fuit."

Csaba Csapodi

NOTES

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In Search of Bourgeois Man

The Novels of Thomas Mann as seen by Gábor Halász

In the period between the two World Wars Gábor Halász (1901—1945) was one of the important representatives of the monthly-review "Occident" (Nyugat, 1908—1941) and its legitimate successor "Hungarian Star" (Magyar Csillag, 1941—1944), as well as of the so-called "essayist generation".

As a literary historian his interest in the role of the essay spread from the Middle-Ages to 1944, this from the point of view of Hungarian as well as world literature. In contrast to his master, Mihály Babits, and his contemporary, Antal Szerb, — his fellow-sufferer in the labour camp of Balf — no time was left to him for compiling a synthesis-summary.

At the start of his career his standard literary genre was the spiritual heritage of Maurras and Sainte-Beuve. Their creative purpose was a portrait revealing the social reality which, focussing age into a "personal matter", determines, through its realization, the fate of the analyst creator. But the writings, which are at the same time "over-familiar and respectful" — since the authors always see their vocation in setting ideas and awakening good taste, as well as in finding a solution — are a calming-down in a time of a "dangerous ideology" and the synthesis of a spiritual unit. These conjure up great, creative personalities heralding enlightenment and reasoning — the course of life of the poet Dániel Berzsenyi, the novelist György Bessenyei, the language-reformer Ferenc Kazinczy,

and the great reforming politician István Széchenyi are worthy examples for the essayist of the thirties in his selection of past and present.

This is also shown by the other essential feature of Halász's works, that depicting the inherent changing of poetic ideals. He writes about the so-called "death of lyric" (A líra halála, 1929) and its "counterrevolution" (A líra ellenforradalma, 1937) caused by the search for objectivity, which disciplines the sentimentality of classical forms and ignores those topics arising before personal romanticism. He was the first of his generation to write about T. S. Eliot, (The Successful Expressionism, A sikeres expresszionizmus, 1939.).

This can also be seen in his studies on the contemporary novel. He wrote the first survey of novel-theory in his generation under the title "About the Latest Novels" (Az újabb regényről, 1929), years before Antal Szerb's summary "Weekdays and Wonders" (Hétköznapok és csodák, 1935). Halász's work shows the starting points of his analytical career, based on the reality of character biography. So it seems quite natural that, in exalting the "resurrection" of the novel in the twenties, Halász considers the description of a character's inner life as the primary secret of "spiritual realism"; he is interested above all in the "glass-house method" of the novel-reformers Joyce, Proust, Gide, Virginia Woolf and other writers of that time, and he imagined that the word-wide consciousness of the novel heroes was the secret behind their description in the century of idealization and reason. This led Halász to see the importance of the Hungarian rational political reformers and of the literature of the end of the 19th century which wished to synthesize Hungary and Europe with Victorian England; thus in his works too he followed this movement of genre and emphasis.

His declared genre, the "social tableau", was already citing the cramming of life, the complicated story woven around the novel's hero. This is proved by quotes from Tolstoy, Hardy, Turgenev and Balzac, and of course Thomas Mann, the writer already mentioned in Halász's early analyses as the example and measure of his own life, whom he considered one of the most important reformers of the 20th century novel, and whose career is evidently suited to a survey of the creative evolution of Halász himself, as well as that of the humanistic generation of "Occident" essayists.

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"As if the coloured confusion of the whole after-war period had been piled up with its plans, hopes, endeavours, its ideas and unusual, surprising beauties. It was full of youth, the whole continent's youth"[1] — thus Halász had said of Giraudoux, describing the historical background of the contemporary novel in one of his last essays.

One of the most important parts of Gábor Halász's literary work is his essays on Thomas Mann, the famous German novelist. As it is, his impression of Thomas Mann's experiences is no different in his essay "About the Latest Novels" (Az újabb regényről, 1929), from those of novelist's other works, because the spiritual development of Gábor Halász during the different periods of his life was similar to that of Thomas Mann. His essays follow from beginning to end Thomas Mann's literary evolution, his development in connection with bourgeois humanistic ideology, and they confirm the critical reception of the new creative conventions, considering from first to last the "art of form-giving"[2] as the main potential of the novel. We have already mentioned the important role played by the trends of the first third of our century in Halász's lyrical analyses; we can observe a similar trend in the formation of contemporary novels, when, instead of the drama of association, respect for the object is proclaimed, as facing the experience of reality. And

since Halász estimates that "rigid innovation is more dangerous than compromising devotion",[3] the tendency of his analysis is towards an explanation which considers that description of real world phenomena is the measurement of a writer's responsibility. In this way the past approaches the present in technical questions of the novel. Thomas Mann's work unambiguously confirms this conception of the essayist. In the opinion of Halász, Mann belongs to the innovators of the novel since in guarding the basic elements of traditional novel-editing, his works are amplified by new technical elements which build on the plots of the novel, show more than main events and from an organic part of Mann's symbolic prose. For instance, this happens in Mann's metamorphosis of Bergson's disintegration of time, an innovation inasmuch as the author thinks consciously "in a double sense: first historically in trying the outline in an age the inner picture of Europe before the war, but also because his subject is time itself and he is discussing not only his hero's experiences, but his personality and from his own account too."[4]

In the same way he brings the difference between the confused feelings of the contemporary novel and Mann's symbolism to life. This confirms that technical achievements in the novel do not essentially modify the "importance of the author's method" between the two world-wars, since in its creative social aspects we can construe the wish to preserve the value of progressive traditions. Taking *ars poetica* as a starting point in analysis Mann's work confirms the importance of Halász's essays. This gives a basis to the analysis of literary works, synthesizing tradition and innovation. In the majority of contemporary works (e. g. the novels of Huxley and Joyce) the style is a subjective delineation of reality, it does not appear to be the main instrument of understanding. "Form" for the critic is also synonymous with the artist's crystallization of behaviour in accord with strict editorial principles. Halász addressed himself strictly to the work of the 20th century, that which gave complete picture of bourgeois life and its predicaments. But it is a picture of a precise stage of development. . . "And since he rejects a moral world order, the compact is a lasting one. The moments he chooses always mark a particular stage in the development of the German middle class, one to which all who have consciously lived through their own and their country's part will feel themselves perpetually drawn."[5] And how much Halász's way coincides with Thomas Mann's is also confirmed by the fact that he did not re-draft his early novel-theory to deal with the analyses contained in *Buddenbrooks* and *The Magic Mountain*, because their successive valuations reflects the similar motives of author and essayist.

The theory of the novel which considers the progressive tradition of Mann's works and documents the creation of his "Weltanschauung" in *Buddenbrooks* as compared to *The Magic Mountain*, also demonstrates the fundamental deviation from traditional description of the author and the novel.

The basis of discussion is a critical perception showing full understanding of the novelist's conception, which explains both the family's decline in *Buddenbrooks*, derived from the change of generations, and the peculiar timeless setting of *The Magic Mountain*, as part of a cumulative historical process. Thus the two works are analyzed on the basis of similar questions: the symbolic interpretation of moral status at the end of the 19th century. In Halász's conception, "The Buddenbrook-family is the example of a well observed patrician family, taken from life into fiction; their history is dictated by characteristic exterior circumstances, their personal disposition guides them, their fate illustrates that of many other families".[6] As to *The Magic Mountain*, it is the characteristic mirror of "*the society up on the mountain*" with their apparently contradictory life.

Halász sees in *Buddenbrooks* an obvious chain of ideas which interpret the decline of the Buddenbrook-family as a typical sociological consequence of the given epoque. But since stereotypes cannot avoid a collision with reality, Halász's find in this fiction a

description of the general influence of historical forces on individuals. This emphasizes the importance of *Buddenbrooks* in Mann's works as well as in those of Halász. The author achieves a realistic synthesis of tradition and innovation, and Halász perceives in Mann's novels the basis of a system of symbolism. The plot of *Buddenbrooks* deals with the classical bourgeois ideal (shown in the life of Johann Buddenbrook senior) and with the decline which follows the loss of a sense of security (in the person of Johann junior), the dropping out of the bourgeoisie (Thomas, Christian and Tonie) incapability of living (Hanno). This helps Halász to consider the potential in transforming the ethic of behaviour into a law. Here the methods of the author and the essayist coincide again the basis of the problems in *Buddenbrooks* leads to the essayist's conclusion, which traces the bourgeoisie back to the rule of correct behaviour, an anachronistic disposition. Since the forced adoption of traditions inhibits and blurs the ideas of classical balance in the bourgeois era, the inner insecurity of the novel's heroes undoes the understanding of life's productiveness. In this the life of the two heroes, Thomas and Christian is an excellent example. By the explanation of their ethical behaviour the novel allows the demonstration of the conflict between different times, without upsetting chronology or preventing the expression of experiences suggested through the inner monologues.

Mann builds up events. The house-earning (a symbolic scene) which confirms the rise in the living-standard of the bourgeoisie, is an answer to the loss of security of the second generation. The description of compulsory behaviour, the complete loss of strength, their dreaming instead of acting are emphasized one after the other. The outcome of Thomas's life is his escape into a depreciating character role, without restriction, while Christian's is maniacal imitation. The central figure of the novel aware of the rebellion against the *Buddenbrooks*' conduct, is unable to create a life of higher quality. The arrival of the Hagenströms therefore remains proof of the family's decline, since Hanno's incapable reverie is fulfilling a tragedy independent of them all. This work shows Mann's attitude to ethical change in the era; the search for behaviour to resist the new era, which instead of solving the problem through affectionate irony settles for a creative position. Therefore, the novel is a good example for critical ideas on the change, too.

According to Halász, the preserver of traditions accepts the relaxing of the bourgeois virtues with legitimate reserve.

In spite of all this *Buddenbrooks* is analyzed by Halász as a work showing ethical responsibility; it plays an important role in his full identification with Mann's work and his self-appreciation.

In his lecture about *The Magic Mountain*, given in 1939 to the students of the Princeton University, Mann remarked on the turning point in his work, when he said that he was considering *The Buddenbrooks* as the basis of his next novel. He emphasized that he considered the contents of his novel as belonging to the past, "since it is also a kind of law that epic description closes a form of life, which later on disappears."[7] Later on we shall see that Mann's remark in connection with *The Magic Mountain* is true not only from the novelist's point of view, but also with regard to his future work, the Joseph-tetralogy and Lotte in Weimar. In this way he wishes to attach his work's creative process to a common guiding principle. This conception means that the elimination of time in his novels is for Mann "identical with the notion that his novels' full inner contents may be easy to be seen at any moment", i.e. by the remaking of such eternally valid truths whose "symbolically hinting form is to be understood not only for the past, but for the future too". In this sense *The Magic Mountain* is after all a "time" novel, and in Lukács's words a "half-phantastical sanatorium-timelessness", penetrating the novel-hero's life, though in reality "it is making important and shoreless" the play of phantasy. But since Mann has given space and time to each character, the play approaches at one point events already

lived through, and this asserts for each hero the basis for the symbolism of *The Megic Mountain.*

If on the basis of Mann's lecture in Princeton we revert to Halász's novel-theory about *The Magic Mountain* it's evident at once that in comparing the two novels the critic too is also considering *The Magic Mountain* as a novel which follows contemporary novel-literature because "the castle-consciousness of the people on *The Magic Mountain,* the ecstasy of malady and inactivity benumb the reader too, but having finished the book he takes flight back to life to shoulder likewise to the novelist the reality of life".[8] Also according to the principles of the essayist, he has achieved his intention: on the basis of the revision of the relationship between artist and reality, the critic also rejects "the society formed by the strange thrive of invalid persons, sharply contrasting with the ordinary plain-people".[9] Halász considers the 20th century's ideas as an attempt at taking an inventory of the novelistic defining of the epoch, this further motivates the reason of the refusal of the earlier works and so it is natural that he keeps at a distance from the compositions which unlike Mann don't take upon themselves the "armed spiritual service"[10] (e.g. Joyce's Ulysses or Gide's action gratuite).

Reading *The Magic Mountain,* Halász is charmed by its background essence, the enlargement of the planned "long short story" into a novel which for Mann is "a symphony, a work of counterpointing, where the ideas are playing the role of musical motives".[11] A composition built on contrasts is in Halász's opinion an excellent example of "merciless transillumination"; Hans Castorp, symbolizing the German average bourgeois, who, strictly speaking, is a fully passive and uninteresting person, becomes the hero of a struggle of ideas and what is more the different figures who give vent to various thoughts can only become worthy heroes in the event of his winning the struggle. The ideologies of the French Enlightenment and bourgeois liberalism clash with the terrorism that proclaims the "liberty of the strong". Mann, who had already lived through the conflict between humanism and Germanism, believed that these two trends were destined to struggle for the soul of average German bourgeois. In the historical struggle for life and death shown through the persons of Settembrini and Naphta and their challenge for a duel, Mann acts in accordance with his positive humanist view and allows humanity to have the last word; the solution of the novel calls our attention to the danger that Settembrini's optimism is anachronistic in a time where the hero is the average bourgeois, incapable of action, inferring his way of thinking to others, a man, who cannot choose but to put on an uniform and to kill. So the vital instinct to overcome the snowstorm is in vain, since in Mann's opinion a person who takes on a commitment to life without declaring any point of view, doesn't even deserve to stay alive.

Therefore, it is essential that when Halász analyzes the ideological problems of *The Magic Mountain* he reaches the conclusion that the living conditions of the mountain's society are dangerous. And when he recognizes the displacement brought on by the timelessness he interprets this handling, in compliance with the author's intention, as reinforcing criticism of life on the lowlands. In the "problematic individualism" of the average bourgeois passivity Halász also enlisting a positive humanism, whose "basis is the knowledge of human dignity and the intelligent man's optimism",[12] which defines Mann's ethical attitude. In its symbolic scheme we may consider *The Magic Mountain* as the genuine historical document of the first third of this century, since the description "sea in drops" finally sums up a panorama of the experiences of contemporary writers and points the way to the next chapter of creative development: the ceasing of the temporal disparity of present and past, confronting the present chaos. This is most conspiciously shown in the influence of common reality on other genres, e.g. the essay. The quoting of the past was in each case a document of a creative and active humanist "Weltanschau-

ung", and is to be considered only secondly as technical virtuosity in literary innovation. Thomas Mann's way lead from "bourgeois individuality to mystical type-description",[13] where the critic recognizes his own creative forms.

The novel of the Recovery of Honour

In Mann's works the synthesis of past and future is carried out in the Joseph-tetralogy. "To form the existing, to tell once more things told before, to explain the unchangeable"[14] thus Halász describes the novelist's poetic art. At the time of writing his essay, when three books of the tetralogy had already been published, he considered *Joseph in Egypt* the crowning masterpiece of Mann's artistic career. As it is the most hustling chapter of the tetralogy, it is the most evident testimony that Mann considers the world of myth first of all as a historical retrospective and by no means exotic. This is also emphasized by the creative value judgement accentuating the characteristically mythical description, which verifies the blending of past and future shown in the historical background of his novel.

As to the concrete passage, the search for the unalterable, of the history of mankind, it is not by chance that Halász, in judging Mann's mysticism, outlines "this is not irrational in the now fashionable meaning and neither rational in the sense of the obsolete flat way of finding an explanation for everything; Mann's mysticism is a reality".[15]

As a logical consequence he equates the origin of the myth with the problem of time in the novel, so that by ending the disparity between "once upon a time" and "never and always", this synthesis of ages between eternally valid human truths may be realized. Thus the two-dimensional category of "realistic mysticism" is born, which Halász considers the main experience of contemporary novel-writing as a document of subjective respect, emphasizing the common myth of European mankind and the mediatory role of the Bible. Halász is unambiguously justifying the truth of his fate, i.e. "Time and space worked together to create a unity and community in the physical and the mental world. So that probably one actual novelty which Joseph perceived on his travels was just this: that he and his people were not alone in the world, not quite unique, . . . that much of the thinking and doing of the fathers, their outlook and their anxious speculation about the nature of God, had not been altogether a peculiar personal advantage of theirs, but rather it was a property of the unifying of time and space — aside of course from considerable differences in the amount of the blessing and their adroitness in the use of it."[16] This quotation accompanies us all through myth, giving it actuality and making it later a typical account of Mann's period-synthetical conclusions, about an experience of community. Therefore, Halász's appraise of the novel-synthesy of *Joseph in Egypt* is very essential, because thus the creative way leading from individualism to myth may be closely pursued through the whole novel, since by the merging of the aforesaid duality Joseph becomes the outstanding figure of the novel.

But the origin of myths constitutes not the only basis of the novel, but also that of Mann's symbol-method. Joseph's every "immersion" in time is the characteristic proof of the bread-giver's predestined way of life which by the unimpededly used synchrony gives them also the rank of the present: "For we move in the footsteps of others, and all life is but the pouring of the present into the forms of myth. Thus the double sense of 'once upon a time' practises its magic upon us; future is past, and what happened long ago now plays itself out again in the clear-cut present."[17]

According to Halász, "Abraham's belated grandchild and Jacob's youngest" linkage to traditions means the pledge of human perfection, "therefore the sense of myth

is its being a ritual form of workmanship, a role partly assumed consciously, and partly by unconscious religious belief".[18]

This notion summarizes the components of Halász's definition of "divine bondage", having become a custom, and as a result Halász comes to the perception that the importance of the mythical rite lies in the indication of ethical norms. That is the reason why in Joseph's life every important fate, the fate of his forefathers — first of all of his father — appears, since the regular recurrence explains the origin of the myths, which in this case is identical with the search of lost myth. In Halász's conception the connection to traditions is identical to the conscious assumption of the past. In such a sense that the traditions saved from the past which also form the present do not appear as symbols independent of reality, but as a "narration counterpointed by irony".[19] Often rationalizing the novelistic symbols of God's presence, so that "in the play of the author's filling in the roles"[20] the trend to find the eternally valid ethical norms may be confirmed again.

Halász identifies himself with Mann's conception, shown in the form of the conduct represented by Joseph, since this confirms the epoch-limits of myth and humanity, referring to the present too, which in the novel are placed on a common basis. The actualization of the present of Joseph's faultless life clearly shows Mann building a stratum symbol-system in the characters of the novel. Thus Halász perceives that "the prehistoric age resembles somehow the 19th century, Egypt resembles Germany and Joseph is among others a writer refined from bourgeois to artist".[21] In this relation the "Freigeist" wishing to conceal Egypt's historical and ideological crisis may be identified with Germany losing her past, that is composing her "elegy of the third generation's status", where the status of the third generation's choice is identical with that of the Biblical ancestor. Therefore, Mann's two dimensional rendering is of outstanding importance, since the by-gone events in Joseph's life and that of Germany makes the manifestation of tradition and *thus intensify the responsibility of ethical resolution in the whole history of mankind.*

According to Halász, placing the historical ages on a common basis, Mann explains the timeless play of facts in his composition too, because in this way Joseph's Biblical parable is to be interpreted as the 20th century symbolic search for ideas. So "besides his versatility Joseph has also inherited his father's sternness and in the supreme momen is rejecting the temptation. Tradition is stronger than the absorbing strength of civilisation".[22]

Earth-bound, by the trial unravelling itself in his private life, Joseph's taking upon himself of a mission never to be abandoned is still enhanced by the novelist. Yet in describing Joseph's rejection of Potifar's wife, the moon-bride's "proposal coming from a woman who made it quite naturally and at small cost to herself, instead of being the final outcry of her utter agony of spirit and flesh.",[23] the creative comparison with "the sad story of passion"[24] is to be felt distinctly. "But is she to whom it happens, so to speak from within, to be made responsible? Does she do it out of devilry? Does she even know of it — otherwise than through her pangs of torture which express themselves in outward charm? In short, if she is made seductive, is she then a seductress?"[25] This question is put by Mann, quoting the historical and active forces in raising this problem. He accuses the inhuman measures taken during that era, opposed to intelligence, for the complete destruction of a life destined for beauty. According to the appropriate judgement of value mentioned in Mann's introductory study to the one volume American edition of "*Joseph and his brothers*" (1948) the novelistic description of the loss of balance motivates the description (the rendering) of the heroine as the "prototype of historical ambition".[26]

This means that personally the author is sympathizing with the heroine, while from the historical view he is condemning her, because according to the suggestion in Halász's essays, similar to the novel's other heroes, Potifar's wife too is "fulfilling her role, not only by her fate, but also by her character"[27], and which kind of role she plays — in

Halász's opinion — need not be further explained in view of Mann's ironical valuation. This much is sure: there remains an essential feature, her blind hate which makes her capable of any deed of infamy, so her figure becomes consequently an instrument of the 20th century's "empire of darkness". To this the author is referring when he summarizes Joseph's flight, who from being a pupil has became a teacher: "For all that happens can become history and literature, and it may easily be that we are the stuff of history".[28]

The once more repeated accentuation of the freely treated simultaneity is a further proof of the importance of the novelist's comprehension of the firm belief quoting Joseph already as bread-giver, who — similar to one of Mann's contemporary essays — addresses his message to the reason.

"I am grateful to this work, because it was a staff and maintenance to me on a way which often led me over dark valleys, *it was a refuge, a solace, a home for me, the symbol of constancy*, the pledge of inertia in the tempestious changes of life."[29] — says Mann in his essay describing the importance of the circumstances surrounding the writing of the Joseph-tetralogy, and how much his experiences are similar to the contemporary Europe is clearly shown in Halász's analysis calling the novel "a marvel of artistic balance".[30]

"The epochs without mythology are pure epochs, since they do not know these truths"[31] — says Antal Szerb in his appraisal of the Joseph-tetralogy, identical to Halász's point of view, in his study "Week-days and Wonders". This idea is a further definition of the fact that this work involves the experiences not only of the period, but of the generation too, and confirms without any doubt the *valuation of mythology as traditions of the past*, and also that the mythical past indicates the way to the search for the traditions of the past. Seen from a similar point of view to that placed in the service of active humanism is also confirmed by the fact that while composing the Joseph-tetralogy Mann was also finishing *Lotte in Weimar*, the novel which realized in its construction the synthesis of bourgeoisie and art, of reality and humanistic ideas in connection with the classically well-balanced period of bourgeois history.

It is therefore a matter of course that Halász, in following from beginning to end Mann's work, discovers his Goethe-novel too, since in this work he is giving vent to his idealization of Enlightenment, and what the sphere of ideas of the century of pure reason means to Halász, that is besides his great portraits, are splendidly proven in his analysis of *Lotte in Weimar* (1938).

Therefore, the essence of his value in comprehending Mann's creative intention to save "Germany's honour in the time of her most dreadful self-degrading"[32] appraises Lotte in Weimar as a unity inseparable from the Joseph-tetralogy, so that by placing myth and enlightenment on the same basis he may show the "trustful accommodation" to the traditions of the past, showing the only possibility of resistance against the facts of reality. Thus Mann's parable already quotes the Prince of Poets facing the crisis which started with humanism, and there is in Halász's series of essays a conception analogous to his appreciation of Joseph in Egypt, which in substituting the historical-ideological triumph of "once" for a myth points to the safeguarding of the past, shown already in the novel-hero's life and where identifying himself once more with Mann's story Halász sets forth his opinion on the grave period-problem concealed in the "droll idyll" and composed by Goethe as follows: "But can anything be worse than the spirit which would like to see the downfall of the eternal and the classic".[33]

But reality is changing in vain, Goethe's figure stands tests of loyalty and responsibility in Halász's opinion. In the novel the realization of synchrony by means of inner monologues is most essential, because it crystallizes the parable of Goethe's attitude from the standpoint of the world of "Weimar's supporting characters", in the past as well as from the point issue. Mann's testimony is an excellent instrument for the setting up of a

novel where past and present strive for the Prince of Poet's victory. In this way the ideal of Lotte conjured up by her inner monologies faces her petty-minded surroundings with their great inner chasms. So that by the series of confessions, solving this debate beyond any doubt, there may be an answer as to why Goethe who is hating "insanity, muddled geniality and half-geniality" and who brings freedom to the same level as liberation, is found worthy of keeping his juvenile dreams. The Napoleonic statement is made that because after due deliberation of the ethical responsibility or willingness to make sacrifices he has chosen the latter, he is first of all a grand man and only afterwards the Poet Goethe, because "he did not sacrifice his progress to epoch's warding word, he did not give way to the pressure of the moment, but followed the laws of his inner world, which in a mysterious way kept all the same level with the times".[34] His tradition gives answer to the question of Werther's heroine appearing as a symbol of the past, whether the one-time Lotte "has a right to do as she likes with these, which, after all, are public property".[35] But Mann also knows that the humanistic poet is an anachronistic phenomenon of the century, winding into a harder age, so that in fact, Lotte, the symbol of a never denied ideal is the *only man* having the right to be Goethe's partner. Therefore, it is not by chance that in Mann's description "the different coldness of their last meeting shows more reverence that the Weimar's bustle around the heroine".[36]

As to Halász's conception in the novel this context enlightens the importance of the last imaginary solace of "what is fleeting, is retained in my song" . . . Goethe's attitude defines only an age opposed to reason, and that only temporarily, because the active ideology (Weltanschauung) is kept in the memory of the survivers.

Krisztina Mikó

NOTES

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Thomas Manns Humanismus. Werden und Wandel einer Welt- und Menschenauffassung

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Bei dem heutigen ungeheueren Anwachsen der Fachliteratur über die größten Gestalten der deutschen Erzählkunst, so auch über Thomas Mann, reagiert man oft mit einer gewissen Ungeduld auf das Erscheinen neuer wissenschaftlicher Bearbeitungen einschlägiger Themen. Gibt es noch etwas hinzuzufügen, was das ohnehin schon minutiös ausgearbeitete Bild wirklich ergänzen könnte? — fragt man sich mißtrauisch. Ist nicht bereits alles gesagt worden? Das neue Buch, das Dr. Antal Mádl, Leiter des Germanistischen Instituts der Budapester Universität, über Thomas Manns Humanismus vorlegte, widerspricht in vieler Hinsicht dem Argwohn solcher Zweifler. Dem Autor dieses anregenden wissenschaftlichen Werkes ist es nämlich gelungen, durch die Herausarbeitung eines wichtigen und interessanten Gesichtspunktes, der Humanismusauffassung des Dichters, das gesamte Lebenswerk Thomas Manns zumindest in ein ungewöhnliches, teilweise aber in ein ganz neues Licht zu rücken. Nicht als ob die besondere Bedeutung des Humanismus für das Denken Thomas Manns bisher unbekannt gewesen wäre! Verschiedene Aspekte dieser Frage wurden schon von der Thomas-Mann-Forschung bearbeitet, auch A. Mádl widmete bereits mehrere Studien dem Problem des militanten Humanismus und der Rolle, die Ungarn bei der Entstehung dieses Begriffes spielte. Noch niemals aber wurde die Humanismusauffassung des Dichters — wie in diesem Werk — zum Konsequent durchgeführten Untersuchungsprinzip gemacht und in allen Zusammenhängen des Lebenswerkes überprüft. Die Konzeption des Buches von Mádl beruht geradezu auf der Überzeugung des Autors, daß das Ringen Thomas Manns um einen zeitgemäßen und wirksamen Humanismus — als wichtigste Erscheinungsform seines Ringens um die Herausgestaltung eines neuen Weltbildes — der bestimmende und bewegende Kern der weltanschaulichen Entwicklung des Dichters war. So erhob er die Humanismusauffassung Thomas Manns zum ordnenden Prinzip seiner Abhandlung, mit dessen Hilfe er auch die Sichtung der Werke vornahm, und beschrieb sie zugleich als ein Denksystem, an dessen Arten, Formen und Wandlungen der Werdegang des Dichters und der Wandel seiner Weltbetrachtung am prägnantesten demonstriert werden können. Diese Konzeption belohnte ihn dann mit einem Thomas-Mann-Bild, das das gewohnte — ohne es verschönern zu wollen — korrigiert, differenzierter macht und durch neue Züge bereichert.

Georg Lukács identifizierte in seiner berühmten Studie das Frühschaffen Thomas Manns als eine unaufhörliche Suche nach dem verschwundenen Bürger, nach den verlorenen klassischen bürgerlichen Werten. Im Werk von Mádl tritt uns Thomas Mann als ein Künstler entgegen, der sich sein ganzes Leben lang auf der Suche nach humanistischen Inhalten befand, auf der Suche nach einer Humanität, die ihm infolge der spätbürgerlichen Entfremdung, durch die Weltkriege und den Faschismus sowie die Anfeindungen der gespaltenen Welt verloren zu gehen schien. Das Ungenügen an der ästhetisierenden, sich vom Leben und Menschen abwendenden Kunst seiner Jugendzeit bewegte ihn dazu, den »humanitären Individualismus« zu überwinden und die gesellschaftlichen Anschlußmöglichkeiten zu suchen. Den Ausgangspunkt der Ausführungen von Mádl bietet eben die Feststellung, daß Thomas Mann schon in seinen frühen Novellen bestrebt war, gegen eine anfangs nur geahnte gesellschaftliche und geistig-moralische Gefahr aufzutreten und den zersetzenden Kräften etwas Positives entgegenzustellen. Seine Helden machen verschiedene Entwicklungsstufen durch und gelangen von einer sich selbst aufgezwungenen inhaltslosen Haltung zum »Vorgefühl einer neuen

Humanität«, zu einer Haltung also, die den Dienst an den Mitmenschen als moralische Aufgabe betrachtet. Nach einer langanhaltenden, tiefgehenden Krise, in der Thomas Mann »die Grundrevision« seiner Grundlagen vollziehen mußte, erfolgte der Durchbruch zu dieser neuen Humanität im *Zauberberg* und im Bekenntnis des Dichters zur Demokratie.

Die heraufziehende faschistische Gefahr deckte aber plötzlich mit überraschender Klarheit die Schwäche der bürgerlichen Demokratie und des Humanismus alten Schlags auf. Da Thomas Mann die Wehrlosigkeit des Bürgertums gegenüber dieser Gefahr sowie die Einseitigkeit der faschistischen Totalitätsauffassung und den Mißbrauch des Mythos zu Zwecken nazistischer Demagogie erkannte, schuf er das antifaschistische Programm des »allseitigen« und »militanten Humanismus«, die Forderung nach einer alle Bereiche des menschlichen Lebens — so auch der Politik — in sich aufnehmenden, sich gegen die mörderische Aggressivität des Faschismus energisch verteidigenden Humanität. Parallel dazu führte er das Programm der Humanisierung des Mythos durch: in der grandiosen *Joseph-Tetralogie* wurde der Mythos durch Relativierung, Psychologisierung und Historisierung umfunktioniert, d. h. in den Dienst humanistischer Ideen gestellt. Dabei wurde ihm der Mythos sogar »selbsttätig« und ließ ihn bei den größten Gestalten der deutschen Vergangenheit Anhaltspunkte für eine positive deutsche Mythenbildung suchen. Im sozialen Utopismus der letzten Bände der Tetralogie zeichneten sich bereits auch die Umrisse des »sozialen Humanismus« des alten Dichters ab.

Schon während des zweiten Weltkrieges begann die selbstquälerische Auseinandersetzung Thomas Manns mit dem Schicksal Deutschlands, mit der verhängnisvollen deutschen Entwicklung und dem Versagen der deutschen Intelligenz. Auch die Fragenkomplexe, mit denen er sich in den Nachkriegsjahren beschäftigte, standen alle direkt oder indirekt mit der Vergangenheit und der Zukunft seines Vaterlandes im Zusammenhang. Die »unglückselige« Nachkriegsentwicklung zerstörte aber seine Hoffnungen auf eine Frieden und Versöhnung verheißende Zukunft. Zur Humanismusauffassung dieser Zeit gehörte jedoch untrennbar die Sympathie, die der Dichter trotz seiner oft ziemlich bedrängten Lage der Welt des Sozialismus entgegenbrachte. Der »soziale Humanismus« des alten Thomas Mann enthält — wie A. Mádl nachweist — sogar materialistische und sozialistische Elemente. Die Untersuchung der Zusammenhänge zwischen Buße und Reue, Natur und Liebe, Moral und Gnade ließ zudem seinen Humanismusbegriff sich zum Kosmischen erweitern und verlieh ihm einen alles — Vergangenheit und Zukunft, Tradition und Utopie — umfassenden universellen Charakter. Die angeführten letzten Äußerungen bezeugen, daß der Dichter mit diesem — wie er behauptete — »religiös getönten«, Liebe und Toleranz einschließenden universellen Humanismus und der Zuversicht aus dem Leben schied, daß er es »gut meinte mit dem Leben und den Menschen«.

So spannte sich also der Bogen vom »humanitären Individualismus« der Jugendjahre über den »allseitigen« und »militanten Humanismus« bis zum »religiös getönten sozialen Humanismus« der Alterswerke. Diese Darstellung der Lebensbahn und des weltanschaulich-künstlerischen Programms Thomas Manns ist nicht nur deshalb interessant, weil sie zeigt, wie ein solcher im Grunde im Bürgerlichen befangener Moralist wie Thomas Mann »in der schwierigen Zeit«, die ihm »auf Erden gegeben war«, ständig nach den Möglichkeiten humanistischen Denkens und Handelns suchte. Die Auffassung des Autors erwies sich aber auch als sehr ergiebig, weil er unter Humanismus im weitesten Sinne des Wortes die Frage nach dem Menschen verstand. Die Suche Thomas Manns nach Humanität wurde stets mit seiner Auffassung über den Menschen überhaupt verbunden und zum Menschenbild erweitert. Wir ersehen aus der Schilderung der Wandlungen dieses Menschenbildes, daß das Politische zwar immer mit hineinspielte, manchmal sogar stark in den Vordergrund trat, daß aber die Weltanschauung des Dichters keinesfalls nur auf das Politische beschränkt werden darf, sondern, wie auch Thomas Mann verlangte, als »die ganze Art« seiner »inneren Existenz« begriffen werden soll. Ohne sich auf Lukács zu stützen — in erster Linie eher die Äußerungen und Werke Thomas Manns und die breiteste Skala deutscher Fachliteratur berücksichtigend — bekräftigt das Buch Mádls eine Feststellung von Lukács: — daß nämlich auch in jenen Entwicklungsetappen, in denen seine politischen Schriften Thomas Mann noch als einen ziemlich naiven, konservativ-nationalistisch gesinnten Künstler erscheinen lassen, schöngeistige Werke und aktuelle Aufsätze zu Tagesfragen *zusammen* die Weltsanschauung des Dichters repräsentieren. Mádl zeigt sogar, daß gerade das über die oft ziemlich enge politische Auffassung hinausweisende Philosophisch-Ethische seiner Weltanschauung die Möglichkeiten und Hilfsmittel für die Überbrückung

der tiefsten menschlich-künstlerischen Krisen beinhaltet.

Dieser Betrachtungsweise der Zusammenhänge ist es zu verdanken, daß im Buch von Mádl die Entwicklung Thomas Manns zwar mit Krisen beladen, so doch ohne unerklärliche Brüche dargestellt wurde. Auch das Lebenswerk bildet ein einheitliches Ganzes, in das sich bisher vielfach mißverstandene oder einseitig interpretierte Werke und das ganze umstrittene Alterswerk reibungslos und ohne Gewaltsamkeit einfügen lassen. In der Zeit des »humanitären Individualismus« dürfte unseres Erachtens vor allem die Schilderung der Durchbruchsphase Beachtung finden: weniger bekannte Schriften und Briefäußerungen Thomas Manns wurden herangezogen, um das erschütternde menschlich-künstlerische Drama zu zeigen. Überhaupt kommt der Darstellung der Krisensituationen die sachlich-knappe, mit treffenden Zitaten reich belegte Argumentationsweise des Autors zugute; genauso schön und einprägsam wie die Entstehungszeit der *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* wurden die ersten Emigrationsjahre und die Situation Thomas Manns im feindselig gewordenen Amerika geschildert. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen die letzten beiden Entwicklungsetappen: Die ausführliche Besprechung des Humanisierungsprogramms des Mythos und die Darstellung seiner Verwirklichung in den *Joseph-Romanen* ist wichtig, weil die Tetralogie häufig fehlinterpretiert und — wie auch Mádl bezeugt — als Flucht vor der Wirklichkeit aufgefaßt wurde. Der Autor verweist auf die Größe und Bedeutung des Unternehmens, die auch unser György Bálint erkannte, indem er erklärte: — einer der größten Fehler, den die politische Linke zur Zeit des Faschismus beging, war ihre fehlende Empfänglichkeit für den Mythos. Auch das Verbinden des Romans *Lotte in Weimar* mit diesem Bereich erweist sich als sehr lehrreich. Das größte Verdienst kommt ohne Zweifel dem letzten, »den sozialen Humanismus« erläuternden Teil des Buches zu, denn man könnte kein anderes wissenschaftliches Werk nennen, in dem das Alterswerk Thomas Manns mit solcher Ausführlichkeit, so systematisch und einheitlich bearbeitet wäre. Daß der *Faustus-Roman* zeigt, wie Deutschland in der bösen Zeit »sein Bestes zum Teuflichen ausschlug«, dürfte bekannt sein. Weniger bekannt ist aber, daß auch *Der Erwählte* noch zu diesem Fragenkomplex gehört. Neuartig und gedankenanregend erscheint die Interpretation des *Krull-Romans*, nach der der Dichter in diesem Werk die allgemeine Versöhnung der Gegensätze anstrebt und die humanisierende Wirkung der Liebe doziert. Am überraschendsten sind vielleicht die letzten Aufsätze und Briefe Thomas Manns in denen er seine Ideen über den »religiös getönten« Humanismus, diese kaum gekannte letzte Abwandlung seiner Weltbetrachtung erklärt.

Als ein Vorzug der Arbeitsmethode des Autors muß die Gewissenhaftigkeit erwähnt werden, mit der er das große Material, das Lebenswerk des Dichters und die Sekundärliteratur bewältigte. Alle seine Ausführungen sind dokumentarisch reich belegt, auch Briefe, Aufsätze und andere Äußerungen des Dichters wurden bei der Beweisführung herangezogen, ausführliche Anmerkungen geben dem Leser weitere Auskünfte. Dabei setzte der Autor beim Leser manches voraus, wodurch Überflüssiges und nicht zum engeren Thema Gehörendes ausgespart blieb. So wurde aus dem wissenschaftlich ertragreichen Buch zugleich auch eine spannende Lektüre, die den Leser ständig in Atem halten kann. Es war gerade Antal Mádl, der als Mitverfasser mehrerer Bände über die Beziehungen Thomas Manns zu Ungarn die Leistungen würdigte, mit denen Ungarn zur Deutung der Kunst Thomas Manns beitrug. Sein Buch über Thomas Manns Humanismus stellt zweifellos einen weiteren wertvollen Beitrag dar.

Judit Győri

Expedition der Vernunft

Zsuzsa Széll: Ichverlust und Scheingemeinschaft. Gesellschaftsbild in den Romanen von Franz Kafka, Robert Musil, Hermann Broch, Elias Canetti und George Saiko. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1979

In den letzten 20 Jahren hat die Forschung in bezug auf die moderne österreichische Literatur auch in Ungarn einen Anlauf genommen. Die ungarischen Übersetzungen der österreichischen Romane einerseits und das immer reger werdende Interesse der Gesellschaftswissenschaften für die Monarchie andererseits veranlaßten

die Literaturhistoriker, sich mit solchen Repräsentanten der europäischen Kultur wie Kafka, Broch und Musil zu beschäftigen. Die zu diesem Thema bisher erschienenen Studien sind aber entweder literarische Einzelporträts (meistens als Vor- oder Nachwort) oder — auf Grund des Wesens der Sozialforschung — allzu verallgemeinernde philosophische Abrisse geblieben.

Den ersten zusammenfassenden »Versuch, die Epik von Rilke, Kafka, Musil und Broch zu deuten« in ungarischer Sprache hat Zsuzsa Széll 1970 unter dem Titel *Válság és regény* (‚Krise und Roman') veröffentlicht. Dieses Buch untersucht in erster Linie die Krise des bürgerlichen Zeitalters und die sich daraus ergebenden Möglichkeiten (denn nach Meinung der Verfasserin geht es nicht nur um Unmöglichkeiten) einer Epik, mit ständiger Rücksicht auf die vier österreichischen Romanciers, deren Werk aber nicht als nationaler, sondern als Teil eines allgemeineren, europäischen literarisch-geistigen Prozesses aufgefaßt wird.

Das neue Buch von Zsuzsa Széll, *Ichverlust und Scheingemeinschaft*, nimmt einen anderen Ausgangspunkt auf: es will — wie es in der Einleitung mit dem Titel »Spezifik einer Generation österreichischer Epiker« lautet — »darlegen, daß Kafka, Musil, Broch, Canetti und Saiko — trotz aller sie voneinander abhebenden Unterschiede — eine einheitliche Erscheinung der Literatur, eine eigenständige literarische Welt darstellen«. Um die Eigenart dieser Welt zu bestimmen, hebt die Verfasserin hervor, daß es nicht genügt, die Homogenität der österreichischer Literatur (oder einer ihrer Generationen) auf geographische oder Gründe des Gemüts zurückzuführen — wie es in der Fachliteratur oft zu finden ist —; daß es aber ebensowenig angemessen wäre, nur von dem gemeinsamen Thema, von der dargestellten Welt auszugehen, weil dieses — das Aufzeigen eines Krisenzustandes — wiederum übernationalen, also nicht nur österreichischen Charakter trägt. Nach diesen Negationen gibt Zsuzsa Széll — wenn vorläufig auch nur hypothetisch — die gemeinsamen Merkmale der von ihr behandelten Schriftsteller. Sie haben erkannt, daß der Mensch des 20. Jahrhunderts ein neues, post- oder suprabürgerliches Wissen über sich selbst und die Welt, über die Modi der Verwirklichung »des Postulates der Einheit von Geist und Leben« braucht, und dementsprechend wollten sie, teils auf gnoseologischer Ebene bei der Herausbildung dieses Wissens mitwirken, teils neue Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten der Wirklichkeit in der Kunst erarbeiten. Also »nicht im Thematischen, sondern sozusagen im Methodischen liegt die Besonderheit der erwähnten österreichischen Autoren; nicht die Probleme, denen sie sich zuwenden, sondern die Art, wie sie an die Probleme herangehen, zeugt von Unvoreingenommenheit, von einer Insistenz und Intensivität des Denkens, die bei anderen Schriftstellern kaum zu finden ist«.

Von dieser Hypothese ausgehend, hat es den Anschein, als ob die Verfasserin sich selbst widerspräche, wenn sie die folgenden Kapitel nicht gemäß den Denkens- oder Schaffensmethoden der Autoren, sondern nach den Themen ihrer Werke aufbaut. Aber dies ist nur ein äußerlicher Widerspruch. Denn bei den behandelten Romanciers ist das Thema seiner Ausführung inhärent, es gibt keine Trennung zwischen innerer Gedankenwelt und projiziertem (sich in den Werken spiegelndem) Weltbild, und so fällt die Untersuchung desselben mit der der schriftstellerischen Methode zusammen.

Auch die Anordnung der Kapitel folgt der Genese des Kunstwerkes von der Wahrnehmung über das gedankliche Erfassen bis zur Suche einer Lösung vom Eindringen des Objektiven ins Subjekt bis zur Objektivation, im gegebenen Falle bis zum Zustandekommen des literarischen Werkes. Und da es sich nicht um Ontogenese, sondern um die spezifische Philogenese der modernen österreichischen Literatur handelt, versteht es sich von selbst, daß im Buch die Knotenpunkte dieses Prozesses erfaßt werden, um die Sache selbst nicht aus der immanenten Entwicklung der einzelnen Autoren, sondern aus dem von ihnen allen vertretenen Gemeinsamen deuten zu können. Die innere Struktur der Kapitel entspricht diesem Ziel: das im Titel angegebenen Thema wird auf Grund der verschiedenen (hierhergehörenden) Werke aller behandelten Schriftsteller beleuchtet, und dabei — in den bescheiden »Exkurse« genannten ausführlichen Analysen — durch je eine Novelle oder einen Romanabschnitt konkret detailliert. Dieses Verfahren sichert die Ausgestaltung eines organischen, vielseitigen und zugleich einheitlichen Literaturbildes.

Das Bild, das nach dem Auslesen des Buches über die moderne österreichische Prosa vor uns steht, sieht (kurz zusammengefaßt) so aus: die erwähnten Autoren, die ausgehend von der Wahrnehmung des allgemeinen Wertzerfalls registrieren alle einander implizierenden Folgen dieses Tatbestandes — nämlich, daß mangels echter Werte das Individuum zu keiner Selbsterfüllung kommen kann; daß es wegen seines Ichverlustes auch den Kontakt zu seinen

Mitmenschen verliert; daß es keine wirkliche Kommunikation, nur den Schein derselben gibt; und daß die so zustandegekommenen Scheingemeinschaften sich mit überaus elementarer Gewalt gegen den Einzelnen wenden — haben entdeckt, daß, um all dies auszudrücken, eine Literatur von neuer Art erforderlich ist, die aber gerade durch ihre Neuheit neue Werte — und nicht nur auf literarischer Ebene! — hervorbringen kann.

Die nicht unkritische, aber ständig betonte Hervorkehrung dieses Momentes macht (neben der vorbildlichen Methode der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung und über sie hinausgehend) das Buch von Zsuzsa Széll originell und aufregend. Auf Grund der hier gebotenen geistigen Expedition, die den Leser auf neue Wege des humanen Erkennens führt, bekommen Begriffe wie »Krise«, »Dekadenz« und »Irrationalität« einen neuen Inhalt, oder genauer gesagt: ihre positive, in die Zukunft weisende Seite und dadurch die Dialektik einer literarischen Bewegung wird sichtbar gemacht.

Gábor Miszoglád

Katalin Kulin: Creación mítica en la obra de García Márquez

Editorial de la Academia de Ciencias de Hungría, Budapest 1980

La eminente hispanista húngara Katalin Kulin, autora de varios estudios de gran originalidad sobre García Márquez editados en revistas latinoamericanas como *Unión* (Cuba), *Sin Nombre* (Puerto Rico) etc., publicó recientemente una monografía con el título arriba mencionado. El libro que se puede considerar como resumen de los resultados científicos de la doctora Kulin, no es, sin embargo, una simple recopilación y reedición. Por un lado, el espíritu inquieto de descubrir nuevas verdades impulsó y estimuló la autora a revisar, refundir, reinterpretar y matizar sus ensayos anteriores y, por otra parte, su intención de producir un libro íntegro y coherente hizo necesario efectuar no pocas modificaciones. Pese a eso los ocho capítulos que forman la obra conservan, en cierta medida, su autonomía y cada uno de ellos es inteligible sin conocer los demás; los lazos que los unen no son tan estrechos que los capítulos dejen de funcionar como estudios independientes. Al mismo tiempo los ocho capítulos sucesivos constituyen en su conjunto una monografía casi tradicional cuyo objetivo principal consiste en detectar y analizar los rasgos míticos y mitizantes de la obra marqueziana, desde *La hojarasca* hasta *El otoño del patriarca*, última novela publicada del escritor.

Así el primer capítulo esboza « el ambiente artístico » de García Márquez, destacando algunas características comunes de los escritores del « boom » y haciendo referencias a la importancia que tienen el mito, el surrealismo y la influencia de Faulkner en la obra de C. Fuentes, Roa Bastos, Cortázar, J. Rulfo y J. C. Onetti, cuestión que se explanará posteriormente con más detalles.

En el segundo capítulo (« Coherencia artística en la novelística de García Márquez ») la autora busca las constantes de la obra marqueziana desde la perspectiva de las novelas de la madurez. Motivos como la muerte, la soledad, la prosperidad o la violencia; rasgos como la tendencia de transformar todos los sucesos en anécdotas que tienden hacia la leyenda y el mito; símbolos como las puertas y ventanas cerradas o la repetición circular de la vida ya están presentes en *La hojarasca*, pero mientras en la primera novela del escritor aparecen en el nivel de la realidad inmediata, en *Cien años de soledad* cobrarán dimensiones y profundidades mayores llegándose al nivel del mito. Personajes conocidos posteriormente de la obra maestra como el coronel, Rebeca, José Arcadio, Fernanda (Adelaida), Arcadio etc., surgen ya en las primeras novelas y narraciones, al igual que se hace mención del diluvio y el « viento final que barrerá a Macondo ».

El capítulo tercero investiga las causas y examina los recursos de la creación mítica. De los muchos escritores del siglo XX que reelaboraron, metamorfosearon y variaron mitos (A. France, Joyce, Th. Mann, O'Neill, Bulgakov, Camus, Anouilh etc.) la autora escoge cuatro para representar los recursos de la creación mítica en sus obras: Faulkner, Rulfo, Onetti y García Márquez. Analizando las razones de la creación mítica llega a la conclusión que todos ellos encontraron en el mito un sistema de signos mucho más eficaz que el idioma, puesto que el primero es igualmente comprensible para los blancos, negros o indios, mientras que el segundo es difícilmente traducible para representantes de culturas diferentes. Comparando las novelas de los cuatro escritores la doctora

Kulin descubre y define algunos atributos importantes de la creación mítica: presentación del universo en espacio deliberadamente reducido, ineluctabilidad del destino, hombre convertido en héroe mítico, actualización del pasado, transformación del proceso temporal en un presente eterno, presencia de lo maravilloso, prosa hipnótica, narrador incompetente etc.

El capítulo siguiente («.Planos temporales y estructura de *Cien años de soledad* ») destaca que la mayor novedad y originalidad de García Márquez radica en no emplear las técnicas modernas de la literatura europea y norteamericana del siglo veinte, sino buscar e inventar recursos auténticamente latinoamericanos. Según la autora la novela está escrita con la misma concepción del tiempo que los pergaminos de Melquíades: García Márquez logra concentrar, con la multiplicación y simultaneidad de los planos temporales al nivel histórico y nivel personal, un siglo de episodos cotidianos, de modo que todos coexistan en un instante. Mientras que los habitantes de Macondo viven en un tiempo prehistórico y patriarcal, el mundo en su alrededor pertenece al siglo XIX. Los esfuerzos de José Arcadio Buendía por llegar a su propio siglo, fracasan por completo. « La máquina del tiempo se ha descompuesto », Macondo queda detenido en un lunes eterno. Durante la guerra civil el pueblo está en el mismo plano que el mundo, pero en un plano vacío, en un estado paralizado del verdadero suceder humano. El único momento en que Macondo se incorpora al siglo XX, es el de la huelga contra la compañía bananera. En cambio después de la hecatombe y el diluvio el pueblo se hunde en el olvido, en una especie de un tiempo negativo cuya criatura, el último Buendía que nace con cola de cerdo, es un monstruo, un ser negativo.

Los planos temporales al nivel personal se multiplican debido a la nostalgia por los momentos del pasado que sienten casi todos los personajes de la novela en las situaciones aparentemente más inesperadas.

El quinto capítulo de la monografía trata de ofrecer una definición precisa y correcta del mito, utilizando los resultados de Lévi-Strauss y, sobre todo, de Barthes. Tras un análisis profundo y ampliamente documentado, la doctora Kulin llega a la siguiente conclusión: « el mito es un proceso de fragmentos del suceder cuyo sistema y significación quedan determinados por los orígenes y las postrimerías rememorados en cierta época histórica ».

Esta definición teórica se aplica en el capítulo VI para interpretar los mitos en *Cien años de soledad*. Los mitemas más importantes que determinan las peripecias de la « urbe » son, según la autora, el asesinato y el incesto. Niguno de los dos tiene valor ético en la obra de García Márquez, pues en los mitos antiguos el asesinato no representa sólo el caos, la violencia, sino también la fuente del órden cósmico, la creación y mantenimiento de la vida humana; mientras que las relaciones incestuosas de los Buendía simbolizan la trágica e invariable soledad de los miembros de la familia. Melquíades, figura mítica creada por García Márquez sin precedentes literarios, sirve de ejemplo a los Buendía solitarios con su actitud sociable y con su actividad de enlazar Macondo con el mundo. No es casual que precisamente él, quien encarna cabalmente lo humano, es capaz de salvar el pueblo de la plaga del olvido. José Arcadio Buendía, asesino de Prudencio Aguilar, fundador de la « urbe » y más tarde amarrado al castaño, a su vez, une en su figura varios personajes conocidos de los mitos hebreos y griegos: Adán, Caín, Moisés y Prometeo. Así como generalmente a los locos en los mitos y creencias primitivos, a él también se le considera santo y como tal es inviolable. Lo son también sus descendientes. Nadie se atreve a ejecutar al coronel Aureliano o al otro miembro de la familia, Aureliano José, ya que la muerte de un Buendía sería un sacrilegio. Los diecisiete hijos del coronel Aureliano, aunque los matan en algunos días, por la señal imborrable en la frente, también pertenecen a los « elegidos ». Por lo general, concluye la doctora Kulin, en el mundo de García Márquez la muerte es inaceptable e irracional, puesto que viola el carácter sagrado de la vida. Es por ello que el escritor en muchos casos hace desaparecer a sus personajes (torbellino de viento etc.) para no demostrar su muerte.

El séptimo capítulo examina, en primer lugar, la influencia del surrealismo en los cuentos del autor colombiano escritos después de *Cien años de soledad*. Comparando estas narraciones con la obra anterior, la hispanista húngara declara acertadamente que García Márquez « deforma de un modo gracioso o grotesco los mitos y símbolos que son el núcleo de sus cuentos, como si fuera desmoronándose su confianza en la capacidad de los hombres para estimar los valores verdaderos ».

El último capítulo está dedicado al análisis del *El otoño del patriarca*. Los mitos parafraseados, distorsionados también en esta novela desempeñan un papel importante. El patriarca que hace milagros, con su poder ilimitado, tiene rasgos mesiánicos como Jesús pero, al mismo tiempo,

con sus crueldades horripilantes es la encarnación del Anticristo. Su nomre Zacarías y los nombres que llevan los suyos: Bendición, Emanuel y Nazareno están llenos de resonancias bíblicas. En el episodio de la matanza de los niños inocentes el patriarca actua como Herodes, mientras que el banquete en el cual se sirve el cuerpo asado de Rodrigo de Aguilar, evoca la última cena. A pesar de los paralelos bíblicos, García Márquez rechaza la existencia divina del patriarca. Su poder que trata de conservar lo establecido e impide el movimento de la sociedad, es la negación de la existencia, la representación del no-ser. Por ello el patriarca-mesías, en vez de resucitar, tiene que morir para siempre.

Tal vez habrá quienes se acerquen fríamente y con espíritu crítico al libro de Katalin Kulin y encontrarán en él puntos discutibles. Pero seguro que serán mucho más los que se dejarán cautivar y conducir por la frescura y originalidad de los pensamientos de la autora y, a través de su interpretación muy personal y sin embargo tan erudita, conocerán, en toda su profundidad, lo mítico en la obra marqueziana.

Péter Bikfalvy

J. Ijsewijn: Companion to Neo-Latin Studies

North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam—New York—Oxford 1977, 370 pp.

The author, a professor of great renown of the Flemish University at Leuven dates the inception of Neo-Latin language and literature from Italian humanism starting around 1300 on the basis of the view adopted by the Second International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Amsterdam, 1973 (its material was published in: Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis, ed. by P. Tuynman, G. C. Kuiper, E. Kessler, München, 1979). According to this Ijsewijn makes an exemplary effort, surveying the period from Dante's age down to our day, to acquaint novice scholars with the material and methods of Neo-Latin studies, appending even a minor anthology to the book. The work, however, might be considered a significant manual for practicing experts as well, in particular as regards the bibliography, the paleography, the textual editions as well as linguistic and literary issues. The writer of the work takes account not only of the rich Latin literature of Italian and German territories but also that of smaller or farther geographical units such as Malta, Iceland, Columbia, etc. This enormous task, which seems to surpass the strength of a single person, is performed by Ijsewijn concisely focusing on the essential works with the command of a colossal knowledge and competence, and it finely supplements other recently published handbooks, as, eg. the compilation "Introduction to Medieval Latin Studies" (Washington, 1977) edited by M. R. P. McGuire and H. Dressler, where an additional literature on the issue is also to be found.

In Chapter 1 the author defines the concepts of Classical (till ca 600 AD), Medieval and Neo-Latin, dwells upon the ancient heritage and the classical traditions of rhetoric and poetry.

Chapter II reviews the bibliographic aids and surveys the most important journals of the field as well.

Of especial importance is Chapter III, which comes forward with the pretension of relating the history of Neo-Latin literatures presenting both the sequence of historical development and the territorial distribution. The author charts the course which led towards the formation of humanist Latin literature, then the solidification of that literature, its irradiation, and eventually its flowering and decline, heedfully enumerating the essential information in respect of the literature of Latin language of Italy, Greece, the so-called Southern Slav states and Albania, Malta, Spain, Portugal, France, the Low Countries, Great Britain, Switzerland, Lichtenstein, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslowakia, Poland, Lithuania, Russia, The Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Sweden, Finland, and North and South America (within this separately Brazil). This summary yields a welter of useful information for both the beginners and the practicing experts and a thorough scrutiny of it is worth the pains. Still the Hungarian public is mostly interested in what measure our Latin literature and records are known and presented abroad. It is but natural that in this respect we should be closely concerned not only in the subchapter titled "Hungary" but also in the sections on Southern Slav, Romanian and Czechoslovakian Neo-Latin literatures, as the single issues concerning the historical Hungary and its culture come to be discussed in these subdivisions.

First of all we must point out that Ijsewijn is excellently familiar with Hungary's Latin culture as a whole, and with plenty of its minor details. Thus he circumspectly deals with the so-called Angevin- and Matthias Renaissance, with János Vitéz and Janus Pannonius, although the previous name of the latter is not entirely proper to put as "Janos Csezmiczei". Ijsewijn registers the name of Pelbárt of Temesvàr, whom he labels as a great theologian and preacher, in the form Pelbartus à Temesvàr, apparently on the basis of some work in French and not with the knowledge drawn from autopsy of the theologian's œuvre, since, eg. on the frontpage of the *Pomerium*. . . we do find the form Pelbartus de Themeszvar and we expect even today a similar form (eg. P. de Temesvár or de Temesvaria or de Temesvarino etc.). Ijsewijn is right, however, in highlighting that boundary which separated Pelbárt from humanism, steering clear of the error of some Hungarian researchers who, overlooking Pelbárt's strong medieval outlook, were trying to make him a humanist or even some kind of precursor-reformer.[1]

Already as early as this (p. 26) and further on with more emphasis but on completely justified grounds does Ijsewijn assert that in this period, and for a long time afterwards, the most crucial factor in the formation of the outlook of the single authors was not so much the mother tongue but the fact that they were citizens, office-bearers of the Hungarian kingdom and as such they, on the one hand, served the interests and culture of that kingdom as, for instance, Miklós Oláh coming of a Romanian family who, by dint of his œuvre — evincing certain cosmopolitan traits as well — integrated himself first of all into the Hungarian-German Neo-Latin cultural orbit (p. 123) with his interest in Hungary's ethnography (p. 148), as his works entitled *Hungaria* and *Attila* demonstrate (p. 153). On the other hand, these literati as humanists were carriers before the formation of national states of some sort of universal and cosmopolitan learning and erudition. This view which, we submit, is essentially proper was not always able to consistently prevail in the course of the discussion, and this can be accounted for the fact that Ijsewijn is not familiar enough with the history and culture of our country, and besides he may have been influenced by some researchers of the surrounding states professing romantically tinged concept of history which may have blurred his perspicacity. Let us adduce some examples. Faustus Verancius figures here unambiguously as a Croatian humanist, in spite of the fact that he, too, was indeed a characteristic figure of humanism in Hungary. His uncle was that Antal Verancsics (Verantius or Wrancius) of Dalmatian descent who through his diplomatic activities was instrumental not only in the discovery of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* at the side of the Flemish Buysbecquius (if only in this respect, Ijsewijn ought to know about him, perhaps he does !), but also he had connections with Transylvania as well, for a while he was archbishop of Esztergom and held the post of procuratorship, and at the same time he was working until his death upon his book on Hungary's history which was to have been the continuation of Bonfini's work. Faustus Verantius himself studied first in Pozsony, where later on he settled for a time, then castellan of Veszprém, and the governor of bishopric possessions and still later archbishop of Csanád. As for his literary activities, Faustus Verancsics compiled a famous five-language dictionary of which one language was also the Hungarian, and he wrote the biography of his uncle: *Vita Antonii Verantii*. Thus the œuvre of F. Verancsics forms at least as much part of the humanism of Hungary as that of Croatia, even though his figure is not to be found in our representative comprehensive work, the six-volume summary "A magyar irodalom története" (History of Hungarian Literature).

It is also worth pondering over how much it is justified to discuss the *Stauromachia* of Taurinus exclusively within the framework of Latin literature in Czechoslovakia, for the activity of the German-tongued poet originally named Stieröxel who was born in Moravia came nevertheless to be affiliated into the literary life of Hungary, and not only with his epic piece of Hungarian theme but also as a member of the humanist circle of Bakócz then of Ferenc Várdai and as a canon of Gyulafehérvár and dean of Hunyad. (Here I would note that for the assessment of Taurinus' life-work the writings of some Hungarian scholars, eg. Sándor V. Kovács ought to be included in the special literature, even if to approach these, hindered by the language is not always easy for a Western European scholar.) In this subchapter of Ijsewijn's work the following phrasing also raises problems: "after Comenius left Czechoslovakia. . .". It is a fact that Comenius, who may perhaps have been of Hungarian origin, left Bohemia in 1628, but Czechoslovakia was at that time non-existent, and besides the great Czech-Moravian humanist in addition to Poland, England, Sweden and the Low Countries, came to Hungary several times, first of all to Sárospatak, and to Lő-

cse too, which latter is again to be found today in the territory of Czechoslovakia.[2] Similarly the listing of Matthias Bél in the Latin literature of Czechoslovakia is a moot point. The great scholar of Hungary descending partly from Hungarian partly from Slovak blood was a quintessential Hungarian who, although he lived the major part of his life as the rector of the German (Protestant) lyceum at Pozsony, performing here his pedagogical activities, still he acknowledged the rights of the three main domestic languages, Hungarian, German and Slovakian, even if he edited his scientific works — a large part of which has a Hungarian theme (cf. as an addendum: *Hungariae antiquae et novae prodromus*, Norimbergae, 1723; *Adparatus ad historiam Hungariae*, Decas I, Posonii, 1735) — as well as his weekly of educational purposes (*Nova Posoniensia*, 1721—22) in the Latin language which at that time was the common official language of Hungary's peoples. Let me also remark that the name of the scholar in question, as far as I know, figured mostly on the works published in his lifetime not as Matthias Belius given by Ijsewijn, but rather in the form of Matthias Bel which is nearer to Hungarian orthography. In the light of these it is but understandable that Mátyás Bél should be dealt with not only by Czech and Slovak researchers inventoried by Ijsewijn, but Hungarian scholarship has also devoted a great scope to uncover his activity from Lajos Haan through Andor Tarnai, to Mrs. István Sipos or Béla Szent-Iványi, whose studies are partly available in foreign language, yet Ijswijn fails to enumerate them.

For the aforecited disputable wordings, as has been mentioned, responsibility rests only partly with Ijsewijn, as it is not his fault but to some extent precisely that of Central-Eastern European research that there could not have developed in Western Europe a clear and persuasive picture of several aspects of the Neo-Latin culture of Central-Eastern Europe. To be sure, it is safe to observe that the eminent Flemish professor has a fairly solid knowledge about who were the prime figures of Latin culture in Hungary in poetry, in prose, in historiography and in science up to the recently deceased Sándor Lénárd. I wish everyone in Europe would be so familiar with the works of János Sylvester, Czvittinger, Sambucus (Zsámboky), Miklós Oláh, Istvánffy, Elek Horányi or Farkas Bolyai etc. as can be tersely but reliably learned from Ijsewijn's presentation. True, though, that there exist in the author's work lacunae which we feel entitled to expose either from the angle of universal European civilization or history alike. By way of illustration let us adduce some data. Obviously nobody would miss such figures of domestic Latin historiography as, say, Ambrus Somogyi, Pál Gyulai, Farkas Kovacsóczy and others, but it is to be pointed out that no mention is being made of such prominent figures of Hungarian historiography as Ferenc Forgách or the most outstanding representative of sixteenth-century Transylvanian historiography, István Szamosközy (Zamosius), on whose activity attention has been focused by contemporary Hungarian scholarship. (Actually Ijsewijn is not to blame if we consider, for instance, that we fail to find the entry "Ferenc Forgách" in Vol. 1. of the Hungarian Literary Lexicon !) Although stylistically not an exemplary creation, the work of György Szerémi (Sirmiensis), the *Epistola de perditione regni Hungarorum* addressed to the abovementioned Antal Verancsics is all the more captivating and significant in terms of its contents. The Kuruts written records in Latin are highly relevant from a historical aspect as well as from the aspect of memoir literature and domestic rhetoric. These have their European correlations, just think of the work of Ferenc Rákóczi II, Imre Reviczky, Pál Ráday or that of Miklós Bercsényi. The Latin language, for the Hungarian liberation movements of the epoch, was indeed to promote international relations as well, which is proved by the circumstance that one of Hungary's first news papers, the *Mercurius Hungaricus* edited by the Kurutses (which came out with the title *Mercurius Veridicus ex Hungaria* only), supplied information on the events in Latin.

An interesting, though not intrinsic, feature of Latin literature in Hungary is that while the Reformation was generally to strengthen literatures in the vernacular, in our own culture the number of Protestant theological works in the Latin language is conspicuously abundant, to name only the Unitarian György Enyedi, Máté Skaricza affected by Calvin's tenets or István Szegedi Kis. Of colossal magnitude is also the Latin œuvre of Péter Pázmány, the supreme master of Hungarian Counter-Reformation and Hungarian prose of the seventeenth century. It is deplorable that one of his Italian models, Bellarmino, should be granted so little space in the book.

Janus Pannonius apart, the Latin poetry of Hungary lacks exceptionally valuable achievements. Nevertheless, there are some interesting points and features, like the

smartest epigons of Janus Pannonius: Péter Garázda and János Megyericsei. It may also be worth mentioning that the society of humanist scholars founded by C. Celtis in Vienna in 1497, the *Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana* (Ijsewijn seems to be aware only of this) was soon established in Buda as well headed by the young János Vitéz, bishop of Veszprém. Márton of Nagyszombat (Tyrnavius) called the noblemen of the Hungarian kingdom to combat the Turks with a pamphlet couched in well-nigh one thousand distichs, and on occasion we face moving lyrical elements in this work. Furthermore, some class-related features also deserve to be mentioned, as, eg. the circumstance that a major, and not in the least worthless, portion of Hungarian aristocratic Baroque poetry of the eighteenth century was written in Latin, thus a part of the poems of János Lázár referred to as Virgil or Janus Pannonius of Transylvania, who translated into Latin even some writings by Voltaire. The Latin school-plays of János Illei are undoubtedly as significant as those cited by Ijsewijn.

Hungarian scholarship in the past was closely bound up with the use of the Latin language. Ijsewijn is basically aware of this and calls attention to some relevant data. At the same time, however, no mention is being made about a number of by no means negligible facts. Albert Szenc(z)i Molnár was not only a studious figure of seventeenth-century Hungarian culture, but his activity was a coherent part of the whole centemporary Western-European civilization. From a Hungarian aspect his work written in Latin and at all events on a par with the European scholarship of his epoch, the *Nova grammatica Ungarica* (1610), which is also available in a newer edition (Corpus Grammaticorum, ed. F. Toldy, 1866), has a major significance. (Moreover, Szenc(z)i's poetic anthology is also noteworthy: Lusus poetici, 1614). Again it is ought to be mentioned that the *Anglicum spicilegium*. . . of György Komáromi Csipkés printed in Debrecen in 1664 was one of the earliest European grammars of English. The Latin works of Šajnovics or Sámuel Gyarmathi can also be measured in terms of a European standard, although we might mention the activities of Pál Wallaszky, Dániel Cornides, Miklós Révai etc. as well.

Ijsewijn knows a part of the Hungarian research of the field, though somewhat haphazardly, for he fails to register the activity of such scholars as János Horváth Sr. and Jr., László Mezey, István Borzsák, Imre Bán (for the latter I express my gratitude here because he, together with Viktor Julow and István Bitskey, contributed to my present review), Antal Pirnát, Polikárp Radó (see the essential work of the latter: *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum*, 1973) and others, although some works of those listed here are concerned with pre-1300 issues. On account of their wealth of information on Sambucus (Zsámboky), the writings of László Varga, who was the old master and colleague of the author of this review, may be perused with utility [(cf. Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrecen., 1(1965); ibid. 3(1967); Annales Bibl. Univ. Debrecen., 4—5(1964/65); Acta Ant. Sci. Hung., 14(1966)]. To study the œuvre of László Varga would besides be instrumental in elucidating for philologists abroad what an important role Latin played in the scientific and literary life of Debrecen (cf. János Hannulik, the Horace of the Eighteenth Century, Debrecen, 1938; Pál Németi, the Latin Student-Poet of the College of Debrecen, Debrecen, 1940; The Work in Classical Philology of the Professors of the Reformed College of Debrecen 1738 through 1849, Debrecen, 1930, etc.), as the college of Debrecen has almost to date been one of the citadels of Hungarian Latin philology. Here it was that the *Introductio ad principia philosophiae solidioris* was written, a work of idiosyncratic concept and system by István Hatvani transcending Cartesianism (of which, too, traces might be found in several Latin works in Hungary, eg. in Márton Szilágyi Tönkő, Miklós Apáti etc.) and incorporating the achievements of Chr. Wolff, Locke and Newton. Let me refer to the fact that among the editions of domestic Latinity a major role is played by the following collections and anthologies: J. Ábel, Adalékok a humanizmus történetéhez Magyarországon (Contributions to the history of humanism in Hungary), 1880; Monumenta Hungariae Historica (Scriptores), 1857—1920; Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini, ed. J. G. Schwandtner; Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, ed. I. Szentpétery; Magyar Irodalmi Ritkaságok (Hungarian literary rarities), ed. L. Vajthó, 1931—1942; Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua, ed. B. Varjas (facsimile editions).

Finally, some material inaccuracies might also be pointed out. So in Hungary no work can scarcely have been published in 1831 in Bratislava (cf. p. 149), which was called at that time Pozsony in Hungarian, Posonium in Latin and Pressburg in German, while Bratislava was the Latin name of today's Wrocław.[3]

So much for the parts concerning Neo-Latin in Hungary, and now let us return to

review the subsequent chapters of Ijsewijn's book.

Chapter IV discusses the manuscripts and text-editions, closely examining the incunabula, the critical editions and the technical problems they pose.

Chapter V dwells upon the questions of language and style including the vocabulary, the morphology and syntax as well as the relationship of Latin and the vernacular.

Chapter VI features the issues of prosody and metre, while Chapter VII treats of the literary forms and genres.

In Chapter VIII the Latin scientific literature is presented. Then Chapter IX summarizes the history of Neo-Latin studies.

The volume is concluded by a finely selected Neo-Latin anthology, from which we may miss at most one of Janus Pannonius's poems only, although in this the author is not to be censured as long as the Hungarian critical edition of Janus Pannonius remains unpublished.

And at last a separate index makes the book even more handy, and we may say by way of summary that the present work is not only an excellent introduction to this specific theme, but also it is bound to become an indispensable manual for the practicing researcher. True, in the course of the discussion about Latin culture in Hungary we did on occasion raise objections yet the major part of our remarks should rather be seen as a sign of how much there is to do in the research of domestic Latin literature and in the dissemination of results attained in this field, refraining, however, from any overvaluation or chauvinistic bias which keeps cropping up here in Central-Eastern Europe even today.

László Havas

NOTES

[1] Although not Pelbárt's disciple, but his co-worker was Ozsvát Laskai of a similar mentality whose some interesting Latin works are also known, eg. *Gemma fidei.*

[2] In Commenius' *Consultatio catholica* plenty of Hungarian references are to be found. From the literature on the great scholar the basic works are: *M. Blekstad,* Comenius, Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk u. Schicksal J. A. Komensky, Oslo—Praha, 1969. (with an extensive bibliography: 728—797). Relevant from a Hungarian aspect: Comenius and Hungary, ed. by É. Földes and I. Mészáros, 1973.

[3] The names *Fr. Vilmos* and *A. Jenő* on page 234 are mistaken, instead of *Vilmos Fraknói (Frankl)* and *Jenő Ábel* (it should be noted that in Hungarian the surname precedes the Christian name). On the same page: beside *St. Hegedüs, Eugenius Ábel* was also publisher of the *Analecta nova* . . . On page 269, instead of *Zs. Ritoók* we should read *Ágnes Ritoók* (or *Szalay)* as author, who is not to be mixed up with her husband, *Zsigmond Ritoók,* the eminent classical scholar. A frequent occurrence is the French à instead of the Hungarian á, eg. Pirnàt correctly: Pirnát.

Karl Gladt: Deutsche Schriftfibel. Anleitung zur Lektüre der Kurrentschrift des 17—20. Jahrhunderts

Mit 174 Schriftbeispielen und 12 Abbildungen, davon 4 in Farbe. Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt 1976, 259 S

»Meine jahrzehntelange Tätigkeit im Handschriftenreferat der Wiener Stadtbibliothek hat mir immer wieder vor Augen geführt, mit welchen Schwierigkeiten nicht nur ausländische Forscher, sondern auch Studierende des deutschen Sprachraums bei der Bewältigung der in Kurrentschrift abgefaßten Quellenliteratur zu kämpfen haben. Dabei ist zu bedenken, daß etwa achtzig bis fünfundachtzig von hundert neuzeitlichen deutschen Autographen in dieser Schriftart abgefaßt sind. . .« — schreibt der Verfasser u. a. im Vorwort. In diesem Sinne werden vom 20. Jahrhundert bis 1686 rückläufig Individualschriften als Übungsbeispiele zusammengestellt, paleographisch kommentiert und auch aufgelöst. Außerdem werden die einzelnen Zeitabschnitte (20. Jh., zweite Hälfte des 19. Jh., erste Hälfte des 19. Jh., von 1799 bis 1686) paleographisch charakterisiert. Die Übungsbeispiele bzw. ihre Faksimiles stam-

men von bekannten Dichtern, Schriftstellern, Künstlern, Gelehrten, deshalb ist diese Schriftfibel in erster Linie für angehende Forscher literarischer Autographen vom Nutzen, kann aber auch bei der Entzifferung von Archivalien für junge Historiker nützlich sein. Alles in allem ein gutes Lehrbuch. Nicht immer überzeugend sind die Ausführungen des Verfassers in der Einleitung, in den Kapiteln über die gotische Schrift, die Schreibkunst und Schreibkultur, das Schreiben- und Lesenlernen. Der Verfasser plädiert für die Vorteilhaftigkeit der sog. gotischen Schrift, weil er der Auffassung ist, »daß Schrift und Sprache eine Einheit bilden«, und daß die gotische Schrift am besten geeignet sei, die Eigentümlichkeit der deutschen Sprache auszudrücken. Was natürlich nicht stimmt. Wer in der Schule die gotische Schrift nicht mehr gelernt hat (und die älteren Formen sowieso nicht), der muß diese Schriftart eben als Forscher erlernen, wie das auch bei manchen anderen Sprachen der Fall ist. Ebendeshalb sind die auf grund großer Materialkenntnis und praktischer Erfahrung ausgewählten Übungsbeispiele des Buches jedem angehenden Germanisten ein guter Behelf und so füllt das Buch in der diesbezüglichen Literatur eine Lücke aus.

Karl Mollay

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Le dessein et la philosophie du Roman de la Rose

Par

JEAN DUFOURNET

A) PRELIMINAIRES

I.

Le Roman de la Rose a été le plus grand succès du moyen âge, dont il est une des œuvres caractéristiques aux côtés de la *Chanson de Roland*, des romans de Chrétien de Troyes, des *Tristan* en vers et en prose, du *Roman de Renard*, de la Chronique de Froissart et des poèmes de Villon. Succès éclatant et durable, puisque, selon E. Langlois, plus de 300 manuscrits ont survécu, que d'autres se sont perdus, et que, de 1481 à 1538, l'on a dénombré 21 éditions. Comme toutes les grandes œuvres, il a connu :

— un remaniement, dû, en 1290, à un prêtre picard, Gui de Mori ;

— deux mises en prose au 15e siècle, dont la seconde, composée par le Grand Rhétoriqueur bourguignon, Jean Molinet, fut imprimée trois fois, en 1500 (Paris), 1503 (Lyon) et 1521 (Paris) ;

— une contestation en règle, d'un moine cistercien, Guillaume de Digulleville, qui, dans son *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, voit en Jean de Meun l'écrivain de Luxure et de Vénus, laquelle, d'ailleurs, se plaint que le poète se soit permis des digressions sans nombre, « emblées » en tous lieux, au lieu de s'occuper uniquement d'elle ;

— et surtout une controverse, qui mit aux prises les plus grands esprits du temps. En 1399, Christine de Pisan, dans son *Epître au dieu d'amour*, protesta contre les propos antiféministes de Jean de Meun. En 1400—1401, traité laudatif (perdu) de Jean de Montreuil. 1401 : réponse de Christine, et lettre de Gontier Col à celle-ci : il voit en Jean de Meun son « maistre enseigneur familier . . . vray catholique, solennel maistre et docteur en sainte théologie, philosophe très parfont et excellent, sachant tout ce qui a entendement humain est scible, duquel la gloire et renommée vit et vivra es ages advenir . . ..».[1] Le 1er février 1402, Christine remet le dossier de la querelle à la reine Isabeau de Bavière et au prévôt de Paris Guillaume de Tignonville : si elle reconnaît au *Roman de la Rose* des qualités, elle lui reproche sa

verdeur et son esprit de luxure. Le 18 mai 1402, « Traictié Maistre Jehan Gerson contre le Roumant de la Rose », où Chasteté émet un certain nombre de critiques contre le Fol Amoureux :

— il « met toute sa painne a chacier hors de la terre moy, qui n'ay coulpe, et mes bonnes gardes aussy qui sont Honte, Paour et Dangier le bon portier . . .

— « Il vuelt deffendre et reprouver mariage sans exception par un jaloux soupeçonneux, haineux et chagrigneux, et par lui mesmes et par les diz d'aucuns adversaires . . . ».

— « Il blasme jeunes gens qui se donnent en religion, pour ce, dit-il, que toujours tendent a en issir de leur nature ».

— « Il gette partout feu plus ardent et plus puant que feu gregois ou de souffre, feu de paroles luxurieuses a merveille, ordes et deffendues, aucuneffois ou nom de Venuz ou de Cupido ou de Genius, souventeffoiz en son propre nom . . . »

— « Il diffame dame Raison, ma bonne maistresse, en lui mettant sus telle raige et tel vilain blaffeme qu'elle conseille parler nuement, deslavement *(sans retenue)* et gouliardement, sans honte de toutes choses, tant soient abhominables et honteuses a dire ou a faire . . . ».

— « Quant il parle des choses sainctes et divines et esperituelles, il mesle tantost paroles tres dissolues et esmouvans a toute ordure ».

— « Il promet paradiz, gloire et loyer a tous ceulx et celles qui accompliront les euvres charnelles, mesmement hors mariage, car il conseille en sa propre personne et a son exemple essaier de toutes manieres de femmes sans differance . . . ».

— « Il, en sa personne, nomme les parties deshonnestes du corps et les pechiés ors et vilains par paroles sainctes et sacrees, ainsi comme toute telle euvre faist chose divine et sacree et a adourer, mesmement hors mariage et par fraude et violence . . . ».[2]

Réfutation, en une longue épître, de Pierre Col, frère de Gontier ; à quoi Gerson riposta par sa *Responsio ad scripta cujusdam errantis de innocentia puerili* (*Opera*, III, 293—296), où il s'en prend, de surcroît, à la forme du roman, « chaos, confusion babylonienne, brouet à l'allemande, Protée prenant toutes les formes ». Le 2 octobre 1402, *Vision contre le Roman de la Rose*, de Christine de Pisan, qui comporte un éloge de Gerson.

Que voient les antagonistes dans le *Roman de la Rose* ? Gerson, l'immoralité, Christine de Pisan l'antiféminisme ; les laudateurs ; l'érudition, la maîtrise de la pensée et de la langue, la richesse du vocabulaire, l'harmonie du vers.

Le débat se poursuivit au cours du XVe siècle : Martin le Franc, dans le *Champion des dames* (1440—1442), écrit un chapitre *contre maistre Jehan de Meun que les Amoureux ensieuvent et incidentement de son vilain langage*, tandis que Jean Molinet reprocha à Gerson de n'avoir rien compris à la *Rose*, d'en être resté au sens littéral, attaquant, de plus, Héloïse dont pourtant Jean de Meun fait l'éloge.

L'œuvre sera appréciée au XVIe siècle : Marot, qui en fournit une version rajeunie en 1527, signala sa profondeur et sa richesse, puisque l'auteur

« ne gettoit pas seulement son penser et fantaisie sur le sens littéral, ains plus tost attiroit son esprit au sens allegorique et moral, comme l'un disant et entendant l'autre » et que « neantmoins que le principal soit ung train d'amour, toutesfoys il est confit de bons incidens qui dedans sont comprins et alleguez, causans maintes bonnes disciplines. Les philosophes naturelz et moraulx y peuvent aprendre : les theologiens, les astrologues, les geometriciens, les archimistes, faiseurs de miroirs, peintres et autres gens . . . » Rabelais fut, par bien des côtés, le continuateur de Jean de Meun, et L. Thuasne a pu consacrer un chapitre à *Rabelais et la Roman de la Rose* ; [3] Binet raconte que Ronsard, dès l'âge de onze ans, avait toujours entre les mains quelque poète français, *le Roman de la Rose*, Jean Lemaire de Belges, ou Clément Marot. Si Etienne Pasquier, dans ses *Recherches de la France* (Paris, 1621, VII, iii, p.603), oppose Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun non seulement à Dante, mais aussi à tous les poètes italiens,[4] Baif se plut à chanter le *Roman* dans un sonnet spirituel à Charles IX :

Sire, sous le discours d'un songe imaginé,
Dedans ce vieil Roman, vous trouverez déduite,
D'un Amant désireux la pénible poursuite
Contre mille travaux en sa flamme obstiné.

Paravant que venir à son bien destiné,
Faussemblant l'abuseur tâche le mettre en fuite :
A la fin, Bel Accueil, en prenant la conduite,
Le loge, après l'avoir longuement cheminé.

L'Amant dans le Vergier, pour loyer des traverses
Qu'il passe constamment, souffrant peines diverses,
Cueille au rosier fleuri le bouton précieux.

Sire, c'est le sujet du *Roman de la Rose*
Où d'Amour épineux la poursuite est enclose,
La Rose, c'est d'amour le guerdon précieux.

II. Une lecture traditionnelle

Pendant de longues années, quelques lieux communs ont nourri la critique, que nous retrouvons encore dans l'article du *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises. Le Moyen Age* (Paris, Fayard 1964).

A) L'œuvre de Jean de Meun est *difforme* au point qu'on ne sait de quel nom l'appeler : est-ce un roman ou une encyclopédie, un traité ou un pamphlet ?[5] C'est moins un art d'amour qu'un recueil de dissertations philosophiques, théologiques, scientifiques regroupées plutôt mal que bien autour de l'idée principale, la conquête de la rose. Pourquoi ? Parce que Jean de Meun, commençant d'écrire, ne savait pas dans quelle voie il s'engageait, ni n'avait aucun plan : en témoigne le caractère décousu de son œuvre que Langlois comparait aux *Essais* de Montaigne. Parce qu'il fut aussi sous l'influence constante de

Boèce et d'Alain de Lille : « . . . la conquête de la rose n'est plus qu'un prétexte, une transition plus ou moins ingénieuse pour relier entre eux des discours sur différents sujets ».

B) Une œuvre *touffue :* « Son inspiration indisciplinée, rebelle aux conseils de l'art sans souci des proportions, indifférente même à la logique du développement, procède par jets capricieux, s'égare, revient, repart et aboutit enfin à une œuvre touffue, encombrée, chargée de verrues et de bouffissures ».[6] Ainsi, nous dit E. Faral, Ami ne se borne pas à enseigner que, pour perdre son ennemi, il faut savoir user de paroles douces et de caresses, et que, pour obtenir l'amour, il faut savoir feindre les larmes, et qu'il faut être habile à duper les femmes sans en être dupe : il parle aussi de l'âge d'or du bonheur des premiers temps, de l'origine de la propriété et des gouvernements ; de même Faux Semblant qui s'enrôle dans les troupes de l'Amour n'est pas seulement le symbole des roueries du désir amoureux ; il est aussi un faux dévot dont la confession de plus de mille vers constitue une satire des ordres mendiants. Mais plaident en faveur de Jean de Meun et font de lui un grand écrivain l'énergie de son style, son éloquence, et l'unité de sa pensée : naturaliste intégral, il se plaît à examiner la nature dans toutes ses manifestations et à étudier l'homme dans sa vie sociale.

C) *L'esprit du poème change sous la plume de Jean de Meun :* selon G. Paris,[7] « Guillaume ne loue et ne peint que l'amour vrai et réprouve les faux amants ; Jean, faisant parler Raison, trouve qu'ils sont seuls avisés et que les autres sont des niais ; Amour, dans Guillaume, défend d'employer des paroles grossières, Jean les justifie et met cyniquement sa théorie en pratiqe ; Amour recommande avant tout, dans le premier poème, de respecter les femmes ; elles reçoivent, dans le second, les plus sanglantes insultes qui leur aient jamais été adressées ; l'allégorie même de la rose, délicate et gracieuse chez Guillaume, devient platement grossière chez Jean ». G. de Lorris, dévot de la femme, est le porteparole d'une société aristocratique et courtoise ; J. de Meun, démolisseur, anti-Guillaume, est le meilleur représentant de l'état d'esprit bourgeois qui triompha après la décadence des notions de chevalerie, de courtoisie et d'ascétisme. Voyez ce que devient Ami : dans la partie de Guillaume, il conseillait au poète éploré d'user de soumission pour apaiser Danger et tâcher d'approcher à nouveau la Rose ; avec Jean de Meun, il l'invite à s'engager dans la voie de Trop-Donner, qui n'a que l'inconvénient de jeter les amants dans la prison de Pauvreté, s'ils n'ont pas les faveurs de Richesse ; et il se lance dans un long développement sur la coquetterie et les ruses des femmes. N'est-il pas significatif que ce soit Faux Semblant qui entre le premier dans la place et se signale par l'exploit de trancher la langue de Male Bouche : curieuse glorification des traîtres et des « losengiers », haïs par les poètes courtois. La Vieille, chargée par Guillaume de surveiller Bel Accueil dans la tour, devient une proxénète qui se plaît à corrompre. Bref, comme le dit Fleming,[8] « Guil-

laume is supposed to be courtly, smooth, aristocratic and conventional ; Jean is anticourtly, bumptious, bourgeois and unconventional ».

D) *Jean de Meun ne s'intéresse pas à l'intrigue du roman*, n'invente rien, se borne à emprunter à Guillaume la matière de nombreux épisodes : ainsi revoit-on successivement Raison, Ami et Amour ; même dans les batailles, on décèle force reprises.[9]

E) Le roman se transforme, sous la plume de Jean de Meun, « en une *encyclopédie* où s'entassent, sans ordre ni mesure, des dissertations et des anecdotes elles-mêmes entrecoupées de virulentes sorties et d'ardentes professions de foi ; il y met tout ce qu'il sait, et y dit carrément, brutalement, cyniquement, tout ce qu'il pense ».[10] Jean de Meun est bien un homme de ce XIIIe siècle où se développe le savoir : les grands se font composer en roman ou traduire du latin une quantité de livres d'enseignement ; on ouvre des écoles ; on rédige de nombreuses encyclopédies.[11] Jean se veut utile : aussi accumulera-t-il le plus possible de connaissances qu'il empruntera aux auteurs les plus divers, entassant des citations, reprenant des chapitres entiers qu'il donnera comme étant de lui. Il est d'ailleurs difficile de retrouver les sources exactes.[12] *Son œuvre vit d'emprunts.* Ainsi quand elle attaque les ordres mendiants : Guiot de Provins affirmait déjà que les abbés d'autrefois avaient épousé trois vierges pures, Charité, Vérité et Droiture, et que ceux de son temps les avaient remplacées par trois sorcières, Trahison, Hypocrisie et Simonie ; et il attaque avec virulence les moines et blancs et noirs, les Prémontrés et les Chartreux. Souvent Jean de Meun marche sur les traces de Rutebeuf, de Guillaume de Saint-Amour, de l'auteur du *Couronnement de Renard*. Quant à la Vieille, esquissée chez Ovide, elle a connu toute sorte d'avatars au moyen âge : Thessala, Baucis, Béroé, Hersent ; sa préférence pour le ribaud qui la malmène au bachelier courtois se rencontrait dans le *Dit de Châtie-Musart* de Guillaume le Normand. Aucune originalité, concluent E. Langlois et E. Faral, même pour l'idée centrale, le mythe de la Nature Toute-puissante, développé déjà par Bernard Silvestre dans son livre *De l'Univers*, et aux alentours de 1180 par Alain de Lille dans son *De Planctu Naturae*, dont voici le résumé d'après E. Faral (*art. cit.* p. 450) :

> « Le premier, œuvre d'Alain de Lille et intitulé les Plaintes de la nature, est le récit d'une vision. L'auteur, plongé dans une longue méditation sur les égarements des sodomites, voit apparaître à ses regards une femme majestueuse, dont le diadème reproduit les merveilles de la voûte céleste, le cercle de l'écliptique et les signes du zodiaque, les constellations et les planètes, dont la robe éblouissante porte brodée la représentation de tous les êtres créés, habitants de l'air, de l'onde et de la terre, au milieu d'une profusion de fleurs, et dont l'approche fait courir sur tout l'univers un frisson d'allégresse et de fête. C'est la Nature. Devant cette miraculeuse apparition l'auteur s'évanouit. Mais l'auguste personne le soutient de ses bras : « C'est moi ta créatrice », lui dit-elle, et elle daigne lui révéler selon quelles harmonies savantes elle a organisé l'être humain. Alors Alain, revenu de sa stupeur, sent son cœur s'emplir de gratitude et il adresse à la Nature un hymne de vénération. Puis, s'enhardissant à la mieux considérer, il découvre sur son beau visage les marques de la tristesse et de l'affliction. Il l'interroge, et elle lui apprend les

> raisons de son chagrin : c'est l'homme qui en est la cause, l'homme, son chef-d'œuvre, et qui pourtant, seul de ses créatures, se dérobe à ses lois et se plonge dans la corruption. Comment pourrait-elle supporter sans un noir chagrin la frénésie des Léda, des Pasiphaé, des Médée, des Narcisse, des Orphée, — les défaillances de Vénus, qu'elle avait chargée d'assurer la continuité des espèces, — l'ivresse, où l'on va chercher une volupté rendue plus rare par le mélange des roses et de l'hysope, — la bonne chère, qui égare les prélats eux-mêmes, et leur fait soumettre au martyre de préparations culinaires raffinées les saumons et les brochets, — l'avarice, devant laquelle toute vaillance, toute vertu s'efface, — et l'arrogance, et la jalousie, et l'adulation. Contre tant de vices l'auteur associe sa plainte à celle de la Nature. Or, pendant ce temps, les Vertus qui devraient servir de guides aux hommes, l'Hyménée, la Chasteté, la Tempérance, la Largesse et l'Humilité, se lamentent aussi de tous les affronts qui leur sont faits. La Nature ne peut plus résister à leur douleur. Elle convoque Génius, son chapelain, pour lancer un anathème impitoyable contre tous les manquements à sa loi ».

et par Jean de Hanville dans son *Archithrenius*, où un jeune homme zélé, fatigué de la dépravation universelle, se met en quête de la sagesse à travers le monde et, après avoir visité des terres de dépravation — terres de Vénus, de l'ambition, de la gloutonnerie — arrive à Thulé, où vivent les sages, puis à la cour de Nature qui lui donne pour épouse Modération.

Au total, *Jean de Meun n'est guère*, comme son siècle, *qu'un traducteur* dont le seul mérite est de pousser plus loin les idées de ses prédécesseurs.[13]

Faut-il en rester à cette image un peu simplette d'une œuvre informe et chaotique, sorte de pêle-mêle encyclopédique qui ne viserait qu'à vulgariser le savoir antique? Faut-il avec Lewis dans *The Allegory of Love* (1936)[14] condamner rapidement « a . . . huge, dishevelled, violent poem of eighteen thousand lines », qui n'a plus rien de la rigueurni du sens des proportions de Guillaume de Lorris, dont il est impossible de prévoir ce qu'il dira à la page suivante et dont l'auteur n'éprouve aucun intérêt pour son sujet duquel il s'échappe à tout moment, composant de façon négligée et confuse?

C'est à A. Gunn que revient l'honneur, dans *The Mirror of Love*, (Lubbock, 1952), d'avoir proposé une nouvelle interprétation du *Roman :* s'appuyant sur des ouvrages philosophiques en latin, sur des traités de rhétorique et de poétique, *il a insisté sur la forte unité de l'œuvre qui se veut un traité complet de l'amour et qui est fondée sur une philosophie de la plénitude et de la fécondité.* Ce chemin parcouru, il faudra se demander si ce critique ne tombe pas, à plusieurs reprises, dans l'anachronisme.

B) UNE NOUVELLE LECTURE DU ROMAN DE LA ROSE

I.

Le dessein du poète

A) Une analyse plus précise, moins encombrée de préjugés, nous révèle, à la suite d'A. Gunn, que le *Roman de la Rose* combine deux méthodes : celle du récit allégorique de la quête de la Rose, et celle de l'exposition directe du

thème à travers les discours des différents personnages dans un vaste débat qui concerne toute l'œuvre. Mais, si le roman de Jean de Meun se développe sur deux plans, celui du récit et celui de l'argumentation, ils interfèrent constamment, l'argumentation sortant du récit et celui-ci étant influencé par l'argumentation qui retarde l'action, ou l'illustre, ou la motive, ou remet en question les progrès de l'amoureux.

Sans doute les deux poètes veulent-ils plaire autant qu'enseigner (31—32, 15211—15212), mais *l'enseignement est prépondérant :* narration et discours sont des moyens pour expliquer et enseigner une conception de l'amour. La narration ne constitue qu'un moyen, qu'une méthode parmi d'autres pour développer l'interprétation du thème central. Quand l'auteur interrompt son récit et use des autres méthodes, commentaire direct ou dialogue, cela ne veut pas dire qu'il perde de vue son sujet. L'allégorie est un instrument d'exposition dont le sens sous-jacent est la part la plus importante. *Avant d'être un récit le Roman est l'illustration d'une idée,* et les discours sont une variation dans la technique d'exposition.

B) Mais *la narration garde un intérêt en elle-même,* une certaine indépendance que les deux auteurs ont préservée.

Le récit allégorique comporte des épisodes qui illustrent chacun un aspect du thème sous-jacent ; aussi leur multiplication dans le *Roman de la Rose* ne signifie pas que l'imagination de Jean de Meun se déploie sans contrôle, mais ce sont les moyens qui permettent une exposition complète de son sujet.

De plus, le récit allégorique épouse la démarche de l'amour vers son but, dans son activité et son dynamisme. C'est pourquoi les retards et les suspensions ne sont pas dépourvus de signification, marquant les obstacles que l'amoureux rencontre à chaque étape de son itinéraire et l'influence de la doctrine courtoise sur la société. Les difficultés rencontrées par l'amant sont donc exprimées autant par les rebuffades que le récit relate, que par le ralentissement apporté par les longs discours, qui sont l'image du long et discontinu développement sentimental, du lent éveil du désir physique chez l'aimée, des doutes, désespoirs, timidités et exaltations du héros. La course de l'amour est comparée par Jean de Meun à une chasse dans un bois. Aussi l'amplification du récit, ses écarts et ses détours ne sont-ils pas le fait d'un écrivain victime de sa prolixité et de son érudition, mais « rather the means deliberately employed by a subtle and sophisticated poet, fully aware of the direction of his « long procès » for representing the varied courses one must take and the varied fortunes one might encounter in the pursuit of love's joyance » (Gunn, *op. cit.* p. 74). Bref, la structure compliquée du *Roman de la Rose* est un miroir fidèle du cheminement de l'amour :

ausinc queur qui d'amer ne cesse
ne cort pas torjorz d'une lesse ;
or doit chacier, or doit foïr
qui veut de bone amor joïr (7525—28)[15]

C) Que recouvre en fait l'allégorie de la Rose ? *L'histoire et la maturation sentimentale d'un amoureux*, typique encore que bien individualisé.

Un jeune homme de bonne famille tombe amoureux d'une jeune fille qui lui réserve d'abord un bon accueil, mais qui ensuite devient inaccessible à cause de ses propres craintes et de l'hostilité des personnes plus âgées qui veillent sur elle. Instruit des règles de l'amour courtois, il est désespéré de son échec, quand s'arrête le récit de Guillaume.

L'amant tente de voir sa passion à la froide lumière de la raison, mais, en proie à une ardeur toute romantique, sa réserve naturelle et la délicatesse de la jeunesse étant encore redoublées par l'enseignement courtois, il ne peut être sensible au réalisme sans fard d'une vision rationaliste de l'amour humain, ni être attiré par l'amour de la raison. Il est repris par sa passion. Désemparé, il recherche l'aide d'un ami que l'expérience a délivré de ses illusions et rendu cynique, et qui l'instruit plutôt de la réalité et des moyens de réussir en amour : il l'invite à fuir tout autant domination et soumission. L'amant reprend sa poursuite que gêne une relative pauvreté. Il fait vœu de ne pas renoncer à l'amour. Bien que fidèle à l'idéal courtois, il comprend, instruit par l'expérience, que la tromperie, l'intrigue et la corruption jouent un rôle important dans le succès des affaires amoureuses. Au terme de son éducation, il se rend compte que ce qui le pousse, c'est une impulsion naturelle qui l'incite à la reproduction de son espèce.

Dans le même temps, l'héroïne est passée par la même école de réalisme et de cynisme, sans perdre toutefois sa réserve naturelle ni sa pudeur féminine, et est arrivée à sentir la même impulsion des instincts naturels.

Le terme du roman marque l'accord final des deux amants pour satisfaire le besoin essentiel que ressent le corps de se reproduire, grâce à quelques ruses, en dépit de l'inexpérience et de la pauvreté de l'amant, des craintes de l'aimée et de la vigilance de ses gardiens.

Mais cette histoire a aussi une vérité universelle : après la passion toute romantique de la jeunesse, vient, avec l'âge, une vue plus réaliste et rationnelle de l'amour. La passion demeure aussi intense, mais on en comprend mieux l'origine physique, comme on se rend compte des obstacles sociaux et psychologiques et, partant, de la nécessité d'user de stratagèmes qui auraient choqué, plus jeune. Mais il y a en même temps gain sur le plan moral : le véritable amour demande de se déprendre de soi, d'échapper au narcissisme, de donner autant que de prendre, de se connaître de mieux, car

. . . . cil seus aime sagement
Qui se quenoist entierement (17661—662).

C'est ainsi que l'homme prend place dans le cours universel de la nature :

> « As Guillaume de Lorris allegorized the begetting of romantic passion by youth's vision of beauty and the early stages of the growth and nurture of the passion, so Jean de Meun allegorized the process by which a typical youthful lover attains increased and sometimes disillusioning knowledge of love, women, his own self, human life and the workings of nature, and becomes, in consequence, less sentimental but perhaps still more passionate ; less naïve, less selfish, more mature. Jean de Meun's narrative has for its theme the progress of a lover ; but this progress is not only progress toward the satisfaction of a specific physical desire : it comprehends the whole movement of youth toward emotional and intellectual maturity, such maturity as is necessary at once for completely harmonious physical union and for the responsabilities of marriage ». (Gunn, *op. cit.* p. 280)

Cette vision de la maturation de l'individu est liée à la philosophie de la plénitude. La reproduction, ou la régénération, de l'espèce dépend de la maturation, car les individus de chaque espèce ne peuvent produire d'individus semblables à eux que s'ils sont passés par un processus de croissance et ont atteint une certaine maturité. Réciproquement, la possibilité de reproduire indique que l'individu a atteint sa maturité. En termes aristotéliciens, c'est *l'entéléchie* de la jeunesse.

Le Roman de la Rose raconte donc *comment l'individu, par lentes étapes, détournées et souvent pénibles, atteint le point qui lui permet de produire un autre lui-même et de regarnir les rangs de l'humanité dans l'échelle des êtres.*

Ce développement, qui ne concerne pas seulement le corps, mais aussi l'esprit et les sentiments, est acquis par les discours d'Amour dans Guillaume de Lorris, de Raison, Ami, Richesse, la Vieille, Nature et Genius dans Jean de Meun, *discours, qui, loin d'être des hors-d'œuvre, sont à la fois des chaînons essentiels dans la quête de la rose et les moyens de l'éducation et de la maturation des amoureux.*

Cette éducation sentimentale passe par des erreurs et des épreuves, des faux pas et des incertitudes que reproduit la structure complexe du roman.

Il arrive de tragiques mésaventures quand les amoureux ne suivent pas les conseils des maîtres : ainsi, Adonis, qui n'écoute pas Vénus, est émasculé et tué (15632 sq.) ; Abélard a le tort de ne pas se conformer aux avis d'Héloïse (8739—8802) ; ceux qui s'enferment dans les couvents n'atteindront pas leur maturité. Au contraire, ceux qui tirent profit des leçons finissent toujours par obtenir le bonheur, témoin Pygmalion (21043 sq.) et l'amoureux de la Rose.

Les *exempla* de Vénus et Adonis, de Pygmalion, d'Héloïse et Abélard révèlent un autre aspect de ce développement de la jeunesse: l'un des amants instruit l'autre dans la théorie et l'art de l'amour de façon moins formelle que dans les discours. Les jeunes gens sont menés au point où ils sont aptes aux joies et aux obligations de l'amour. Mais l'enseignement diffère selon chacun de ces *exempla.* Le mythe d'Adonis montre les conséquences dramatiques de la négligence et de l'erreur de jugement dans le processus de la maturation. L'histoire de Pygmalion est plus complexe, liée à la fois au thème de la matu-

ration et à celui de la génération ou de la création. L'amour est d'abord un rêve, un espoir, un idéal qui, peu à peu, prend forme et devient une réalité vivante qui s'enracine dans tout l'être ; *il n'est pas complet tant qu'il n'a pas atteint la maturité d'une passion pleine* et mutuelle.

En effet, l'amour, dans ses commencements, est égoïste, abstrait, idéal. Tel celui de Narcisse, que Pygmalion rappelle dans son monologue. Narcisse dans son égocentrisme ne peut concevoir cette considération mutuelle dont est fait le véritable amour. L'histoire de Pygmalion suggère le sens du *Roman de la Rose :* l'amant, d'abord égoïste comme Narcisse, en vient à comprendre, sous l'influence de différents maîtres et de l'expérience, la signification universelle de sa passion et la nécessité d'atteindre à un amour mutuel. Atteindre la maturité, c'est dépasser son point de vue personnel, c'est s'éveiller à soi-même et aux autres : les deux héros, celui de la *Rose* et Pygmalion, vivent, au départ, la vie d'un dormeur tourné vers lui-même, comme l'attestent le sommeil du héros et l'auto-adoration de Narcisse dans la partie de Guillaume, le rappel de cet exemplum et la notation *e qu'il seit jourz e qu'il s'esveille* (10572) dans celle de Jean de Meun. *Pygmalion*, c'est l'apologue du développement physique et sentimental de la jeune fille qui est l'objet du désir du héros-processus au terme duquel la femme est préparée à l'amour et au mariage, et qui aboutit à un amour mutuel, où d'abord l'amant est le maître et l'initiateur.

La maturation suppose donc l'enseignement de l'expérience avec son contingent d'épreuves et d'erreurs, une instruction donnée par les gardiens de la tradition, une instruction mutuelle de l'homme et de la femme dans les arts de l'amour et de la vie.

En conclusion, l'histoire de Pygmalion et celle du *Roman de la Rose* sont des apologues qui racontent la maturation de la jeunesse et sa quête dans l'accomplissement de l'amour.

Mais dans cette formation de l'amant prévaut surtout la part des discours, qui ne présentent pas l'unité qu'a, par exemple, dans les sociétés primitives, l'enseignement prénuptial. En effet, la doctrine de l'amour courtois qui n'avait jamais rencontré l'adhésion de toute la classe chevaleresque, avait été attaquée par d'autre classes et, s'opposait à la religion chrétienne par son exaltation de l'adultère et son peu d'intérêt pour la procréation et la continuité du groupe.

Le Roman de La Rose, reflet du conflit de toutes les doctrines opposées auxquelles était en proie l'amoureux du XIIIe siècle, devient une *disputatio* sur la signification et la valeur de l'amour et la conduites des amants.

II.

Un grand débat sur l'amour

A) *Le Roman de la Rose est un DÉBAT qui s'insère dans une tradition et témoigne d'une époque*

Le *Roman* vient à la suite de plusieurs *disputationes amoris*. Tout d'abord, le *Pamphilus* latin du XIIe siècle, traduit vers 1225 par Jean Brasdefer sous le titre de Pamphile et Galathée et comportant quatre personnages : Pamphile, Galathée, la Vieille et la déesse d'Amour.[16] Ensuite, des débats pour savoir qui aiment le mieux, des clercs ou des chevaliers : *le Concile de Remiremont*, poème latin de 238 vers (XIIe siècle), ou des nonnes sont réunies en concile pour trouver la solution de ce problème ; [17] *Philis et Flora*, poème latin, imité à la fin du XIIe et au XIIIe siècle, dans le *Jugement d'amour*, *Florence et Blancheflor*, *Hueline et Aiglentine:* deux jeunes filles mènent la discussion et décident de se rendre à la cour du dieu d'Amour qui tranchera.[18]

Inutile de s'attarder sur le fait bien connu que l'amour était le sujet débattu dans nombre d'autres œuvres, romans de *Tristan* et de Chrétien de Troyes, traités comme le *De Amore* d'André le Chapelain dont une bonne partie est dialoguée et qui comporte une rétractation,[19] ou le *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, où le chevalier et la dame discutent pour savoir si femmes ou demoiselles doivent accepter des amoureux :

> « . . . the *Roman de la Rose*, having such a background and setting, should have been a *Tendenzdichtung*, a "problem poem", a work of controversy and systematized argument. As such, it was both the result and the culmination of some of the most important literary and social tendencies of its time : the grand arena where the theories and problemes which had been agitated in the lesser tourneys of *tenzon*, *question d'amour*, romance and treatise . . . were marshalled and deployed in full battle array». (A. Gunn, op. cit., p. 443)

On débattait alors de nombreux problèmes, surtout à l'université de Paris où triomphait la méthode scolastique de discussion et de raisonnement.

Le héros ressemble à un écolier qui va d'une école à l'autre à la recherche de la vraie doctrine de l'amour, chaque maître défendant une théorie, essayant de réfuter celle des autres et de retenir l'étudiant. Cette méthode avait l'avantage de permettre à chacun d'exposer longuement et de façon circonstanciée son point de vue, tandis que les interruptions de l'élève donservaient aux discours vie et naturel.

B) *Ce débat a pour sujet l'amour*

Comment retrouver le dessein des deux romanciers ?
On pourra le savoir :

. par des déclarations explicites des auteurs, tant dans cette œuvre que dans d'autre ;
. par le témoignage des premiers lecteurs ;
. surtout, par la composition du *Roman*.

Aucune difficulté à reconnaître le dessein de Guillaume de Lorris qui appelle son œuvre

. . . li *Romanz de la Rose*
ou l'art d'Amors est tote enclose (37—38),

et qui note, au début du discours d'Amours,

Li diex d'Amors lors m'encharja, 2055
tot issi com vos oroiz ja,
mot a mot ses comandemenz.
Bien les devise cist romanz ;
qui amer veut, or i entende,
que li romanz des or amende.*

Mais qu'en est-il de Jean de Meun ? Pour beaucoup de critiques, il n'a aucun projet précis, sinon celui de manifester son érudition et ses idées sur n'importe quel sujet : il poursuit de nombreuses fins, et incompatibles. Pour E. Langlois, le plan est incohérent, voire absent.

Lui-même parle de son œuvre en trois endroits. Eliminons le troisième, peu important (19851—54). En revanche, cette confidence occupe presque toute l'allocution d'Amour aux barons (10477—10634) : pour Jean, le thème de Guillaume est l'amour, et son dessein est d'enseigner les commandements de l'amour ; Jean veut compléter le roman (10554—56) et révéler tous les aspects de sa signification (10573—10574). Le troisième passage comporte une apologie du poète qui défend certains de ses vers (15105—15272) : Jean considère l'œuvre comme un ensemble dont il révélera le sens. Il recourt à l'image du bois à travers lequel le chasseur poursuit sa proie comme Vénus la sienne ; c'est aussi le symbole de la marche vagabonde de la narration. Jean a voulu écrire un traité sur l'amour dont il explicitera le sens, directement, par les discours des personnages, et indirectement, par le biais de l'allégorie. Il se présente comme un poète de l'amour qu'il a servi toute sa vie (10539—40), formé dans cette science dès sa tendre enfance, chantant partout ses complaintes :

. . . puis qu'il sera hors d'enfance,
endoctrinez de ma sciance**
si fleütera*** noz paroles
par carrefors et par escoles
selonc le langage de France
par tout le regne,**** en audiance,
que ja mes cil qui les orront
des douz maus d'amer ne morront . . . (10609—616).

Plus philosophe, plus rationaliste que Guillaume, Jean demeure un poète de l'amour dont il expose la théorie et la pratique, et dont l'ouvrage devrait être appelé le *Miroër aus Amoreus* (10621). D'ailleurs, ne se présente-t-il pas comme

* à partir de maintenant gagne en valeur.
** c'est Amors qui parle
*** répondra, chantera
**** royaume

un professeur qui enseigne les moyens de réussir en amour dans la lettre à Philippe IV qu'il a placée en tête de sa traduction de Boèce :

> Je, Jehans de Meun qui jadis ou Rommant de la Rose, puis que
> Jalousie ot mis en prison Bel Acueil, enseignai la maniere
> dou chastel prendre et de la rose cuillir . . . ?

Le *Roman de la Rose* est à la fois une histoire de la quête de la rose et un traité sur l'art de réussir en amour.

C'est d'ailleurs ce qu'ont pensé les premiers lecteurs de Jean de Meun, puisque 80 manuscrits au moins ont comme colophon :

> Explicit li Roumane de la Rose
> Ou l'art d'Amors est tote enclose

et que, jusqu'au XVIe siècle, on a vu dans le Roman un *Miroir aux Amoureux*. Guillaume de Doguleville, premier imitateur et adversaire de Jean, notait :

> Chi fine li romans du moisne
> Du pelerinage de vie humaine,
> . . .
> Prins sur le roman de la Rose
> Ou l'art d'amours est tote enclose.

Que l'on y voie un évangile de la passion sensuelle, une invective irréligieuse contre la chasteté, un miroir des amants dévergondés, il reste que le roman est toujours, un traité de l'Amour. Dans la fameuse querelle à laquelle prirent part Christine de Pisan et Gerson, si chemin faisant, il est question de la prolixité et de l'érudition variée de Jean de Meun, la controverse porte sur la décence du langage, l'exaltation de la fécondité et la satire des femmes. Mario Equicola (1470—1525), dans *La Natura d'Amore* (1495—1496), qui ne parle que de Jean de Meun, souligne l'importance de la Rose, et de sa poursuite dans l'œuvre, voit, dans les divers discours (de Raison, d'Ami, de la Vieille, de Genius, de Nature) le même sujet à savoir l'amour.

Le Roman de la Rose n'est donc pas un recueil de dissertations sur des sujets variés. Il s'agit d'une œuvre didactique qui touche à des questions scientifiques, pour combattre des préjugés, mais sans jamais approfondir, et qui n'a rien d'une encyclopédie à la manière de l'*Image du Monde*, du *Secret des secrets* ou du *Trésor* de B. Latini, ni son côté systématique, encore que Jean de Meun s'intéresse à la création et aux œuvres de la nature, qu'il soit optimiste et manifeste des tendances rationalistes et dialectiques. Son roman demeure un *Miroir de l'Amour*, non un *Miroir du Monde*, sans compter qu'il a une réalité poétique. Jean n'est pas davantage un simple vulgarisateur de la sagesse ancienne à l'usage des gens qui ignorent le latin. Certes, il participe à l'élan humaniste du 13e siècle, il admire le savoir du passé, il aime à faire

connaître les trésors qu'il a engrangés ; il est plutôt un humaniste au sens large, imprégné de l'esprit classique, et puisant avec une totale liberté dans les greniers de l'antiquité ce qui peut servir son propos. Il utilise les anciens pour défendre et étayer ses propos (15185 sq.), souvent avec ironie ; il ne cherche pas à reproduire purement et simplement les passages de ses devanciers, mais veut confirmer, par ce biais, sa propre vision de l'humanité. En fait il puise à trois sortes de sources : les livres, l'expérience et raison :

> . . . onc riens n'en dis, mien esciant,
> conmant qu'il m'aut contrariant*
> qui ne soit en escrit trouvé
> et par experimant prové,
> ou par reson au mains provable,
> a cui qu'el soit desagraable . . . (15263—268)

Langlois lui-même reconnaissait que Jean modifiait profondément ses emprunts, y ajoutait beaucoup, capable de la plus frappante originalité en écrivant un Miroir de l'Amour qui est aussi un Miroir de la Vérité que ne ternissent ni l'hypocrisie, ni l'illusion.

C) *Il s'agit d'un véritable débat*

Eliminons d'abord quelques points.

Pourquoi d'abord cette exubérence de Jean de Meun? A la fois parce qu'il veut remplir le dessein de Guillaume de Lorris et donner une vue complète de l'art d'aimer ; parce qu'il voit en l'amour une force d'importance cosmique, nécessaire pour que continue l'univers ; parce qu'il désire donner au roman une richesse et une ampleur dignes de son grand sujet et de la beauté de l'univers.

Ensuit, Lewis a reproché à Jean de Meun l'incohérence entre les diverses théories qu'il expose (*op. cit.*, pp. 154—155). Est-ce juste? Le poète a voulu, d'une part, raconter l'éducation sentimentale d'un jeune amoureux qui, selon toute vraisemblance, devait rencontrer sur son chemin des opinions divergentes sur le thème de l'amour ; d'autre part, représenter les maîtres du héros rivalisant entre eux pour le faire adhérer à leur propre système. A Gunn n'a pas tort de parler (p. 320) d'une sorte de « *symposium* or *disputation* on the subject of love, in which the opposition of erotic « ideologies » is dramatic ».

Mais, dira-t-on, les participants ne sont jamais en contact. Que l'on se rappelle que le forum où a lieu le débat est l'esprit du héros, où les doctrines de la Raison, de l'amour courtois et de l'expérience attaquent et contreattaquent ; le héros est, nous l'avons vu, un étudiant qui va d'un maître à l'autre : loin d'être passif, il est une sorte de mandataire d'Amour.

* même si c'est contre mon gré

Ce débat ne serait-il pas entre Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, ce dernier réfutant le point de vue délicat et idéaliste du premier? En fait, si Jean a eu conscience de cette opposition, il éprouvait une sympathie pleine d'admiration pour son devancier, il a souligné l'unité de l'œuvre entière et la continuité de la narration. On le voit dans la digression qui indique le projet du *Roman* (10496—500; 518—520; 531—534). Jean met Guillaume sur le même plan que Gallus, Catulle et Ovide, capable d'enthousiasme et d'affection pour la personnalité et le roman de son prédécesseur. Il a bien compris son œuvre, dont il reprend motif et thèmes, établissant un système d'échos entre les symboles, ou d'antithèses : ainsi entre le Jardin de Déduit et la fontaine de Narcisse, décrits par Guillaume, et le Jardin de Paradis et la fontaine de la Sainte-Trinité, présentés par Jean. Lequel intègre l'œuvre de Guillaume dans la sienne, pourvue d'une nouvelle et plus large signification ; il compose un nouveau poème dans lequel l'ancien est compris.

I. — *Dans ce débat, différents maîtres prodiguent leur enseignement*

a) Les uns sont représentatifs d'une théorie.

— *Raison* symbolise une représentation rationnelle de l'amour humain, dont est légitime celui qui a pour fin la perpétuation de l'espèce ; mais elle invite l'amant à considérer surtout la véritable amitié, l'amour de l'humanité, l'amour supra-terrestre de la Divine Raison.

— *Amour*, c'est l'amour courtois, surtout celui de Marie de Champagne, de Chrétien de Troyes et d'André le Chapelain, bien qu'il y ait quelque résidu de la divinité païenne.

— *Vénus* est la passion physique, le désir sexuel, qui ne sont pas modifiés par les codes et les théories ; ses fidèles sont prêts à rejeter les principes moraux et tous romanesque, à recourir à la tromperie et à la corruption pour parvenir à leurs fins. Vénus ne prend pas part à la *disputation* et n'apparaît pas comme une divinité indépendante.

— Amour et Vénus sont subordonnés à *Nature* dont nous verrons ailleurs la signification, et que sert *Genius* comme patron particulier de la génération.

b) Représentent une expérience de l'amour : Ami et la Vieille, dont la présence est normale dans un *Miroir de l'Amour* qui, voulant être complet et fidèle, doit révéler ce qui est dans la vie, même sordide, comme ce qui est dans la théorie. Leurs discours sont une partie légitime et nécessaire du poème.

— *Ami* a une signification ambiguë : il prend parti pour la véritable amitié ; il a envers l'amour l'attitude réaliste et antisentimentale, mais pas forcément cynique, d'un homme du monde expérimenté et qui a perdu ses illusions ;

— *La Vieille* se situe à un nouveau inférieur, femme d'expérience qui incite à tirer un profit de l'expérience à faire de l'amour une source de gain et de joie sensuelle, mais qui présente un côté sympathique par sa conscience aigüe des torts subis par le sexe faible du fait d'amants infidèles.

c) En marge, mais en relation avec le débat :

— *Faux Semblant* et *Contrainte Abstinence* défendent les ruses et les mensonges utilisés par les amants dans leur lutte contre la chasteté ; ils représentent le célibat, offense contre la loi naturelle de la regénération ; ils symbolisent la vraie et la fausse chasteté.

— *Richesse* semble le patron de ceux qui aiment à l'excès les biens au poin de déserter l'armée de l'Amour et de refuser d'aider le héros ; elle apparaît aussi comme un allié de Raison qui condamne la folie de ceux qui gaspillent les richesses.

II. — *Dans ce débat se heurtent véritablement diverses doctrines*

a) Ce, dès la première partie, avec l'échange entre Raison et l'amoureux (2981 sq.), le conseil d'Ami d'user de la flatterie pour gagner à sa cause *Danger* et surtout le discours d'Amour. Mais il semble que ce soit Jean de Meun qui ait eu l'idée de la *disputatio* et qui ait transformé la signification du discours d'Amour en l'intégrant dans l'ensemble et en en faisant l'affirmation de la doctrine courtoise.

Amour se présente comme le seul maître qui ne souffra ni rival, ni contradiction, ni apostasie, et exige que sa doctrine soit écoutée avec la plus grande attention et retenue :

> . . . or les* enten et les retien ;
> li mestres pert sa poine toute
> quant li deciples qui escoute
> ne met son cuer el retenir
> si qu'il l'en puise sovenir (2050—54).

Mais déjà dans le roman de Guillaume, Raison porte la contradiction pendant plus de soixante-dix vers (2982—3056) :

* les commandements

C'est li maus qui amors a non,
Ou il n'a se foli non.

Cependant, l'amoureux refuse de la suivre (3070 sq.). Voici donc déjà l'amorce du grand débat sur l'amour. Puis apparaît Ami dont Amour a recommandé la fréquentation soit pour recevoir de lui des conseils, soit pour se confier à lui ; mais Ami est plus réaliste qu'Amour, puisqu'il recommande la flatterie, en sorte que se trouve aussi en germe l'interprétation de l'homme « mondain ».

b) Nouvelle arrivée et second discours de Raison qui reproche à l'amant son ignorance (4232—4241) et se présente comme son maître (4247 sq.). Raison veut donner une nouvelle définition de l'amour, en compétition avec Amour à la fois comme précepteur et maître féodal, en débat avec son auditeur qui devient peu à peu récalcitrant et se fait le défenseur et l'interprète de la doctrine de son premier maître. Mais c'est surtout un débat entre Raison et Amour qui incorpore dans la *disputation* le discours de Guillaume de Lorris. Raison répond aux demandes de l'amant (4341—45 ; 4633—55) ; elle définit les autres sortes d'amour ; mais l'amant refuse de la suivre, sous prétexte qu'elle emploie, en parlant des parties de Saturne, un langage indigne d'une dame et propre aux ribauds et aux vilains (5682—86).

Jean de Meun oppose le raffinement de la théorie courtoise à l'attitude selon laquelle tout ce qui a été créé par Dieu peut et doit être appelé par son nom.

Raison et Amour essaient de s'imposer à l'esprit du héros ; mais la première échoue par manque de psychologie, faute d'avoir compris que la jeunesse, qui n'a pas encore atteint sa maturité, est fermée à une logique trop stricte, à sa sévérité envers l'amour courtois, à sa prolixité, à la crudité de ses propos. L'honneur de l'amoureux ne lui permet pas de rejeter les amis qu'il a choisis, d'autant que les moments de lucidité et de désillusion sont trop rares pour balancer le poids de la passion et du code moral.

c) Ami n'apparaît pas de prime abord comme une véritable *disputant*, car il ne présente pas une doctrine spéciale, ni ne s'oppose à Amour ou à Raison. Mais il s'agit bien d'une troisième autorité, d'une troisième doctrine, issue de l'expérience, qui s'oppose sur l'essentiel à l'enseignement des autres disputants et veut apprendre au jeune héros la manière de gagner la rose. Cet homme d'expérience se veut le maître d'une autre école de pensée, auprès de qui l'amoureux va chercher conseil ;

Por ce, Amis, a vos me conseill ;
morz sui, se n'i metez conseill ».
Lors dist Amis com bien apris,*
car d'amors ot assez apris (7249—52).

* en somme expérimenté

Il conseille à l'amant d'user de la tromperie et de la flatterie, suscitant la révolte de son interlocuteur (7765—73) qui, cependant, accepte de recevoir ses avis (7847—54). Ami enseigne non seulement comment obtenir l'amour, mais encore comment jouir d'une longue vie harmonieuse avec l'aimée (8293—8306) ; non seulement l'art de courtiser, mais aussi l'art du mariage, à la manière d'un maître et d'un docteur pleinement qualifiés (9649—58 ; 9865 sq.).

Dans le discours d'Ami, apparaît nettement l'opposition à Raison mais aussi, bien qu'il se présente comme un supporter d'Amour, à Amour lui-même.

Il s'oppose à certains commandements d'Amour. Selon ce dernier, il ne faut pas commetre d'action méprisable ; or Ami recommande l'hypocrisie et la fausseté (7278—7764), admet la violence dans la lutte contre la chasteté. Ne rien dire de scandaleux : que penser des propos d'Ami sur les femmes ou les frères mendiants (8069 sq.) ? Servir et honorer toutes les femmes ? D'une part, que d'observations critiques sur la vertu des femmes ! D'autres part, Ami refuse la soumission totale à la femme comme contraire a la permanence du bonheur :

> car il covient amors morir,*
> quant amant veulent seignorir.
> Amor ne peut durer ne vivre,
> s'el n'est en queur franc et delivre (9409—12).

Car il résulte de cette soumission la misère et le conflit dans la vie conjugale (9413—9443). Amour et seigneurie ne peuvent cohabiter, que ce soit la seigneurie du mari ou celle de la femme. Ami l'illustre par les *exempla* du Mari Jaloux et de l'Age d'or. Etape importante dans la démonstration de Jean : l'amour progresse de l'égoisme d'un Narcisse, à travers la servitude souvent peu sincère de l'amour courtois, au respect et à la compréhension mutuels, nécessaires à l'accomplissement et à la durée de l'amour.

Le silence d'Ami sur les autres préceptes témoigne de son accord ; politesse envers tous ceux que l'on rencontre ; éviter l'orgueil ; être bien habillé et propre, gai et aimable. L'observation de ces commandements ne peut qu'aider à la maturation de l'amant.

Son attitude, plus ambiguë en face de deux autres préceptes — générosité et fidélité —, est de toute manière ironique, sans rien de chevaleresque. Ami accepte le principe de la générosité, mais connaît d'expérience les horreurs de la pauvreté et sait que des femmes ne donnent leurs faveurs qu'en échange de cadeaux. Pour la fidélité, il sait qu'elle est rare, que l'homme doit fermer les yeux sur les infidélités, mais il n'est pas hostile au principe. Comme Amour, il cherche à établir la constance en amour dont il reconnaît qu'elle est difficile. Ami en prend donc à son aise avec les commandements d'Amour : Jean de Meun l'a fait en connaissance de cause.

* il est nécessaire que l'amour meure

d) Bien que secondaire, Richesse joue un rôle dans le débat. Les gens aveuglés par la passion ne connaissent pas le vrai bonheur, mais sont véritablement enragés, et l'on ne peut appeler vie une telle derverie :

car sans fou* ne peut nus hom vivre
tant con il veille Amors ensivre,
si cuident il estre mout sage
tant con il vivent en tel rage.
Vivent ? certes non font, ainz meurent
tant con en tel torment demeurent,
qu'en ne doit pas apeler vie
tel rage ne tel desverie (10215—10222).

Autre idée chère a Jean de Meun : l'amour vrai ne peut être acheté ni vendu. Le rôle de Richesse est en fait ambigu : elle renforce les enseignements de Raison qui incitait l'amoureux à échapper à l'amour ; son discours est une réplique au discours d'Ami et une réponse anticipée au second discours d'Amour et aux conseils de la Vieille à Bel Accueil ; mais en réalité Richesse appuie les conseils d'Ami qui invite à user de stratagèmes.

e) Il s'agit, ne l'oublions pas, d'un conflit à l'intérieur de l'esprit du héros. L'intérêt de l'œuvre est double : le héros gagnera-t-il la rose ? suivra-t-il les conseils d'Amour, de Raison, d'Ami ou de Genius ?

On comprend le désarroi de l'amant, rejeté par Richesse, enclin à suivre les conseils d'Ami, mais répugnant encore au double jeu et à la tromperie. Tourment d'une âme déchirée entre l'honneur et le désir. Les vers 10248—276 constituent la plaque tournante du récit aussi bien que de l'argumentation.

f) Au moment où, repoussé par Richesse qui fait écho à Raison, l'amant décide de suivre Ami dont les avis sont opposés à ceux d'Amour, celui-ci revient, participant au grand débat et procédant à une contre-attaque contre Raison et Ami. *Cette reprises a donc pour fonction essentielle d'intégrer le premier discours d'Amour au débat.*

Amour se comporte comme un maître patient et plein d'humour envers l'élève qui a été tenté de renoncer à l'amour chevaleresque (10281—288) ; il analyse avec lucidité les incertitudes et l'instabilité de la jeunesse (10295—308). L'amant ne peut que confirmer sa faute qui, d'ailleurs, n'a pas été complète, puisqu'il a simplement douté (10314 sq.). Comme pénitence, Amour lui demande seulement de réciter les commandements, qui font éclater l'opposition entre les enseignements d'Amour et de Raison, le contraste entre l'idéalisme chevaleresque et sa réinterprétation par AMI (10366—10382).

En dépit des assauts de Raison et d'Ami qui l'ont troublé, en dépit de la rebuffade de Richesse, l'amant adhère à la doctrine de son premier maître dans les deux sens du terme.

* à la fois, feu, hêtre et folie

Cette opposition entre Amour et Raison réapparaît plus loin dans les propos du premier :

> . . . et sera si tres sages hom*
> qu'il n'avra cure de Reson
> qui mes oignemenz het et blasme
> qui plus flerent soëf que basme (10541—544)

Voir encore les vers 10622—624. Raison est pour Amour l'avocat du diable.

g) Suit un débat animé. Richesse se retire en proie à une grande colère (10659—686), son comportement est dénoncé : ainsi éclate le conflit entre Richesse et Amour. On remarque, d'une part, que les barons décident d'utiliser Faux Semblant et Contrainte Abstinence, ce qui montre que les avis d'Ami ont rencontré quelque écho, malgré la réaffirmation de la doctrine courtoise — Faux Semblant est la personnification du double jeu préconisé par Ami — ; d'autre part, qu'il y a opposition entre Amour, symbole de la courtoisie et du raffinement, et Vénus, symbole du simple désir physique. Amour indique la différence entre eux ;

> Ma mere est de mout grant proece,**
> el a pris mainte forterece
> qui coutoit plus de mil besanz,
> ou je ne fusse ja presanz,***
> si le me metoit l'en asseure****
> mes ja n'i entrasse nule heure,
> ne ne me plust onques tel prise
> de forterece sanz moi prise
> car il me semble, que qu'an die,
> que ce n'est fors marcheandie***** (10735—744),

h) Malgré leur importance, Faux Semblant et Contrainte Abstinence ne jouent pas de rôle à proprement parler dans le grand débat sur l'amour, à la différence de la Vieille qui prononce un discours animé et est une figure symbolique, un vivant *exemplum* de certaines idées avancées par Raison, Ami, Richesse, Amour . . ., de la prostitution de l'amour pour un gain matériel ou un plaisir sensuel. Surtout, elle participe au débat, exposant sa propre conception, s'opposant à ceux qui l'ont précédée. A noter qu'elle s'adresse à Bel Accueil : indice que le dessein de l'ouvrage est la maturation sentimentale des jeunes des deux sexes, compte tenu des problèmes particuliers à l'un et à l'autre.

— *La Vieille se pose en professeur* (12708—709), cherche à préparer la jeunesse à endurer les feux de l'amour (12716—730). Forte de son expérience, elle peut

* il est question de Jean de Meun
** a un très grand courage
*** où je n'aurais su être présent
**** bien que l'on m'en rendît responsable
***** commerce

transmettre un savoir qu'elle n'avait pas dans sa jeunesse (12731—35 ; 12771—81). Elle n'a pas appris en faculté, mais à l'école de la vie, au point d'acquérir une science à enseigner :

> Mes tant a que je ne finé
> que la sciance en la fin é,*
> dont bien puis en chaiere lire** (12785—87)

Il s'agit donc d'un débat entre maîtres d'écoles différentes, et le ton est à la fois ironique et sérieux.

La Vieille annonce son projet (12940—46 ; 12972—80), fière de sa science ; Bel Accueil pourra à son tour enseigner les idées de la Vieille (13469—486).

Jean de Meun place le discours de la Vieille à côté de ceux d'Amour, de Raison et d'Ami, avec la même valeur structurale ; c'est aussi une contribution à l'exposition totale des systèmes et aspects variés et souvent contradictoires de l'amour.

Quelques traits caractérisent la Vieille : sans illusions, aigrie, mais pleine de confiance en elle, comme Abélard, avec une sorte d'exubérance qui gagne l'intérêt et la sympathie.

— *La Vieille s'oppose systématiquement à ses prédécesseurs.* A Raison qui dénonçait la foule de ceux qui se donnent pour de l'argent (4530, 4533—38). A Ami qui a dénoncé la cupidité des femmes et se plaignait de leur inconstance comme la Vieille de celle des hommes : il s'agit de deux rôles symétriques, qui représentent deux précepteurs « mondains » de la pratique de l'amour. A Amour : elle s'oppose surtout à ses deux derniers commandements (12990—13004) :

> Trop malement les amanz charge
> qui veust qu'amanz ait le queur large
> et qu'en un seul leu le doit metre.
> C'est faus texte, c'est fause letre (12999—13002).

Systématiquement elle réfute ces deux importants aspects de l'amour courtois : la générosité et la fidélité à un seul ; elle étaie son argumentation par les histoires de Didon, Phillis, Oenone, Médée, elle montre l'avantage d'avoir beaucoup d'amoureux, et elle se donne en exemple pour recommander de ne pas être prodigue son argent.

Elle semble échouer auprès de Bel Accueil (14578 sq.), mais elle a une influence subtile et le persuade d'agréer la demande de l'amoureux : « Thus she prepares the way for the essential triumph of Venus —, that is, of physical passion — over the heroine. Thus La Vieille's instruction, too, contributes to youth's entelechy » (Gunn, p. 395).

*ai
**enseigner

III. — *Nature fournit la conclusion de ce débat*

Nature expose une doctrine de l'amour plus complète que celle des conseillers précédents, et c'est cette doctrine, dont la base est une philosophie de la plénitude et de la regénération, que, sous une forme plus breve, *Genius* transmet aux soldats de l'Amour, et qu'il présente comme un enseignement fondé sur la science de Nature (19627—632 ; 19877—905). Ce second passage, par sa composition, rappelle celui où la Vieille donne licence d'enseigner à Bel Accueil, ce qui veut dire en clair : ce n'est pas dans le discours de la Vieille, ni dans celui d'Amour, ou d'Ami, ou même de Raison, mais dans ce discours que moi, Genius, je délivre sur l'ordre de Nature que se trouve la vraie et décisive doctrine de l'amour. Afin que la leçon soit plus facilement retenue, il en procure un abrégé (20601—606).

La comparaison entre ce discours et les précédents est explicitement faite par les barons :

> Quant Genius ot tot leü,
> Li baron, de joie esmeü
> . . . . . disoient
> Si bon sarmon oï n'avoient (20653—56).

Contre Amour, Ami et la Vieille, Nature et Genius recommandent l'amour qui a pour fin la reproduction ; contre Raison, ils invitent l'amant à poursuivre la quête de la rose. Nature insiste sur son hostilité à la chasteté qui représente bien le point de vue de Jean de Meun, puisqu'il ne permet pas aux tenants de la chasteté de soutenir leur théorie dans ce grand débat, et que cette vertu est attaquée par Amour, Vénus, Nature, Génius et la Vieille.

Ce qui distingue les discours de Nature et de Génius des autres discours (à l'exception de celui de Raison), c'est leur universalité : ils reprennent la part de vérité que contiennent les autres, mettent un terme au débat, prononcent une décision. Raison donnait la reproduction comme fin de l'amour, Amour et Ami encourageaient l'amoureux à continuer la poursuite de la Rose ; même les stratagèmes préconisés par Ami et mis en œuvre par Faux Semblant et Contrainte Abstinence ont aidé à la réalisation du dessein ; la Vieille a augmenté l'intérêt de l'héroïne pour l'amour et accru sa science.

Ensuite, lorsqu'on passe de la discussion à l'action, Vénus joue un rôle important (20753/sq.).

On peut donc dire que le *Roman de la Rose* est un débat systématique parmi les divers conseillers de l'Amant et de l'Aimée, sur un seul sujet, l'amour, chaque position étant avancée, attaquée, défendue par les participants. A ce sujet capital se rattachent une foule de sujets accessoires, nécessaires à une étude totale du problème : la vertu des femmes, les avantages et les inconvénients du mariage, la sincérité des religieux voués au célibat, l'amour des richesses, la signification des rêves, l'importance pour les amants de la no-

blesse, de la jeunesse, de la richesse — sans compter qu'ils reflètent la curiosité et la recherche des jeunes sur toutes les questions auxquelles il leur est nécessaire d'avoir pensé pour atteindre à la maturité.

D) *Que reflète ce débat qui n'est pas un simple jeu intellectuel, mais le heurt de six systèmes différents de valeurs, de philosophies de l'amour antagonistes?*

1) Maints critiques ont parlé, nous l'avons vu, de l'opposition entre Guillaume, le poète chevaleresque et raffiné de l'amour courtois, et Jean de Meun, le bourgeois érudit qui fait la satire de la courtoisie. En fait, il n'y a pas de contraste absolu : Jean de Meun a fait du discours d'Amour une partie de sa propre œuvre et, doué d'une grande faculté d'accueil aux théories les plus diverses, manifesté une sympathie certaine pour l'idéal chevaleresque, assez proche de son prédécesseur pour en reprendre sans embarras les formes poétiques et la matière. Il demeure des différences que l'on peut expliquer, pour une part, avec E. Langlois, par le milieu et le tempérament, mais surtout par l'âge : Guillaume reflète l'esprit de la jeunesse dans sa fraîcheur et son ardeur, sa délicatesse, son sens de l'honneur et son exaltation amoureuse ; Jean reflète celui de la maturité : moins d'illusions, une passion plus véhémente et plus sensuelle ; il exalte la valeur de l'expérience, critique les superstitions, fait preuve d'une franchise assez crue, voire de cynisme, manifeste de la sagesse. Si ce ton caractérise, dès le début, toute l'œuvre de Jean de Meun, contrastant avec celui de Guillaume de Lorris, toutefois le continuateur a été assez habile pour maintenir, quand il était nécessaire, l'esprit de son prédécesseur, et pas seulement dans le souvenir. Il n'y a pas de rupture entre les deux parties de l'œuvre. Guillaume a commencé l'histoire d'un jeune homme, croissant en science et en expérience, s'éveillant aux joies et aux peines de l'amour ; Jean a poursuivi le récit de cet éveil et de cette maturation. *Le Roman de la Rose* est l'histoire de l'évolution d'un amoureux, sans solution de continuité, que Jean de Meun a reprise et menée à son terme, capable, malgré sa maturité sans illusion, de comprendre le charme et la fraîcheur de la jeunesse autant que l'amertume de la Vieille et la sérénité de Raison : l'imagination et la sympathie de Jean lui permettent de pénétrer dans le domaine de Guillaume, royaume de la courtoisie et de la jeunesse, et de l'annexer à son propre univers.

2) Si Jean est autant citoyen du monde de Guillaume que de son propre monde, celui-ci, en fait, en comporte bien six, voire huit qu'il a tous créés à l'exception du celui d'Amour. Cet esprit très flexible se meut facilement dans chacun d'eux, même dans celui de la courtoisie, sans jamais tomber dans la confusion, car il domine et ordonne l'ensemble.

Le monde de l'amour est un création de Guillaume ; mais Jean de Meun a su goûter et reproduire le charme du premier amour, la délicatesse des sentiments, l'esprit et les valeurs de la courtoisie. Le héros reste, jusqu'à la fin, un amoureux courtois, bien qu'il devienne plus avisé, un jeune homme

modeste et chevaleresque, repoussant Raison par fidélité au Code de la *fin'amor*, rejetant les conseils déshonorants d'Ami, marquant son mépris pour les doctrines de la Vieille. Le prouve aussi le personnage de Pygmalion : « Although Pygmalion is not strictly a chivalric hero, he has traits to be found also in a Lancelot or a Gawain : he is faithful and devoted to his beloved to the point of ludicrousness ; he is courteous, not a superficial way, but with true tenderness and considerateness ; he has the chevalier's appreciation of beauty, and love of adornment, canzonet and dance » (Gunn, p. 425). La sympathie de Jean de Meun pour l'amour courtois se marque par le retour d'Amour pour appeler son armée à l'aide des amoureux (10277 sq.), par la reprise par l'amant des commandements de l'amour (10373—382), par le tribut payé aux poètes de l'amour Gallus, Catulle et Ovide, par les références émues à Guillaume de Lorris, par la distinction entre Amour et Vénus (10 719 sq.) : « . . . we see that Jean de Meun's attitude toward courtly love was by no means the ironic or hostile one we might think it to be on the basis of certain passages in the discourses of Ami or Raison ; we see that he recognized its relative validity, its independent and honorable position among the various schools of love . . . » (Gunn, p. 276.). Jean de Meun prise la vraie noblesse qu'il ne réduit pas à une classe sociale (18681 sq.). Dans ce monde, l'amour devient règle de vie, en rien école de facilité : la conquête de la rose justifie tous les sacrifices. C'est un monde fermé où n'intervient aucune autre considération, religieuse ou pécuniaire, un monde étranger à l'amour de la raison de Socrate et à l'amour du gain de la Vieille, plein de répugnance pour la duplicité d'Ami et de Faux Semblant, où le désir sexuel est dominé, sans grand rapport avec le souci de regarnir la terre.

Très différent est *le monde de la raison* dont les sujets méprisent les faveurs et les coups de la fortune, les peines et les récompenses de la passion terrestre, se souciant sans doute de la reproduction de l'espèce, mais surtout de la sagesse où l'on trouve le bonheur parfait. Admirateur de Boèce dont il a traduit le *De Consolatione*, Jean éprouve une profonde sympathie pour cet univers où il se meut avec une grande aisance.

Cette double capacité de comprendre les mondes d'Amour et de Raison n'a d'ailleurs rien d'étrange au 13e siècle.

Les mondes d'Ami, de la Vieille, de Vénus et de Nature sont opposés aux deux précédents.

Jean ne manque pas de sympathie pour la Vieille qui se fait le défenseur de son sexe : il n'a rien d'un misogyne à la Juvénal, mais plutôt, il a à la fois, la tendresse d'un Euripide pour les femmes trompées et souffrantes et la complicité d'un Rabelais pour les joies de la chair.

Bien qu'il soit hostile à Richesse et à Faux Semblant, bien qu'il soit aux antipodes de ce dernier, il éprouve une certaine admiration pour son effronterie et pour sa force.

Le monde de Vénus est celui du triomphe du désir physique. Sans doute l'union charnelle est-elle l'objectif d'Amour, d'Ami, de la Vieille, de Nature, voire de Raison ; mais ce n'est qu'un moyen pour d'autres objectifs, pour la perpétuation de la race (Nature, Raison), pour le gain et la jouissance sensuelle (la Vieille), pour l'achèvement de l'amour (Amour, Ami). Selon Vénus, tous les moyens sont bons pour parvenir à l'acte physique, sans considération des conséquences.

Nature et Genius n'ont en vue que la nécessité de régénérer constamment le genre humain ; aussi n'admettent-ils les autres idéaux que dans la mesure où ils aident à ce dessein, où ils ne le contrecarrent pas : ainsi les raffinements de l'amour courtois, la supériorité de la Raison sur la Fortune, la rouerie d'Ami, la cupidité de la Vieille. « . . . Life is the highest value, the sovereign *beauté* of the created univers, for in it is revealed throughout all generations the sovereign *beauté* of God ». Nature est la source d'une incomparable beauté, que ne cesse d'exalter Jean de Meun dont l'enthousiasme coule à flots dans son œuvre.

En résumé, Jean non seulement pénètre profondément dans chacun des royaumes qu'il engage dans le grand conflit, mais encore devient, pour le temps nécessaire, un ardent propagandiste de chaque système de valeurs.

3) Ce débat reflète les influences diverses et conflictuelles qui ont joué en particulier sur Jean de Meun, celles des ouvrages fondamentaux du moyen âge en fait d'amour et de philosophie, d'Ovide et de Boèce, celles d'André le Chapelain et d'Alain de Lille, et d'une grande quantité d'auteurs anciens et médiévaux.

Ces maîtres étaient ceux de tous les hommes du moyen âge, et non seulement de Jean de Meun, car le moyen âge avait pour tous les anciens la même admiration et le même respect, admiration et respect pour des systèmes contradictoires dont les oppositions, d'abord peu ressenties, furent mises en évidence par des penseurs comme Abélard et Jean de Meun. *Le Roman de la Rose* est le point culminant de la littérature érotique et de la philosophie du passé. Mais Jean de Meun n'est pas un vulgaire compilateur : plus subtil et plus protéen qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs, il joue de tous les matériaux accumulés, ajoutant ici, retranchant là, transformant presque tout, arrangeant tout en fonction de son dessein de faire éclater les contradictions.

4) Ces forces en présence peuvent être considérées comme des forces « objectives » : Raison représenterait l'idéalisme médiéval de la tradition de Boèce, Amour le code éthique de la société courtoise. Ami et la Vieille les leçons de l'expérience humaine des deux sexes, Nature et Genius les forces de création et de régénération de l'ordre naturel.

Mais ces forces peuvent apparaître aussi comme *des éléments de la vie intérieure de l'individu*. Monde d'abord sans conflit, en proie à une vague désir de la beauté et du plaisir, sans un objectif précis, que lui fournit la rose. Presque

aussitôt l'individu ressent les difficultés à surmonter, tiraillé entre le désir et la crainte de l'expérience de l'amour. Il connaît alors les valeurs du monde courtois, idéalisant l'être aimé et, par voie de conséquence, éprouvant sa propre infériorité et son indignité ; mais il espère, par sa conduite, acquérir de la valeur et, grâce à celle-ci, être récompensé par sa faveur. Il recherche les conseils des autres et de sa bien-aimée sur ce qu'il doit faire et ne pas faire, à cause de sa timidité, de son inexpérience, de son besoin de sécurité.

L'apparition de la raison marque l'intrusion d'un autre état d'esprit. Découragé par l'insuccès, l'amant doute de la valeur de son amour, il se rend compte qu'il existe d'autres valeurs. État normal, après l'échec, de désenchantement qui le pousse à remettre en question son premier système de valeurs.

Les discours des personnages marquent différents états psychologiques : l'amour romanesque et l'idéalisme (Amour) ; le calme et la réflexion (Raison) ; la désillusion due à l'expérience (Ami) ; une désillusion accompagnée de plus de cynisme et d'utilitarisme matérialiste (la Vieille) ; la reconnaissance de la valeur cosmique de l'expérience de l'amour (Nature et Genius) ; état du désir physique qui submerge tout (Vénus) :

> «Chiefly to be emphasized is that the discourses of the various participants in the line of argument not only represent various schools of thought among the medieval authorities upon the subject of love, but signify also *attitudes* of the personality, psychological levels or stages through which any normal youth may pass in the quest of his desire». (Gunn, p. 453.)

Mais si l'amoureux passe par des états très différents, le progrès n'est pas uni et continu comme celui d'une plante. Les valeurs sont en constant conflit : « The arguments of the « doctors of love » in the *Roman de la Rose* are, therefore, in large part the reflections of the strenuous conflict of desire, prudence, sentiment and conscience within youth himself » (Gunn, p. 454).

Cette peinture, qui a une portée universelle, montre que Jean de Meun est capable de comprendre et de représenter chacun des états d'un homme en marche vers sa maturité.

5) Ce débat, enfin, atteste les *conflits qui existaient au moyen âge* entre les éléments chevaleresques et ceux qui ne l'étaient pas, entre l'esprit laïc et l'esprit clérical (ou religieux), en particulier à propos du célibat, entre les valeurs de ce monde et celles de l'au-delà, entre la raison et la foi.[20]

III.

Une philosophie de la plénitude et de la regénération

Jean de Meun a-t-il une préférence pour l'une des doctrines ou l'œuvre demeure-t-elle ambiguë ? Met-il en évidence une théorie ? Dans le discours de Raison, il examine les différentes formes de l'amour, dont celle qui naît de l'instinct de génération. Sans doute Raison préfère-t-elle un amour supranaturel, mais elle engage un débat avec l'amant sur la référence assez crue aux

organes de la génération. Par la suite, dans la seconde partie de son discours, Nature insiste sur cet aspect de l'amour. *Cette exaltation de la procréation et de l'amour sexuel* n'est d'ailleurs pas propre à Jean de Meun, mais fait partie d'une solide tradition philosophique en Occident, qu'A. O. Lovejoy a étudiée dans The Great Chain of Being (Cambridge, 1936). Issue de *Timée* de Platon, de la *Physique* et de la *Métaphysique* d'Aristote, amplifiée par Plotin, Proclus, de pseudo-Denis et saint Augustin, cette pensée identifie la bonté de Dieu à sa fécondité ; elle insiste sur les idées de la plénitude d'un monde sans lacune et d'une chaîne continue des êtres, des plus élevés aux plus humbles, d'où découle une double nécessité : la réalisation de toutes les possibilités et le maintien de toutes ces possibilités par l'exercice constant du pouvoir reproducteur et générateur des créatures, afin qu'il n'y ait pas de manques dans l'univers.

De plus, en accomplissant cette fonction de reproduction, les créatures participeront ou coopéreront à l'activité créatrice de l'être éternel ; en accomplissant les actes nécessaires à la reproduction, elles atteignent en quelque sorte à la puissance, à la bonté du Dieu créateur et prennent part à sa vie éternelle.

Pour la réalisation de cette philosophie de la *plénitude* — qui naît, tout autant que des philosophes anciens, de l'enseignement de l'Ecriture Sainte, de l'instinct et de la pesanteur sociologique — il était nécessaire d'y adjoindre le principe du «remplissage », de la *réfection*, et c'est Jean de Meun qui insistera le plus sur ce point : par voie de conséquence, si l'idéal est celui de la fécondité et de la régénération de l'espèce, *les plus précieux organes sont ceux de la génération ;* aussi Gunn (p. 215) a-t-il pu parler d'un *phallicisme chrétien.*

Cet ensemble d'idées (principes de la plénitude et de la continuité, doctrine des émanations — de Dieu découle l'Esprit, de celui-ci l'âme . . . — principe de la régénération et de la valeur des organes génitaux) a été exposé par une longue tradition littéraire dont Jean de Meun est l'héritier.[21]

B. Silvestre, dans son *De Mundi Universitate*, s'intéresse surtout à la création originelle de l'univers et de l'homme (comparable au reflet d'images dans des miroirs), non pas aux moyens d'une régénération continue pour combler les trous creusés par l'action de la mort ; il accorde cependant une grande importance à la reproduction et aux organes génitaux : « . . . the second part of the *Roman de la Rose* can be described as a sequel to the *De Mundi Universitate*. Bernard's work is the medieval *Timaeus*, the classic statement for his age of the way in which the philosophers of plenitude conceived the creative power of the Eternal being to have been poured forth ». (Gunn. p. 222).

Mais l'ouvrage qui a mis au point la doctrine de la régénération est *De Planctu Naturae* d'Alain de Lille : «Deus operando hominem creat, angelus operando procreat ; homo obtemperando se recreat ». Alain insiste surtout sur la condamnation des déviations sexuelles qui empêche la perpétuation de l'espèce, glorifie les organes sexuels par l'entremise des images de l'enclume et

du marteau, et de la plume, « . . . symbols of the fecundity of God, of the owerflowing bounty and fertility in which, according to the philosophers of plenitude, his « goodness » and « love » primarily inhered ». (ibid.)

On retrouve dans l'œuvre de Jean de Meun les idées de ses prédécesseurs : continuité, délégation par Dieu de son pouvoir créateur à des puissances inférieures ; régénération avec ses deux corollaires : la chasteté et les déviations sexuelles sont des offenses contre Dieu et la nature ; les organes sexuels, instruments de la régénération de l'espèce, ont un caractère sacré. Raison, dans son discours, fait allusion au *Timée* (7074), exalte la puissance créatrice des parties génitales:

car volentiers, non pas enviz,
mist Dex en coillons et en viz
force de generacion
par merveilleuse entencion,*
por l'espiece avoir tourjorz vive
par renovelance naïve** . . . (6935—50).

Mais c'est surtout vers la fin de son œuvre que Jean de Meun expose les différents aspects et les corollaires de cette philosophie de la plénitude. Dieu étant la bonté même, dénué de toute envie, il ne pouvait refuser l'existence aux formes qu'il porte en lui, à toutes les formes (16699 sq.) :

car de neant fist tout saillir
cil en cui riens ne peut faillir,
n'onc riens ne l'esmut a ce fere
fors sa volanté debonere,
large, courtaise, sanz envie,
qui fontaine est de toute vie (16711—16).

Il est responsable même de la matière sans forme qui, dans le *Timée*, existait, en revanche, avant l'intervention du Démiurge. Le monde est d'autant meilleur qu'il contient plus d'êtres. Jean exulte devant la beauté et la bonté du monde visible sans tomber dans un naturalisme grossier insensible aux valeurs spirituelles : cet amour s'exprime en termes religieux. Dieu doit être loué à cause de son incessante générosité qui a doté l'univers de richesses immenses et variées, qui a fait de la nature une fontaine intarissable et sans fond :

Car Dex, li biaus outre mesure,
quant il biauté mist en Nature,
il an i fist une fontaine
tourjorz courant et tourjorz plaine,
de cui toute biauté desrive,
mes nus n'an set ne fonz ne rive (16203—208).

Partout se retrouve cet amour de la multiplicité et de la plénitude de la vie : dans les multiples figures de rhétorique, dans l'exubérance de son esprit et de

* par une intention digne d'admiration
** par un renouvellement naturel

son savoir, dans son goût de tout ce qui vit et bouge, dans son apothéose de l'amour humain. De là un véritable hymne à la beauté du monde (20282—310) :

s'i trouveroit toute la terre
o ses richeces ancienes,
et toutes choses terrienes ;
et verroit proprement la mer
et touz poissons qui ont amer,*
et tretoutes choses marines,
eves douces troubles et fines,
et les choses granz et menues
es aigues douces contenues ;
et l'air et touz ses oiseillons,
et mouchetes et papeillons,
et tout quan que par l'air resone :
et le feu qui tous avirone
les meubles et les tenemanz**
de tous les autres elemans ;
si verroit toutes les esteles
cleres et reluisanz et beles,
saient erranz saient fichiées,
en leurs esperes*** estachiees.

Il est vrai que Jean parle peu de la continuité, car son œuvre est plus poétique que philosophique et il s'intéresse plus aux corollaires. On la retrouve peut-être dans la figure de la chaîne d'or, empruntée à Macrobe, par laquelle Nature retient les choses de ce monde (16755 sq.). Le rôle et le devoir attribués à Nature sont de faire qu'aucun trou n'apparaisse dans la chaîne des êtres vivants, Jean de Meun insistant sur le renouvellement ou la réparation de l'univers plus que sur la création originale. Dieu a délégué ses pouvoirs à Nature qui elle-même les a délégués à Genius, Amour, Vénus :

Nature, qui pansoit des choses
qui sunt desouz le ciel ancloses,
dedanz sa forge antree etoit,
ou toute s'antante metoit
au forgier singulieres pieces
por continuer les espieces ;
car les pieces les font tant vivre
que Mort ne les peut aconsivre****
ja tant ne savra corre aprés . . . (15863—73)

Les allusions sont nombreuses à la réfraction, au «remplissage» qui est le point le plus important aux yeux de Jean de Meun pour qui l'amour a pour fin la reproduction (vers 4373—84) ; 5733—36 ; 15935—57 ; 15961—86). Nature toujours martèle, toujours renoue la belle chaîne des êtres. Chacun d'eux applique son énergie à manifester la liberté et la générosité de Dieu : ainsi

* amertume, fiel
** les biens mobiles et fixes
*** sphères
**** atteindre

les planètes préservent-elles l'existence des éléments, exercent-elles un contrôle sur les combinaisons respectives dans les êtres (17476 sq.).

L'originalité de Jean de Meun vient de ce qu'il n'attaque pas l'homosexualité autant qu'Alain de Lille, mais plutôt la violation des lois de la nature par le célibat, condamné par Genius (19531/sq.) :

> Bien deüssent avoir grant honte
> cil delleal don je vos conte,
> quant il ne daignent la main metre
> en tables por escrivre letre
> ne por fere anprainte qui pere.
> Mout sunt d'antancion amere
> qu'el devandront toutes moussues,
> s'el sunt en oiseuse tenues.
> Quant san cop de martel ferir
> lessent les anclumes perir,
> or s'i peut la roueille anbatre,
> sanz oïr marteler, ne batre.
> Les jaschieres, qui n'i refiche
> le soc, redemourront an friche.
> Vis les puisse l'an anfoïr
> quant les ouztiz osent foïr
> que Diex de sa main antailla
> quant a ma dame les bailla,
> qui por ce les li vost baillier
> qu'el seüt autex antaillier
> por doner estres pardurables
> au creatures corumpables (19531—19552).

Il s'ensuit que des récompenses célestes attendent ceux qui accomplissent la loi de la génération : « . . . only par adherence to the gospel of fertility can men be saved and enter into heaven » (Gunn, p. 255.). On comprend que tous les discours, toutes les péripéties de l'œuvre aient trait à l'amour qui regénère l'homme et le cosmos (*ib.* p. 256.).

Cette explication permet de rendre compte de passages que l'on tient pour obscurs. Ainsi l'apologue de *Deucalion et de Pyrrha* n'est-il pas un simple élément décoratif sans lien étroit avec le reste de l'œuvre, mais c'est, comme le mythe du phénix, un mythe de la régénération : Thémis apprend au couple survivant

> conment il pourroient ouvrer
> por leur lignage recouvrer (17585—86).

De même, *l'exemplum de l'âge d'or* revient à plusieurs reprises pour illustrer le motif de la fertilité (8235 sq. ; 9434 ; 20002 sq.) : c'était l'âge de la plénitude, de la liberté et du bonheur dans l'amour. La perte des organes de reproduction est la pire des catastrophes : elle empêche l'homme d'accomplir sa mission, lui vaut d'être banni du paradis terrestre et d'être privé des récompenses célestes. Jean rappelle l'histoire d'Héloïse et d'Abélard (8729—8802), d'Origène (17022—28) ; il y revient vers la fin du poème (21347 sq.). Seuls ceux qui auront accompli ce devoir verront Dieu face à face.

Enfin, certains passages se justifient non pas par un souci encyclopédique mais par cette doctrine de la génération. Ainsi la prétendue digression sur l'alchimie, art particulier qui, pour les gens du moyen âge avait atteint l'un des secrets de la nature, quelque chose de son pouvoir créateur. En effet, l'alchimie était fondée sur le croyance que la matière constituait une sorte d'élément neutre, sur lequel Nature imposait les images des idées éternelles. Dès lors, comme elle peut prendre des formes variées sous l'effet de la nature ou de l'art, la transmutation des métaux est possible. Il faut donc retrouver a matière primitive et la transformer en métaux de valeur de plus en plus haute, jusqu'à la forme la plus parfaite de la nature, l'or, qui est capable de se reproduire indéfiniment, comme les choses parfaites :

> «The lover in pursuit of the Rose and the alchemist in pursuit of the philosopher's stone — a gold so fine and pure that by its union with any other substance it could transmute it into gold — are both concerned, therefore, with "the perfecting of Natur's work", are both attempting to reach the point where regeneration and perpetuation of species become possible». (Gunn, p. 263.).

En conclusion, *l'idée fondamentale de cette philosophie est que toutes les formes des espèces, les idées éternelles de Dieu, doivent continuer à être manifestées dans l'univers créé, chaque trou dans la chaîne des êtres doit être comblé dès qu'il apparaît*. C'est ce qui se fait dans tout l'univers, mais que l'homme répugne souvent à accomplir.

On devine, dès lors, que le *Roman de la Rose* comporte une unité plus grande qu'on ne l'a dit, due, nous l'avons vu, à la cohérence de son histoire qui retrace la maturation d'un esprit, à la volonté claire de présenter toutes les formes de l'amour dans un débat complet sur ce sujet, à une philosophie de la plénitude et de la régénération qui sous-tend l'œuvre, mais aussi à une composition poétique fondée sur la répétition et l'opposition de symboles (de la fécondité : miroir et fontaine, enclume et marteau, bourdon et besace du pélerin ; flèches de Cupidon et de Vénus ; de la stérilité et de la destruction : Mort, Faime, Faux Semblant, émasculation . . .) et sera une méthode d'amplification qui, par toutes les figures recensées dans les arts poétiques — *figurae sententiae* et *figurae verborum* —, développe le thème central du roman.

L'allégorie de la rose a une rôle fondamental, constituant la ligne structurale de l'œuvre, capable d'englober tout ce qui concerne l'art de l'amour, demeurant la branche centrale dont sortent tous les autres rameaux. Chaque développement représente un aspect de ce thème central. L'allégorie n'est pas seulement l'enveloppe de l'œuvre, mais d'elle dépend chaque élément. De plus, c'est un univers poétique dont certaines pièces apportent peu au récit ou à l'argumentation, mais, par leur aspect sensuel, émouvant, imaginatif, touchent le cœur, l'âme et les sens et contribuent à l'enseignement. C'est Guillaume de Lorris qui a choisi l'image de la Rose, poétique en soi et pourvue d'une longue tradition ;[22] mais cette richesse symbolique de la rose qui re-

présente l'amour terrestre et divin, qui contient l'idée de joie, de délice, de beauté et de soulagement, était bien adaptée au grand dessein de Jean de Meun : symbole de la plénitude divine, de l'épanouissement de la jeunesse et en particular de la jeune fille, symbole de la beauté et de la grâce, symbole divin, christique, mariste, représentant le but de la recherche spirituelle et de la perfection à atteindre, symbole enfin de la structure rhétorique et narrative de l'œuvre.

C) UNE CONTRE-LECTURE

Voilà, nous semble-t-il, la lecture que l'on peut donner du *Roman de la Rose*. Mais est-ce une œuvre simple ?

Mais, à regarder l'ensemble de l'œuvre et à la mieux situer dans la tradition médiévale, peut-on en rester à l'idée que le *Roman de la Rose* est un roman de la maturation fondée sur une philosophie de la plénitude et de la régénération ? Ne serait-ce pas plutôt *une œuvre morale, chargée d'ironie*, qui raconte comment le héros va à la perdition dans les plaisirs de ce monde, et en particulier à cause de la luxure ?

C'est ce qu'a entrepris de démontrer, sans tout à fait nous convaincre, J. V. Fleming dans un livre paradoxal, pétillant d'esprit et brillant, *The Roman de la Rose. A study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton, 1969), où prenant le contrepied d'A. Gunn, il propose, nous dit-il, une lecture médiévale du *Roman de la Rose* (p. 3) qu'il entend simplifier, persuadé que Jean de Meun ne s'est pas complu à construire d'ingénieuses allégories, d'obscurs concepts (les gloses médiévales sont souvent de simples paraphrases) et qu'il souhaite éclairer par un recours très large aux illustrations des manuscrits qui, commentant le texte, enseignent autant qu'elles plaisent : « Whatever else a medieval reading of a medieval poem implies, it must suggest a reading in manuscript ; for it was in manuscript, non in modern critical editions that poems were read in the Middle Ages. It is to the textual illustrations which are the glory of medieval copies of the *Roman* . . . that I wish to direct attention » (p. 14.)

Le Roman de la Rose serait donc ironique, chronique d'un héros qui n'est ni avisé, ni admirable, d'un jeune homme qui, submergé par la passion charnelle, rejette la raison, opte pour la fausse courtoisie, l'hypocrisie et les conseils pervers pour réaliser l'exploit sordide d'une séduction. *La voie qu'il suit dans le roman est le chemin du péché décrit par de nombreux auteurs médiévaux.* Ce qui arrive dans le jardin de Déduit est ce qui est arrivé dans le jardin d'Eden : Raison est rejetée par la passion, qui réduit l'amant en esclavage. L'originalité de Jean de Meun ne réside ni dans sa théologie, ni dans sa sexologie, au moins aussi vieilles que saint Paul et saint Augustin ; elle réside plutôt dans la hardiesse et l'étendue de son intention ironique. Le *Roman de la Rose* est

en accord avec une autre œuvre de l'écrivain, avec son *Testament*, où il donne une place particulière à la luxure, le plus commun des sept péchés capitaux. Il n'y a pas de phallicisme chrétien dans Jean de Meun, comme le prétendait A. Gunn, sinon d'un point de vue ironique. *L'originalité est dans la méthode : l'auteur prend le contrepied de la démarche habituelle du rêve* qui conduit le héros de l'ignorance à la connaissance, du désespoir à la consolation. Ainsi dans la *Consolation de Philosophie de Boèce* et dans le *Pélerinage de la vie humaine*. Au contraire, le héros de Jean de Meun devient de plus en plus stupide dans son refus des bons conseils, comme l'a senti Pétrarque :

> Somniat iste tamen dum somnia visa renarrat,
> Sopitoque nihil vigilans distare videtur.

L'amoureux du *Roman de la Rose* est une sorte de personnage picaresque, un Hercule à la croisée des chemins qui, de façon constante, prend le mauvais parti et qui, à la fin, ne reconnaît pas son erreur : « Unlike Everyman's final penitential awareness of his own perversity, however, Amant's drama ends with the obscene and blasphemous rape of rosebush. Unlike Hercules he is a pushover for the forces of sensuality. All this suggests another aspect of Jean's irony which has been too long neglected, and that is its rich comedy » (p. 53.) Sans compter que l'unité n'est pas aussi stricte que Gunn l'a prétendu : lâche est la structure de cette œuvre qui « is half encyclopedia and half versified raree-show. Dunn draws a nice analogy between the structure of a Gothic cathedrale and the Gothic structure of this poem : all the stonework fits, but it does not all bear weight » (p. 53.)

Pour étayer son explication, Fleming a repris chacun des éléments du roman. Impossible de parler de tous. Bornons-nous à quelques exemples.

Au début du roman, *Oiseuse* n'est pas le loisir nécessaire pour un amoureux courtois : mais c'est Paresse, l'héroïne de Chaucer, le ministre et la nourrice des vices,[23] un péché capital ; bien que plus nuancée que dans ses portraits traditionnels, on ne peut faire d'elle une héroïne ou une vertu : « The lover's initial encounter in the garden becomes, in short, an encounter with the type of deceptive and phantom female beauty which is his chief goal in the broader field of the poem as a whole » (p. 74.) L'amant décrit la beauté d'Oiseuse, mais indique clairement qu'elle doit être évitée. En effet, considérons ses attributs : le miroir et le peigne qui, dans la sculpture gothique, symbolisent la luxure. Il est vrai que le miroir a plusieurs significations : *luxuria*, *prudentia*, connaissance de soi, vanité, orgueil, Vénus, vérité, vie contemplative. Mais le contexte iconographique nous renseigne : quand le miroir est lié au peigne ou aux gants, il renvoie à une vie d'oisiveté et de luxure. L'amoureux du *Roman de la Rose* erre pendant toute l'œuvre à travers un rêve érotique, dans un état d'aveuglement spirituel dont il ne sort jamais :

Oiseuse est la gardienne qui convient à ce paradis faux et évanescent. Le glossateur des *Echecs amoreux* nous apporte une confirmation. Pourquoi, dit-il, fuir Oiseuse? Parce que c'est la reine et la nourrice de tous les péchés : que la suivre, c'est abandonner la Raison qui est la caractéristique de l'homme ; que refuser Raison, c'est pour l'homme se dénaturer. La rencontre avec Oiseuse entraîne l'homme ; à une conduite insensée, perverse, pécheresse. De même, *la Danse de Déduit* est le type de la conduite frivole et coupable qui pousse à des relations sexuelles illicites, c'est la figure de la convoitise sexuelle.

En revanche, Raison, selon J. V. Fleming, est l'héroïne du *Roman de la Rose*, qui prêche la doctrine de Boèce et qui parle comme Jean de Meun dans sa préface de sa traduction de la *Consolation*, sans d'ailleurs qu'on puisse et doive affirmer qu'elle soit le porte-parole de Jean. Elle exprime non pas les idées personnelles de Jean de Meun, mais celles de la Bible, de Boèce, de saint Augustin et d'Alain de Lille. C'est une abstraction qui perd la partie en face de l'Amoureux et ensuite disparaît souvent, très populaire cependant auprès des illustrateurs qui la représentent souvent en reine s'adressant à un clerc, portant une couronne, assise à côté d'une tour ou en descendant : portrait conventionnel qui rattache Dame Raison à la Philosophie ou à la Vierge.

On comprend pourquoi, aux yeux de Gontier Col, Jean de Meun était un profond théologien : il traite de problèmes théologiques importants, incluant le problème central du péché et de la rédemption, de la nature et de la grâce. Théologie commune et banale, qui n'est ni le phallicisme chrétien, J. V. Fleming le répète, ni le christianisme aristotélicien d'avant-garde : « Jean's theology is distinctly old-fashioned » (p. 116). Est-il un scolastique? Oui, pour l'influence du *quodlibet* et de la *disputatio ;* non pour la philosophie dont l'argumentation est plus augustinienne que thomiste : dans sa carrière parisienne, il fut dans le camp des ennemis séculiers de saint Thomas. Pour Raison, l'amour du héros est une passion, une maladie de la pensée, antinaturelle quand elle ne vise pas la régénération de l'espèce ; c'est une sujétion, indigne d'un homme libre, au prince de tous les vices, à Satan ; c'est une maladie particulière à la jeunesse, racine de tous les péchés — « folle amour » *passion* d'André le Chapelain, *voluptas* de Cicéron, *cupiditas* de saint Augustin. Soumis à la fortune, l'amour est instable comme tout ce qui en dépend. L'amour naturel que recommande Raison ne représente pas la nature originelle de l'homme, mais la nature de la chute, qui est en rapports étroits avec Nature et Génius, personnification de la concupiscence postérieure à la chute. L'amant finit par rejeter Raison : pour la mentalité chrétienne, c'était un péché, lequel était toujours senti comme la corruption ou le refus de la raison par la sensualité. On peut mesurer la faute de l'amant aux yeux de Jean de Meun, puisqu'aux 13e et 14e siècles, la Raison était totallement aimée de Dieu qu'on ne pouvait lu plaire sinon à travers elle qui dirige les amis de Dieu (Voir *Modus et Ratio*, I. 269).

Ami se substitue à Raison, *la sagesse divine est rejetée au profit d'une sagesse purement humaine et mondaine.* Mais l'on rétorquera que Raison a recommandé l'amitié. En fait, il en est de l'amitié comme de l'amour ; il en est une bonne et une mauvaise. Et sur ce point, Jean de Meun suit le traité, qu'il a traduit, d'Ailred de Rievaulx, *De spirituali amicitia* (XIIe siècle), paraphrase chrétienne du *Laelius* de Cicéron (Voir sur ce sujet l'article de L. Friedmann, *Jean de Meun and Ethelred of Rievaulx*, dans l'Esprit créateur, II, 1962, 135—141). La vraie amitié, don de Dieu et aspect de la nature parfaite de l'homme au Paradis, doit être fondée sur la vertu, dictée par la raison, éprouvée par la fortune. Celle de notre héros est celle qui unit des hommes mauvais pour des fins mauvaises. Ami, sous couleur de bon conseil, présente à l'amant ce qui est absurde et immoral : « Amis has the manner of a *doctor amoris*, to be sur, but the mind of a pimp » (p. 143). Quand il parle de l'âge d'or, type du Paradis avant la chute, il cherche en fait à justifier, par un sophisme comique et fatal, la concupiscence de l'âge de Fer (résultant directement de la castration de Saturne ou, en termes chrétiens, de la *carencia naturalis justitiae*) par une référence à la liberté de la sexualité innocente et juste de l'âge où régnait la justice. Jean de Meun demeure alors ironique, ce qui explique qu'on ne l'ait pas compris.

A propos de Faux Semblant, Jean de Meun précise bien qu'il n'attaque pas la vraie religion, mais l'hypocrisie qui veut masquer des attitudes beaucoup plus charnelles (15213 sq.) ; et l'on a eu tort, selon J. V. Fleming de l'accuser d'être antireligieux, anticlérical et antiascétique. Il s'insère dans une longue tradition qui taxait les frères prêcheurs d'immoralité, disciple et héritier de Guillaume de Saint-Amour dont l'un des principaux griefs était que les frères avaient abandonné les admirables principes d'ascétisme, prônés par saint François, pour une douillette vie d'hypocrisie. De même, le *Contra adversarium perfectionis* de Gérard d'Abbeville recommande la perfection monastique et condamne vigoureusement le libertinage. Pas plus que son maître, Jean ne s'en prend à la spiritualité chrétienne dont les ordres mendiants seraient les représentants les plus radicaux : ils n'étaient pas seuls à représenter la spiritualité chrétienne, et Jean de Meun ne les attaque pas sur ce point. En fait, comme le dit Fleming (p. 166), « he did hate the Phariseeism, the oldness of spirit, self-righteousness and hypocrisy which, in literary convention established by Guillaume, Rutebeuf and others, he found associated with the formal pretensions of the friars and the pronouncements of their more radical spokesmen like Gerard of Borgo San Donnino ». *L'amant et Faux Semblant ont en commun d'être des gens amoureux d'eux-même qui agissent par la fausseté et l'hypocrisie* de la religion. Faux Semblant farde la paille et laisse le grain : « His religious profession is carnal and external, not spiritual and internal . . . Faussemblant's religion is that of the « text itself », the letter, not the spirit ; it is old, cold, carnal and it « slayeth » ». *Jean de Meun attaque le littéralisme vain*

de la Loi ancienne et le formalisme creux des Pharisiens. C'est le reproche que Raison adresse à l'amant, de ne pas parvenir à une interprétation allégorique de la poésie, de ne pas dépasser la surface. *L'amant et Faux Semblant en restent aux apparences.*

Jean de Meun a mené à son terme l'entreprise de Guillaume de Lorris qu'il n'ain mal comprise, ni ignorée. Mais il n'y a pas dans son œuvre de heurt de doctrines antithétiques, ni de philosophie propre à Jean de Meun : plutôt des idées traditionnelles au sujet de l'amour réparties entre de multiples personnages tout aussi traditionnel. Il n'y a pas d'éducation : l'amant, dans cette tragicomédie, échoue à apprendre. Le résultat de cette éducation est un fiasco. S'il y a conflit, c'est *le conflit traditionnel entre la charité et la cupidité, la Raison et la sensualité,* c'est-à-dire entre les deux voies de Lactance, — conflit qui rappelle l'Y pythagoricien. Pas de synthèse supérieure : *la raison* demeure le principal pouvoir ; *la rejeter, c'est agir déraisonnablement,* être fou, se dénaturer. Jean de Meun n'a pas inventé ce conflit, ni ne l'a ressenti plus profondément que d'autres.

Pour percevoir l'ironie et par suite la véritable signification du Roman de la Rose, il faut recourir à d'autres éléments d'appréciation, en particulier aux œuvres où Jean de Meun parle en son nom propre. Dans son *Testament,* il présente schématiquement les principaux points de l'orthodoxie catholique « in a satire illuminated with flashes of the same eclectic learning which characterizes the *Roman* itself » (p. 110). Dans la Préface à sa traduction de Boèce, il énumère ses ouvrages, plaçant en tête le *Roman de la Rose* qu'il considère donc comme son *opus magnum* et qu'il ne justifie pas, — qu'il ne trouve donc pas bizarre parmi ses traductions des œuvres de Boèce, Végèce, de saint Ailred : le Roman peut-il être dès lors un évangile de la sensualité? D'autant plus qu'un résumé de Boèce nous éclaire tout à fait : l'homme perd de vue ce qui est absolument et essentiellement bon, car ses sens sont captivés par ce qui n'est bon que de façon contingente et accidentelle, c'est-à-dire par le monde matériel. Englué dans le sensible, il perd la capacité de l'intelligible. Aussi l'auteur de la *Consolation* développe-t-il la méthode par laquelle la Philosophie conduit Boèce à comprendre la vanité et la versatilité des choses et le faux bonheur qui en résulte, et à pénétrer la nature du vrai bonheur qui n'est pas donné par le monde et échappe à ses caprices.

Le héros de Boèce est un homme malade rendu sain par la philosophie, *celui de Jean de Meun un fou que la philosophie ne peut rendre sain,* et dont la conduite, quand il tombe sous la coupe de l'amour, fournit un exemple de soumission typique aux biens de la Fortune.

NOTES

[1] Nous citons d'après L. Thuasne, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Paris, Malfère, 1929, p. 50, à qui nous empruntons une bonne part de notre documentation. Pour connaître cette controverse, on utilisera l'ouvrage d'*E. Hicks, Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose*, Paris Champion, 1977.

[2] L. Thuasne, dans l'ouvrage cité, a reproduit cet intéressant traité.

[3] Dans son *Villon et Rabelais*, notes et commentaires, Paris, 1911.

[4] « Recherchez-vous la philosophie naturelle ou morale ? elle ne leur défaut au besoin. Voulez-vous quelques sages traits ? Les voulez-vous de follie ? Vous en trouverez à suffisance ; traits de follie toutesfois dont pourrez vous faire sages. Il n'est pas que, quand il faut repassez sur la théologie, ils se montrent n'y être apprentis. Et tel depuis eux a été en grande vogue, lequel s'est enrichi de leurs plumes sans en faire semblant. »

[5] E. Faral *Le Roman de la Rose et la pensée française au XIIIe siècle*, p. 441 dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 5, 1926.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 440.

[7] *La littérature française du moyen âge*, p. 97.

[8] *The Roman de la Rose, A Study in Allegory and Iconography* Princeton, 1969, p. 104.

[9] E. Faral, *art. cit.* pp. 435—436.

[10] A. Jeanroy, 1921.

[11] E. Langlois, *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1891, pp. 99—100.

[12] *Ibidem*, pp. 101—102.

[13] Voir E. Faral, *art. cit.*, p. 456.

[14] Voir E. Faral *art. cit.*, p. 456.

[15] Nous citons le texte d'après l'édition de Félix Lecoy, 3 vol. Paris, Champion, 1965—1970 (*Classiques français du moyen âge*, 92, 95 et 98).

[16] Voir L. Thuasne, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[17] Ibidem, p. 13.

[18] Ibidem, p. 16.

[19] G. Paris : « . . . le code le plus complet de l'amour courtois tel qu'on le voit en action dans les Romans de la Table Ronde ». On utilisera le petit *Que sais-je* de J. Laffite-Houssat sur les *Troubadours et cours d'amour* (n° 422), et la traduction en français de Claude Buridant, *Traité de l'amour courtois*, Paris, Klinksieck, 1974.

[20] Voir N. Fr. Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf*, New Haven et Londres, 1970 : « Conflict seems to be the fundamental elements in medieval thinking from the disputations method of Abelard's *sic et non* to the representation of psychology as a *psychomachia*, arising, in part, from the tension we have described between chivalrie or Christian values and economic institutions . . . In poetry this taste for argument appears in the numerous *débats*, *tensons* and jeux partis ».

[21] Voir Knowlton, *The Goddess Nature in Early Periods*, dans le *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIX, 1920, pp. 224—253.

[22] Voir là-dessus Gorce, *Le Roman de la Rose* pp. 29—36, Ch. Joret *La Rose dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge*, pp. 231—242.

[23] Voir Rutebeuf, *la Bataille, des Vices contre les Vertus*, exorde :

Puis qu'auteurs et auctoritez
S'accordent que c'est veritez
Qui est oiseus de legier peche,
Et cil s'ame trahist et treche
Qui sans ouvrer sa vie fine,
Car tel vie n'est mie fine,
Por ce me vueil a œvre metre.

COMPLEMENT BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE

Depuis une dizaine d'années, on a beaucoup travaillé sur le *Roman de la Rose*, sans doute à la suite de la publication de la nouvelle édition de Félix Locoy. Voici quelques titres d'ouvrages.

1) *Édition :* par Daniel Poirion, Paris, Gernier—Flammarion, 1974.
2) *Traduction en français :* par André Lanly, Paris, Champion, 5 vol. 1971—1976.

3) *Ouvrages :*

Pierre-Yves Babel, *Le Roman de la Rose au XIVe siècle. Étude de la réception de l'œuvre*, Genève, Droz, 1980 (Publications romanes et françaises, 153).

Jean Batany, *Approches du Roman de la Rose*, Paris, Bordas, 1973.

René Louis, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Paris, Champion, 1974.

Jean-Charles Payen, *La Rose et l'Utopie. Révolution sexuelle et communisme nostalgique chez Jean de Meung*, Paris, Ed. sociales, 1976.

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L'épée, la lettre, et la robe: Symbolisme dramatique et thématique des «Trois Mousquetaires»

Par

PATRICK BRADY

Certains romans historiques ont été étudiés du point de vue des symboles qui les ornent, les enrichissent, et parfois même les structurent — *Salammbô*, par exemple, dans les analyses de Demorest et de Dane.[1] D'autres, en revanche, n'ont pas eu cet avantage. Ainsi, les spécialistes de Dumas — d'Alméras (1929) à Lamaze (1972) et à Jan (1973) — ne se sont intéressés ni à la structure ni aux symboles des *Trois Mousquetaires*.[2] C'est là, cependant, un aspect central et très riche de ce roman célèbre, qui ne devrait pas demeurer négligé plus longtemps. Le présent article est consacré à l'analyse de cette dimension de l'œuvre, et ainsi à la démonstration de son très grand intérêt.

Bien que la première scène du roman soit naturellement consacrée au jeune protagoniste, d'Artagnan, et que la fin du récit consacre l'achèvement de son développement moral ainsi que sa réussite professionnelle, le titre nomme non pas le jeune héros (comme dans le cas de tant d'autres romans : *René, Adolphe, Cinq-Mars, Eugénie Grandet, Salammbô*) mais les trois personnages qui l'accompagnent dans son récit et suivent son évolution.

Ce sont trois personnages-rencontres, comme les personnages du processus d'individuation décrit par Jung. D'ailleurs, ces deux séries de personnages s'alignent très bien l'une sur l'autre : Porthos, qui représente l'exploitation égoiste et matérialiste, serait l'Ombre jungienne rencontrée par la Persona, d'Artagnan ; Aramis, l'adoration romantique, serait l'Anima — non pas comme objet transsexuel, bien entendu, mais comme incarnation du côté idéaliste, délicat, féminin de d'Artagnan ; et Athos, le cynisme désabusé, serait le Vieux Sage. Cette interprétation trouve un appui dans le fait que l'alignement suggéré ici, fondé uniquement sur le caractère moral particulier de chacun de ces personnages, se vérifie également dans l'ordre chronologique de leur apparition dans le roman : c'est Porthos qui est présenté le premier, puis Aramis, et ensuite Athos — dans le texte comme dans l'Epilogue. Ainsi, le titre *Les trois Mousquetaires* signifie « Les trois Rencontres de d'Artagnan ». Ces trois personnages forment, avec d'Artagnan, une illustration exceptionnelle (et classique, puisque formée de trois plus un) de cette configuration

quaternaire (représentée par tout processus d'individuation, d'ailleurs, comme par tant d'autres constellations) où Jung voit presque la clef numérologique du cosmos.[3]

En dehors du titre, bien des éléments du roman se prêtent à merveille à une interprétation moins réaliste que symbolique. L'épée (symbole du militaire), la lettre (symbole du pouvoir aveugle et de la communication masquée), et la robe (symbole de la magistrature comme de la femme) sont trois éléments importants de l'intrigue de ce roman. Ils sont réunis dans la première rencontre de d'Artagnan avec Bonacieux : la « robe » est représentée par Madame Bonacieux, qui a été enlevée ; l'épée à laquelle le mari fait appel est celle du jeune Gascon ; la lettre est un billet anonyme qui menace Bonacieux et le fait trembler. Ce que nous nous proposons de souligner, c'est le fait que ces éléments — même la robe, symbole de la faiblesse féminine — sont souvent des armes terribles aux mains des personnages du roman.

Avant d'aborder leur emploi, évoquons les rapports réciproques des manieurs de ces armes puissantes, c'est-à-dire des mousquetaires et des femmes, et le caractère profond de la lutte dans laquelle ces armes sont employées, lutte entre le Bien et le Mal mais un Mal qui revêt plusieurs formes différentes, qui passe par plusieurs métamorphoses.[4]

Le gant, la bague, et la fleur de lys : Constance Bonacieux, Anne d'Autriche, Anne de Breuil. — Les trois dames de notre histoire sont représentées par trois symboles : le gant pour Madame Bonacieux, la bague pour Anne d'Autriche, et la fleur de lys pour Anne de Breuil. Ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard si ce sont des symboles à signification largement sexuelle.

Quand d'Artagnan se présente à son rendez-vous avec Madame Bonacieux, elle a été enlevée — il ne trouve que son gant : « Enfin d'Artagnan, en poursuivant ses recherches, trouva près du mur un gant de femme déchiré. Cependant ce gant, par tout les points où il n'avait pas touché la terre boueuse, était d'une fraîcheur irréprochable. C'était un de ces gants parfumés comme les amants aiment à les arracher d'une jolie main. » (p. 259.) Ces deux dernières phrases, et surtout l'avant-dernière, n'ont (à la différence de la première) aucune fonction en ce qui concerne l'intrigue. La fonction de ces phrases est symbolique : au moyen d'une suggestion anthropomorphique, elles identifient la dame à son gant et la décrivent en le décrivant. Résumer la dame entière dans son gant, c'est d'ailleurs la réduire à un symbole du sexe féminin — c'est peut-être déjà suggérer le point de vue réducteur du mousquetaire à l'égard de la femme.

Si le gant est féminin parce qu'il reçoit la main, la bague est féminin parce qu'elle reçoit le doigt. La Reine donne à d'Artagnan une bague (p. 246) qu'il vendra plus tard (p. 469). Il s'y résigne parce qu'elle n'est pas un gage d'amour (p. 467); quand Milady, en revanche, lui donne une bague, elle lui dit : « Gardez cette bague pour l'amour de moi » (p. 371). Le symbolisme sexuel

est souligné par la remarque que cette bague va parfaitement aussi au doigt d'Athos (p. 372), qui déclare : « Je l'ai donné[e] pendant une nuit d'amour, comme il vous a été donné à vous » (p.373). Lui également a possédé Milady — car elle a été sa femme. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit aussi de conflits de caractère oedipal qui concernent d'Artagnan. D'une part, d'Artagnan lutte contre une figure de Père Castrateur (le Cardinal) pour conquérir la reconnaissance d'une figure de Mère (la Reine), qui lui sera d'ailleurs accordée sous la forme de ce symbole sexuel qu'est la bague. D'autre part, dans des passages frappants, nous avons la révélation que d'Artagnan a remplacé Athos — de bien des points de vue une figure paternelle pour lui — dans le lit de sa femme, Milady (pp. 371—373, 390—391) ; elle l'appellera même pour se protéger contre Athos, qui l'empêche d'aller à sa rescousse (p. 616) ; et encore une fois, et de façon bien plus dramatique cette fois, ce conflit oedipal sera représenté par le symbole sexuel de la bague qui passe du doigt d'Athos au doigt de d'Artagnan (pp. 371—373).

Milady est associé à un autre symbole : la fleur de lys. Elle en était déjà marquée avant d'épouser Athos, qui la découvre par hasard (p. 309) ; c'est également le hasard qui dicte sa découverte par d'Artagnan (p. 387). C'est la combinaison de la bague et de la fleur de lys qui force Athos finalement à la reconnaître (pp. 373—373, 390—391). La fleur de lys, «cette marque indélébile qu'imprime la main infamante du bourreau » (p. 387), est un symbole de la flétrissure morale : c'est le signe qu'elle est marquée d'une impureté criminelle. Si Milady en est marquée, le frère du bourreau l'est aussi (p. 612) : c'est une flétrissure utilisée indifféremment pour femmes et hommes. Cela convient d'ailleurs parfaitement à Milady, dont on déclare à plusieurs reprises au cours du roman que ce n'est pas une femme (pp. 309, 447, 615).

Le Mousquetaire devant la Femme : Mme Bonacieux, Ketty, Milady. — A un moment donné, Milady déclare, en comparant Felton à d'Artagnan : « Un puritain n'adore que les vierges, et il les adore en joignant les mains. Un mousquetaire aime les femmes, et il les aime en joignant les bras. » (p. 532.) En effet, nos quatre héros semblent préférer les femmes expérimentées, les femmes des autres. Quand Milady devient la femme d'Athos, elle a déjà séduit au moins deux hommes (il est vrai qu'Athos ne le sait pas, mais c'est néanmoins un fait — et de toute façon Athos constitue une espèce d'exception parmi les mousquetaires, étant le seul à être qualifié, comme Felton, de « puritain ») (p. 364); Porthos exploite les femmes mariées et les veuves ; le cas d'Aramis est moins clair, mais il y a lieu de croire que sa bien-aimée à lui est également une femme mariée (Mme de Chevreuse ou Mme de Bois-Tracy). Le thème féminin se développe surtout autour du plus jeune des quatre héros : d'Artagnan. Il est associé à trois femmes : Milady de Winter, Mme Bonacieux, et la soubrette de celle-là (Ketty). Elles entrent dans sa vie dans l'ordre que nous venons d'indiquer, et en sortent dans l'ordre contraire.

L'histoire la plus courte (pp. 334—395), celle de Ketty, est celle d'une « jolie fille de vingt à vingt-deux ans, alerte et vive » (p. 334) : « La jeune fille était d'une fraîcheur et d'une beauté que bien des duchesses eussent achetées de leur couronne » (p. 355). Il est évident qu'elle est vite tombée amoureuse de lui (pp. 335, 343, 344, 353), et elle avoue son amour (p. 355) ; pour elle, d'Artagnan est « son beau soldat » (p. 359). Lui ne pense qu'à en tirer profit (p. 356) ; elle résiste au début à ses avances *(ibid.)*, mais finit par céder (pp. 358, 359) ; il lui ment, lui déclarant « c'est toi seule que j'aime » (p. 359) ; son attitude à son égard est inexcusable, passant de l'indifférence absolue (pp. 343, 344) à l'exploitation cynique (pp. 356—359), aux mensonges (pp. 359, 360—361, 395), et à la cruauté (p. 384), pour finir par une indifférence pire que la première puisque dictée par la peur et l'égoïsme (pp. 389, 393—395).

Plus longue est l'histoire des rapports de d'Artagnan avec Constance, l'épouse de Bonacieux (pp. 135—599). A la différence de Ketty et de Milady, celle-ci n'est jamais possédée par d'Artagnan ; il ne l'en aime cependant que davantage. « C'était une charmante femme de vingt-cinq à vingt-six ans, brune avec des yeux bleus, ayant un nez légèrement retroussé, des dents admirables, un teint marbré de rose et d'opale. » (p. 135.) Quelle est l'attitude du jeune soldat à son égard ? «Pour un apprenti mousquetaire, la jeune femme était presque une idéalité amoureuse. Jolie, mystérieuse, initiée à presque tous les secrets de cœur, qui reflétaient tant de charmante gravité sur ses traits gracieux, elle était soupçonnée de n'être pas insensible, ce qui est un trait si irrésistible pour les amants novices » (p. 141). Constance est son premier amour (pp. 142—143), elle est non seulement jeune, belle, gracieuse et spirituelle mais riche aussi (p. 142), elle l'aime à son tour (pp. 208—209, 213), et l'on nous déclare même : « Comme amour, la seule femme qu'il eût aimée était Mme Bonacieux » (p. 414 ; cf. p. 358), ce qui est catégorique. Mais nous savons aussi que même son amour pour elle est quelque peu intéressé (p. 142), et quand elle a été enlevée, tout en déclarant qu'il l'aime « plus que jamais » il affirme : « Que voulez-vous, il faut bien se distraire » (p. 332). Comme le fait remarquer notre auteur, le jeune Gascon n'était pas « d'un caractère fort sentimental » *(ibid.)*.

Et Milady ? Voici ce que d'Artagnan en dit à Athos : « J'aimais Mme Bonacieux avec le cœur, tandis que j'aime Milady avec la tête » (p. 341). L'histoire de Milady dure bien plus longtemps encore (pp. 53—617). Voici le premier portrait que nous avons d'elle : « C'était une pâle et blonde personne, aux longs cheveux bouclés tombant sur ses épaules, aux grands yeux bleus languissants, aux lèvres rosées et aux mains d'albâtre'» (p. 53). Déjà à l'âge de seize ans elle avait été «belle comme les amours », et «à travers la naïveté de son âge perçait un esprit ardent, un esprit non pas de femme, mais de poète ; elle ne plaisait pas, elle enivrait » (p. 309). Il est vrai que, quand d'Artagnan la compare à sa soubrette, il réfléchit : « La nature s'était trompée en les for-

mant ; à la grande dame elle avait donné une âme vénale et vile, à la soubrette elle avait donné le cœur d'une duchesse » (p. 369). Mais d'Artagnan lui-même « se sentait invinciblement entraîné vers elle » (p. 341), il devient « d'heure en heure plus amoureux » d'elle (p. 353), «il sentait qu'une passion insensée le brûlait pour cette femme » (p. 360) : « [Elle] exerçait sur lui une incroyable puissance, il la haïssait et l'adorait à la fois » (p. 372). Quand il est en sa présence, « son amour qu'il croyait éteint et qui n'était qu'assoupi, se réveilla dans son cœur » (p. 378), et il est «emporté par la passion que cette femme avait le don d'allumer dans son cœur » (p. 379). «Ivre de joie, électrisé d'amour » (p. 380), il « aimait Milady comme un fou » (p. 383). Il la possède, comme Ketty, plus d'une fois (pp. 371—372, 384—385). La façon dont d'Artagnan agit avec Milady est condamnée plusieurs fois : d'abord par l'auteur (p. 360), qui cependant essaie de l'excuser en blâmant l'époque éloignée où vit d'Artagnan ; ensuite par le contraste suggéré avec les valeurs d'Athos (p. 364), qui cependant vit à la même époque que d'Artagnan (l'auteur, d'ailleurs, bien qu'il vive, lui, à une époque ultérieure, « où l'on se ménage davantage », condamne Athos comme un «puritain »). Il se peut que le désir qu'inspire Milady à d'Artagnan vienne en partie de la satisfaction de posséder la femme de son père adoptif, du seul d'entre les trois mousquetaires dont la supériorité est reconnue de tous : Athos.

Les métamorphoses du Mal : le traître, la couleuvre, et le duc rouge. — La lutte qui remplit le roman d'un bout à l'autre est celle qui oppose le Cardinal à la Reine. Comme les trois mousquetaires défendent la cause de la Reine, qui est présentée comme l'innocente victime de la persécution de Richelieu, et comme les instruments du Cardinal (Rochefort, son «âme damnée », et surtout Milady de Winter) sont des incarnations du Mal, la lutte entre la Reine et le Cardinal prend l'allure d'une lutte entre le Bien et le Mal. Cette impression est encore renforcée par le caractère donné à l'imagerie animale qui constitue un aspect si frappant du style du roman.

Cette imagerie, s'il comporte quelques images où il s'agit de bêtes diverses (d'Artagnan est un «jeune renard », p. 75), puise surtout à deux sources, dont l'une est constituée par le genre reptilien (serpent, vipère, couleuvre) et l'autre par le genre félin (lion, tigre, panthère). Ainsi le Cardinal est comparé à un chat-tigre (pp. 68, 500), tandis que Milady est comparée tantôt à une tigresse (pp. 391, 506, 554), à une panthère (pp. 391, 492), à une lionne (p. 482), à une bête fauve (p. 447), tantôt à un serpent (pp. 445, 507, 535,), à une vipère (p. 447), à une couleuvre (p. 394). Comme Milady représente les forces du Mal, cette imagerie reflète la polarité, acceptée et évoquée par Milady elle-même, selon laquelle le Mal peut prendre la forme ou du serpent ou du lion (p. 542). Et Milady est elle-même à la fois panthère et serpent (p. 387), serpent et tigresse (p. 494), «tantôt serpent, tantôt lion » (p. 497). Parfois la polarité de ces images dépasse le régime du Mal pour lui opposer le Bien, comme

dans la scène où Athos doit accuser son ancienne femme, «tremblant lui-même comme le lion tremble à l'aspect du serpent» (p. 610).[5] Mais la vaste majorité des images servent à renforcer l'identification de Milady avec le côté animal, bestial de la nature humaine, et partant avec les forces du Mal.

Les forces du Mal s'expriment aussi dans le portrait de Buckingham. Il est beau et profondément narcissique, accordant toujours à sa toilette «une attention extraordinaire» (p. 561) et s'admirant dans les glaces (p. 157). Orgueuilleux et égoïste, il se soucie peu de son cheval, comme des personnes qu'il renverse dans la rue (p. 232). C'est Milady qui l'appelle « le ravageur de l'Angleterre, le persécuteur des vrais croyants, le lâche ravisseur de l'honneur de tant de femmes, celui qui pour un caprice de son cœur corrompu va faire verser tant de sang à deux royaumes, qui protège les protestants aujourd'hui et qui les trahira demain» (p. 549), mais il avoue lui-même à la reine : « Des milliers d'hommes, il est vrai, auraient payé mon bonheur de leur vie ; mais que m'importera, à moi, pourvu que je vous revoie!» (p. 160) et encore à d'Artagnan : « Oui, c'est qu'Anne d'Autriche est ma véritable reine ; sur un mot d'elle, je trahirais mon pays, je trahirais mon roi, je trahirais mon Dieu. Elle m'a demandé de ne point envoyer aux protestants de La Rochelle le secours que je leur avais promis, et je l'ai fait. Je manquais à ma parole, mais n'importe, j'obéissais à son désir» (p. 235). Quand le jeune puritain anglais le maudit, l'auteur nous affirme : « Felton ne faisait qu'exprimer à l'égard du duc le sentiment d'exécration que tous les Anglais avaient voué à celui que les catholiques eux-mêmes appelaient l'exacteur, le concussionnaire, le débauché et que les puritains appelaient tout simplement Satan» (P. 522.). Buckingham aime sans doute la Reine, mais par sa folie il lui fait courir des risques inouïs, il menace son bonheur et sa vie. Lui, qui incarne le Mal inconscient et frivole, sera abattu par le Mal conscient, voulu, et prévoyant — car Felton n'est que l'instrument de Milady, qui n'est guère que l'instrument du Cardinal, du « duc rouge ».

A cette ambiguïté du rôle de Buckingham, il faut ajouter celle du rôle du Cardinal et de Rochefort, qui, à la fin du roman, par des métamorphoses assez bien préparées sans doute mais surprenantes néanmoins, paraissent se ranger du côté du Bien. Quoi qu'il en soit, la plus grande partie du récit est consacrée à l'évocation d'une lutte entre le Bien et le Mal où sont employées les armes que nous allons examiner : l'épée, la robe, et la lettre.

L'épée, symbole de l'homme, du chevalier, du roi. — L'épée est, comme le pistolet pour une époque plus récente, un symbole courant de la masculinité. Il est vrai que c'est uniquement la noblesse d'épée qui manie cette arme, mais le fait de s'y refuser peut être la preuve non seulement qu'on n'appartient pas à cette classe (signe social) mais aussi qu'on manque de masculinité (signe sexuel).[6] Dans le cas, par exemple, de M. Bonacieux, le cocu type (même s'il n'est pas fait cocu au cours du récit) de notre roman, ses protestations paraissent avoir une

signification qui n'est pas uniquement sociale. Ne pas porter l'épée signifie : être peureux. La première fois où Bonacieux se présente à d'Artagnan, il lui déclare : « . . . moi, Monsieur, je ne suis pas homme d'épée du tout, et j'ai peur de la Bastille » (p. 122). D'Artagnan aussi n'aime pas la Bastille, mais il fait remarquer : « S'il ne s'agissait que d'un coup d'épée, passe encore. » Un peu plus tard, nous lisons à propos de Bonacieux enfermé dans un cachot : « Toute la journée Bonacieux pleura comme un véritable mercier, n'étant pas du tout homme d'épée, il nous l'a dit lui-même. » (p. 169.) Ce refrain revient encore plus tard : « . . . depuis mon arrestation et le vol qui a été commis chez moi, je m'effraye chaque fois que j'entends ouvrir une porte, et surtout la nuit. Dame, que voulez-vous ! je ne suis point homme d'épée, moi » (P. 250.) Et on sait très bien évaluer et traiter un homme de cette espèce, comme le raconte le vieillard à d'Artagnan : « Oh ! celui-là n'est pas un seigneur, j'en réponds : d'ailleurs il ne portait pas l'épée, et les autres le traitaient sans aucune considération. » (P. 263.) Parfois l'homme d'épée est opposé non pas au marchand mais au puritain :[7] « Un puritain n'adore que les vierges, et il les adore en joignant les mains. Un mousquetaire aime les femmes, et il les aime en joignant les bras. » (P. 532.)[8]

L'épée est donc un symbole (freudien, si l'on veut) de la masculinité — de l'homme ; c'est aussi un symbole du chevalier, porteur d'épée, et en effet tous les héros du roman sont presque des spadassins — des militaires qui se battent continuellement en duel (malgré l'interdiction des duels), et qui sortent presque toujours vainqueurs. Il y a, bien entendu, des exceptions, comme l'occasion où Athos est gravement blessé par les gardes du Cardinal dans un cabaret de la rue Férou (p. 70) et celle où Porthos se fait terrasser par Rochefort à Chantilly (p. 274) ; mais il y a tant d'exemples de réussite : la rencontre de Jussac et de ses gardes (pp. 89—92), celle avec Bernajoux et ses amis (pp. 98—99), le duel avec les Anglais (p. 339), la rencontre de d'Artagnan avec deux assassins (pp. 418—419), la défense du bastion Saint-Gervais (pp. 457—467). Si d'Artagnan est le jeune mais remarquable maître de l'épée (pp. 95, 107, etc. ; on le dira une «lame d'épée vivante», p. 379), il jouit aussi d'un grand succès auprès des femmes — succès de fait, parfois, plutôt que d'estime (comme dans le cas des nuits qu'il arrive à passer chez Milady), mais succès néanmoins ; cela renforce le symbolisme masculin et sexuel de l'épée.

L'épée symbolise non seulement l'homme et le chevalier, mais aussi le roi : arme tranchante, elle représente les décisions qui détruisent l'injustice, qui punissent le coupable. Le roi Louis XIII, cependant, s'il aime, comme il le dit lui-même, les récits de guerre et de combat (p. 95), s'ennuie néanmoins de la guerre (p. 496) comme il s'ennuie de la chasse (p. 103) et sans doute comme il s'était ennuyé de sa femme, la Reine. De tels détails de son portrait suggère que le caractère de vraie royauté de l'esprit lui faisait défaut. C'est

Richelieu qui, en fermant le port de La Rochelle et en faisant assassiner Buckingham, est le vrai vainqueur de la ville protestante. Si figure royale il y a dans le roman, c'est sans doute celle du Cardinal. C'est peut-être ce qui explique le fait que c'est lui, plutôt que le roi, qui couronne la valeur de d'Artagnan à la fin du livre par une lieutenance dans les mousquetaires.

La lettre — d'amour, de rupture, de cachet. — La parole joue un rôle intéressant dans ce roman, et surtout quand elle est supprimée, comme dans le cas de Felton (p. 487). Parfois une telle suppression de la parole est réunie au thème de l'écriture : ainsi Athos, pour punir son laquais Grimaud d'avoir pris la parole, l'oblige à avaler un morceau d'écriture : « Pour vous punir d'avoir parlé sans permission, mon ami, vous allez manger ce morceau de papier, puis, pour vous récompenser du service que vous nous aurez rendu, vous boirez ensuite ce verre de vin » (p. 504). La suppression de la parole chez Grimaud permet à l'auteur de nous donner un bon exemple de vidéo-texte pour décrire la dégustation du verre de vin : « Grimaud avala silencieusement le verre de vin de Bordeaux, mais ses yeux levés au ciel parlaient, pendant tout le temps que dura cette douce occupation, un langage qui, pour être muet, n'en était pas moins expressif. » *(Ibid.)*

En général, cependant, quand il y a une discussion sur la parole ou l'écriture, il s'agit de cette dernière. Ici la scène essentielle est sans doute celle où il s'agit d'écrire une lettre à lord de Winter pour l'avertir du danger que représente sa belle-sœur. Quel personnage aura le talent verbal le mieux approprié à une telle tâche ? Un semblant de réponse est fourni par l'association de l'esprit avec la vocation religieuse (p. 65) ; ce sera Aramis. Athos déclare à d'Artagnan : « Maniez le mousquet et l'épée, mon cher, vous vous tirez galamment des deux exercises ; mais passez la plume à M. l'abbé, cela le regarde. » (P. 472.) Et Porthos est d'accord. Quand Aramis rédige la lettre, Athos le félicite : « — En bien : voilà qui est à merveille, et vous avez une plume de secrétaire d'État, mon cher Aramis » (p. 474). Tout de suite après, Aramis doit leur rédiger une lettre pour faire prévenir Buckingham, et encore une fois Athos le félicite : « — A merveille : vous êtes le roi des poètes ; mon cher Aramis, vous parlez comme l'Apocalypse et vous êtes vrai comme l'Évangile. » (P. 475.)

Est-ce à dire qu'Aramis est moins bon escrimeur que ses camarades ? Dans le premier duel collectif, au contraire, Aramis est le seul à faire face à deux adversaires (p. 90), et pourtant il est le premier à tuer un homme et a le moins besoin de l'aide de d'Artagnan (p. 91). Néanmoins, la différence, voire le conflit, entre l'épée et la robe est clairement postulée par Tréville (p. 183), et parmi les héros, qui sont tous hommes d'épée, c'est certainement Aramis qui représente la robe et la plume.

Tout cela est normal, puisque Aramis est à la fois l'abbé et le poète de la bande ; mais il faut avouer aussi que d'Artagnan a eu un vif succès avec

certaines lettres qu'il a écrites au cours du roman. En effet, il a manié la lettre d'amour de façon si efficace que Milady lui a donné en échange une nuit de passion (il est vrai qu'il ne faisait que répondre à la passion qui déjà l'enflammait pour un autre, qu'il remplaça); ce qui plus est, il a inventé une lettre de rupture telle qu'elle lui a valu encore une nuit de passion dans les bras de celle qu'il faisait semblant de répudier. Et quelle insulte que cette lettre : « Ne comptez pas sur moi, Madame, pour le prochain rendez-vous : depuis ma convalescence j'ai tant d'occupations de ce genre qu'il m'a fallu y mettre un certain ordre. Quand votre tour viendra, j'aurai l'honneur de vous en faire part. Je vous baise les mains. » (P. 374.) S'il est vrai que d'Artagnan est un peu dépassé par les subtilités du courrier diplomatique, il est bien arrivé à ses fins avec ses fausses lettres à Milady, malgré toute la finesse de cette dernière. En revanche, quand Milady écrit une fausse lettre sous le nom de Godeau, l'hôtelier des mousquetaires, son masque est vite percé à jour : « — Ce n'est pas son écriture : s'écria Athos, je la connais » (p. 426).

Milady est consciente des dangers que représente l'écriture, comme le souligne une conversation avec Rochefort, à qui elle dit :

> Je vous ai raconté les événements, vous avez bonne mémoire, répétez les choses comme je vous les ai dites, un papier se perd.
> [...]
> — Écrivez-moi ce nom-là [« Armentières »] sur un morceau de papier, de peur que je ne l'oublie ; ce n'est pas compromettant un nom de ville, n'est-ce pas ?
> — Eh, qui sait ? N'importe, dit Milady en écrivant le nom sur une demi-feuille de papier, je me compromets.
> — Bien ! dit Rochefort en prenant des mains de Milady le papier qu'il plia et qu'il enfonça dans la coiffe de son feutre ; d'ailleurs, soyez tranquille, je vais faire comme les enfants, et, dans le cas où je perdrais ce papier, répéter le nom tout le long de la route (Pp. 587—588.).

Il aurait mieux valu à Milady qu'elle écoutât sa défiance naturelle à l'égard de l'écriture, car c'est ce morceau de papier qui la perdra, en tombant du chapeau de Rochefort pour tomber entre les mains de d'Artagnan (p. 573) qui le passe à Athos (p. 601).

La robe — de femme, de prêtre, de magistrat. — Après la noblesse d'épée vient la noblesse de robe, c'est-à-dire la magistrature. Un chapitre est justement intitulé « Gens de robe et gens d'épée » (le chapitre XV). Sa puissance est représentée ici par exemple par « l'homme au manteau rouge » qui participe aux trois derniers chapitres du roman (exception faite de la *Conclusion* et de l'*Épilogue*), car cet homme est un bourreau — le bourreau de la ville de Lille. C'est donc lui qui marque ou «flétrit » les grands criminels en leur imprimant à l'épaule le fer rouge en fleur de lys ; c'est lui qui, au besoin, exécute les assassins. Anne de Breuil (alias comtesse de la Fère, alias Lady de Winter) subit entre ses mains d'abord la première de ses punitions et ensuite la dernière. Mais le bourreau ne peut rien faire sans autorisation, comme nous le voyons dans la scène qui le montre devant Athos, à qui il refuse d'obéir :

« Alors Athos tira de sa poche un petit papier sur lequel étaient écrites deux lignes accompagnées d'une signature et d'un sceau, et le présenta à celui qui donnait trop prématurément ces signes de repugnance. L'homme à la grande taille eut à peine lu ces deux lignes, vu la signature et reconnu le sceau, qu'il s'inclina en signe qu'il n'avait plus aucune objection à faire, et qu'il était prêt à obéir. » (P. 604.) Cette scène souligne l'immense pouvoir aux mains du Cardinal, magistrat suprême et signature du blanc-seing (pp. 447, 460) volé à Milady par Athos.

La robe de prêtre est sans doute une arme aux mains du Cardinal, car elle lui fournit des collaborateurs et des espions. Mais ce côté de sa puissance n'est pas souligné dans le roman. Les allusions à la robe de prêtre sont plutôt associées à la tentation permanente d'Aramis — mais qui ne paraît l'assiéger que quand il se sent délaissé par sa maîtresse. Ainsi réduit en tant qu'homme, il pense à se faire prêtre ; il est aussi le seul des mousquetaires qui paraît efféminé : « C'était un jeune homme de vingt-deux à vingt-trois ans à peine, à la figure naïve et doucereuse, à l'œil noir et doux et aux joues roses et veloutées comme une pêche en automne ; sa moustache fine dessinait sur sa lèvre supérieure une ligne d'une rectitude parfaite ; ses mains semblaient craindre de s'abaisser, de peur que leurs veines ne se gonflassent, et de temps en temps il se pinçait le bout des oreilles pour les maintenir d'un incarnat tendre et transparent. D'habitude il parlait peu et lentement, saluait beaucoup, riait sans bruit en montrant ses dents, qu'il avait belles et dont, comme du reste de sa personne, il semblait prendre le plus grand soin. » (P. 64). La féminité de son portrait est soulignée encore davantage au moment où il pense sérieusement entrer dans l'église : nous le voyons «prenant sur son fauteuil la même pose gracieuse que s'il eût été dans une ruelle et . . . examinant avec complaisance sa main blanche et potelée comme une main de femme, qu'il tenait en l'air pour en faire descendre le sang [et] se pinçant l'oreille pour la rendre rouge, comme il se secouait les mains pour les rendre blanches» (pp. 285, 287).[9] Il a « une charmante petite écriture de femme » (p. 473).

Le fait qu'une robe de femme peut servir d'arme est amplement démontré par la séduction du puritain anglais Felton par Milady de Winter. Felton « ne put résister à l'influence secrète qui s'était déjà emparée de lui : voir cette femme si belle, blanche comme la plus candide vision, la voir tour à tour éplorée et menaçante, subir à la fois l'ascendant de la douleur et de la beauté, c'était trop pour un visionnaire » (p. 529). Elle consacre toute son ingénuité à le fléchir: « Peu à peu l'enchanteresse avait revêtu cette parure magique qu'elle reprenait et quittait à volonté, c'est-à-dire la beauté, la douceur, les larmes et surtout l'irrésistible attrait de la volupté mystique » (p. 531). Pour l'achever, elle se déshabille : « Milady d'un geste rapide ouvrit sa robe, déchira la batiste qui couvrait son sein, et, rouge d'une feinte colère et d'une honte jouée, montra

au jeune homme l'empreinte ineffaçable qui déshonorait cette épaule si belle. » (P. 548.) Puis il vit « se refermer sous le voile de la chasteté ces trésors d'amour qu'on ne lui cachait si bien que pour les lui faire désirer plus ardemment » (pp. 548—549). Et enfin, « Milady se laissa aller débile et languissante entre les bras du jeune officier, qui, ivre d'amour, de colère et de voluptés inconnues, la reçut avec transport, la serra contre son cœur, tout frissonnant à l'haleine de cette bouche si belle, tout éperdu au contact de ce sein si palpitant. » (P. 550.)

Conclusion. — L'épée, la lettre, et la robe sont trois armes efficaces aux mains des personnages principaux des *Trois Mousquetaires*. Si l'épée paraît dominer pendant la plus grande partie du roman, et surtout au début, petit à petit son pouvoir agissant sera remplacé par celui de la lettre et de la robe de femme. Cette dernière arme triomphe dans la dizaine de chapitres où Milady séduit Felton (Chh. L—LX), mais ce sera finalement la lettre qui tranche tout, et cela sous la forme la plus pure du pouvoir aveugle ; car le blanc-seing volé à Milady par d'Artagnan et utilisé par Athos pour convaincre le bourreau avait été destiné par Richelieu à couvrir non pas l'exécution de Milady mais l'envoi à la Bastille de d'Artagnan (pp. 442—443). Un tel instrument peut ainsi servir indifféremment au Bien ou au Mal. En revanche, l'épée, symbole masculin, se range nettement du côté du Bien, tandis que la robe, symbole féminin, se range du côté du Mal ; car l'épée qui domine est celle de d'Artagnan, le jeune héros indomptable vainqueur de tant d'adversaires dangereux, tandis que la robe considérée en tant qu'arme offensive est associée avec Milady, dont l'intelligence, la perspicacité, et la perversité lui permettent de manier sa féminité et sa beauté de façon si dangereuse pour ses ennemis — comme le découvrent Felton et sa victime Buckingham. Dans cette lutte entre le Bien et le Mal, il faut donc voir un épisode de la lutte qui oppose l'Homme à la Femme dans son aspect terrible : son adversaire, c'est l'Eternel Féminin.

NOTES

[1] Voir Brady, Patrick : « *Archetypes and the Historical Novel : The Case of « Salammbô »*, « Stanford French Review », vol. I, no 3 (Winter 1977), pp. 313—324.

[2] Signalons toutefois le grand intérêt de l'article assez général de Jean Thibaudeau paru dans « Europe », nos 490—491 (1970), pp. 59—75.

[3] See Jung, C. G. : *Psychology and Alchemy* (New York ; Pantheon [Bollingen Series XX, 12], 1953).

[4] L'édition utilisée ici sera celle procurée par Jacques Suffel (Paris : Garnier-Flammarion, 1967).

[5] Citons aussi le duel de d'Artagnan avec Jussac, où le jeune Gascon « se battait comme un tigre en fureur » et, « se glissant comme un serpent sous son fer, [. . .] lui passa son épée au travers du corps » (pp. 90—91).

[6] L'exemple d'Aramis est probant : pour prouver qu'il n'est pas un lâche, il quitte provisoirement l'église pour prendre l'épée (pp. 290—291).

[7] Il s'agit, bien entendu, de l'anglais Felton. Il faut remarquer cependant que le terme « puritain » est également appliqué à Athos (p. 364).

[8] En effet, aucune des femmes de nos quatre héros (Anne de Breuil, Madame de Chevreuse, Madame Coquenard, Madame Bonacieux) n'est une vierge.

[9] La joliesse d'Aramis se retrouve chez des personnages de *Cinq-Mars* (Olivier d'Entraigues) et de la *Chronique du règne de Charles IX* (Comminges).

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Tolstoy's novel and Tolstoy's thinking (Tolstoy and Shakespeare)

By

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Pushkin and Dostoevsky admired Shakespeare as the innovator of literature, as a dramatist and as a profund and objective thinker, who united the traditions of universal culture with the sources of folklore and the need for realism in literature. Shakespeare meant the same for them as Walter Scott meant for Balzac. On the other hand, Tolstoy, who has assumed an opposite position to them in the public mind, is the antithesis of Shakespeare in all his art. He neither idolizes him nor regards him as a source.

What is the sense of this parallel, then ? If we linger over Tolstoy's larger novels a little, we can immediately assure ourselves that the Shakespearian influence is a determinant in his art as well as Dostoevsky's. This influence, of course, can be seen not so much as a formal parallel, or the subject matters, but rather in Tolstoy's artistic thoughts on the Russian reality of his age, which he confronted with Shakespearian style and maturity of thought.

Shakespeare depicts three main types of human accomplishment: the first is youth, the age of love, of people able to reach fulfilment can make its way only in forms directly or indirectly shaping society. The third is old age, the period of passing on wisdom and experience. Every deviation from this "scheme" — be it late or early — appears in Shakespeare as an anomaly of the character, and consequently as a distortion of human enterprise.

In Romeo and Juliet's fascination for each other we can see from the moment of their appearance the breach of the laws of an old, obsolete system in a conventional age governed society. Their love is a form of protest ; it is itself the manifestation and fulfilment of the individual, the human profession of reason, beauty and goodness. It is so because at their age the human essence, the social essence of man, can truly manifest itself only in love. It does not even occur to us that we should take an attitude towards Romeo and Juliet : we lyrically become one with them, we worry about them, we check our feelings on their passions. Juliet is fourteen years old, Anna Karenina is twenty eight. Shakespeare's work is a tragedy of juvenile love, while Tolstoy's novel is that of adult love. This is the reason for the parallel and also for the difference in meaning between the two stories: Romeo and Juliet's tragedy

on the whole is the result of the surrounding world's anomalous motion while Anna's is due not only to the wrong arrangement of the world but to the personality's loss of ground as well : the "poesy" of the novel hero in comparison to the tragic hero's pathos is problematic.

The first stage of the development, juvenile love, is generally excluded in the contemporary Russian society ; such love does not and cannot exist. As we shall see later in Tolstoy's novel, Levin can go along his own course at the very expense of giving up the belated love and the ideal of emancipated companion. And the "Kreutzer Sonata" shows the same regularity in the impossibility of the choice between the two alternatives. The carpe diem way of life is also prescribed by social convention in the young age of life, and under such circumstances there are in fact only two alternatives left for the family. That is why the family guards Anna Karenina so carefully in this age of love : they educate her to be a cultured, clever and beautiful woman of the world, fulfilling completely the requirements of etiquette, and keep her in waiting for the "hero of the age", who has made a significant career.

This typology of Tolstoy's, which is different from Shakespeare's, is justified by other works of Russian literature. From Pushkin to Ostrovsky and Shchedrin love arrives not in young age ; the Romeo-Juliet type of passion arises later. In comparison to Shakespeare, Tolstoy notices that this belated need, in an age when man could fulfil himself as an individual, becomes an obstacle to social self realization and entails estrangement, catastrophe and emptiness. It is true that Shakespeare also portrays anomalies that are due to circumstance, where "time has come out of joint" within the individual (Macbeth, Henry IV, Claudius, etc.). In contrast to Claudius, who is cast back in his reign and achievement by his passion, and to Macbeth, who is made deaf and blind by the belated ambition for a career, Hamlet can become a great tragic hero exactly because his opportunity to act arrives at the right time. It is the same with Romeo and Juliet : in their life love arrives at the right time and appears as the fulfilment of their individuality.

Anna, who had no opportunity to experience juvenile love, has to marry Karenin, the bureaucrat, the hero of the age. The fact that Karenin is an official, of course, does not mean anything in itself, since Oblonsky, who is perhaps the most human among the characters, also serves in an office. Tsar Michael had already tried, as early as 1825, to prevent by reform the dissolution of capitalism in Russia ; the landowner who became socially or financially ruined, even by gambling away his fortune, could simply enter the service of the state instead of suffering bankruptcy, becoming declassé or shooting himself in the head. Without respect to his qualifications, he received the status equal to his fortune. And so the real evolution of the bourgeoisie was checked not only in higher circles but also in wider social strata, since certain forms of state service were available to them too. The whole of Russia was

nothing but an enormous office, a vast state machinery, which would otherwise not have been able to maintain its existence against the perilous avalanche started in February 1861. Thus the cleverest and most agile representatives of the higher strata also streamed to the offices from almost every order and community of society. Such might have been Karenin when he was young, who in the novel is already near to the summit of his career. A family who has the opportunity to marry their daughter to such a well respected gentleman cannot but be satisfied, according to public opinion.

By way of this marriage Anna, in fact, gets into Petersburg high society and immediately becomes the centre. She has a son ; can we imagine her happier ? But one day she realizes that love has not arrived in her life with Karenin. And she begins to worry about herself ; she is the most beautiful, the cleverest, the purest woman and yet she is the very one who has not had any share of passion. It is so, absolutely. And Anna, suddenly awaking to herself, the adult Juliet, will become destructive if she cannot win love.

Love, as human self fulfilment is at once both eternal and concrete in the same way as family and education, which can restrain or reinforce, and with which we can measure the relationship of the individual and society in a given age.

Just like Shakespeare, in "Romeo and Juliet", Tolstoy's basic casting of "Anna Karenina" as describing a human relationship is emphatically a question of living through the social contradictions of various ages in the fulfilment of a personality.

Tolstoy parades the Romeos of the age. Karenin from the very outset proves to be unambiguously inept for this role ; later this question will be Maupassant's constant subject : how office kills man's soul, how it degrades existence to such a measure that human relationships, even love, become empty for the bureaucrat. Levin gives up the opportunity of becoming a Romeo almost voluntarily ; he contents himself with Kitty and does not even afterwards guess the fact that the opportunity for Anna is gone. (He is expelled from the high society for his restraint from the carpe diem.) At the same time the fact that Anna's fate is tending towards tragedy, the inevitable fall of greatness, makes him conscious of his instinctive aversion to high society at the same time. And from this point onwards he is more self-assured, not only in relation to Kitty, but also in his entirely illusory conviction that his own course is the only alternative.

Although in Oblonsky we can find nothing of Levin's haughtiness and inner uncertainty, nevertheless he is the most human, though all heroism and even ideas of greatness are missing from him. He also bears the conventional conflict of marriage and love, although he tries to find a cheap solution to it, by living a double life, becoming unsuited to the role of a Romeo and inevitably degrading himself in this aspect of it.

And what about Vronsky? Is the young favourite of the Petersburg society really a Romeo? Does he disrupt convention when he chooses Anna as his lover? For it seems that everybody expected that this lady of the world would meet this gentleman of the world, and that the disintegration of family relations should ensue. In the public opinion it is the way of the world; thus Anna and Vronsky would demonstrate their similarity to everyone else, and there could be no question of any irregularity. Anna, in breaking out from conventional marriage, fell into the grasp of another convention. She does not assent in the style of this high life, yet still she does not realize that the same thing is happening to her now as when she was married. She seems to make her choice herself, but from where could she draw the knowledge and experience to realize what is happening to Vronsky and herself, that this relationship cannot satisfy the righteous need which drove her into love, and that no real emancipation can be reached within the old framework.

In Italy Vronsky has a flash of hope for an alternative, the opportunity to become an artist — which let me add, would mean a hero's way out, — but it turns out that he is weak and unprepared for this path. Mikhailovsky finds, when painting Anna's portrait, that he rightly cannot find real beauty in Anna, because the inner strength and certainty of self realization is missing from her face. The painter judges this beauty from the universal point of view, and this aspect throws an entirely new light on, and at once anticipates, the innovative closing of Anna's character. So far characters and the reader have seen what lifted Anna and Vronsky above Oblonsky, Dolly, Levin and Kitty, but all of a sudden that fact comes to light which profoundly rhymes with Anna's uneasiness, inner disharmony, and finally in the motif of her constant courting of catastrophy.

Again it is the Italian episode that sheds light on one of the underlying principles of the whole work: Tolstoy in this novel from time to time brings to ruin the most disparate romantic endeavours, be they moved either by the idea of freedom from conventions — for example Levin —, or the need to somehow re-romanticize the vacuous high-life. And from this point onwards the centre of the novel is not Anna alone; the emphasis imperceptibly shifts over to Levin, who, although he goes through no novel fate at all, still represents for Tolstoy an achievable — though compared to Mikhailovsky, the painter a more common and compared to Anna a pettier, — form of self fulfilment.

The two different but equally real and unromantic attempts of the artist (Mikhailovsky) and the ordinary man (Levin) to realize the human essence in Tolstoy's concept, the story of unrealized ambition and the increasingly empty course of life under the sacrifices and sacrificiers of social conventions Karenin and Vronsky's catastrophy and Anna's tragedy. In comparison to that the topic of "unhappy families" at any rate is pushed into the back-

ground and operates as a secondary motif ; though it is kept awake by the existence of heroes and is qualified in particular by the senselessness of their life, and by the success of failure of their fulfilment.

Tolstoy in this respect deviates from Shakespeare in that it is not human error that is in the centre of interest, but a badly arranged society, since in Tolstoy's world man fails to become great and happy not only in love and family life but also in his social career, and Levin's protest is also considerably challenged not only by the failure of Petersburg high society to understand him, but also by the unwillingness of the "world below" to even admit him. Owing to his idyllic desire, his endeavour falls not only in connection with the emancipation of women but also in the cooperation with the peasants.

It is not by chance, either, that the only character that Tolstoy leaves "unfinished" is Levin, and that the whole interest of this figure is due rather to the repeated failure of his epic ambitions and idyllic endeavours than to the novellish consequences of the adventures he experienced on his way. As a matter of fact Levin has no storybook course but rather a moral aspect, ethic perseverance, intellectual and moral pathos and a questioning philosophical attitude. His motion in the novel is rather similar to the starting steps of an actual novel hero than the novellish life. His course is one of illusions which hardly affect his fate at all, whether we are regarding it from the point of view of his marriage with Kitty or from that of his attempts at living a rustic way of life. In Levin — as later on in Nehljudov — Tolstoy is concerned with the opportunities for the rearrangement of the noble hero's psychic structure. In his more conventional characters on the other hand Tolstoy's analytic interest is drawn towards the imprinting of convention on the psyche and the collision of conventions with the human essence.

However, there is no doubt that Tolstoy investigates an alternative in Levin's character : he seeks for the sources of a well organized society already somewhere in existence : in the rustic form of existence close to nature, accustomed to work, and in the opportunity for man's self perfection. He regards this rather simple and rustic adherence to the worker's life as universally human, and not the purgatory of emotional and intellectual shocks, as Shakespeare in Hamlet, or Dostoevsky in his novels, do, although Tolstoy does not speak about these opportunities and alternatives.

Therefore Tolstoy wants to provide a possible way out for his heroes. And although he destroys Andrey's, Olenin's and Nehljudov's romantic illusions, the illusions of Pierre and Levin are for him real endeavours in which there is a hidden solution.

While on the one hand Tolstoy qualifies the good family — bad family topic in the conscious awareness of the heroes, on the other hand he expounds it narratively in a completely open and undisguised manner, giving also an authorial judgement on it, but always associated with the actual episodes

of the novel — he grabs this wider and more comprehensive sphere of problems characteristically on a level of Shakespearian objectivity, i. e. epically, in the direction of the character's endeavours, in the end result of their ambition or from the retrospect of the final result.

The realization for example, that Anna lives in the milieu of Petersburg society and that this society shapes her as well as Karenin or Vronsky to its own likeness, along with the series of adventures leading to disillusionment allow Tolstoy to show the tragedy of emancipation as two coherent poetic sequences of thought illuminating each other.

Tolstoy seeks in vain for an opportunity for the Romeo-Juliet passion which could accomplish and make great woman's individuality. At the same time he shows that the decisive failure of this accomplishment is independent of the individual, even if she has to become guilty in her own fate. As a matter of fact the motto of the novel refers to that.

Tolstoy's motto, chosen from "Apostle Paul's letters", in many respects helps to direct the artistic structure and epic concept of the novel. The omission of the words "Quoth the Lord . . ." meaningfully modifies the biblical meaning, since this challenges the claim of man to be privileged to condemn his fellow creatures. And the well-quoted letter exemplifies that for Tolstoy this problem is not new at all : society even shames the victims of its own faults, treating them as Pharisees, in order to relinquish responsibility. Thus Tolstoy puts the frustration of human endeavour and the clash of wills on the account of life itself, and the social order, in every way.

In "Anna Karenina" Tolstoy came to the very conclusion that Russian society had been shaken in its roots, and that in this disintegrating world no one could build a peaceful private life, happiness for himself. No one could create his own integrity and fulfilment who did not take the opportunity of the "real" way out, either as an artist, as Mihaylovsky, or as an ordinary man, as Levin. And Tolstoy proves with novellish fates, that none can "right an anachronism", though in a certain form — in attempts to find a way out, in life revealed as fate, and in the failure of self fulfilment — everyone finds himself facing the catastrophies and tragedies of this disintegrating world.

Nor is Levin only witness of this world ; he also shares in it ; he can only come to the conclusions which save him from catastrophe at a price, and even that does not save him from chaos.

For Anna is beginning to realize only gradually, at the approach of her tragedy, that what is happening is not a breach of convention but on the contrary, the building of a new one. She is slowly getting taken by events, but when she wants to retire to the countryside with Vronsky she has to see that it would mean their expulsion from the world. Only at this point does she suddenly realize the complete difference between what is happening and what she imagined ; Vronsky and she have endeavoured in different directions and

each has longed for different things. That she is inevitably being driven into catastrophy by the late experience of love, Anna actually begins to guess as early as the difficult birth of her second child when she almost makes her peace with Karenin — she thinks she can see the man in him — but at that point the Tatyanian course is already impossible for her. She has stepped across all conventions, but it is impossible for her to be Juliet. Anna's love towards her son and her unyielding attitude to Karenin, again show her diverted splendour for the simple calling off divorce and the recovery of her son could not solve anything. Anna is suddenly convinced that her break with hateful convention was in vain, that she has become the slave of just another convention and that her act was self-destructively senseless. Thus her fate is not based on a simple misunderstanding ; she finds irrepressible counter powers in herself. Although, understandably, she does not make herself the obstacle of her fulfilment, her inner confusion and obstinacy can still be seen by the reader. In this respect Anna can be related to a certain extent to Nastasya Filipovna on whose psyche the convention obstructing her fulfilment has also been imprinted and what is more has almost become a frame of mind. And it becomes all the more fatal for them because they both live the age of adult love, the last great passion, and expect their human fulfilment from it.

Karenin's rationalization parallels his alienation, and this vacuous man is deaf towards tragedy while Anna, facing the inevitability of alienation, commits suicide. Anna's tragedy is that Vronsky is no Romeo and similar moral force never arises in him. Nevertheless, Vronsky is also extremely typical of his age, and his figure grows beyond the typical.

His age could make him suitable even for a Romeo love, though what binds him to Anna, is due rather to some belated romanticism or the reminiscence of love stories of French romances, while he would like to remain the community's favourite at all times. If in Anna's case love is the only alternative of her late fulfilment, Vronsky wants to undertake this role of the favourite in such a way that would make it possible for him to assume the attitude of the lover in a Romance, and for this reason his style makes him incessantly reminiscent of an unsuccessfully drawn romantic hero. At the horse race the cause of his fall is again his excessive interest in posture. But also in Italy, he is unwilling to undertake the career of a painter as a matter of fact because he is frightened at the uncalculably long and uncertain way leading to success. His fears are also fostered by the fact that he cannot understand and cannot feel, either why things that artists regard as beautiful or great are in fact beautiful or great. This is better augured when Vronsky, assuming the world's admiration for Anna, sees the further rise of his career ensured in his successful conquest. In contrast to Anna, not even nature can calm and make him turn towards himself ; the experience of nature means seeing himself in a wild romantic environment. His sudden irrevocable conversion comes about, when

their idyllic condition inmoving to the countryside is about to come true. But as soon as they are out of the Petersburg high society which had been a constant inspiration to Vronsky, the medium keeping his ambitions in motion, which had justified and sanctioned his play-acting just as well as Anna's destruction of conventions, Vronsky immediately starts to feel his life vacuous, and from this moment onwards his desire to escape grows stronger and stronger and internally more and more clouded in its perspectives. At the same time he still believes in the power of conventions so much, as to boldly depend on them, as if he were convinced that nothing wrong can happen to him (amid events his mother does in fact manage his fate).

The question of whether her figure is romantic or not may also arise in connection with Anna's character. For from the very moment of her appearance we see in her a perfect, most beautiful, purest, clever and most cultured human being. Is it not an exaggeration? This baroque over-emphasis of Anna's values by Tolstoy becomes plausible because the heroine lives in the aura of Petersburg society, where the elite's hierarchy of values is built on these very properties and is confined to these very qualities. And these circles shape their favourites and victims from among them; to their own likeness, almost systematically, and with a cool consistency. Tolstoy in his characters analyses the very extent to which the form of existence of the ruling class has become a social convention, and the way it has been imprinted on the individual's psyche.

Tolstoy makes some of his heroes like Anna or Levin renounce the world which is unable to leave a self-induced vicious circle. Pierre arrives at the Decembrist ideal through a chain of heretic ideas and movements, while he lives through his repeated disillusionment always in the same way as his marriage with Helen: though no sooner does he let the futile attempt go its own way than he is already orientating himself towards a fresh opportunity. Natasha Rostova's honest, naive Juliet-like love towards Kuragin dies down so quickly that it could have been just a dream, and in fact it leaves her emotional world untouched. This attitude is perhaps even more characteristic of Andrey Bolkonsky: on the verge of death he realizes in his vision Napoleon's dwarfishness compared to the endless cosmic height of the sky, and the enthusiasm which would have driven him into destruction the day before is suddenly gone from him.

Tolstoy's heroes always eventually manage to retain their integrity despite their environment, in the sense that the ethical, emotional, and intellectual revelation of the cheap falsity of their ideals born of this environment makes them able either to turn over a new leaf and lead a different way of life or simply to make an extremely tragic choice.

So Tolstoy follows the Shakespearian typology of the individual's self-realization by all means, and investigates each of the three periods of

self-realization with a whole series of works. For example, the Hamletian age and state of Pierre and Bolkonsky ; but as regards the experimentation of every possibility in Levin and Nehljudov's adventures of mature adult age, the characters of Ivan Ilyich and Pozdnishev, their self-analyzing through tragedy, the young or the ageing heroes of the auto-biographical trilogy and of the short stories ("Three Deaths", "Sevastopol", "Two Hussars" etc.) all demonstrate this investigation of Shakespearian typology among the relations of Russian society.

It is due to the nature of epic material itself, that there is always an opportunity for the proclamation of the author's judgements, for the series of fate-shaping and fate-determining external-internal actions of man's every-day life are in themselves an ethical attitude in such a disintegrating world — and this is what in some cases normally draws nearer to each other the levels of form of the author's and the character's ethic experience and judgement. On the other hand without psychological depiction and adventure it is impossible to go over that social and universal-human sphere of questions — the whole sphere of problems of self-fulfilment — from whose point of view, as we have seen, Tolstoy brought up the topic of "happy and unhappy family".

Anna's tragedy deviates from Juliet's already in that while Anna escapes to love, Juliet is fulfilled by it. And when at the summit of her fulfilment the external world wants to force her to turn back she plunges into the chasm of choice rather than give up and deny the human greatness experienced in her own passion. Juliet ceases from destroying herself only because the friar offers her — in order to save her from the forced marriage — the state of apparent death until Romeo arrives. Just as Romeo, having arrived earlier than expected and thinking Juliet dead, kills himself because further human fulfilment without Juliet is unimaginable for him ; he does not and cannot see before himself such an opportunity of accomplishment in value equal to love, as the adult Hamlet can in investigating and taking on responsible historical action.

In contrast to these heroes Anna's love to Vronsky and later her suicide remain equal forms of escape. Anna resolves on the tragic deed only when and because it finally becomes sure that her fulfilment has not come true and it cannot come true any more — that is why her suicide will be the same kind of escape as her attempt had been to break out. Therefore it is not her human fate that becomes really tragic, but on the contrary : her human tragedy becomes fate, a course of life roaming through the structure of society and the impossibility of self-realization in it.

On the other hand it is primarily not a Romeo's self-accomplishment that works in Pierre's and Nehljudov's moral enthusiasm ; it is the investigation of the solving of Hamletian dilemmas what makes their passion grandiose without their feeling the absence of some extreme, great heroic action or of a Hamletian tragic outcome.

In the dilemmas of Pierre and Levin the most important is the search for the aim of life, the decision of where to allocate their activities. If they succeed in the latter one, as a matter of fact their novellistic course has come to an end. Even if — as for example in Levin's case — it turns out from time to time that the way they seem to have found is again a kind of illusion. In Tolstoy's novels they are not often ready to admit this conclusion, or at least they are not ready to admit the newer failure ; even in the last moments of their novellistic course they try to convince themselves that they chose the right way.

We can make sure of this quality of Levin's character at the famous dialogue which takes place between him and his brother. His brother accuses Levin of apathy, continuous slyness, when seeing his newer inner conflict concerning the ambiguous attempt to liberate the peasants, and he scolds him : come on !, distribute the land free among the peasants, and then they will treat you as equal and speak to you openly. All that takes place in Levin's thoughts and emotions following the famous scything scene will rhyme back to this episode. But again, Levin reacts upon this confusion in accordance with his character : he almost clings to Fokachin's mystic wisdom that nevertheless suggests some mystic way out.

The Bible has the same role at the end of Nehljudov's series of futile adventures. Whether he manages to achieve Katyusha's release this time remains uncertain ; but it has already come to light that their relationship is impossible to carry on. On the last pages of the novel Nehljudov is still captured not by despondency but by the hope of finding some mystic way out.

Therefore the extremity, the moral human perseverance in the search for a way out, the indestructible vitality is characteristic not only of Katyusha but to a certain extent of Nehljudov too. Here the construction of the two novels into one is evident ; it is much more interesting that Nehljudov is a real Bezuhov-type of novel-hero, who by his repeated failures grows higher and higher, while he is inevitably roving through, and experiences both psychologically and socially the most essential spheres of Russian existence. From another point of view Nehljudov is also a Bolkonsky-type of hero of ethic perseverance all of whose agility is due to his intensified moral sensitivity.

Tolstoy constructs his novel in an original way, so that he presents first the Nehljudov who is shocked morally at that certain trial where Katyusha is convicted. And from this moral shock, — as with the hero of "Kreutzer Sonata" — he takes over nearly all the responsibility ; the way out leads in two directions: on the one hand forwards socially, to absolve himself from sin and guilty conscience by way of individual action ; on the other hand backwards into his own biography, into the memory, the past, to subject bygone events to a strict intellectual and ethical analysis examining why and how

all that happened. These two different alternatives mean actual novellistic adventure, and strangely enough, both ways lead to the conclusion : the further Nehljudov gets in the analysis of the bygone events, and the more social institutions he goes over for Katyusha's acquittal, the clearer it becomes to him — and to us, the readers too (what after all remained unclear narratively in "Kreutzer Sonata") that the responsibility is by no means personal, its explanation is to be sought for not in the private person's biography and that the bygone events are by no means reparable at the expense of individual's redeeming act.

Bolkonsky broke down under the weight of his extreme moral maxims, in captivity of these maxims his ego incessantly found failure tragic in private life, social activity and in the search for ideas, too. Pierre's individual way, on the other hand, is nothing but a series of metamorphoses : his ego finds the next illusion even before he is disappointed in the previous one. These two different attitudes are proportionally together in Nehljudov, but in such a way that he is so to say, gradually moving from Bolkonsky's attitude towards Pierre's, during the analysis of the bygone events, that the solution is in a way impossible by the rescue mission which had been launched, and what is more, he also begins to guess, that the real solution lies perhaps not so much in the nobility and the noble state but much more in the hands of those people to whom Katyusha orientates : in the hands of the revolutionaries setting out for Siberia, who are the new intelligentsia of the people.

It is clear from what has been said so far that everything which in Levin's character can be regarded as a moment of the picture of morality, is by no means a defect of the Tolstoian novel. On the contrary : it is one of the essential vehicles of the novel's semantics. The final human conclusion in Anna Karenina's course of life is also that the personality is subject to the human laws of its self-fulfilment just as well as to a society which hinders the fulfilment of the personality, obstructs and frustrates it in its endeavours. The linking together of Anna's and Levin's novels was possible only by going through this sphere of problems which exceeds the individual tragedies of both, just as in Tolstoy's other novels the different courses of life of the two central heroes are also joined by a similar principle.

In any case, in Tolstoy's three big novels — in "War and peace", "Anna Karenina" and "Resurrection" — we meet with this type of construction. In "War and peace" it is Pierre and Andrey whose novel can be regarded as central, to the end. Whereas these courses of life are totally opposite, just as well as their novellistic consequences are. And the last novel "Resurrection" does not leave any doubt at all that Tolstoy here has joined together two novels : that of Nehljudov and that of Katyusha.

If we give a closer inspection to the difference between these two kinds of novel adventures, which have been joined together in a manner character-

istic to Tolstoy, we are surprised to see that on the one pole we always have to face some moralizing attitude, extreme characters, while on the other we are having to do with characters whose essential quality is development, a search for a way out, the testing of the alternatives of social action, and a certain kind of undestructible optimism. Bolkonsky and Anna Karenina represent the first, Pierre Bezuhov and Levin the latter type.

In the course of events evolving Anna's character the writer emphasizes all along the moment of moral extremism: he repeatedly confronts the heroism of such dilemmas, which bring to the surface this extremism, and in these moments we admire Anna's human greatness purely just as much as the similar manifestations of Andrey Bolkonsky's character. One of the most characteristic examples of this is Anna's visit to Serjoza, in which episode it comes to light too, that Anna cannot easily solve these dilemmas, either, since for her there are practically no such alternatives as for Pierre or Levin. Therefore in the Tolstoian construction the Nehljudovian fiasco is not treated as the hero's personal weakness — as is stated by critics. On the contrary: this dual novellistic adventure in Nehljudov makes us realize just what in Tolstoy's previous novels is generally conveyed by the whole epic construction. What has been narratively inaccessible there, what Tolstoy generally had transposed into heroes of opposite fates and approached by joining together the two novels into a coherent whole, is now revealed as a coherent, inseparable intellectual experience in both Nehljudov's biography and his novellists life of events. Thus in Tolstoy's art it is in his last novel that what previously had appeared separately, though from the very beginning had been the central sphere of questions in his artistic thinking, is now interwoven into one single plot.

However, the critics and reader prefer to treat Tolstoy as the "great moralist" or "prophet"; whereas this view applies only to his publicism and the bulk of his essays, his novels prove something totally different. The underlying principle of his artistic thinking is that in his novels he always sets side by side the moralizing hero with the hero seeking for a way — or just the hero of extreme moral perseverance with the hero querying the value of this extremity. The novel for him means the opportunity of raising the question and experimenting from time to time: how we can or cannot remove the discovered, really serious social, ethic and moral questions from agenda in the social, personal and the historical development.

Tolstoy's personal literary biography also demonstrates that these two different motives — on the one hand the enlightening Rousseau, on the other the utopian socialist, experimenting Owen — affect with equal intensity not only the beginning writer, but further on the Tolstoian ideas also crystallize on these two poles. But while the answers of Tolstoy the publicist, the writer of essays or scientific treaties are rather exposed to time, the epic Tolstoy, the

novellist builds such sequences of artistic thoughts in which none of these two spheres of problems are ever outweighed. And that is just where the enormous objectivity of the Tolstoian artistic thinking lies, this is the keynote to the lasting value and freshness of his works.

If Tolstoy had devoted single novels to each of the two kinds of heroes, and endeavours, he would have inevitably become a moralist or utopian writer of the age. The Tolstoian way of construction is just that realization of the writer about form that neither of the lines of the novel would be satisfactory, and what is more none but this dual medium forms the least more specific meaning of one or the other. We could easily divide into two Tolstoy's works dealing with non-artistic (sociological, pedagogical, political, ethical) questions, so that one group would contain all that is enlightening, ethical and moral and the other all the projectional didactic Utopian works dealing with solutions. In many cases, however, inseparable these questions are in his essays, it would be hard to state that these two approaches are intertwined in order to correct each other, or that taking them separately or together they would be able to analyse reality on the level of the age.

Tolstoy's epic, novellish thinking can be accomplished only by pressing the two sequences of thoughts against each other in the different courses of his novels with two central heroes, thus being able to go through and experience such profoundities which never allow the lesson of one or the other course of life to assert itself separately, and close into itself. The searching heroes' novellistic course of life so to say creates a distance to the maximalism of the moral heroes and vice-versa: the Utopian searches for a way out are supervised in the same way in a tragic outcome of the moral heroes' course of life.

Tolstoy clearly sees and explains several times, that the mankind cannot indulge in the luxury of giving way under experienced tragedies. To recuperate oneself again and again and to go on searching almost hopelessly — this is such an original feature of man, as is the ability to carry through and experience to great individual and social tragedies.

Who is right? Bolkonsky or Pierre? Anna or Levin? The Nehljudov who is accusing himself or the Nehljudov acquitting himself and realizing the responsibility of society? At any rate in each other's mirror their human greatness, the subjective and social lesson of their series of adventures are even more profoundly reflected, as well as that social problem which would not be revealed in its own nature without this dual mirror. This gives the human proportions of Anna's tragedy: the Levinian point of view justifies its social inevitability. As it would not be hard for us to imagine in Pierre's place at the stages of his eries of adventures a Bolkonsky type of hero, about whom we would certainly feel that he rightly breaks because he devoted his life to some supposed greatness, which in meantime turned out to be just an illusion. Compared to the fates of Bolkonsky, Katyusha or even Anna, Pierre's

deviations or Nehljudov's way, fate and character remind us time and again that as tragic heroes their quest has been a great one.

All that however would not yet convince us of the objectivity of Tolstoy's epic thinking, if besides it, we perpetuated the other severe mistake of Tolstoy's[2] critics concerning the technique of Tolstoian narration. It is generally held that it is subjective first person and therefore ideological contradictory despite its realistic quality. These views about Tolstoian narrativity differ about how they define the appearance of this ideological contradiction in artistic thinking. Perhaps the most widely held view is that Tolstoy arrives at a kind of didactic summary, a final conclusion. Not even Bachtin was able to overcome this general view, probably because, in an aesthetical — and not poetical — approach, the general manner of narration and the narrative structure cannot be separated, whereas it is impossible to grab Tolstoy's epic thinking without the differentiation of these two different semantic levels. Tolstoian epic construction and narrative structure provides an original presence for Tolstoy, keeping the privilege of direct judgement (let us put it as follows : judgement on the teleological level) to himself, as the writer, as well as for the character narrator. Probably this is the reason why Tolstoy does not like the non writing character narrator as unstable in its competence.

In Tolstoy's works the characters' level is unbroken and undoubled (into parts and epic words) by the characters' cognitive logic (psychological logic) ; thus novellistic events are produced in compositional retrospect, not as we readers might guess alongside the hidden thoughts of the heroes cognitional dilemmas, what neither characters nor narrator expect, foresee or guess is just what becomes meaningful in the epic sense at the end. That is why in Tolstoian narration the narrator has no depicted intellectual or biographical aspect, only a moral attitude, and for the same reason his distancing cannot synchronise with the current phase of the novellistic events, only retrospectively with the close of the novellistic time.

The narrator, as regards the nature and manner of the close, relies on the epic course of events so much, that from its rhyming moments and from the repetition of the characters' momentary apperception, can already guess the solution before the close of the novel, without the narrative words indicating or foretelling it beyond all that.

This is where we have to seek for the profound epic truth of the Tolstoian narrative attitude : it consistently excludes from the competence of the authorial narration the question of what ways of life, moral norms and ethical imprints, the recurring individual revolts against them, and the quest for something else, are worth in the development and existence of a society. How do they result in the public morals and in the realization of the individual's opportunities, do they change their values or destroy them. The Tolstoian poetics of the novel suppose a dual judgement : on the one hand *hic et nunc*, in syn-

chrony with the current events, on the other hand a "social historical" judgement, that is to say one made from the perspective of the whole of human existence. In Tolstoy's works none but the close inspection of individual fates, whole of the epic narration and not the emphasis of certain episodes by the narrator as in Dostoevsky's novels, is intended to convey the judgement in the epic sense.

The dramatic quality of Tolstoy's novels also springs from the poetic concept, a certain kind of dramatic aspect of the narrative words naturally arises from the depiction of living through existence, from the evolution of situations evidently springing out of the forms of private life or from the tracing of the characters' rise above these situations. That is why we feel that the Tolstoian narrator always puts things accurately in their proper place, and never deceives us in moral, or in ethical or other respects ; on the other hand from this flows the existential evidence and our feeling that Tolstoy's realism and realistic style is authentic.

The material-form medium of his novels, the rhyme-sequence of the narration, referring to and judging reality as a matter of course, is such that it almost never lets the narrator — either Tolstoy or one of the heroes — go into the orbit of false conscience. Probably that makes it seem as if Tolstoy really foresaw and monologically arranged everything. But Tolstoy not merely tells through his characters ; he also evolves evidently from their social existence the ethical, moral, social, philosophical ideas kept in a hierarchy of value all along in his narrative words. At the close of the course of events he is also surprised to see how the development of his heroes' existence disproves these ideas or on the contrary how it proves something unexpected. In this way Tolstoy, with the fate of the characters, the whole of the epic events unexhausted by the narrator's words reverses not only the characters' cognition but the current cognition of the author as well. And so Tolstoy as a narrator does not separate himself from the events ; that is why we all along feel the narration coherent, but also why as readers we perceive in the Tolstoian novels narrativity conveying only the characters' knowledge and the narrativity of epic events opposed to the former one or correcting the characters' cognition.

Compared to Dostoevsky's narration, the fact that the distance is not so long between the two is due to their different orientation. During the course of events the narrator's cognition — opposed to the characters' cognition — concentrates on and draws the reader's attention not to the outcome of the course of events but to the internally coherent and thus evaluable ethic perseverance of the personality. Contrary to Dostoevsky, in Tolstoy's works the novellistic course of events never stirs the narrator's interest — and the reader's neither — to find out what the social, structural background, the springs of a certain ideal or turn of fate can be, but to find out what man is

worth, and what his intellectual reaction is in this or that situation, that is to say he asks what the moral, perspectivic — historical content of these situations is. In Tolstoy the social structure is always revealed only as a final cause, a moment in the whole of the epic course of events ; it becomes really visible only from the end and only after the characters' intellectual aspect has been closed, their social evaluation having been made by the reader. In this sense the narrator's competence in Tolstoy's artistic thinking is not revised by the epic final conclusion.

Tolstoy's work does not know such turns in evolving the story of the characters as does Dostoevsky's, for example in Svidrigaylov's story ; neither can we find such turns in events — as for example Smerdjykov's last confession before his suicide. Because in Dostoevsky it is not Ivan Dimitry's evaluation that is important, but the reader's as it is in "Crime and Punishment" concerning Svidrigaylov. Raskolnikov turns back from the police-station so resolutely not only because he has heard that the only person who knows the murderer's identity besides Sonja is dead, but because he immediately sees in a different light the figure, the human aspect of that Svidrigaylov whom he earlier — when he appeared at this place after the murder and referred to their spiritual kinship — rejected contemptuously and in exasperation, and whom he also underestimated in his fight with Dunja. But the change of the reader's view is even more important (and not in the epilogue, but in the novellistic texture at the moment when Raskolnikov's fate become obvious) seeing that Svidrigaylov's fate has actually come so near to that of Raskolnikov.

In Tolstoy's works — even in such stories of his as "Kreutzer Sonata" or "The Death of Ivan Ilyich" — the characters' words can perform the narrative function, because the narrator's words receive their eventual place and function not in the story of the character or in the course of events, that is in its situational evolution, but in the narrative whole of the epic texture.

In Tolstoy's work narrative objectivity and the narrator's subjective interference presuppose one another, because the levels of the characters and the succession of events develop in such a way that every time two threads — or, as in the "Resurrection", a double thread — of the novel is intertwined into a coherent unity, the peculiarity of the epic thinking is given by the relation of the human fates of two central novel heroes to one another. The plot of the novel is centred on the one side around the figure of extreme ethic perseverance, on the other side around the seeking, developing hero. Both of them are acquitted or condemned by the Tolstoian narrator's direct judgements, sometimes by means of the narrative, sometimes the description, and sometimes the descriptive word. The two novellistic ways, two forms of human behaviours and the two kinds of recurring reactions of society to this dual

human activity lay before us such a narrative structure, and existential condition. These open up a broader, deeper and wider perspective than the narrator's or the characters' words for the judgement and reconsideration of the development of Russian society.

Though the narrative subjectivity always brings the momentary semantic levels of the work towards a more subjective thinking in terms of the picture of morality, the fate of the characters, all the events, the objective and realistic shaping of the human figures and of the motion of social medium give a novellistic picture of the Russian world. After all, this is the reason why the contradiction haunting Tolstoy's publicism, essays, and treaties is eliminated from his novels. What had been non-dialectical contradiction on the level of logical-theoretical systematization, ceased to be that when instilled into the dialectic of life and lifted to the level of artistic thinking. Although Tolstoy the essayist brings Shakespeare to task for his realism in the picture of morality, he still, on the novellistic level of epic thinking, relies on the universal human-social regularities revealed by Shakespeare. Thus he leaves behind both the Macbeth and the Utopian maxims. In this way he widens the artistic opportunities of thinking so much that he becomes, besides Dostoevsky, the inspirer of European literary thinking from the end of the century to the present days. On the one hand he shows the unforeseeable social abstracts of human self-fulfilment in such an age, when Russia lives through the European period of her development and was pregnant with a revolutionary shock which broke out even in Tolstoy's life. On the other hand he depicts the life of heroes living through intellectual and ethical questions, reacting upon this Russian transformation very sensitively, without being burdened with an incapability of action characteristic of the superfluous person, and with a reflectivity which destroys their intellectual power without being willing to reconcile themselves to any kind of illusory solution — proposed either by them or by somebody else.

And this is the specific phenomenon of social existence in the 19th century, in grasping which Tolstoy or Dostoevsky can create characters, plot, and situation of Shakespearian or Cervantesian size. And these interrelationships of the material can cause artistic thinking to grasp it neither in dramatic form nor in the form of lyric confession, but rather to choose narration to be the very form of evoking the primary revelation of the century's main phenomenon.

The manner in which a question is put by the Tolstoian narration is closely related, even in its wider perspectives, to the two novel-constructions of its epic ; and in general to the development of 19th century epic genres, and within them to the rise of the novel form.

It is not by mere chance that Tolstoy, as a novellist, started with "War and Peace". These two states of war and peace, as early as in this novel, inter-

penetrate each other just as well as the two types of novel heroes and the dual sphere of problems, from whose construction into one in Tolstoy's further great novels also spring epic sequences of mutually enriching thoughts towards each other. The change of these two states of existence, their character and fate building power, is the basic experience of the age that remains decisive all along in the concept of Tolstoy's works. And in the way they pose a question, even later on, when he grabs it only in the closer structural coherences of social existence.

As a matter of fact the social-historical background of "Anna Karenina" is same as that in "War and peace", in a society where an uncheckable process of bourgeois development has started with the liberation of the peasants. If we ignored this we would understand nothing of the intensified activity and frame of mind characteristic not only of Anna and Levin but also of Vronsky and even the whole Petersburg high society. This disintegrated world not only pushes Anna under the wheels of the train ; at the end of his series of adventures Levin, the self-elected searcher for eternal peace, also stammers about the necessity of a "bloodless" revolution. And what is revealed in Tolstoy's last novel already gives the social tableau of such an external and internal psychological state, in which the writer rightly guesses the prelude of an impending resurrection, which can be decisive for the Russian society and the Russian man.

The material from which Shakespeare moulds his characters would hardly obey a narrative shaping. But this is also true on the reverse : the Tolstoian characters can be understood only in the epic, novellistic medium of the Tolstoian story, they can become great before us only in this medium. The change and interpenetration of these two states of existence — of the more dramatic state of war with the more contemplative state of peace — makes not simply the subjectivity of the narrator's words indispensible, but moreover it time and again interweaves the characters' dialogues and monologues with a narrative phenomenon. Even in the most dramatic collisions the highly personified details require constant settings — either external, everyday events, or internal psychological ones. The creation of characters is impossible without describing what is going on inside and outside them, and we cannot disregard these events in order to urge some dramatic end. Again and again we have to stop, because what externally happens to man in the world, what he does and experiences psychologically, is not only characteristic of the world, but it also forms man himself and at last his fate, too — projecting before us dynamic social relations in this fate.

For this task the narrative opportunity of the dialogues and monologues is not at all sufficient ; besides this not only the competent description of an objective narrator, but also his subjective, evaluating attitude is needed. That is to say this life material requires no distance keeping, not even a subjective

and incompetent narrator, but a narrator of subjective intellectual interest, who is objective and reliable at the same time. For the heroes live their momentary existence even in their most intellectual reactions, and even in the clearest moments of their self-contemplation they are unable to see together the whole chain of connections resulting from the events, in which they share with all the other heroes, and which for this very reason can be held and presented together only by a narrator of creditable competence. That is why the narrator's dual aspect — his intellectual passion and descriptive objectivity — is natural and evident from the artistic point of view. In these two respects Tolstoy never superimposes his characters over the narrator, not even his most intellectual central heroes. As opposed to Dostoevsky's narrators, in Tolstoy's works the objectivity of description never passes from the narrator's competence to that of the character's ; the Tolstoian narrator is present wherever the hero turns up and is aware of everything what he thinks, feels, guesses or wants to do. In the narrative structure of his novels the characters' existential, intellectual, descriptive and evaluative narrative are intertwined into a close unit with the more profound objectivity of the events having a wider perspective than the former ones, and approaches them from the motion of human and social existence.

At the same time in Tolstoy the characters shaping and experiencing the events cannot escape the responsibility for the past, nor can they ethically get out of the weight of their conscious or instinctive, ethical, moral decisions. This existential and at once intellectual situation of the century requires the writer's presence also as a narrator.

Yet Lermontov thinks that what happens to man psychologically is probably more important than the story of a whole people or nation. Tolstoy already does not make any value judgement between what man experiences and what happens to a nation in war and in peace, in everyday life. Therefore the narrative competence in judging these events is at least as important as the ability to judge what can be expressed only in their final outcome, in the human fates and in the social, ethical, moral evaluation of society. From this the narrative subjectivity and objectivity of this genre of Tolstoian artistic thinking grows in the narrative epic system of his novels.

It is true that in Tolstoy's age there is already hardly any sphere of life which would give roles to the narrator, as those in Homer's "Iliad". Or to put it more exactly, already in "War and Peace" it seems as if Tolstoy put together that which Homer divided into two separate works ; the heroic poem of Iliad and the novel of adventures of Odysseus. But as we have seen, in Tolstoy's works the all-embracing medium of contemplation is formed from the novellistic moment ; not only do the characters make extreme judgements, but the narrator's subjective impulses are also absolved in the great adventure of the age.

The decisive experience of the writers of that century was that a personality of epic size is formed in a chain of accidents ; it grows out from everyday existence to become a typical figure of the age. Among these accidents and everyday particularities we can find those from which human fate is decisively built up after all, and together with it the living organism of society is built or destroyed — that is to say everything that produces the individuals' different features, but in such a way that it is peculiar to one character or fate. This is the Alpha and Omega of character and plot in the 19th Century epic — that a multitude of individuals share a similar fate and ethical context within the recurring reactions of a society provoked by their actions.

From this point of view the novel — differently from the epic — describes not what happened to all the people together, but what can be thought of as all people together who, in accordance with the laws of everyday life, share character and fate, that is to say : what could and must happen together. Therefore in the novel the fate of the characters is formed into events not by the collective, common events, but by the individuals' adventures indicating one another even in their multiple variety. That is why in the 19th Century the depiction of the intellectual-ethical-moral — in short, psychological — experience, and adventure of the external events and the manner in which this adventure is narrated becomes decisive.

The 19th Century epic has to rely decisively on psychological self-propulsion, if it wants to give a valid description of the events and to show the character in relief, and if it wants to grasp the logic of events, approaching it both from the nature of personality and the nature of society. And again Tolstoy rightly thinks that he has to fight with Shakespeare. He shapes his characters not from personalities culled from history, but mainly from everyday heroes. The most remarkable thing is that Tolstoy — especially in his essay on Shakespeare — seeks for a poetic-historical basis that would allow him to explain how he created, from the passionately experienced material of everyday life in that age, the form of thinking in which the characters called into being can go over and experience — either in war or in peace — the important questions of the age as well as its search for resolution, thus proving the historical topicality, ontological maturity, and universal artistic authenticity of the narrative epic and the novel.

The bitter face of the two Americas
La cara amarga de las dos Américas

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The Plight of War and the Predicament of Revolution
Eugene O'Neill: The Personal Equation

By

PÉTER EGRI

Eugene O'Neill's four-act play, *The Personal Equation*, or as it was originally called, *The Second Engineer*, was written in 1915. The unpublished early play is the fullest dramatic statement of the young playwright's social search, moral mission and tentative radicalism.[1] The opening scene of Act I reveals the

> *Main room of the headquarters of the International Workers Union in Hoboken — a large bare room with white-washed walls. In the rear, two windows looking out on a dingy back street. On the wall between the windows, a large framed engraving of a naked woman with a liberty cap on her head, leaning back against the two upright beams of a guillotine. In the left hand corner, a desk with chair. In the middle of left wall, a door opening into hall. In right corner, a small table with typewriter on it. In the middle of right wall, another door. In the center of room, a long table with four or five straight-backed chairs placed around it. On the table, newspapers, periodicals, stacks of pamphlets, etc. Flooring of coarse, uncovered boards. Framed cartoons, mostly in color, from Jugend, Simplissimus [sic!], etc. are hung here and there on the walls.*
>
> *It is evening and already dark. Two gas lights of the Welsback type, fixed on the tarnished chandelier which hangs over the table, throw a cold white light about the room, revealing every detail of its bare ugliness.*
>
> *Olga stands at one end of the table reading a newspaper. She is very dark; strong, fine features; large spirited black eyes, slender, supple figure. Enwright sits on the chair nearest her. He is thin, round-shouldered, middle-aged, clean-shaven, wears glasses.*[2]

In the conversation between Olga Tarnoff and Enwright the difference between the Socialists and the International Workers is emphasized. The former consider the latter anarchists. Olga, on the other hand, gives voice to a revolutionary spirit disparaging the constitutional policies of the Socialists : "How I loathe their eternal platitudes, their milk-and-water radicalism, their cut-and-dried sermons for humble voters ! As if to vote were not also to acquiesce in the present order of things, to become a cog in the machine which grinds the voter himself to bits ! Revolution by act of Congress ! The dolts !"[3]

Tom, the son of Thomas Perkins, second engineer of the S. S. San Francisco, arrives. He is "*a husky six-footer in his early twenties, large intelligent eyes, handsome in a rough, manly, strong featured way. His manner is one of boyishly naive enthusiasm with a certain note of defiance creeping in as if he*

were fighting an inward embarrassment and was determining to brave it down."[4] He loves Olga, and the girl is also in love with him. From their conversation it turns out that the editorial of the local paper strongly condemns both of them for their speeches in Union Square last Saturday. This is what the paper has to say about Olga censuring her speech against the war with Maxico: "A cracked-brained young female, Olga something-or-other, arose to howl invective against the government which protects her, against all sense of decency and national honor — and so forth. Here again: Over-strung lady anarchists of the Olga type are a constant and dangerous menace to society and should be confined in some asylum for the criminal-insane."[5] Olga's interpretation contrasts false nationalism with true anti-war radicalism: "It seems I'm a dangerous anarchist inciting to murder because I call upon men not to shoot their brother men for a fetish of red, white and blue, a mockery called patriotism."[6]

An argument develops between Tom and Olga. Tom would like to marry Olga, so that she could not be chided for living with him. Olga refuses the idea: "You don't believe in marriage as an institution, do you? . . . You know that the voluntary union of two people is someting which concerns them and them alone. You don't believe that the sanction of the law we hate or a religion we despise, could make our relationship any holier, do you?"[7] Tom suggests one should make concessions to society. Olga vehemently contradicts him:

> What are we beside the ideal we fight for? We cannot change conditions in our lives, perhaps, but we can make our lives a living protest against those conditions. . . . Some of us must be pioneers, some of us must prove by our lives that the dream we are striving for can be realized. . . . Our love is a fine love, freed from all the commonplaces of marriage. . . . There is no feeling of enforced servitude on my part. There can be no complacent sense of ownership on yours. . . . It's in my blood — the exultation of the fight against tyranny. I was born with it. My father was exiled from his country for living and speaking what he thought; and I shall preserve his heritage in this country where I was born. It's harder for you, Tom, with years of conventional prudery behind you.[8]

Tom defends his position by referring to the possibility of having illegitimate children. But Olga flatly rejects the idea of having children at all: "I will offer no children to Moloch as sacrifices. . . . Make me a better world, O Husband-Man, and I'll be proud and not ashamed to bear children."[9] "I love you, Tom; and there's only one way to be true to you and to myself at the same time, and that's our present comeradeship."[10]

Tom was fired as an assistant cashier of the Ocean Steamship Co. because he had distributed pamphlets among the crew of the San Francisco. He will have to tell about this to his father, a servile second engineer on the San Francisco. "I've none of that feeling for him we're supposed to have for our parents. How could I? He stands for everything I hate",[11] he says.

Hartmann enters. "*He is an undersized man in his late forties, dressed in black, white shirt with soft collar, flowing back Windsor tie. His head is massive, too large for his body, with long black hair brushed straight back from his broad forehead. His large dark eyes peer near-sightedly from behind a pair of thick--rimmed spectacles. His voice is low and musical. He continually strokes his mustache and his imperial with thin nervous hands.*"[12] He speaks with a German accent. He brings the news that reading the evening papers made him think a worldwide war was looming large. "It will all the nations involve . . . over there — in Europe. . . . The revolution will be fifty years put back."[13] In this situation a number of views are expounded.

Olga's immediate reaction is to proclaim a general strike. "*Jumping to her feet impulsively*", she says :

> Then now is the time for us to show what we can do. We're strongly organized over there. The socialists — surely their millions will fight shoulder to shoulder with us on this issue. We'll declare the general strike if they declare war. We'll defy them to make war when production ceases. Let every working man in those nations refuse to work, refuse to bear arms, and there will be no war. *(Enthusiastically)* Think of what it would mean — that strike! No electricity, no cars, no trains, no steamers, the factories dark and deserted, no newspapers, no wireless, nothing. The whole world of workers on a holiday. Think of how foolish those kings and emperors, those cabinets and parliaments would look when they found noone to fight for them, when they realized if they wanted war, they would have to fight themselves.[14]

Enwright sees advantages in the war for the cause of the revolution :

> Why not encourage war? It's the great purgative. It destroys the uninlightened [sic!]. Let them fight until nothing but weaklings are left — and we others who refused to fight. Then we'll come into our own. . . . Then we can start life anew with a new generation, a new ideal, a new art . . . perhaps even a new theatre. Therefore, vive la guerre![15]

(The words "perhaps even a new theatre" were later deleted by O'Neill's pencil, as being out of character. Still they betray how young O'Neill saw all these issues as one.) Upon Olga's question how women were to be remodelled into Enwright's new world, he indulges in juvenile phantasies, which Olga quickly refutes : "The civilized woman, Enwright explains, has long been living beyond her mental — or would I say instinctive — means." (The interpolation within dashes came to be crossed out.) "She will be only too glad to find a good excuse to throw aside her pretence of equality with man, to return to polygamy."[16]

Hartmann thinks the general strike "is a solution possible in fifty years, perhaps. Now, no."[17] People are too patriotic. The revolutionary teaching is as yet only in their brains. Their hearts must be reached. To do that, Hartmann plans practical action. He wants to shake up dockers, stokers and seamen who were planning to go on strike for some time, but their leaders were postponing the strike.

> There is needed a push to start it on its way. It is for us of the International to strike a blow, to give courage to those wavering ones. . . . The unions on both sides of the ocean were all in favor of this strike. It was to be in bitterness waged to the end. There was to be no compromise. But now the unions are afraid, they seek to waste time doing nothing. The Steamship Companies fear this strike. They are endeavoring before its birth to crush it, to buy off the union leaders so no strike will be declared. . . . It is time for us to strike, to prove the International no foolish dream. Let these rumors of a great war of nations but continue, and in a short time, these seamen and firemen and docklabors will be in the streets like foolish school boys cheering for the flag which their oppression symbolizes. We must strike now, immediately, or not at all. We must from their lethargy awake these workers, these unions. We must put fear into the hearts of capitalists. *(Rising to his feet, his voice trembling with his earnestness)* We must at the heart of capital strike. There is necessary in this crisis a blow which, like the spark in a magazine of gunpowder, will the conflagration establish. A blow must be struck so powerful that on it will the eyes and minds of all be focussed. We must the attention of the world call to the International Workers of the Earth and to the issue of this strike.[18]

Hartmann wants Tom to go onboard a ship of the Ocean Company as a stoker. He had already worked in that capacity on another ship, so he would know what to do. Olga will go by the same ship as a second class passanger. When the ship arrives in Liverpool, Olga will give Hartmann's letter to Whitely, a revolutionary there, who in turn will hand over Olga dynamite. During the ship's stay in Liverpool, Tom is supposed to blow up the engines.

Tom asks what good that will do. Enwright explains the issue :

> Just this. All the men will realize that it was one of their number who did it. There will be no attempt at concealment of that fact. It will give them confidence in their power ; and it will hit the Ocean Company a hard blow. The Companies will make no compromise after that. Instead they will probably adopt harsh retaliatory measures. The strike will break out and it will be a fight to a finish.[19]

This seems to be Hartmann's view as well. He said earlier : "Our blow is at the heart of the Ship Trust to be directed, at the Company which controls the whole ship combine."[20] And this is the Ocean Company.

Olga adds "*eagerly*" :

> And this explosion will point to sabotage as the logical method of waging the war of labor — that force alone can be effective against force. For many years the workers have appealed to the humanity and fairness of capital, and they have always found it unfair and cruel. They have thought Capitalism impregnable behind its fortress of law, and they have been afraid. A few successful assaults of this kind and their eyes will be opened. They will realize their strength and they will unite and *demand*, not beg.[21]

Hartmann seems to agree, since his immediate reaction is a reference to Danton : "The words of Danton — 'It is necessary to dare, and again to dare, and still again to dare'."[22]

Tom undertakes the task, in spite of the fact that Hartmann warns him, it may threaten his life, and that Tom learns he is supposed to dynamite the very ship (the San Francisco) on which his father has been serving as a

hard-working and docile second engineer. (Hence is derived the original title of the play.) Tom says he will see that his father does not recognize him and the thing happens when he is off watch and ashore.

After this characteristically long and even prolonged exposition, Act II takes us to the sitting room of Thomas Perkins' small house in Jersey City — "a small room crowded with cheap furniture."[23] It is about nine o'clock the same night. Thomas expects Tom home for dinner. Thomas is very nervous, he cannot keep his mind on the card game he plays with Henderson, first engineer of the S. S. Empress. He loves the engines, and is so lonely and helpless that he contemplates to move onboard the ship he has been serving on for 30 years, the San Francisco. His wife is dead, Tom visits him but rarely. It would be different if Tom agreed to move to the house with the girl he courts and might marry — then it would be a home again. Thomas has just paid the last rate of the mortgage and means to give the house as wedding present to Tom.

Tom arrives and tells Thomas he was fired by the Company. Thomas is shocked, offers his help to persuade the manager to take Tom back on condition he stops being connected with the International Workers of the Earth and breaks it up with Olga. Thomas is afraid the manager might dismiss him, too. Tom quits in anger, Thomas remains alone.

Act III is divided into two scenes. Scene I is set at a "*section of the firemen's forecastle on the S. S. San Francisco at dock in Liverpool.*"[24] Two weeks or so have elapsed. It is night. The San Francisco has been in Liverpool for a fortnight. The seamen know and hope that a decisive action ought to happen to start the strike. They are getting restless and are losing confidence in Tom, who — under the name of Tom Donovan — has been telling them that the time for action is approaching.

A fight breaks out between two stokers. All stokers go to the forward square of the ship giving convenient space and time for Tom and Olga to meet. Olga is anxious Tom should not get into trouble. She says : "I don't think it's going to do any good, this dynamiting. I don't believe it will have the effect Hartmann expected."[25] Some of her references suggest she is pregnant.

Whitely brings the news that the union leaders have voted against the strike. Whitely failed to convince them that a general strike would "paralyze the sinews of war."[26] They have been offered a bribe by the company. Whitely has also been approached, but he refused to take the money. He even resigned his position as union leader.

Because of the intervention of the police (the man in whose shop the dynamite had been hidden was arrested), Whitely was unable to bring any explosive with him. Tom decides to incite the stokers to smash the engines of the ship to delay the start of the San Francisco and thus causing sensitive loss to the company.

The firemen return, Whitely and Tom make speeches, the men agree to act. Olga has ill forebodings.

Act III, Scene 2 opens with Thomas Perkins cleaning his machines with care and joy. The stokers come to the engine room telling Thomas to go up to the deck. He refuses to do so, knowing from Murphy, the oiler that the men want to destroy the engines. An argument follows. Tom arrives, ordering Perkins to be kept unharmed and calling on him to go up. They recognize one another. Tom does not believe his father would have the nerve to shoot him and hits the face of a gauge with an iron bar. Perkins fires his pistol, and Tom falls down. "*The expression on Tom's face turns to one of bewildered amazement.*"[27] Perkins says "*with dull amazement*" and "*stupid bewilderment*" : "But I pointed it over his head, O'Rourke, I pointed it — over his head!"[28] Olga comes running down the ladder.

Act IV finds Tom lying in a hospital. He is fatally wounded. His physical strength is returning but his reason is unlikely to come back. Mentally he is like a child. He does not recognize either Olga or his father, let alone Whitely, who all come to see him. Both Olga and Thomas would like to take Tom along. Olga wants to work for him atoning for having dragged him into the movement. Thomas wishes to live with him in the house he meant to give Tom as a wedding present. He hates the engines now, refuses the promotion the company offers him, and wants to work on land to make up for what he has done to Tom in spite of his intention which was no more than threatening the stokers. The pistol "went off",[29] he says, as it were, by chance. Olga and Perkins agree and become reconciled. Tom sits up, takes Olga's and his father's hand, unawares of what he is doing. Both Olga and Perkins interpret his action as forgiving. It is obviously not a conscious act, but dramatically it really has the effect of pardoning.

The First World War breaks out. Everybody becomes patriotic. Even Whitely wants to enlist, reading news about the Germans having bombed an orphan asylum. Olga reproaches him for abandoning the cause of the social revolution : "So far as you are concerned, the social revolution can take care of itself, now when it needs you most!"[30] Whitely answers that he must defend his country. Besides,

> How about most of the great radical leaders? Socialists, Syndicalists, or Anarchists, here and in France and Russia? Haven't they all realized that this was no time to quibble over theories . . . Kropotkin, the great Communist? Hasn't he come out and said it was the duty of every man, no matter what he believes, to crush German militarism? I tell you we've got to back up the government until this war is won ; and they are all doing it — Socialists, Syndicalists and all of them.[31]

Olga, who maintains, "Liberty — that is my country",[32] retorts quickly : "Then they are all blind fools — or traitors."[33] Whitely's answer has a personal hint : "I shouldn't think you'd care much about the social revolution now!"[34]

Olga — *(Slowly)* You mean — after it has ruined my life? *(Whitely nods, a bit ashamed of what he has said. Olga's eyes flash)* Oh, you fool! You blind fool! What am I? What is my small happiness worth in the light of so great a struggle? We fight, and at times like the present, it seems hopelessly. We fight and we go down before the might of Society; but the Revolution marches on over our bodies. It moves forward though we may not see it. We are the bridge. Our sacrifice is never in vain. It is enough for us to know we are doing our small part, and that our little lives and little deaths count after all. No, let the others wave flags and cheer and forswear their faith. *(Proudly)* I have suffered and will suffer more than any of them; and I am proud that I can still cry from the depths of my soul: It is well done! Long live the Revolution! *(She stands proudly erect, inspired, exalted. Whitely is awed in spite of himself.*
And then —

Tom — *(With a low, chuckling laugh mimicking Olga)* Long — live — the Revolution. *(His vacant eyes turn from one to the other of them. A stupid smile plays about his loose lips. Whitely turns away with a shudder. Olga stares at the figure in the bed with fascinated horror — then covers her face with her hands, as*

THE CURTAIN FALLS.[35]

As it is apparent from the plot, *The Personal Equation* develops its dramatic strategy along the lines of a fundamentally unified conflict between underpaid workers and profit-making capitalists, peace and war, social revolution and preserving the Establishment, nationalism and internationalism. These antitheses are personalized in the opposition and clash between Tom and Thomas Perkins, son and father.

O'Neill has different sources for, and shows varying degrees of, understanding these issues. The contrast between workers and bosses was his personal experience, and so he can represent it in vivid, actual scenes (the instinctive revolt of the stokers against their officers who have a good dinner party given by the Company to buy off the union leaders, while the firemen sweat in a dirty stokehole, underpaid and overworked; Thomas Perkins, the docile second engineer who had served the Company for 30 years and failed to get a promotion until he fought for the Company, etc.). The opposition between peace and war was also an experienced polarization in 1915. Anti-war speeches, therefore, ring true in the sense that they express a personal conviction (Enwright, Hartmann, Olga, Whitely, later Tom himself). The issues of internationalism and nationalism are also shown with personal participation on the authors' part. The confrontation between "the social revolution", the cause of the International Workers of the Earth, or as they are branded, "Anarchists", and the fetish of flags and marches, before which even many of the Socialist, Syndicalist leaders, let alone the rank and file like Whitely proved helpless, seem to be more vague issues in the play, but they undoubtedly bear the signs of O'Neill's bitter observation. The clash of attitudes of a conservative father and a rebellious son is personally motivated even if its links with the larger social problems touched upon in the play are forged out in a somewhat laboured manner. The contradiction between socialism and capitalism, however, has an abstract character. The general nature of the

world war naturally evokes the demand of a general strike which is meant to take on a political character propelled by a revolutionary movement. But ideas of the new order are very dimly outlined (liberty in general, putting an end to oppression, the equality of the sexes, polygamy, a stand against God, religion and marriage, etc.). Socialism is mixed with Anarchism. Its revolutionary radicalism harks back to Jacobinism. When Hartmann wants to refer to a revolutionary slogan, he quotes — Danton. In their opposition to sheepish voting and in their resort to revolutionary means, the International Workers approach Communist positions, but this is more a conglomerate of negatives (negating the actual order) than a conscious delineation of positives (concrete aims). Revolution is an attitute rather than a clear goal. (Tom was won over to the cause of the revolution chiefly by his love for Olga, i.e. by emotional ties.) The larger abstract issues are supposed to be confronted even where their personalized poles (Tom versus Thomas) become reconciled. The general is partly divorced from the particular.

As for the outcome of the action presented in the play, three views of evaluation are offered.

The first approach is determined by the interests of the Establishment. This becomes manifest in the early and outright condemnation of the anti-war speeches by Tom and Olga in the newspapers. The same is expressed by the Doctor and the Nurse in the Liverpool hospital. The Doctor's opinion is tersely summed up in his words to the Nurse. He observes "solemnly": "You cannot set yourself against the laws of God and men without being punished. This is his punishment",[36] he refers to Tom's having lost his reason and become a child again. "And theirs", the Nurse adds, meaning "all those who cared anything about him — his family."[37] Even Whitely takes the official position when he abandons his revolutionary attitude and becomes a British nationalist who wishes to defend his country and back up his government.

The second assessment is given by Olga, who in her last anti-war revolutionary speech defends and justifies the revolutionary deeds, considering the defeat only momentary and the sacrifice worthy of the cause. Hearing her words seething with true revolutionary fervour, even Whitely is impressed in spite of himself.

O'Neill's own position is probably best expressed by the ending of the play: he must be no less impressed by Olga's words than Whitely, but he also highlights the fate of the victims by finishing the drama with Tom's repeating Olga's last slogan "*with a low, chuckling laugh*"[38] of childish mimicry. Even if such a grotesque counterpoint diminishes the impact of Olga's words, it does not annihilate their effect. It rather underscores the greatness of the price paid for the cause at a time (1915!) when war defeated peace, most internationalist leaders became chauvinistic "patriots" and the truly radical socialist movement against the war and for a new society was not (yet) in full swing.

The structure of the drama shows traits of a politically-tinged well-made play according to Professor G. P. Baker's taste and with O'Neill's left-wing colouring.[39] After the exposition of Act I, and the growing measure of intrigue in Act II and Act III, Scene 1, tha crisis mounts to its peak in Act III, Scene 1, to be solved — and partly dissolved — in Act IV. The paraphernalia of the well-made play are also there: mystery (Olga disguised as a second class passanger and later as a sailor in dirty man's clothes, Tom disguised as a stoker); overhearing a fatal and crucial conversation (Murphy, the oiler listening to Olga's, Tom's and Whitely's secret talk about the prospects of dynamiting the engines); the "grand scene" (Olga and Thomas achieving reconciliation over the helpless and childlike body of Tom). But on the whole, the drama is a considerable attempt (though it obviously does not measure up to O'Neill's significant works) to widen the scope of the dramatist's one-acters into the range of a full-fledged four-act play. The central issue provides the drama with a genuine backbone even if the dramatic surge of the action is sometimes held back by epic complications.

These are mainly derived from the fact that the play is composed in terms of its ending expressing O'Neill's hopes *and* doubts. As early as Act I, there crops up a conversation between Tom and Olga about marriage which contains, or rather implies, a hint to the deadweight of circumstances. In its overtones it seems to suggest the forboding of a negative outcome :

> Tom — (Doggedly) It's just this, Olga. Though we know it [marriage] is all wrong, we've got to face facts as they are. Marriage is a fact. I agree with you it ought to be abolished. But what are we to do? It won't be destroyed in our time in spite of all our efforts and we're living now, not in the future. We've got to make some concessions to society in order te be free to do our work. It's foolish to waste time butting one's head against a stone wall.[40]

(Two weeks later they are engaged to be married in Liverpool.) The deviation of Tom's speech is not absolutely necessary for the action.

Besides, Act II reads like an early short story. Henderson is only needed to have somebody to play cards with, and Mrs. Allen's role is no more than being part of a milieu, and to suggest that Thomas was ready to defend his son, and allowed his own helper to boss over him.

Act III, Scene 1 is also epically detailed.

The need for these scenes chiefly arises from the fact that the private sphere of action (the enmity between Tom and Thomas) and the public stratum of the play (standing up against and for capitalism, the war, the new social order, etc.) only partially overlap. Tom's contempt of his father is in part the enmity of a radical youth against a conservative blockhead who even misinterprets his own larger interests and serves his masters with servile esteem and docile endeavour. But Tom is not the most radical member of the

International Workers of the Earth, both Hartmann and Olga have a broader perspective. His fight with Thomas is also the rebellion of a son against his father, a clash of generations. Nor is Thomas the most typical example of defending capitalist interests. Both Tom and Thomas have a middle position between more sharply opposed poles. This middle position has an epic character[41] and necessitates a number of situations in which mediations between general social forces (tendency, type) and their individual appearances can be established.

A play of a beginner, *The Personal Equation* obviously belongs to the lower mathematics of the O'Neill canon. Making a direct social and political statement had never been one of the dramatist's fortes. Nevertheless, the play throws an explanatory beam of light some of whose targets are more important than its source is. On different levels and with divergent emphases, the anti-war stand of the drama is parallelled by works like *The Sniper* (1915), *In the Zone* (1916), a part of the scenario of the unwritten play *The Reckoning* (1917), the unpublished short story *S. O. S.* (1918), *Shell-Shock* (1918), and *Strange Interlude* (1926—7). In varied dramatic and stylistic idioms and with varying success, the note of left-wing social criticism audible in *The Personal Equation* is echoed by such plays as the unpublished and destroyed one-act comedy about the International Workers of the World, *The G. A. M.* (1916), *The Rope* (1918), *Where the Cross Is Made* (1918), *Gold* (1920), *Anna Christie* (1921), *The Hairy Ape* (1921), *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1923), *Marco Millions* (1923—5), *Desire Under the Elms* (1924), the one-time activities of Hugo and Larry referred to in *The Iceman Cometh* (1939), or *More Stately Mansions* (1936—42).

Even specific motifs of later plays are anticipated in *The Personal Equation*. In Act II Thomas Perkins speaks to Henderson of how he has been feeling lonely and homeless after his wife's death, how his sense of isolation has been growing through his serving on a ship and thus being unable to look after Tom. This explains why Tom comes to see him so rarely, and why he thinks he will move to the ship permanently to look after his beloved engines. Henderson, on the other hand, decided to give up serving on his ship. He has already given the Company notice of his wish to live on land. Later, in act IV, Thomas Perkins also says he has come to hate the engines, and will live in his house on land with Tom and Olga. The dramatization of the opposition between sea and land as a socially and psychologically motivated polarization, predicament, yearning and displacement recurs in *The Long Voyage Home* (1916—7), *Ile* (1916—7), *Beyond the Horizon* (1918), *Chris Christopherson* (1919), *The Ole Davil* (1920), and *Anna Christie* (1921).

Thomas Perkins' excessive care of, and attraction to, his engines foreshadow Reuben Light's love of the dynamo[42] whose importance is responsible for the title of the play *Dynamo* (1924—8).

The Personal Equation also points forward to the social antagonism presented in *The Hairy Ape* (1921). Serving on an ocean steamer, Tom was taken aback by social inequality. He says to Hartmann: "two summers ago . . . I and a pal of mine made the round trip. I tell you, . . . it opened my eyes to conditions I had never dreamt of. It made me think — seeing the contrast between us grimy stokers and the first cabin people lolling in their deck-chairs."[43] The same contrast between the stokers and Mildred Douglas and her aunt made Yank think as well.

Besides sounding the motif of hopeless hope, which is, in fact, a persistent leitmotif of the O'Neill canon from *The Straw* (1918) to *The Iceman Cometh* (1939), and apart from Shavian and Nietzschean reminiscences,[44] one of the most illuminating connections between *The Personal Equation* and other works is the cropping up of some elements which attain their full development and reinterpretation in *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1929—31).

When in Act I of *The Personal Equation* Olga learns the news from Hartmann that a worldwide war is at hand, and she impulsively suggests a general strike as an antidote, the words she uses ("Think of how foolish those kings and emperors, those cabinets and parliaments would look when they found noone to fight for them, when they realized if they wanted war, they would have to fight themselves")[45] anticipate, both in character and phrasing, Orin's explanation of his real motives in jumping out of the trench meaning to shake hands with the enemy.[46] Thus in *Mourning Becomes Electra* an episode of the Civil War is described in terms of World War I.

Answering Olga, Hartmann expresses his view that the necessity of a general strike has not touched the hearts of people yet. "The soul of man is an uninhabited house haunted by the ghosts of old ideals",[47] of misconceived patriotism, he says. Not only do we find here a seminal image inherent in *Mourning Becomes Electra*,[48] but we can also bear witness to the way in which an idea and ideal became transformed and charged with new emotive values. In *The Personal Equation* it is the absence of a true anti-war and revolutionary feeling which causes people's souls to be haunted by outmoded (though very effective) nationalistic concepts and ideals, whereas in *Mourning Becomes Electra* it is the impossibility of emotional fulfilment, and the suppression of instinctive (even sexual) revolt which transforms moral ideals into bloodless, lifeless, death-ridden Mannon ghosts. Social revolution changed into emotional sexual revolt, and the place of outworn social ideals was partially taken by the Freudian super-ego (a positive moral factor) and Mannon Puritanism (a negative moral force). But the latter (emotional revolt) has overtones of the former (social revolution), and to a certain extent, even stands for the former. Though this relationship is obviously far from being a case of even an approximate equivalence, yet it is a meaningful instance of at least a personal equation

NOTES

[1] I am thankful to The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, for having given me permission to read a photocopy (call-marked 74/72 z) of the typescript of *The Personal Equation* during my stay in Berkeley in 1976—7 as a Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. All references will be made to this copy.

[2] O'Neill, E., *The Personal Equation*, Act I, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 2. — For the young playwright's association with left-wing radicals like C. Ashleigh, W. L. Laurence, and especially B. R. Tucker and E. Goldman, see Sheaffer, L., *O'Neill: Son and Playwright* (Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1968), pp. 182; 298, 302; 102—6, 117, 122, 135, 139, 229, 260; 105—6, 228, 260, 284, 307.

[4] O'Neill, E., *The Personal Equation*, Act I, p. 3.

[5] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 4.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 6.

[8] *Ibid.*, Act I, pp. 6—7.

[9] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 8.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 11. The relationship between Tom and Thomas Perkins resembles that between Eugene and James O'Neill. Cf. Sheaffer, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[12] O'Neill, E., *The Personal Equation*, Act I, p. 11.

[13] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 12.

[14] *Ibid.* — For O'Neill's experience of a strike during his stay in England in mid-August 1911, see Sheaffer, L., *op. cit.*, pp. 195—6, 307—8.

[15] O'Neill, E., *The Personal Equation*, Act I, p. 18.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 12.

[18] *Ibid.*, Act I, pp. 20—22.

[19] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 23.

[20] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 22.

[21] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 23.

[22] *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 24.

[23] *Ibid.*, Act II, p. 2.

[24] *Ibid.*, Act III, Scene 1, p. 1.

[25] *Ibid.*, Act III, Scene 1, p. 11.

[26] *Ibid.*, Act III, Scene 1, p. 7.

[27] *Ibid.*, Act III, Scene 2, p. 29.

[28] *Ibid.*, Act III, Scene 2, p. 30.

[29] *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 10.

[30] *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 18.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 17.

[33] *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 18.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 2.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.* Act IV, p. 18.

[39] For two evaluations of Professors George Pierce Baker's English 47 workshop in playwriting at Harvard, compare L. Sheaffer's *O'Neill: Son and Playwright* (pp. 294—310) and T. Bogard's *Contour in Time: The Plays of Eugene O'Neill* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 48—62. O'Neill attended the course in 1914—5.

[40] O'Neill, E., *The Personal Equation*, Act I, p. 6.

[41] Cf. Lukács, G., *The Historical Novel.* Translated from the German by H. and S. Mitchell (London: Merlin Press, 1962), pp. 125—6.

[42] Cf. Bogard, T., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[43] O'Neill, E., *The Personal Equation*, Act I, p. 20. Cf. Bogard, T., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[44] Cf. Bogard, T., *op. cit.*, pp. 55—6.

[45] O'Neill, E., *The Personal Equation*, Act I, p. 12.

[46] *The Plays of Eugene O'Neill* (New York: Random House, 1955), II, p. 95.

[47] O'Neill, E., *The Personal Equation*, Act I, p. 13.

[48] Bogard, T., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

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"The Red Wheelbarrow" and the Changing Climate of American Poetry

By

GYULA KODOLÁNYI

"The Red Wheelbarrow", a poem William Carlos Williams had written "in a minute" as he said, originally only bore the title Section XXI in that famous book of verse and prose, *Spring and All*. Yet, for all its slightness and modesty, it has probably become the most controversial if not the most famous poem in modern American poetry. For some a piece of scandal, for most a miracle of poetic epiphany, it is easy to remember by heart :

so much depends
upon

a red wheel
barrow

glazed with rain
water

beside the white
chickens

The issues that the poem has stirred easily fill the length of a paper even if conveniently summed up. As Paul L. Mariani states in his survey of Williams scholarship, "The Red Wheelbarrow" has been "overworked" by critics for fifty years and, "having been done to death", "That poor poem" deserves to be left to rest in its proper place, alive but inconspicuous, within the whole work of Williams.[1] He may be right, yet there must be good reasons for the magic spell "The Red Wheelbarrow" practices over generations of readers, and for the representative status it enjoys in criticism. What follows is not another analysis of the poem, nor a history of its criticism, some important moments of which are, in fact, not recorded in Mariani's book. It is, rather, an attempt to bring into focus the chief observations made about the poem in the late fifties and early sixties, the most important phase of its critical debate. I will try to discern trends in this new interest, and to trace out a

crisis of sensibility in the inability of a group of readers to experience "The Red Wheelbarrow" as a poem.

The debate on the poem is also fascinating and revelatory because, although some defenders of the poem take up a conscious argument with earlier commentators, most of the commentators seem to be unaware of each other. Thus they innocently repeat several observations already made, and make unguarded contentions that they would probably have avoided in knowledge of other utterances. It is obvious, for instance, that Winifred Nowottny[2] and Philip Wheelwright,[3] both publishing their books in 1962, had no knowledge of the important observations made by the poet Robert Duncan at about the same time and published in the then obscure small magazine, *Kulchur*, in 1961.[4] Such oversights and accidents all the more justify me to treat their critical opinions also as manifestations of *Zeitgeist*, of intellectual climate.

The case against the poem is stated in a detailed argument by Philip Wheelwright, in his treatise on the language of poetry called *Metaphor and Reality*. Wheelwright is the most interesting commentator in his camp, and we will have to return to him repeatedly, because his book also provides us aesthetic criteria for the excellence of "The Red Wheelbarrow", yet he sees these criteria unfulfilled by the poem. I quote some of his observations:

> "the personal associations and bubbles of memory that have stirred the poet's sensitive recollections are not shared by a reader whose only clues are to be found in the poem itself. The trouble is that in these lines the poet has tried to convey the simplicity of the remembered experience by a plain simplicity of utterance — by a simple simplicity, one might say, as opposed to a contextual simplicity. (. . .) For more assured communication the poet must construct a *mimesis* of simplicity (. . .) What the red wheelbarrow poem lacks (. . .) is a more tensive presentation. Why? Because when two imagistic elements are put in a tensive relation to each other a slight pattern is established — a flexible, unobtrusive pattern — and this is something that can be communicated".

This "slight pattern", in other words, would be that of the successful imagist poems, but "The Red Wheelbarrow", in Wheelwright's view, fails to achieve even as much. He observes the "simple simplicity" of the poem, it seems, both in terms of imagery and syntax, while he does not observe a rhythmic pattern any more than a pattern of imagery or a pattern of syntax.

Then Wheelwright goes on to show how Williams, in the same book, is able to create tension or tensiveness. The poems he quotes here are "Primrose", and the celebrated "By the road to the contagious hospital", a favourite for critics who do not otherwise approve of the poetic methods of Williams. These poems succeed, Wheelwright says, "by bringing together images that

at once stir contrasting moods and, as a complementary aspect of the same semantic act, evoke reality in different individual guises".

What Wheelwright praises here as an occasional success in the poetry of Williams is nothing else but the effect of *ambiguity*, that foundation stone of New Criticism poetics, and the famous Poundian formula for the image as "an emotional and intellectual complex in an instant of time." From the latter it follows that a single picture like the one in this poem by Williams, by itself does not produce an image. There is no emotional or intellectual complex involved here, Wheelwright seems to claim, because the single picture of the red wheelbarrow is not defined either by another picture or by a contrasting mood, or, to quote him again, by "a complementary aspect of the same semantic act". In other words, there is no poem here at all, only a mere denotative statement.

Another central tenet of the New Criticism emerging behind Wheelwright's argument is that of the Eliotian "objective correlative". The better poems of Williams, he says, do have a more "authentic objectivity" and therefore, a "surer communicability of sentiment". Wheelwright's book, essentially, is concerned with metaphor as the chief vehicle of poetic tension, or tensiveness as he calls it, and his inability to deal with Williams is to a great extent, it seems, the inability of readers brought up on the ideas of New Criticism to come to terms with non-metaphoric poetry. His rejection of "The Red wheelbarrow", as much as it betrays a blind spot in aesthetic sensitivity, comes from such a theoretical background.

Elizabeth Drew, another critic in the New Criticism school but by no means as original and perceptive a mind as Wheelwright is, has been made famous through the notoriety of her comments, so ruthlessly ridiculed by Robert Duncan. Making up with aggression for her lack of understanding for modern free verse, she claimed in 1959 in a book somewhat ironically titled *Poetry: A Modern Guide to Its Understanding and Enjoyment*,[5] that "The Red Wheelbarrow" poem does no more than "proves perhaps only that words can't take the place of paint". She maintained that, in general, the musical patterns Pound finds in imagist free verse "When read aloud couldn't be possibly distinguished from prose". In other words, all that she found in the poem was a thin visual image, hopelessly competing with painting to convey a visual impression. As for the attempt of free verse poets to create form through carefully controlled line breaks, she concluded that they made no difference to the reading of the texts.

Mary Ellen Solt, a critic sympathetic to the prosodic experiments of Williams, also decides in an essay published in 1960 that the line breaks do not work. "To stop at the end of a single line produces distortion of stress and does violence to pronunciation" she says.[6] Her position, theoretically, is the opposite of Elizabeth Drew's. While the latter finds such free verse not artic-

ulated or patterned sufficiently, Mary Ellen Solt complains of violence to the cadence of the spoken language.

Their dissatisfaction provides us a convenient departure toward an understanding of one of the devices Williams used in order to pattern the poem. The fact that they both overlook is that our attitude and manner of reading does change when we switch to poetry from an indifferent or even a good passage of prose, whether we read aloud or silently to ourselves. This obvious truth came to be neglected by scholars because of a misreading, early enough, of the poetics of William Carlos Williams as anti-poetic. They assumed that in treating so-called non-poetic or anti-poetic subjects, Williams deliberately made his poetry anti-poetic. Yet there is no trace of such an idea in the statements of Williams. What he meant to do, naturally, was the opposite: to achieve the metamorphosis of the so-called non-poetic or anti-poetic subject into poetry. This is taken for granted as the eternal practice of artists, and the process only came to be questioned by ignorant naturalist critics of modern art, when, to call emphatic attention to this transfiguration, to the fact that art does not copy objects or reality but creates an autonomous object or reality, artists like Williams and Marcel Duchamp went to the extreme of presenting found objects or texts as their work, shocking thereby superficial bourgeois tastes.

The found text, a piece of trivial prose, therefore, has to be read as poetry as soon as it is called a poem by its author, and nothing can be proved about rhythm by reading a free verse poem as if it were a passage of prose, a favourite method of the opponents of free verse. In such a passage, to use Mary Ellen Solt's terms against her own argument, stress may be distorted and violence may be done to pronunciation, for the passage has been transfigured into art, in other words, articulation and artifice.

This argument may appear to lead to a hopeless critical relativism. It amounts to saying that since the poet calls his text a poem we have to read and hear it as a poem. The case is not as hopeless, nevertheless. The first task of the reader is to accept the poet's claim in good faith and read "The Red Wheelbarrow" as poetry, not prose. Then he may examine what he finds there for a rhythmic pattern, and call it insufficient if he deems so. In our case, that of "The Red Wheelbarrow", there is a highly structured rhythmic pattern as Robert Duncan has brilliantly shown it.

In his essay, "Ideas of the Meaning of Form", Duncan states with the authority of a major poet, himself in a confessed debt to Williams, that the line endings do create a form, that the line is "a notation of how it is to be read". Reading the poem in this way, we will recognize that "syllabic measures of variable number alternate with lines of two syllables to form a dance immediate to the eye as a rhythmic pattern". Following Duncan's advice we will see that the second line of each stanza consists of

one two-syllable word, which is preceded by a three-syllable line in the second and third stanzas, and a four-syllable line in the first and fourth stanzas: 4/2, 3/2, 3/2, 4/2 is the syllabic division, creating an usually regular and symmetrical form for a free verse poem. In addition, Duncan finds "riming vowels in 'glazed' and 'rain', 'beside' and 'white' that give a balanced emphasis to the measure in the 'close' and 'complex' or subtle relations that syncopate the opening lines between 'so much' and 'barrow', 'depends' and 'red wheel', 'a' and 'upon' ".

One could indeed go as far as concluding that the poem, a sentence of sixteen one- or two-syllable words divided into eight lines, would hardly allow more of rhytmic organization without risking one of its original aims, the creating of that illusion of simplicity to which Philip Wheelwright so innocently succumbed for a philosopher. Still, Winifred Nowottny, in her book *The Language Poets Use*, complains of the "paucity of formal relations" in "The Red Wheelbarrow", and A. Kingsley Weatherhead,[7] in other respects one of the most perceptive commentators on the poem, finds "not enough artifice" in it.

The explanation to these unfounded complaints is probably that the majority of scholars, even those sympathetic to free verse, does not expect to find patterns of rhythm and sound in free verse poems. The prosody of free verse remains one of the sensitive points of scholarship. Yet Duncan's discussion of "The Red Wheelbarrow" draws attention to the fact that "patterns of vowel and consonant, stress and pitch", "tone and duration" do create pronounced formal relations in free verse poems, and thereby a *Gestalt*, a musical form that unfolds as the poem proceeds.

But let us return to our poem. Agreeing that its rhythm is "beautifully contrived",Weatherhead takes up its defence against Wheelwright with an important theoretical argument. He is not sure, he says, "that a tension between images is exclusively necessary". Instead, he proposes, there is "a rhythmical context" in the poem which ordered it, and this "will render the private experience intelligible". "The movement of the poem is an artifice; the rest is rude nature", Weatherhead continues, seeing in this contrast the meaning itself of the whole poem. Though I disagree that anything is "rude nature" in "The Red Wheelbarrow", Weatherhead's observation is sufficient to refute Wheelwright's complaint about the "simple simplicity" of the utterance, and about the lack of any reference to define the picture for the reader. Wheelwright, concentrating on tensiveness achieved through image, failed to listen to the powerful rhythmic pattern of the poem, and the tension perceived by Weatherhead between such artifice in the rhythmical context and the innocence of the utterance.

Yet there remain still other ways of creating poetic tension beside by image and rhythmic context, I believe, and at least one of these, syntax,

also operates in "The Red Wheelbarrow". Winifred Nowottny notes how "the eccentric placing of the line endings" and stanza endings is meant to ensure the separate perception of the elements of the picture before our hurrying on in our reading, obeying "our tendency to read continuously, automatically practising grammatical subordination". Though many critics notice that in the picture the elements, the red wheelbarrow, the glaze of rain water, the white chickens are meant to be of equal visual importance, only few observe that it was necessary for Williams to create grammatical subordination if he wanted to keep what Neil Myers[8] calls the impertinent opening of the sentence, "so much depends", effective. The line endings thus not only serve to create a rhythmic form, they also reduce the effect of grammatical subordination by their opposite pull to keep the sentence in separately perceived parts. The law of the language determined that the first element in the syntactical sequence of nouns, the "red wheelbarrow" had to be allowed an unwelcome dominance over the other elements. But Williams carefully avoided what might have further emphasized this dominance, the inserting of connectives between "barrow" and "glazed". That would have been clumsy and superfluous in any case, and therefore a flaw in the otherwise perfect verbal economy, the leanness of the poem. But readers whose native language is not English, not even an Indo-European language but, for instance, Hungarian, are all too aware of such a rejected possibility on the part of Williams. As a translator of the poems of William Carlos Williams into Hungarian, I have had my most maddening failure with "The Red Wheelbarrow". For in Hungarian one either inserts the equivalent of "that is" at the appropriate place, or in avoiding this clumsy solution one has to turn the whole sequence around, placing "red wheel barrow" at the end of the sentence. Both solutions are viable from a strictly grammatical point of view, and it would be easy to produce the two sentences here. But none of them will be a poem, much less a poem which is a translation of "The Red Wheelbarrow" of William Carlos Williams. That poem does not translate into Hungarian, and probably into many other languages, mainly because of its intimate reliance on the possibilities of English syntax, a reliance native scholars may easily overlook. It is not possible to compose a Hungarian poem which will bear in the intricacy of its formal relations, its patterns of imagery, rhythm and syntax, a sufficient similarly to the original, while preserving its apparent simplicity and innocence. Though this may not be the conclusive evidence in the debate, it is proof enough of what Duncan has demonstrated : that "The Red Wheelbarrow" is indeed organized optimally in its formal relations, and what these formal relations create is, unmistakably, a poem. Yet it may be, for all that, "not impressive poetry", as Winifred Nowottny claims, or trivial poetry, as Elizabeth Drew would probably claim. Therefore let us see if the meaning this intricate structure carries is important enough to have justified

our interest, and our conviction that the poem is impressive and unique.

The meaning has already been partly explored in the course of our discussion of imagery and syntax, and all but spelled out in my interpretation of Williams' poetic aim as transfiguration of the world through the creative act. As Bram Dijkstra, author of an excellent book about the friendships and common aims that connected Williams with the first generation of American modernist painters says, quoting Williams himself, they wanted "to raise the place we inhabit to such an imaginative level that it shall have currency of the world of the mind".[9] "The Red Wheelbarrow", then, is an attempt to raise an everyday scene, a scene any of us may inhabit, to this imaginative level, to give the red wheelbarrow and the white chickens currency, that is life in the world of the mind. In the act there is certainly something provocative and programmatic. To introduce a poem of sparsely described backyard scene with the phrase "so much depends upon" must appear, at best, an avantgarde joke to the reader who does not share Williams' feeling for the mystery of suchness, of presence in the trivial. This is why "The Red Wheelbarrow", indeed the whole book, Spring and All, is unique in American poetry, perhaps in the whole recent poetry of the West. It evokes presence on a scale which is more Oriental than Western, and it does so with an apparently artless gesture which again reminds us of the hard-won spontaneity of Japanese calligraphic paintings. While the artists of the Far East, Alan W. Watts[10] says, "employ what are, to us, highly difficult technical disciplines, it is always recognized that they are instrumental and secondary, and that superior work has the quality of an accident."

Yet Williams did know Western models to follow. A mythic figure of key significance for him was St. Francis of Assisi with his "sense of wonder that illumines what is accounted ordinary", as Denise Levertov remarks.[11] Williams seems to have held that, as a proper imitation in our age of the man who knew the language of birds, the modern poet should listen to the language of birds, the modern poet should listen to the language objects speak. In this attempt there is also the full awareness of tragic irony, of the incongruous beauty of the empty green bottle thrown on a heap of cinder. Yet Williams willingly assumed for his other mythic ancestor a less troubled modern poet, Whitman. In Chant 6 of Song of Myself, as Malcolm Cowley comments, "we are presented with the central image of the poem, that is, the grass as symbolizing the miracle of common things"[12] "What is the grass", the child asks in Whitman's poem — and of course there is no answer to the question any more than to the Williamsian question, what or how much depends on a red wheel barrow. To compare with the ideas and poetic practice of Williams, here is what Whitman said about the role of the concrete in his work, in his criticism of William Blake: "Blake's visions grow to be the rule, displace

the real condition, fill the field, spurn this visible objective life, and they seat the subjective spirit on an absolute throne, wilful and uncontrolled. But Whitman" — we know that he used to interpret himself in the third person — "always holds the mastery over himself, and even in his most intoxicated lunges or pirouettes, never once loses control, or even equilibrium".[13] In other words, he meant to write a visionary poetry, but one where "this visible, objective life", "the normal condition" is not transcended but transmuted.

Suddenly, in the early Fifties, the momentuous convergence of the idea of transmutation and transfiguration of the objective, and of a sophisticated free verse practice took place again in America. The so-called Black Mountain poets, in whose work the two forces met, enacted a gradual but irreversible change of intellectual climate, of sensibility. Charles Olson, Robert Duncan, Denise Levertov, and Robert Creeley, to mention only the most important here, not only gave the decisive impetus to what became known as the San Francisco Renaissance and Beat poetry, but by the mid-Sixties they had made an impact on the most sensitive of the academic critics too. This is clearly seen in the debate over "The Red Wheelbarrow". The critics most deeply and sympathetically involved with the poem, Weatherhead, Dijkstra, and Myers, all published their observations in or after the early Sixties, whereas even a few years before that date, critics brought up on the values and approaches of Eliot and the New Criticism were at a loss to account for one or another aspect of the poem. Among them one finds critics of the seriousness of Winifred Nowottny and Philip Wheelwright. The case of the latter is the most pregnant illustration of our point, it seems. He introduces his discussion of "The Red Wheelbarrow" with an exciting and perceptive discourse on presence, that is to say of moments when a sense of reality is suddenly communicated through a human being or an object. "The sense of presence that occurs to one who catches a sudden glimpse of, say, a certain contour of hills or a red wheelbarrow in the rain, defies explanation." Yet, with his attention focussed on the semantic aspects of language and not on rhythmic and syntactic pattern, he held the poem to be too facile to mobilize a "network of psychic associations" in the reader, to communicate that sense of mystery.

This change of sensibility and intellectual climate had long been in the making, not only in the long tradition of St. Francis of Assisi and Whitman, but also in the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead, in the poetry of William Carlos Williams, and in the work of painters and photographers who were contemporaries and friends of Williams: Marcel Duchamp, Charles Demuth, Charles Sheeler, Alfred Stieglitz. They are, together with the Objectivist poets emerging in the Thirties, the immediate American predecessors of the Black Mountain poets. But one could add a long list of ancestors and contemporaries to these names, to indicate that the change we have attempted to document here is more than a matter of taste in poetry and art. It involves our whole

changed attitude to the world, as Charles Olson perceives in the passage that follows, in words whose accuracy each of us will recognize. He calls the new attitude objectism, saying that "times of physical expansion (. . .) provoke men's sensuality, stirp up what the spirit has caused to sleep or to be blunted, and the result is a double thing, a huge sweeping sickness of materialism (due to man as brute) and the other expression of it, objectism, 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".[14] To this we may add another Olsonian passage, a famous one from "Human Universe" : "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 that moment that he achieves an *humilitas* sufficient to make him of use".[15] What Olson suggests and what Williams has achieved is the acceptance at the present historical juncture of our fascination with objects as the only possibility given us for what is called the spiritual. This humilitas, italicized by me in the quotation from Olson, is our only chance for transcendence and 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. It is the humility of this objectist vision that the great variety of objectivist trends in modern art all attempt to achieve. As Robert Duncan says in an interview,[16] "there are no trivial events for me. This is the question raised by Williams' famous "so much depends / upon / a red wheel / barrow". (. . .) And for me everything happening in the poem is properly apprehended and therefore not trivial."

This little poem thus not only embodies a new, essentially very old, strategy of poetics, it also proposes a strategy for meaningful human survival amid the grand despairs and petty criminality of our century.

NOTES

[1] *William Carlos Williams, The Poet and His Critics.* American Library Association, Chicago, 1975.

[2] *The Language Poets Use.* The Athlone Press, London, 1962, pp. 118—122.

[3] *Metaphor and Reality.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1962. pp. 153—163.

[4] "Ideas of the Meaning of Form". In : *The Poetics of the New American Poetry,* ed. Donald M. Allen and Warren Tallman, Grove Press, New York, 1973. See especially pp. 198—201.

[5] *Poetry : A Modern Guide to Its Understanding and Enjoyment.* Norton, New York, 1959, p. 36.

[6] *Folio,* XXV, Winter 1960, pp. 3—28.

[7] *The Edge of the Image. Marianne Moore, William Carlos Williams, and Some Other Poets.* University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1967. See especially pp. 108 ff.

[8] In : *William Carlos Williams,* ed. Charles Tomlinson. Penguin Critical Anthologies, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 220.

[9] *The Hieroglyphics of a New Speech: Cubism, Stieglitz, and the Early Poetry of William Carlos Williams.* Princeton University Press, 1969, pp. 168—169.

[10] *The Way of Zen.* Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1962, p. 47.

[11] "Williams and the Duende", *The Poet in the World.* New Directions, New York, 1973, p. 257.

[12] "Introduction", *Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass: The First (1855) Edition.* Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976, p. XVII.

[13] Quoted by Roger Asselineau, *The Evolution of Walt Whitman,* 1962, reprinted on p. 396, *Walt Whitman,* ed. Francis Murphy, Penguin Critical Anthologies, Harmondsworth, 1969.

[14] "Mystery", an unpublished essay in the Olson Archives at the University of Connecticut, Storrs. Quoted in Robert von Hallberg, "Olson, Whitehead, and the Objectivists", *Boundary 2,* Volume II, Nos. 1—2, Fall 1973/Winter 1974, p. 60.

[15] *Selected Writings,* ed. Robert Creeley, New Directions, New York, 1966, p. 60.

[16] Egbert Faas, *Toward a New American Poetics,* Black Sparrow Press, Santa Barbara, 1978, p. 62.

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The Virginian: Social Darwinist Pastoral

By

ROBERT MURRAY DAVIS

Those at all familiar with the stereotypes of the American Western novel or film will experience a shock of recognition on first encountering Owen Wister's *The Virginian*. The central character really does say, "When you call me that, *smile!*". He does face down the villain in single combat, marry the schoolmarm, appreciate more deeply than he can articulate the splendors of Western Nature, and talk to his horse like thousands of subsequent cowboy heroes. Given this behavior, already to an extent stereotypic in 1902, when Wister finished splicing together stories written over the previous eleven years,[1] it may seem odd that by 1979 the book, as announced in my copy of the twenty-third printing of the Pocket Books edition in twenty-three years, had "Over 2 million copies sold!".[2] Or that an American Indian student should, in the early 1970's, find nothing objectionable in the book. Or that a militant feminist, encountering the Virginian for the first time, should respond, "I just *love* him—and I hate myself!".

Perhaps the continuing success of the novel is less surprising when one considers Owen Wister's credentials. Neither a semi-literate hack like dozens of his predecessors and successors in the genre nor an untutored natural genius, he had impeccable Establishment credentials: Eastern parents of high culture who entertained, among others, Henry James; study in Switzerland and England and at the most prestigious American preparator-schools; graduation *summa cum laude* from Harvard, where he was a classmate of Theodore Roosevelt and published a poem on Beethoven in the *Atlantic Monthly*; musical training at the Paris Conservatory; and, after a trip to the West to recover his health, a law degree from Harvard. In later years he was friendly with Roosevelt, to whom *The Virginian* is dedicated, with Frederic Remington, who illustrated some of his stories and articles,[3] and still later with Ernest Hemingway, whom he assisted with generous financial support when, faced with the suicide of his father and the difficult pregnancy of his wife, the younger man was struggling to finish *A Farewell to Arms*.[4] Wister's collected works, including biographies of Presidents Grant, Washington, and Theodore Roosevelt (he hated Franklin Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson)

and books on European-American relations, ran to eleven volumes when published in 1928.

For that matter, *The Virginian* was put into final form only after an apprenticeship, which began after a conversation about why there was no good fiction about the West, in which he published three books and a number of stories and articles in an attempt to represent faithfully the American West he had grown to love with all the complexity of a talented member of the Eastern cultural and political aristocracy. Much of that complexity is embodied in the major thematic strains of *The Virginian*, and part of its popularity may be a result of the way in which it embodies varying and potentially contradictory elements and brings them into an apparent harmony of which my students could observe, "Everything is so easy".

They responded to a real but partial element of the novel, the idyllic or pastoral, depicting "the romance of American adventure" in "this great playground of young men". It is a peculiarly American kind of pastoral, familiar to the audiences of *Huckleberry Finn* and of Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings, a male bastion where "youth untamed" could express its "Daring, laughter, endurance", where "our natural passions ran tumultuous", where these rough swains can drink, swear, play cards, talk and sing about the indulge in sex, dress in romantic and striking clothes, and be altogether free from the "civilization" under which Huck Finn chafed. The Virginian is no exception – in this as in all else he is the perfection of the type, not the exception. "A slim young giant more beautiful than pictures", a resourceful teller of tall tales, an inventive practical joker, a man who can dominate horses and attract women, a singer and extender of bawdy songs (able to talk "the elemental talk of sex, such talk as would be an elk's or tiger's . . . so simply and naturally, as we speak of the seasons, or of death, or of any actuality", that it is without indecency or "offence"' a man who can show through "dinginess of travel or shabbiness of attire . . . the splendor that radiated from his youth and strength", and be "utterly a man in countenance and in his self-possession and incapacity to be put at a loss" but "still boyishly proud of his wild calling", a man who is "brave" rather than "dangerous", a man who "the untamed but unstained mind of a man", who can swear not only without offending but in fact charming the schoolmarm.

For of course, like every work in which the idyllic scene provides the setting and structure of value, *The Virginian* is also a love story. In fact, it can be seen as one of the most complex kind of love stories in Western — European rather than American — tradition : the ladder of ascent from love of creation to love of creatures (in some manifestations, as in Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*, a major distinction is made between non-sexual love between males and love between man and woman) to love of God. The process involves not merely virtue but education, not merely the acquisition of knowl-

edge but expansion of mind, spirit, and all human faculties to their fullest possible extent.

At the beginning of the novel, the Virginian is set off from "average rough male blood" not merely by his superior beauty, wit, and potency but by his ability to appreciate the landscape in which he moves and the beasts which inhabit it. Midway through the novel the narrator applies to the Virginian Coleridge's lines from "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner", "He prayeth best who loveth best / All things both great and small" and adds that though "the Virginian did not know them . . . his heart had taught him many things". Perhaps in anticipation of this sequence, the Virginian first confides to the narrator during a sequence in which they share an amused but sympathetic concern for a demented hen. In trying to account for her condition, the Virginian turns the conversation to the "lonesomeness" of the landscape and confessed "I could not live without it now . . . This has got into my system".

Love of his fellow man appears most obviously in the Virginian's relationship to Steve, the fun-loving cowboy of the opening chapters who turns horse-thief and is hanged by a posse of which the Virginian is the leader. Theirs has been a comradeship of youth : "You have a friend, and his ways are your ways. You travel together, you spree together confidentially, and you suit each other down to the ground." But as the men mature, they separate, the Virginian becoming more and more serious, responsible, and respectable. Though he knows that he has done the right thing, he grieves for his old friend and the past that they have shared, and the narrator observes that the sadness in his character both tempers and sets off his gaiety.

The woman whom he loves and through whom he grows is Molly Stark Wood, the neat schoolmarm from a New England family with impeccable Revolutionary War credentials but little money. The point of making her and so many of her successors a schoolmistress is that she represents a stability and culture which not only measures but ends the West. As the Virginian and his companions view the new, as yet uninhabited schoolhouse, they know intuitively that "It symbolized the dawn of a neighbourhood and it brought a change into the wilderness air. The feel of it struck cold upon the free spirits of the cow-punchers, and they told each other, what with women and children and wire fences, this country would not be a country for men". When Molly takes the Virginian as pupil—to deflect him from his purpose as lover—she is not only furnishing social and intellectual standards for him to observe, to be measured by, and ultimately to judge, but is acting in the pastoral-courtly tradition to educate her lover in the standards of civilization and the conduct of the ideal lover.

However, the Virginian is less passive than some males in the tradition. Far from being awed by books, he tests them by his own manly standards : *Emma* he rejects (like Emerson, Twain, and James) in favor of "something

that is *about* something", the author of *The Mill on the Floss* "did right to drownd'em both" but talks too much. But *Kenilworth* he likes for its portrait of Queen Elizabeth, who "must cert'nly been a competent woman" and the one opponent he feels he could not beat at poker. Shakespeare's Prince Hal he admires for his innate strength and clarity of purpose and for his role as *eiron*. A Russian novel he prefers above all else because of its portrait of "that young come-outer and his family that can't understand him — for he is broad gauge and they are narro-gauge" — as he feels himself to be. And when Molly brings forth "her Browning, her idol, her imagined affinity", he counters with realistic criticism of horsemanship in "How They Brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix" ; with a criticism of the manliness of anyone who would say "Nay, I'm killed sire" in "Incident of the French Camp", a criticism which leads to "his notions of masculine courage and modesty" to which "her mind opened with delight" ; and, out of his knowledge of life and love, with an explanation of "Meeting at Night" and "Parting at Morning".

As this scene indicates, Molly learns more from the Virginian than she teaches him. He says, speaking of love, "You are going to learn back the thing you taught me", but because she has less capacity than he and because "Her better birth and schooling . . . had given way before the onset of the natural man himself", she can love better than she can understand her husband.[5] Like the traditional lover, the Virginian improves with discipline, including the discipline of love. When the narrator sees him after his first step upward to deputy foreman, he notes that "the boy was altogether gone from his face — the boy whose freak with Steve had turned Medicine Bow upside down, whose other freak with the babies (he and a friend switch their positions and blankets so that the parents take home the wrong children) had outraged Bear Creek, the boy who had loved to jingle his spurs. But manhood had only trained, not broken his youth. It was all there, only obedient to the rein and curb." His innate sense of discipline and knowledge of life cause him to reject Molly's plea that they remain on the level of sentimental friendship as unnatural and unsatisfying. And later, when they are avowed lovers, he forces her to see that they must break out of "the fairy-tale she had been living with her cow-boy lover" and announce their love to the New England world which will judge him.

Yet in abandoning one idyll the Virginian and Molly find a higher, more complete fulfilment. During their honeymoon on the island in "the true world of the mountains", the love of which he learns through loving her, he confesses that "Often when I have camped here, it has made me want to become the ground, become the trees, mix with the whole thing. Not know myself from it. Never unmix again." But on the verge of this more than Wordsworthian, even Whitmanesque, merging with the all, he opens himself to her, regains an innocence antecedent to anything Molly or the reader has known in him, and

melts "from the reserve that his lonely life had bred in him. He never would have guessed so much had been stored away in him, unexpressed till now". This completion is a result of his love of Nature as well as of his love of Molly, for his willingness to abandon himself to both allows him and his bride to be fulfilled so that they can return to the world outside, confident and strong enough to overcome the obstacles, social and economic, which they will encounter — and which, in the remaining few pages of the novel, Wister disposes of in summary fashion.

The Virginian is unlike most pastoral romances, however, in that the outer world is present all the while that the love affair progresses, and not merely by implication. In fact, the romantic plot is interrupted, or perhaps punctuated, by the story of the Virginian's rise from "a trustworthy man" to deputy foreman to foreman to partner of Judge Henry to magnate. As Mody C. Boatwright has noted, the Virginian follows the pattern of the "faithful apprentice".[6] At every stage, the Virginian displays not merely fidelity or courage but wit and resourcefulness — "style" in the best sense in which Huck Finn uses it — to fulfil his employer's desires. The wit keeps him from seeming intolerably virtuous. For example, threatened by desertion of cowboys whom the Judge needs, he vanquishes them all in a contest of tall tales, avoids violent confrontation, and gains the respect of both, employee and employer. When he is named foreman, his first act is to rout a fire-and-brimstone preacher by artfully counterfeiting night-long doubts of his own election. In both, he displays superior powers of memory, invention, and patience. His second act as foreman is to display magnanimity towards his enemy Trampas, partly as a stroke of policy, partly out of natural virtue. The Judge values him not simply because he does well but because he does it in a manner idiosyncratic and charismatic at the same time.

In the process of displaying the Virginian's virtues as romantic hero, natural gentleman, and leader of men, Wister is making a quite serious and to modern readers potentially sinister point about development of American society and of the race as a whole. As I mentioned earlier, the Virginian is fully aware of the organic need to change and grow. Not only does he refute Molly's desire to stay as they are by countering that "Yu' might as well ask fruit to stay green", but in the same conversation he argues still more extensively that "equality is a big bluff", rejects with more than customary eloquence, as he does again a hundred pages later, the idea of "luck", and answers Molly's unspoken doubts about their difference in social station with "I am the kind that moves up". The fact that he can and does is to Wister proof that two classes exist, "the quality and the equality". The Constitution, he continues, abolished an aristocracy of birth and thereby "acknowledged and gave freedom to true aristocracy, saying "Let the best man win, whoever he is". Let the best man win! That is America's word. That is true democracy. And true

democracy and true aristocracy are one and the same thing. If anybody cannot see this, so much the worse for his eyesight".

This idea is not logically or necessarily connected with the West of the 1880's, but for Wister thesis and setting are inseparable. The East, he thinks, is decadent if not altogether vicious. Easterners of the commercial classes are consistently denigrated. The pilgrims on the train in the Christian Endeavour excursion are, in a striking anticipation of Fellini, compared to a trainload of cattle on their way to market. And the East has become for the narrator the place of "all noise and mechanisms". In the prefactorial note "To the Reader", Wister contrasts the honor and decency of the cowpuncher with the shiftiness of Wall Street and the lewdness of Newport, though he does speak frankly about the "shapeless state" of transition that followed the cowboy era. And in an article for *Harper's*, illustrated by Remington, he contrasted the clean cattle country with an East "debased and mongrel with its hordes of encroaching alien vermin, that turn our cities to Babels and our citizenship to hybrid farce, who degrade our commonwealth from a nation into something half pawnshop, half broker's office". The only salvation for America, he intimates, is the Anglo-Saxon spirit (he sounds a bit dubious even about Prussians), "changelessly untamed", which had no outlet in America until it reached the plains. While the blatant racism of the article does not appear overtly in *The Virginian*, except in some rather mild anti-Semitism and in the remark by Scipio le Moyne of his name that it is French, "But us folks have been white for a hundred years", the novel does view the West as the only suitable outlet for the manly instincts of the Americans and the only true test of that manhood in action. As the Virginian says,

> . . . back East you can be middling and get along. But if you go to try a thing on in this Western country, you've got to do it *well*. You've got to deal cyards *well;* you've got to steal *well;* and if you claim to be quick with your gun, you must be quick, for you're a public temptation . . . You must be break all the Commandments *well* in this Western country . . .

At this point, the Virginian is discussing aesthetics rather than morality, and in the crucial episode of the novel, morality of the conventional sort gives way to a code of honor, drawn, as many observers have noted, from the code of honor of the Southerner. Challenged by Trampas on the eve of his wedding, the Virginian does not even consider seeking the protection of the law, for "It is only the great mediocrity that goes to law in these personal matters", but he does confront first the Bishop of Wyoming, whom he routs by opposing to Christian principles "the whole instinct of human man", with which the Bishop more than half sympathizes, and then Molly, who is horrified at the idea of killing and begs the Virginian to avoid the conflict. "Can't yu' see how it must be about a man?" the Virginian repeats, but she cannot, and he leaves with her ultimatum that if he faces Trampas, she cannot marry him. How-

ever, when he returns victorious, she says "Oh, thank God!" and embraces him. "Thus", the narrator concludes, "did the New England conscience battle to the end, and, in the end, capitulate to love". To put it as crudely as possible, violence in defense of unarticulable values has proved more potent than abstract principle.

However, *The Virginian* is unusual in its genre, especially for its time, in demonstrating that on the social level individual acts of courage solve nothing. Wister has been at considerable pains to establish Trampas not merely as an individual villain but as a symptom of malaise in the society of the West. Although he and the Virginian hate each other at sight, a number of characters in the background, including the foreman who preceded the Virginian, favor Trampas, and one reason given for his escaping punishment for rustling and murder is that "He helped elect the sheriff of that county". On several occasions the narrator speaks of the party of cattle thieves growing in numbers and political power, and in the concluding summary of his hero's fate, the narrator notes that "the thieves prevailed at length . . . forcing cattle owners to leave or be ruined" and that "after putting their men in office, and coming to own some of the newspapers, the thieves brought ruin to themselves . . ." Even on Wister's showing, there is a good deal more to the economic and political background of *The Virginian* than he is willing to bring into his novel, or, since I am concerned with myth rather than history, than I can discuss here.

But it is clear, even from the novel, that perhaps there is an even greater menace to the West, "this great playground of young men", the idea of whom "smote my American heart" because "In their flesh our natural passions ran tumultuous but often in their spirit sat hidden a true nobility, and often beneath its unexpected shining their figures took a heroic stature". That enemy is the Virginian himself — not *in* himself, but as agent of the forces of evolutionary change which he perceives and which he must use in order to achieve the stature he desires. One of his friends notes that "it must pay to fall regular in love", and so it does: the Virginian, in our last direct view of him, is wearing a tailor-made suit in Dunbarton, New Hampshire, receiving the symbolic mantle of General Stark, and telling the great-aunt who represents the best New England tradition of independence that "All the good ones" make their fortunes in the West and that he foresees changes in methods of cattle raising. But "What we'll spend in improvements, we'll more than save in wages. And then, when I took up my land, I chose a place where there is coal. It will not be long before the new railroad needs that."

In other words, the Virginian will respond to and in some measure create conditions which will make it impossible for young men with his qualities to rise as he did and which will convert the playground of young men into a coal field. Moreover, there seems in the novel and even in the note "To the Reader"

no way to provide an outlet for those energies or a testing ground for those virtues in the East.[8] Like almost all Westerns of mythic dimension, *The Virginian* is in part about the end of the West, and though Wister means something different than we would by the adjective, he is quite accurate in terming his novel "a colonial romance".

In the novel's terms, the reader is lulled by the shadowy translation of the Virginian, "a horseman of the plains", into a capitalist "with a strong grip on many various enterprises, and able to give his wife all and more than she asked or desired". His wife complains that he works too hard and secretly longs for their early rides together. In "To the Reader", the consolation for "this vanished world", from which we cannot see the cowboy "galloping out of the unchanging silence", is the assertion that the romantic figure of the cowboy, who, "Whatever he did, he did with his might", is the persistence of wild youthfulness in human nature, akin to the innocence to which the Virginian returns before his plausible and depressing apotheosis into a magnate. That wild young man, Wister concludes, "will be here among us always, invisible, waiting his chance to live and play as he would like. His wild kind has been among us always, since the beginning : a young man with his temptations, a hero without wings."

The difficulty with this theory of the phylogenetic recapitulation of human psychic history is that it must take place not in a womb but in external space, and Wister's easy consolation ignores — though his novel does not, entirely — the waste of human spirit in those denied opportunity because "Fecund nature begets and squanders thousands of those rich seeds in the wilderness of life". It is not so much, considered this way, a matter of survival of the fittest as of the conditions under which, in Wister's terms, to become fit. He cannot envision, within the confines of the novel, that what he calls "rustlers" might be expressing the same wild spirit or that, denied outlet, it might fester or explode.

However, the myth of and hope for the perpetual frontier as testing ground or arena for the young did not die out in his generation. Rather pathetically, the actor John Wayne looked longingly at Tanzania : "It could have been a new frontier for any American or English or French kid with a little gumption. Another Israel! But the do-gooders had to give it back to the Indians! Meanwhile, your son and my son are given numbers here and live in apartment buildings on top of each other."[9]

Those who wish to see in the myth of the perpetual frontier a key to American foreign and domestic policy since 1945 or 1898 or 1803 can find easy, obvious, and facile parallels between the Western in myth and historical figures and situations. More immediately interesting is the consciousness on Wister's part, in the first sophisticated expression of the myth of the cowboy and the West, that in fulfilling himself the hero destroys the conditions which

gave rise to him and in reaching his apotheosis ceases to be. In these terms, as the Virginian notes, the West is "a heap sadder than a graveyard — but yu' love it all the same". The Western, in these terms, is not so much idyll as elegy. Later, more sophisticated examinations of the myth like Jane Kramer's *The Last Cowboy* present characters trying to live it, with disillusioning and often harmful results. More creative writers, including Alvin Greenberg and Ishmael Reed, have used the mythic Westerner to examine man's love of role-playing, the fictionality of "experience", and, as one character puts it, "the artifice of the God-damned artificer".[10] As a piece of fiction, perhaps, *The Virginian* lives on in a world of its own creation even though the world it described and purported to celebrate has long vanished.

NOTES

[1] See Rush N. Orwin, "Fifty Years of *The Virginian*", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 46 (2nd Quarter 1952), 99—120.

[2] Wister, Owen *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains* (New York: Pocket Books, n. d.) 23rd Printing. First published 1902. This edition contains the "Rededication and Preface", dated October, 1911, as well as "To the Reader", dated at Charleston, South Carolina, March 31st, 1902.

[3] See *Supplement* to the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[4] See *Ernest Hemingway's Selected Letters 1917—1961* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981) for Hemingway's relationship to Wister.

[5] The novel also traces the education of the first-person narrator, who confesses his love for the Virginian in ways that should have made Leslie Fiedler suspicious — though of course both are white men. By the end of the novel, the narrator has in effect *become* the Virginian, recounting details of the honeymoon which even the most intimate friend would be unlikely to receive.

[6] Boatwright, Mody C. "The American Myth Rides the Range: Owen Wister's Man on Horseback", *Southwest Review*, 36 (Summer 1951), 157—163. Boatwright discusses Wister's evolutionary and racial theories as well as the novel's mythic element.

[7] Wister, Owen "The Evolution of the Cowpuncher", *Harper's*, 91 (September 1895), 602—617. The passage quoted is from pp. 603—604.

[8] In the "Rededication" he offers the hope that Theodore Roosevelt has brought Western virtues to the East.

[9] Klange, P. F. "First and last, a cowboy", *Life*, "Interview", 1972.

[10] See my "Playing Cowboys: The Paradoxes of Genre", *Heritage of Kansas*, 12 (Spring 1979), 3—8.

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A Child's Eye View of Tragedy: Faulkner's Mixed Metaphor

By

István Géher

"It began with a mental picture", Faulkner said. "I didn't realize at the time it was symbolical. The picture was of the muddy seat of a little girl's drawers in a pear tree where she could see through the window where her grandmother's funeral was taking place and report what was happening to her brothers on the ground below. By the time I explained who they were and what they were doing and how her pants got muddy, I realized it would be impossible to get all of it into a short story and that it would have to be a book."[1]

The book is known to us as one of the few great tragic novels of our century, *The Sound and the Fury*. And it began to take shape in its author's imagination with the mental picture of a child watching a funeral. Or, very probably, with the mental picture of another mental picture, the one reflected in the child's mind. A multiple reflection of many-faceted reality : the reincarnated child in the adult writer watches the child of his invention watching the invented happenings of adults. What we find recreated here is the consummate perennial mystery of experience ; the darkly mysterious sight of death exposed to the boldly unblinking curiosity of radiant innocence perched high in the tree of knowledge. The child perceives the incomprehensible and, since perception cannot go without interpretation, the little reporter must transform the age-old conventional dumb show of the ceremony in her report into some monstrously childish miracle-play, into something both funny and fearful, something utterly fabulous.

The picture, with the wildly suggestive and richly bewildering "symbolical" enigma it contains, must have had a lasting hold on William Faulkner's mind. The same basic situation keeps recurring in his work, in short stories as well as in novels, with hypnotic obsessive persistence. Always, there is a child watching. Sometimes it is slaughter and suicide, sometimes the muddy secret of sex, or the ruthless existence of caste and race : invariably a destructive instance of truth is forced on and compulsively transmythologized by a mind unready and reluctant to hold it.

In another story, begun for a change as a novel but destined later to stand alone as an independent piece of short fiction, another child witnesses the

tragically conditioned criminal doings of his father and is driven into participation both in the crime and in the punishment. The experience of blood and fire is as formative as it is explosive. It hurls the small hero right in the middle of the vast Dantesque panorama of spiritual adventure ; on the endless road "toward the dark woods within which the liquid silver voices of the birds called unceasing — the rapid and urgent beating of the urgent and quiring heart of the late spring night."[2] Untimely — testing, inquisitive — spring is a cruel season. The heart of nature beats indiscriminately hard ; it can pump anyone taken unawares out of existence. The ultimate catastrophe of growing up can happen any time, though generally we are saved from the surprise by the defence-mechanism which keeps us safely within socialized limits. In the case of this particular child the liberating cataclysm *does* happen : Sarty Snopes will never again reappear in the long family saga that follows from the incident ; he vanishes into oblivion freed from the obligation (or impervious to the fascination) of looking back.

Others, however, are not allowed to slip away from the scene of their initiation, they linger on with relentlessly wide-open eyes. Their incongruous presence is the proposed subject of my following discussion. Why are they there, so conspicuously misplaced, on the tragic stage? A literary theorist, of course, will always have his (or someone else's) answer to any question. For instance. The use, or abuse, of the child as narrator of or central consciousness in atrocious happenings which, by their very nature, surpass a child's capacity of comprehension is, quite simply, a technical device of the art of fiction, a narrative strategy frequently chosen by William Faulkner. Moreover, the choice, practical as it is, is also charged with a complexity of significances as being indicative of the writer's view of the world in general, his special vision of the human condition. Tragedy presented from the point of view of the child, accordingly, is both "motif" and "meaning" ; that is, if I may borrow Mark Schorer's phrase along with some of his theory, it is both a matter of "technique" and the heart of the matter, the "discovery".[3] Certainly, it is a peculiarly Faulknerian perspective.

With the topic of discussion conveniently in view, I could as well start working at it immediately — were I not somewhat discouraged from doing so by an alarming second thought. Convincing as my title sounds, I start wondering whether it signifies anything. "A Child's Eye View of Tragedy" : what does it mean? Is there such a legitimate view of tragedy at all?

Unfortunately for the theory, or ever so fortunately for practicing children, there doesn't seem to be one. The tragic experience is reserved for adults only, it is definitely not for minors. The main endeavour of parents and educators has always been to keep the child, for as long and as far away as possible, from the blinding light — the blackout — of the tragic cognition. The effort, in literature at least, has been remarkably successful as shown by the fact

that in high tragedy, or at least in the purest and greatest show-pieces of the classical genre, there is an almost absolute absence of children. Obviously, they don't belong there.

Tragedy, in Aristotele's canon, "is the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself."[4] And the child, naturally, lacks the required athletic "magnitude" and his knowledge, as well as his existence, is incomplete in itself. The child is small and belongs to a larger unit, the family, of which he is only a part : his very size and place disqualifies him as a potential tragic figure. Or shall we turn from Aristotelian poetics of old to contemporary Faulkner-criticism ? The case is not much altered. According to John L. Longley, Jr. "tragedy in order to happen at all must take place in the consciousness of the beholder."[5] And how should a mere child be capable of giving room in his restricted consciousness to the enormous vistas of tragedy ? Tragedy, says I. A. Richards, "is only possible to a mind which is for the moment agnostic or Manichean . . ."[6] Which means it is absolutely impossible for the mind of a child. The divided mind and the split personality are not such attributes as we commonly associate with children. The child's universe is defined by its elemental undisturbed unity and harmony : the imperative that it should be such is most acutely felt in cases when it is not.

When the child is unnaturally dragged and driven into the orbit of tragedy his view of the proceedings depends upon whether he is personally endangered or not. If he is, even only for the moment, protected, he sees the upheaval of tragic passions and poses as pure nonsense ; if he falls victim to them, he experiences pure nightmare. His drama, theoretically, is either an absurd comedy of total meaninglessness or a gothic melodrama of total horror. Not tragedy, that noble and cathartic spectacle.

Yet it takes more than theoretical classification to decide about any kind of human experience whether or not it can be legitimately accepted as a component of the tragic complexity. The father of modern literary theory, I. A. Richards, graciously serves my heretic thought with another fitting quotation: "Tragedy is perhaps the most general, all-accepting, all-ordering experience known . . . It can take anything into its organization, modify it so that it finds a place. It is invulnerable; there is nothing which does not present to the tragic attitude . . . a fitting aspect."[7] Then, perhaps, even the child's eye presents a relevant aspect to the tragic view. Evidently it does; the child's view contributes even to Shakespearean tragedy where children, wounded or invulnerable, scarcely appear in person, though they have, even there, a richly meaningful imaginative presence.

Cleanth Brooks, who is equally sensitive and thoughtful in his critical analyses of Shakespeare and Faulkner, has an interesting essay devoted to the explication of some mixed metaphors that may duly perplex the readers of *Macbeth*.[8] One of them is the famous paragraph where pity appears "like

a new-born babe / Striding the blast . . .".[9] Is this an example of poetic imprecision and dramatic incoherence? On the contrary. Brooks demonstrates that it is a "rich and flexible" symbol, an "integral part of a larger context".[10] The repeated references to babes in the play, he says, are not "mere extravagances of detail: each . . . contains a central symbol of the play . . . which we must understand if we are to understand either the detailed passage or the play as a whole."[11] But the play as a whole, we might intervene, is focused on almighty ambition, and we need some further explanation to understand what a harmless and helpless babe has to do with this central subject. Brooks elaborates on this question with an intriguing argument: "the babe signifies the future which Macbeth would control and cannot control, it is the unpredictable thing itself — as Yeats has put it magnificently, 'The uncontrollable mystery on the bestial floor'. It is the one thing that can justify . . . the murders . . ."[12] Furthermore: "the babe, signifies not only the future, it signifies all those enlarging purposes which make life meaningful . . ."[13] The human spirit, pitifully babe-like, is also powerfully angelic when it avengingly strides the winds; "it is strong because of its very weakness. The paradox is inherent in the situation itself, a paradox that will destroy the over-brittle rationalism on which Macbeth founds his career."[14] Thus, Brooks concludes, the grotesquely incongruous presence of the small figure of the pathetic child is inherent in the design of tragic grandeur. Even if the imaginative juxtaposition, admittedly, takes the form of a *mixed* metaphor.

Encouraged by Shakespeare's poetic insight shown in the making of such complex images and by Cleanth Brooks's critical insight shown in deciphering them, I propose a metaphoric approach to my subject. Let us consider the child's eye view of tragedy as a mixed metaphor in which the disastrous event is the "tenor" and the child's perception of it the "vehicle". Now, as we have learnt from the masters of the school of New Criticism, these two components of the poetic image are engaged in constant struggle, ceaseless dialectical interplay;[15] they mutually question, deny, postulate, and reinforce one another, and in this turbulent marriage, by mutual interpenetration, create the dynamic complexity of the total meaning which is an explosive paradoxical synthesis of distance and closeness, incompatibility and unity.

While using "the language of paradox"[16] suited to modern poetry, I am speaking in fact about classical tragedy. Shall I prove it by quoting Nietzsche? "The delight created by tragic myth has the same origin as the delight dissonance in music creates."[17] Or let me quote a more peacefully reliable authority on the subject, A. C. Bradley: ". . . we are left at last with an idea showing two sides or aspects which we can neither separate nor reconcile... Tragedy would not be tragedy if it were not a painful mystery."[18] That is, it never offers a "solution to the riddle of life", it presents, instead, a poetic image which is a living model of the riddle itself.

This final interpretation of the tragic mystery reflects an opinion to which William Faulkner, a self-declared "failed poet",[19] would have subscribed. He was wont to use the mixed metaphor of the child's eye view of tragedy pre-eminently in his short stories, in the narrative genre that he placed next to poetry. In these pieces, as elsewhere, according to Olga Vickery "Faulkner's proper concern . . . is to preserve the heart of the mystery by ordering his material to provide a maximum of concentration, illumination and implication . . ." — that is, by making "prose fiction approximate poetry."[20] A high claim indeed, even for unfailed poets. In Faulkner's own words : "In a short story that's next to the poem almost every word has got to be almost exactly right . . . It's got to be absolutely impeccable, absolutely perfect."[21]

Almost so. The colloquial phrasing, the slight touch of uncertainty, suggests that the dream of absolute poetic perfection in fiction, as shaped by the French-styled taste of Faulkner and his generation, is just another American Dream — which is never fully itself without its counterpart, the American Nightmare. Without, for instance, the homely humour and grotesque horror which the tempted and perturbed child of our metaphor inevitably mixes into the pure essence of tragedy.

In the American prose tradition the haunted child has a special, prominent place. Leslie Fiedler discusses at length and in detail one particular aspect of the predicament : immature sexuality as "the American child's garden of terrors".[22] And what about the other terrors, outside the garden? Along the mainstream of American fiction the reader will bump into a tragedy-ridden child almost at every turn. From Huck Finn and Maisie, through Willa Cather's Paul and the protagonist of Anderson's "I Want to Know Why", to Hemingway's Nick Adams and Thomas Wolfe's "Lost Boy" and Fitzgerald's "sad young men" and, even further, to Holden Caulfield in *Catcher in the Rye* and Peter Cauldwell in *The Centaur* (to mention just a few names and titles) — the examples are varied and many. This, indeed, is again another "rich and flexible" symbol, "integral part of a larger context".

I have no pretensions to erudition from the store of which I could serve the reader with a patent definition of this larger context of American cultural history. Whether it be the expression of a young and growing "adolescent" nation's search for a national identity, or the all-inclusive and all-expressive emblem which successive generations recognized as their own and only badge : unquestionably, the metaphor of the mystic encounter of innocence with experience and the notion of the tragic ritual of initiation are deeply rooted in the American imagination. And whether you read Lionel Trilling's suggestive essay on Mark Twain's mythology[23] or Malcolm Cowley's accurate account of the "works and days of the Lost Generation"[24], you will unmistakably notice that the so-called "archetypal" vision has much more meaning attached to it and coalesced in it than mere anxiety. Its tantalizing nature is fostered

by a kind of (inexhaustibly many kinds of) Marriage of Heaven and Hell ;[25] it excites the imagination because it is energetically fresh in its horrors and intensively painful in its delights. It reveals a face of tragedy only the child can see.

All this the reader finds developed to almost-perfection in the American tradition. So did William Faulkner, the experimental modern artist and radical innovator of narrative forms, who had always known the worth of a useful tradition when he saw one. He was a professional craftsman and occasionally he chose to speak about the writer's job in practical business-like terms : "he is writing about people and he uses his material . . . as the carpenter reaches into his lumber-room and finds a board that fits the particular corner he is building."[26] No wonder that he kept the child-image in store among other valuable pieces of poetic lumber, such as the "fallible narrator", the simple "informal teller", the "faulty witness", the "compassionate troubled observer",[27] and the rest of them. He could use them all, each fitting a particular corner of his fiction. But he also had in mind an over-all purpose which any and all of them could and had to serve. Joseph W. Reed, an expert on the technology of Faulkner's narrative, emphasises this point : "He wanted as much of the immediacy of hearing as possible to carry over to the reading. The directness of his design, the strong . . . root of his narrative in the oral tradition, in tale-swapping and gossip, all testify to this."[28] The writer himself also explicitly testifies to this when he chooses to strike another pose and styles himself as one of his own "simple" tellers. Or shall we say when he wishes to show forth another authentic aspect of his creed, another facet of his artistic achievement? Anyway, this is what he said : "I'm a storyteller. I'm telling a story, introducing comic and tragic elements as I like. I'm telling a story to be repeated and retold. I don't claim to be truthful . . . I stack a lie at times all for the purposes of the story — to entertain."[29] A reliable oracle or a misleading "faulty witness", let me choose to believe him. Let us content ourselves with the simple belief that he incorporated the child into his tragic tale because he had tales to tell to and about children.

And here we come to the personal motive. Childhood and children have a specially prominent place in William Faulkner's biography. In an early interview he dismissed the question with the statement that he had had "a most ordinary childhood"[30] in rural Mississippi. Nevertheless, that was an exceptionally formative if not all-decisive period of his life, from 1902 to 1918. He was well-placed in a large Southern family and as the eldest of four brothers he played an active and leading role in whatever mischief or adventure the Falkner boys were busy launching. The company of children was the only social group that ever offered him such a chance. And it's important that this company accepted him as natural leader and that he naturally assumed its leadership, even after he himself grew out of childhood. In the 1920's he

was for a short period the scoutmaster of Oxford, Miss. — and a good one, in spite of the contrary opinion of his ecclesiastic supervisors. He had always been popular among children. One of his protegees, William Evans Stone (nephew to Philip Stone who in his turn had been young Faulkner's protector) — the "boy" on whom Chick Mallison of the late novels and stories was allegedly modelled — furnishes Faulkner-scholarhip with primary evidence: "Having known him when I was a child, having observed him as a family friend for some forty years and having seen him with my own children, I can say authoritatively that I have never known a man with a gentler approach to and appreciation of children . . . My happy childhood was enriched for knowing him."[31] Paradoxical as it is, it is beyond doubt that the devil-ridden author of *Sanctuary*, *Light in August*, and *Absalom, Absalom!* was a model uncle to every friend's child, a loving stepfather, a fond father, and an ideal grandfather.

Before we are moved to endearing sentiments just let me recall a domestic incident reported by the omniscient biographer, Joseph Blotner. It happened in 1946 when William Faulkner was once again driven into one of his desperate drinking bouts. A fact that even twelve-year-old Jill Faulkner could discern from her pappy's reciting the ominous passages from *The Phoenix and the Turtle*. She tried to stop him, to intervene, pleading: "Think of me." A vain attempt which the unmoved father retorted with blunt (though literary) cruelty, saying: "Nobody remembers Shakespeare's children."[32]

Faulkner, even when sober, was no sentimentalist; that is, it was not his habit to seek a solution in simplification. When he used the strategy of reduction, he did so only to achieve more (not less) complication. He remembered his literary children in the context of his own notion of innocence which he did not conceive, in accordance with the all-American myth, as a primary state defined by the lack of something (experience, pretension) but, in myth-making dissent, as an integral part of a long corollary of fatality, a historical consequence, a dramatically charged complex psycho-sociological case. When he spoke about the children of his Yoknapatawpha County, he knew that they were, as children in reality are, no less paradoxically mysterious beings than those symbolic Shakespearean babes.

A telling example of this awareness can be found in *Absalom, Absalom!* The speaker is not Faulkner of course but a persona, a fictive character, Grandfather General Compson; or, properly speaking, it is not even him personally whom we hear but his grandson Quentin who remembers and retells the twice-retold remark he inherited from his father who had preserved it for him and passed on to him and through him to the listener (the reader of the novel) to be remembered and retold once again. The statement is not about the abstract notion of innocence either; it is about another character, Thomas

Sutpen who "stated calmly, with that frank innocence which we call 'of a child' except that a human child is the only living creature that is never either frank or innocent, the most simple and most outrageous things."[33]

That the remark is nearer to a personal moral philosophy than to a joke is proved by the distant echo it receives from Faulkner's last novel, *The Reivers*. Here the "innocence" of the protagonist, eleven-year-old Lucius Priest is qualified by the frequent comment that he has never had any to lose.[34] Or is it another example of teasing tall-tale humour? Anyway, it interestingly coincides with the thesis of a serious historian touching on a very serious subject. Carl Van Woodward writes in *The Burden of Southern History*: "The experience of evil and the experience of tragedy are parts of the Southern heritage that are as difficult to reconcile with the American legend of innocence and social felicity as the experience of poverty and defeat are to reconcile with the legend of abundance and success."[35]

William Faulkner, a Southerner, was fully aware of the implications of the inheritance the children he wrote about were born into. Several of them were born into poverty and all of them into a moral trap, a paralyzing dilemma which rendered them incapable of preserving their innocence, or of losing it. The writer considered the paradoxical non-innocence of his young protagonists not as a force opposed to their tragic predicament but as the very soul of their tragedy. That's why he wrote about them when he probed the secret of the South.

Joseph W. Reed may be right when, with wisely practical understatement, he reduces the problem to suit the restrictive terms of the writer's workshop. "That children are archetypes of innocence" he says, "is much less important than ... [the] pragmatic and technical flexibility they offer as narrative tools."[36] Yet I feel we could extend the reach of Reed's critical pragmatism by visualizing the workshop as a theatre of war, or at least as a rehearsal room. I'd prefer to call the child a *dramatic* tool, a representative of the essential drama hidden in the narrative. Because the "pragmatic" value of the child-figure resides mainly in the inherent possibility it offers to Faulkner of dramatizing the intrinsic contradictions of a certain limited form of existence while using the short story, by mobilizing all its unlimited poetic — or metaphoric — powers, as an essentially dramatic medium. There is another definition of the genre, also by William Faulkner: "You write a story to tell about people, man in his struggle with his own heart, with the hearts of others, or with his environment. It's man in the ageless, eternal struggle which we inherit and we go through as though they'd never happened before, shown for a moment in a dramatic instant of the furious motion of being alive, that's all a story is. You catch this fluidity which is human life and you focus a light on it and you stop it long enough for people to be able to see it."[37]

The poet in the storyteller found the consciousness of the child especially suitable for being transmetaphorized into a powerful source of light focused on the fluidity of human life. In this he followed the example of Mark Twain who had moved (for the same purpose) his Huckleberry Finn downstream, along the Mississippi River. A Mississippian but also a modern artist, Faulkner applied the pattern with a significant alteration : this time the stream rolls *inside*, it is a stream of consciousness.

The achievement is well summarized by the Southern critic Louis D. Rubin : "Faulkner uses the stream of consciousness technique, pioneered by James Joyce, in a way that Joyce never attempted — to bring the reader himself into the narrative as a focus of experiencing and perceiving. By withholding information, revealing it at certain times and in certain ways, conjecturing and hinting, suggesting and teasing, he introduces the reader into the actual story, makes the stream of consciousness that of our own consciousness."[38]

In this way, by the dramatic immediacy of the method, the reader is forced into participation, into empathy. In the case of the child-in-tragedy the point of view technique is all the more effective since we are forced to participate in the laboriously entertaining guess-work of a detective, putting the "story proper" together from pieces of seemingly irrelevant observations and suggestive misinterpretations, while undertaking also the joint task of the psycho-analyst and the pedagogue in identifying our consciousness with a mind which appears to be strikingly different from our own. The experience is quite peculiar and worth more than a trip into the exotic. What is to be discovered is an aspect of universal truth in a distorting mirror, an image of reality authentic not in spite but because of the distortion. The reader will do well to heed the warning voiced by Warren Beck : "Faulkner's frequent inclusion of feeble-minded characters is the result not only of their ... fascination for his own acutely sensitive and subtle consciousness, but also to emphasize the precariousness and difficulty of rationality, the resemblance of the supposedly sane and the insane, and the short distance thus far traveled in the evolution of mind."[39]

The dangers are obvious. The reader's mind threatens to be lost either in the total agnosticism of a non-cognitive point of view or in the total relativity of the alternate points of view. However, where the rationalistic philosopher is lost, the poet can still be saved. Idiots and children are inexhaustible sources of poetic wisdom. The child's eye view, for instance, is a metaphor of our pathetically heroic (or heroically pathetic) effort to understand an unintelligible world and, as such, it stirs up a mixed sense of security-in-insecurity ; it dramatizes victory-in-failure, proves the possibility of an instinctive grasp on the heart of the mystery. All children are great myth-makers. And using them in this capacity Faulkner manages to turn deficiency into efficiency, he successfully enriches the message of his story of human defeat

by repeatedly combining, as Lawrence Thompson notices, "comic, tragicomic, and 'mythic' modes to illuminate his meanings."[40]

With this I have reached the point of my discussion where I could, perhaps, risk a theoretical summary. Summing up : in the poetic structure of Faulkner's narrative the working of the child's mind is a metaphor which signifies three different and combined approaches to reality. It presents, in dramatic simultaneousness, the immediate *hic et nunc* of the sensual perception, the constant struggle of the intellect with things beyond its scope, and the primeval myth-making power of the imagination. Each and all of the three attempts at coming to terms with the unknown can be understood as comic and/or tragic in essence ; they all fail yet they are, as Faulkner would say, invariably "unvanquished". The three aspects add up to a threefold image of the cognitive process, a complex metaphor expressing the writer's view of his created world. Out of the experience of a lifetime spent in the American South and in the twentieth century Faulkner creates a unified totality of the overwhelming sense of diffused fragmentedness, a representative "action" which can be simultaneously interpreted as a farcical comedy of insignificances, as a heroic drama of the human effort to force significance into being, and as a mythic parable of existing eternal verities. His view is tragic because the three interpretations are one. The comedy is charged with dramatic seriousness and drenched in myth ; the serious drama has comic and mythic undertones ; and even the ultimate myth, instead of being unanimous and immovable, is divided and mobilized by comic potentialities and conflicting dramatic powers. In his Yoknapatawpha-chronicle Faulkner usually assigns a particular time-level to a particular mode of existence : the present displays the comic banality, the recent past stages the significant human drama, the distant past contains the authentic mythological pattern. The compartments, however, are not conceived separately as watertight units. Currents of memory, instances of automatic association, deliberate juxtaposition, or ritual re-enactment serve as connecting passages of short-cuts constantly linking and merging past with present, present with past . . . In the child-stories the case is simpler and for the same reason potentially even more complex : for the child inhabits an absolute present, so the writer has only one moment into which everything must be compressed.

How this can be done is a secret of the art and mystery, of the writer's trade. Each reader of Faulkner's fiction has in mind a miniature masterpiece or two in which the basic simplicity of the child's story is preserved intact while being miraculously lost in all sorts of — promising and desperate — complexity that human history produces. "Faulkner's themes", we are reminded by William Van O'Connor, "are as simple, and as complicated, and as persistent as those in the Bible."[41] And, biblically speaking, we shouldn't forget that the Genesis of Faulkner's Book begins with, just as his Revelations close on, the

figure of the immemorial Child. We all remember Faulkner's children. There are moments in his short stories which, fleeting as they are, tend to persist in the reader's memory. Shall I recall some memorable moments?

When, for instance, seven-year-old Georgie of *That Will Be Fine* delightedly escorts his mischievous Uncle Rodney on his way to being butchered, blinded in his enraptured happiness by the expectation of a glamorous heap of quarters and by the glow of Christmas fireworks against the dark sky . . . Or again, when the unnamed fourteen-year-old narrator of *Uncle Willy* deliberately sides with his disreputable mentor against the public opinion of the community and helps him to bravely throw away his life in the pursuit of fun and freedom . . . And then, when the three Compson children of *That Evening Sun*, aged from five to nine, keep unmerciful company to terrified Nancy, the Negro washing woman about to be murdered . . .

On the canvas of our memory "mental pictures" are projected ; precisely and grotesquely drawn pictures, both sinister and exciting. "Six men in the moonlight carrying the blind with the bundle on it" : we know that it is the deadly burden of a bleeding human body ; but Georgie knows better, he insists that it must be "a side of beef", "a Christmas present for Grandpa . . ."[42] In the "dim and quiet" drugstore with unwashed windows the boys of the winning baseball team eat ice cream and, following their benefactor, "go behind the prescription case and watch Uncle Willy light the little alcohol stove and fill the needle and roll his sleeve up over the little blue myriad punctures starting at his elbow and going right up into his shirt" : we sense danger in the sight of dirt, the smell of morphine, and the smack of insanity ; but to the boys "the ice cream tasted all right" . . .[43] A looming silhouette is seen through the open door of the cabin where abandoned Nancy awaits the reckoning, "sitting quietly there between the lamp and the fire" : we are overawed by the intimate marital propinquity of Heaven and Hell and fear to wonder what's going to happen to the bride of misfortune ; but the children tread unscared when shepherded along the dark lane by Father Compson on the way home, "up out of the ditch . . ."[44]

The mental pictures work on our mind with the dreamy suggestiveness of poetic images. The tenor is dark and ponderous. These are tales of crime and horror. Uncle Rodney is a common small-town scoundrel, professional Lothario and obdurate embezzler, and deserves to be shot. Uncle Willy, a suicidal dope-fiend, is another public enemy. Nancy has prostituted herself, couldn't "let white men alone", and not for nothing she envisions now the ghostly approach of lurking Jesus (her runaway husband with the avenging razor) from the unfathomable ditch of her tormented conscience. All the three are figures of disgrace, sinners who transgress the bounds of middle-class decency. Yet they are also victims of a pseudo-moral enclosure-system. They trespass into the forbidden territory where they are entrapped. Or they trespass

because they are entrapped. They are helpless : they are children in the wood. "I just a nigger. It aint no fault of mine", Nancy concludes . . .[45] "You little wretch ! Slip off from *me*, will you ?", a good woman of the town blares at Uncle Willy . . .[46] "— and mamma cried and said how Uncle Rodney was the baby . . ."[47] How ridiculous; even if the joke is too deadly practical to be exhilarating. Are we expected to laugh at the sinner, the chastiser, or both ?

The child stands in between. His account of the case is the vehicle of the image. The vehicle appears to be light and translucent. The child involved in the scandalous affairs doesn't make much of them. He takes the socially unnatural behaviour, with a natural ease, for granted. Is it because children capture only a part of the truth ? As it turns out, their partiality is worth more than the whole that adults would make out of their misconceptions. The child's drastically reduced knowledge is a valuable metaphor which suggests that all human knowledge needs must be incomplete. A childish misunderstanding of the "facts of life"means the distortion of reality, the restriction of understanding to the surface of appearances ; yet it may also point to the fact that there is always a deeper meaning under the layers of pseudo-meanings to be searched for. A matter-of-fact acceptance of abnormal matters is an inadequate response to them, a comic error — or who knows ? Maybe, it is a form of some tragic insight. The weakness of judgement can be sometimes the disguise of the strength of an instinctive revelation disclosing the possibility of reaching deeper into our nature, into depths closed to the analytical entry. Let me quote a passage from Olga Vickery's elucidating analysis again : "By varying his tone and attitude from comedy through irony, heroism, pathos, and elegy to tragedy Faulkner reveals in a deeper light the true nature of human freedom."[48]

Sin and retribution, when viewed from the outside — or from the innermost centre of all sides — are comical. Ranging from the social satire of mock-genteel manners to the wild vaudeville of the extremities of passion : the human comedy in all its forms and varieties can be exposed to ridicule. We are given the liberty to laugh at the absurdities of misery because we are victimized by them to the extent that we can't help laughing. "Never Done No Weeping When You Wanted to Laugh", reads the original title of *That Evening Sun*. The reader of the story, considering the complex case of the simple victim of the past protected and victimized at the same time by equally simple victims of the future, is carried beyond both laughter and tears. There is no external judgement to pass on the question at issue. We are submerged in the depthless present moment : the natural habitat of the child ; the bottomless pit in which the child, paradoxically, feels safe and happy. Whatever happens, for the child there is always the air of Christmas about, always some fun and adventure going.

The youthful holiday temper of exuberant innocence, as I have already

tried to point out, is not only a complementary or contrasted mood wrought up as a comic relief against the spirit of the tragic experience but, naturally and inseparably mixed with it, provides an indispensable enrichment for the magic evolved by the rites of tragedy. Were the Compson children not present with their carelessly nonsensical dialogues of the nursery[49] in Nancy's haunted cabin, the tale would never soar from the muddy ditch of black-face gothic to the summit of a tragic ballad of the highest order. Aesthetically speaking : in order to sense the full horror of tragedy we must have some pleasure in it. "Hamlet and Lear are gay", says William Butler Yeats.[50] So are William Faulkner's tragic children. They innocently experience pangs of joy which we, in our turn, perceive as exultations of pain. While accommodating ourselves to the child's eye view of tragedy, we are overpowered by mixed feelings : we feel suddenly lost in a familiar domestic world or, which is even worse, we feel settled for good in a strange and wide world we have never seen nor should ever have anything to do with.

The Compson children have nothing to do with the calamities of "Negro Hollow", with the black vacuum of terror filled with fatigue and fury. They watch Nancy. They see her sweat of agony, observe the big drops of hot water "running down her face, carrying in each one a little turning ball of firelight like a spark", and comment upon the curious phenomenon with imperturbable objectivity : "She is not crying."[51] The sound she makes "not singing and not unsinging" signifies nothing to them. Yet the scene and the sound enshroud them all in the atmosphere of "Faulkner's typical thick conception of fiction in which", as described by Robert Penn Warren, "history, sociology, sexual psychology, moral analysis and the religious sense kaleidoscopically interfuse in the presentation of an image of reality."[52] At the present moment the children are ignorant of the implications, the intimation that the image and music they face forecast their destiny. If they recognized in them the intrinsic meaning (the in-dwelling emptiness and disharmony) of the apparently safekept and cozily well-ordered Compson home, they would be evicted from their childhood too soon. The bulk of their tragic predicament is foreshadowed by the fact that they are saved from the recognition for the time being, that they are doomed to survive until it will be too late. Too late to die? Even so. The writer, himself unaware of the far-reaching symbolism of the paradox at the time of writing the story, makes the doom of survival — in retrospect — irredeemably unlimited : one of the Compson children will have to survive even his own self-inflicted death. When the narrator Quentin Compson embarks on his reminiscence, looking back upon the events of *That Evening Sun* from the distance of "fifteen years" later, he is four years dead according to the testimony of *The Sound and the Fury*. The image of death-in-life will be recalled by the force of life-in-death : Faulkner's metaphor is tragically mixed, indeed.

The reader is perplexed. Or are we, perhaps, annoyed by the illegitimate manipulation of motif and meaning? Why bother about mixed metaphors of confused chronology? It is not our funeral, as the saying is. Even if it be the "objective correlative"[53] of "murderous innocence" :[54] a metaphor is a matter of words, just words, words, words . . . Unless, since perception can never go without interpretation, we make an attempt at translating the imagery of a failed poet's fiction into the idiom of our prosperous lives. And are we not urged to do so by the demanding steady gaze of children around us? Parents and teachers, we are constantly surrounded by young persons who keep watching our everyday performance of the accustomed ceremonies of adulthood and, while inexorably recording and registering our words and deeds, are always busy transforming our ordinary life-stories into some extraordinary mythology of their own. Willy-nilly, we are bound to be fabulous. And that's only one aspect of the fable. The other aspect is the one that is seen by the young person *in* us. The undying immemorial child, whom we can never bury in endearing memories and embittered oblivion, keeps looking out through the window of our eyes, watching the world around us and our inexplicable doings in it with implacable amazement. It's hard to tell what a man experiences when caught by the glances exchanged between innocence-without and innocence-within. The experience, hopefully, is not lacking in catharsis.

The child's eye view of tragedy, whether pedagogically legitimate or not, is historically more than relevant. In the double perspective of weakness-turned-into-strength (or vice versa) the reader of modern literature can recognize a modern type of tragedy. That of the helpless anti-hero, the victim of circumstances, who is doomed to go through his life and be forever unable to preserve moral integrity or to lose it, unable to grow up to that freedom of conscience which alone can help a person to make a meaningful choice between right and wrong. The tragedy of spiritual restriction, the common curse of modern man, however, is also his sole blessing : it helps a person to comically survive. A mixed blessing, it saves us from the blinding sight of truth.[55] We are all babes in the wood : is that the mental picture we ultimately derive from reading Faulkner's stories? Is this how we should read them : each as a superbly modernized *exemplum* in which the vision of ever-subverted childhood evokes a mixed metaphor of interfused antinomies, serene destruction and violent endurance? *Que sais-je* . . . What I know for certain : that William Faulkner is one of the greatest literary artists of our century. His metaphor dramatizes the heart of the mystery of the human condition, elementally tragic because it is as much the heart of light as it is the heart of darkness.

NOTES

[1] Interview with Jean Stein Vanden Heuvel, 1956 — in *Lion in the Garden; Interviews with William Faulkner*, ed. by James B. Meriwether and Michael Millgate (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968), p. 245.

[2] See "Barn Burning", planned to stand as the opening chapter of *The Hamlet* and hence of the Snopes Trilogy. The text is quoted from the *Collected Stories of William Faulkner* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1950), p. 25.

[3] See Mark Schorer's "Technique as Discovery", 1948 — in *Twentieth Century Literary Criticism; A Reader*, ed. by David Lodge (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 387—400.

[4] *The Poetics* (Oxford, 1909), translated by Ingram Bywater, Chapter VI — quoted in Clifford Leech: *Tragedy* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1969), p. 1.

[5] John L. Longley, Jr.: *The Tragic Mask; A Study of Faulkner's Heroes* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), p. 165.

[6] *Principles of Literary Criticism*, repr. 1934, pp. 246—7 — quoted in Leech: op. cit., p. 8.

[7] Ibid.

[8] "The Naked Babe and the Cloak of Manliness", 1949 — in *Macbeth; A Casebook*, ed. by John Wain (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1968), pp. 183—201.

[9] Act I, scene VII.

[10] Brooks: op. cit., p. 200.

[11] Ibid., p. 186.

[12] Ibid., p. 197.

[13] Ibid., p. 198.

[14] Ibid., p. 200.

[15] Cf. Cleanth Brooks: *The Well Wrought Urn*, 1947 — "All the subtler emotions, as I. A. Richards has pointed out, necessarily demand metaphor for their expression . . . There is a continuous tilting of the planes; necessary overlappings, discrepancies, contradictions . . . ." — quoted in David Daiches: *Approaches to Literary Criticism* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), pp. 165—6.

[16] "Few of us are prepared to accept the statement that the language of poetry is the language of paradox." — ibid., p. 162.

[17] *The Birth of Tragedy*, 1872, translated by Francis Golfing, New York, 1956, p. 143 — quoted in Leech: op. cit., p. 7.

[18] *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1904, pp. 37—8 — quoted in Leech: op. cit., p. 8.

[19] See *Lion in the Garden*, pp. 56, 119, 217, 238.

[20] Olga W. Vickery: "The Figure in the Carpet" in *The Novels of William Faulkner*, rev. ed., 1964 — reprinted in *William Faulkner; A Collection of Criticism*, ed. by Dean Morgan Schmitter (New York: McGrow-Hill Book Co., 1973), p. 33.

[21] *Faulkner in the University; Class Conferences at the University of Virginia*, ed. by F. L. Gwynn and J. L. Blotner (New York: Random House, Inc., 1959), p. 207.

[22] *Love and Death in the American Novel* (New York: Criterion, 1959) — quoted in Joseph W. Reed: *Faulkner's Narrative* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 34.

[23] "Huckleberry Finn", 1948 — in *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., 1953), pp. 100—113.

[24] Malcolm Cowley: *A Second Flowering; Works and Days of the Lost Generation* (New York: The Viking Press, 1973).

[25] Cf. Lawrence Thompson: *William Faulkner; An Introduction and Interpretation* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, Inc., 1967) — "Faulkner prefers to view soul and body as metaphorical aspects of one and the same energy; like Blake, he believes in the marriage of Heaven and Hell." — p. 165.

[26] *Faulkner in the University*, p. 103.

[27] See Vickery: op. cit., p. 30; Reed: op. cit., pp. 26—7; and Warren Beck: "Faulkner's Point of View" in his *Faulkner; Essays* (Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), p. 8.

[28] Reed: op. cit., p. 30.

[29] Interview with Simon Claxton, 1962 — in *Lion in the Garden*, p. 277.

[30] Interview in the "UVA College Topics", 1931 — ibid., p. 17.

[31] *William Faulkner of Oxford*, ed. by James W. Webb and A. Wigfall Green (Louisiana State University Press, 1965), p. 80.

[32] See Joseph Blotner: *Faulkner; A Biography* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1974), p. 1204.

[33] *Absalom, Absalom!* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964), p. 264.

[34] *The Reivers* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1962), passim.

[35] Quoted in Cleanth Brooks: *A Shaping Joy; Studies in the Writer's Craft* (London: Methuen and Co., 1971), p. 198.

[36] Reed: op. cit., p. 38.

[37] *Faulkner in the University*, p. 239.

[38] Louis D. Rubin, Jr.: *Writers of the Modern South* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1966), p. 48.

[39] Beck: op. cit., p. 15.

[40] Thompson: op. cit., p. 24.

[41] William Van O'Connor: *William Faulkner*, UMPAW, No. 3 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959), p. 39.

[42] *Collected Stories*, p. 286.

[43] Ibid., pp. 226—7.

[44] Ibid., pp. 308—9.

[45] Ibid., p. 309.

[46] Ibid., p. 230.

[47] Ibid., p. 268.

[48] Vickery: op. cit., p. 32.

[49] Cf. Beck: op. cit. — "By their contending with each other and asking their naive questions that never get answered they become a unique chorus, in a paradox of irrelevance and a proportionate realism . . ." — p. 302.

[50] "Lapis Lazuli" — in *Selected Poems and Two Plays of William Butler Yeats*, ed. by M. L. Rosenthal (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), p. 159.

[51] *Collected Stories*, p. 306.

[52] "Faulkner: The South, the Negro, and Time", 1965 — in *Faulkner; A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 252.

[53] See T. S. Eliot's "Hamlet" — in *Selected Essays*, new edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), pp. 124—5.

[54] See W. B. Yeats's "A Prayer for My Daughter" — op. cit., p. 92.

[55] See Faulkner's statement: "I think no one individual can look at truth. It blinds you." — in *Faulkner in the University*, p. 273.

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Models or Metaphors: Pattern and Paranoia in Pynchon's Crying of Lot 49

By

FERENC TAKÁCS

One widely noted quality of Thomas Pynchon's fiction is its unconventional choice of structuring analogies. In choosing them, Pynchon deliberately avoids areas associated with earlier phases of the modern, and, instead of the more customary systems of myth, archetype, alchemy or *correspondance*, he opts for patently non-literary models of history, politics and "hard" science as possible sources for an interpretative design through which he can make a richly paradoxical sense of his contemporary American experience.[1] On the other hand, the elements of this design, once admitted into a fictional work, will inevitably incur the price of attaining, in their new applications, the status of *literary* devices ; since their function is an extension of their proper, original one and they are used where, properly speaking, they should not be used, the scientific models are now *metaphors*, however new or unusual, in a legitimate (and strictly literary) sense.

This Pynchon himself seems to be quite aware of ; his use of them always involves the setting-up of a self-reflexive metalevel of writing where a variety of related questions are rigorously addressed : what is the status and truth-value of metaphors so acquired ? what change of cognitive function does this transition from model to metaphor entail ? are metaphors legitimate models in ordering experience at all ? are models, in turn, in any way different from metaphors in this respect ?

The Crying of Lot 49 (published in 1966), Pynchon's second novel, seems to offer a convenient opportunity for examining the ways Pynchon raises and embodies these questions in his fiction. Short, compact, in marked contrast with those two huge picaresquely encyclopedic exercises that preceded and followed it (*V.* in 1963 and *Gravity's Rainbow* in 1973), the book has something of the clarity of design and emphasis on ideas one likes to associate with the *roman philosophique*. One could say this is Pynchon's "methodology piece" : a clearer, more "ideally" articulated treatment of his overall concerns, a skeleton key, if you like, to both *V.* and *Gravity's Rainbow*.

The most important scientific model-metaphors in this key are a group of mathematical and physical formulations, or rather the more common-

sense representations of these formulations, originating from two crucially important modern disciplines: information theory and thermodynamics.[2] Their presence in the novel is also more immediately technological: information theory appears in various forms of communication (mass media, postal services, electronic devices such as television sets, transistorized circuits, piped Muzak, pop-group amplifiers, etc.) while thermodynamics (more particularly entropy, this correlate of the second law of thermodynamics) assumes the shape of images and scenes of industrial-technological waste-making (used car lots, rubbish dumps, the all-pervading emphasis on the dead and the artificial, etc.).

That there is some kind of connection between these two bodies of scientific thought is indicated, throughout the book, by a number of hints and suggestions: Oedipa Maas's husband, Wendell ("Mucho") Maas, for instance, was for a time a used car salesman (= entropy) while at the moment he works as a radio-station disc-jockey (= information); the alternative postal service Oedipa embarks on a quest for is an underground communications system (= information), though the acronyms of its two slogans ("Don't Ever Antagonize the Horn" and "We Await Sad Tristero's Empire") read as D. E. A. T. H. and W. A. S. T. E. (= entropy); while Oedipa and Metzger play a betting game on the outcome of an old movie on television, working, as they do, with the probability of information in communication channels (= information), a spray-can gets stuck in the bathroom and starts flying rocket-like around the place until, its finite amount of energy spent, it drops dead to the floor (= entropy); the saturation of electronic pop-music by the group called "The Paranoids" (= information) leads to burnt fuses, a blackout and general darkness (= entropy). Here, in suggesting a connection between the two, Pynchon makes use of what is, again, an interesting scientific fact: as the behaviour of signs in communication processes is very similar to that of subatomic particles in physics, the mathematical equation of information turns out to be almost the same (apart from a numerical factor) as that of entropy. The only important difference is that where there is a plus sign in the former, a minus appears in the latter; this is why entropy is seen as a measure of disorder while information is interpreted as one of order.[3]

The ultimate scientific source of all this is, of course, Maxwell's Demon, as this important nineteenth-century thought-experiment and its later ramifications in thermodynamics are known in theoretical physics. This demon is able to sort molecules according to their relative speed (that is, temperature) in a closed system by which the system becomes more ordered, its entropy decreases while information, the demon's knowledge of the speed and whereabouts of the molecules increases in an inverse ratio. This seems to go against the second law of thermodynamics ("no heat is communicated from cold to warm"), leading to what was seen as a scientific paradox for something like a century until Louis Brillouin, a French physicist working in the United

States pointed out that entropy in one part of the system decreases at the cost of an increase of entropy in the other, surrounding parts of the system ; the Demon gains in information while the entropy of the Demon itself and also of its means of observation increases.[4]

This scientific theory seems to be Pynchon's most important analogy in ordering and interpreting contemporary experience and, also, on an even more general level, man and history. In *The Crying of Lot 49* (as in both *V.* and *Gravity's Rainbow*) what used to be called humanity's "progress" and "evolution" is shown as a gradual increase in information, an attainment of higher and higher levels of orderedness at the cost of an increase of entropic waste (or W. A. S. T. E.).

Waste, first, in the quite material sense, in that whatever man assimilates from the universe and transforms for his own use will end up on some rubbish-heap in the form of useless and dead matter, entropic, unable to reenter the order of nature it was originally taken from. A powerful emblem of this socio-anthropological waste[5] obtains, in *The Crying of Lot 49*, in Mucho Maas's elegiac memories of the used car lot where he once worked (p. 8).[6] Here already decomposed, dead matter still bears, in an equally dead form, the imprint of human lives while on its way to a lower-order inorganic death. This is the final inertia of nothingness ; the acronym of the National Automobile Dealer's Association that haunts Mucho's dreams is N. A. D. A., nothing.[7]

This type of waste is, of course, conspicuously technological. The fact that whatever (and, it seems, whoever) makes an appearance in the novel turns out to be invariably part of the Inverarity estate implies that this waste is somehow related to corporate money and ownership. Technological expansion, quite literally, covers the surface of the earth with a thick layer of artificial death. This is evident in the novel's constant emphasis on the California highway system, for instance. There is also an Inverarity project, Fangoso Lagoons, an inland resort, complete with casino, lake, marina ; here, in this travesty of a seaside resort written in artificiality and death, the "sculptured body of waters named Lake Inverarity" (p. 37) make "not too bright seagulls" mistake "Fangoso Lagoons for the Pacific" (p. 43) and, arriving with their musical instruments, the Paranoids start "looking around as if for outlets under the trucked-in white sand to plug into" (p. 37).

Another Inverarity project involves a similar entropic travesty of what should be, ideally, the right sort of traffic between the living and the dead : it is an industrial project, importing human bones from Italy, turning the stuff into bone-charcoal and using this in cigarette filters. Business and technology recycles death into the agency of death : cigarettes, filter or non-filter, cause cancer, an illness, in turn, of cellular entropy. Pynchon, incidentally, offsets this emblem with a different treatment of the same motif. In the following chapter, Genghis Cohen, the philatelist, an old-world character in

most ways, offers Oedipa "real homemade dandelion wine" for which he "picked the dandelions in a cemetery, two years ago. Now the cemetery is gone. They took it out for the East San Narciso Freeway." (pp. 65–66). The San Narciso Freeway is, of course, another Inverarity development, replacing natural death with its technological variant ; nevertheless, the wine, eucharistic and pre-technological, still turns death into life : "in spring, when the dandelions begin to bloom again, the wine goes through a fermentation. As if they remembered." (p. 68).

Waste and death, in *The Crying of Lot 49*, extend to analogical embodiments of the information aspect as well. Communication is sheer waste of energy in this entropic world : television is either a "greenish dead eye" (p. 5) or it relays meaningless old movies (*Cashiered* in Chapter 2), infantile idiocy for adult consumption (Nefastis watching Yogi Bear, Magilla Gorilla and Peter Potamus) or — an appropriate McLuhanism — messages that massage only, never inform (Nefastis getting a hard-on watching the news, especially when there is something on the Chinese : "teeming", "that profusion of life" (p. 74)). The more sophisticated and the more energy-intensive the means of communication, the less they communicate.

Not that the alternative channel of communication, the underground Tristero system of the novel is much better in this respect. It is, to be sure, pre-electronic and technological in a rather traditional sense only ; a network of letterboxes, grafitti messages on lavatory walls, hand-painted symbols and cryptograms turning up in odd and unexpected places. But the messages that get through are either purely phatic — "Just thought I'd drop you a line" (p. 35) —, keeping the channel warm, not conveying anything truly informational or they are non-informational because historically irrelevant (Jesús Arrabal, the Mexican revolutionary in exile, getting an 1904 issue of an anarcho-syndicalist paper through the Tristero). The acronyms of the two mottos of the system — D. E. A. T. H. and W. A. S. T. E. — point, anyway, to an entropic direction. The service is used by a variety of groups and cults intent on perverting and, indeed, radically subverting love, the epitome of full communication (the "Inamorati Anonymous" in Chapter 5) and committed to extreme right-wing versions of reality (Mike Fallopian and his crew, in Chapter 3, who see members of the Birch Society as "our more left-leaning friends" (p. 33) and who are "already in touch" with Winthrop Tremaine and his "Swastika Shoppe" (p. 116) catering for sado-masochist fantasies with Nazi uniforms and regalia) or to extreme left-wing versions of the same (Jesús Arrabal, the anarchosyndicalist, in Chapter 5).

Accordingly, the Tristero system, while certainly a counterculture to the more public corporate and technological world of entropy, is itself an unabashed, though secret, agency of entropy ; in this its activities are quite similar to those medieval sects which, seeing a relationship of causality between the

amount of evil in the world and the coming of the Apocalypse, went about committing all sorts of abominations so as to hasten their desired Apocalypse. (There is, in fact, a reference in the novel to a "historical" seventeenth-century sect, involved in some ways with the earlier history of the Tristero ; these are the "Scurvhamites" whose thinking seems to have gone along somewhat similar lines (p. 107)).

Waste and death have a claim also on what one still likes to think of as the hard core of the human achievement : man's individuality. That some of the correlates of Pynchon's fictional method are definitely those of a "post-humanist" cast, that in his novels the focus is on dead, impersonal and artificial structures where the persons, who are the ultimate source of these structures, are now mere appendages to, expendable, replacable and, in certain cases, actually replaced by them has been frequently noted.[8] What this entails, the novel seems to suggest, is an entropy of whatever is traditionally described by terms like "ego", "self", "personhood" and "identity". In *The Crying of Lot 49* there are two contrasted cases where this waste and death of selfhood is emblematized as a process. Their contrast, the mental disintegration of Hilarius, Oedipa's analyst, and of Mucho Maas, her husband, reveals an essential similarity of outcome. Both are troubled by memory, the primary source and, it seems, also the primary burden of selfhood. In the case of Hilarius it is his sordid over-identification with his role as an experimental psychologist in Buchenwald, in that of Mucho, his incapacity to identify with his former role as used-car salesman ; Hilarius makes an unsuccessful attempt to expiate what he insists on seeing as his *own* sin, part of a continuous and lasting identity — "I chose to remain in relative paranoia, where at least I know who I am and who the others are" (p. 94) — and ends up as a nutcase, beyond access and communication while Mucho, wanting to forget and heal, opts for the self-induced extinction of his personality through joining an LSD experiment, becomes "everybody" (p. 99) — "You're an antenna, sending your pattern out across a million lives a night, and they're your lives too" (p. 99) — and ends up as someone possessing nothing worth having access to or communicating with. Selfhood, in Pynchon's novel, is either self-delusion, the paranoia of information or, alternatively, it is non-self or all-self, the *nada* or *nirvana* of entropy.

Is, then, *The Crying of Lot 49* the presentation of a Manichean world of information and entropy where these two agents, seemingly in conflict, turn out to be essentially the same force of destruction America finds itself a willing victim of? On this reading the book would be hardly more than a fairly straight allegory ; original, internally highly complicated, to be sure, but once the information/entropy design is recognized, it would make an excellent sense, quite in the essentially simple fashion of any traditional philosophical or moral fable.

Now, what makes the book an immensely more complex, and complicated, exercise in this kind of writing is its constant revision and qualification, within its own text, of its own principles of organization and interpretative design. There are two related *loci* in the novel where revision and qualification take a quite explicitly discursive form : the Nefastis Machine and the DT/dt passage, both in Chapter 5.

The Nefastis Machine is, of course, doubly important in the novel : as the device is, in fact, Maxwell's Demon, its appearance sums up and, as it were, gives away the information/entropy idea, the organizing model of the book. Also, according to its inventor, Nefastis, it is a *real* Maxwell's Demon, sitting in the wooden box, sorting molecules, lifting pistons, constituting what is described in physics as a second-order *perpetuum mobile*. This, of course, is what the second law of thermodynamics stipulates as patently impossible ; Nefastis is, on this count, a madman and a crank as his name — "unsafe", "monstrous", "evil", "forbidden" — indicates.[9] His Maxwell's Demon is a countercultural travesty of Clerk Maxwell's eminently respectable thought-experiment ; in his machine it is now an oracle to consult, the *I Ching* of entropy and information that gets through "at some deep psychic level" to "the sensitive" (p. 72) if they use the picture of Clerk Maxwell on the box as a meditational aid. It is also an embodiment of belief in the literal truth of a metaphor :

> "Entropy is a figure of speech, then", sighed Nefastis, "a metaphor. It connects the world of thermodynamics to the world of information flow. The Machine uses both. The Demon makes the metaphor not only verbally graceful, but also objectively true."
> "But what", she (Oedipa) felt like some kind of a heretic, "if the Demon exists only because the two equations look alike? Because of the metaphor?" (p. 73).

And, of course, the problem and the doubt is not only Oedipa's ; it is Pynchon's also. If, as we have seen in a range of instances, the entropy/information idea is the model by which the book organizes experience into a pattern, interprets experience as a meaningful order, will this pattern and order be, as the Nefastis Machine itself, "not only verbally graceful, but also objectively true"? Or, alternatively, does the order the novel makes of experience "exist only" because certain things in experience "look alike", because of "metaphor"? Do metaphors really have this kind of power? Is "the act of metaphor", as Oedipa reflects in the DT/dt passage (p. 89), "a thrust at truth" or "a lie" ; does "that high magic to low puns" exist or not? Is the entropy/information idea, *any* idea, any interpretative construct, a legitimate model of the world, a discovery of a pattern that is somehow really *there* or is it a metaphor only, an expression of connections where, properly speaking, there is none? (And just what is "properly speaking"?) Do we "find" or do we "impose" in the act of knowing in general and, also, in that more particular act of knowing we call literature and fiction?[10]

Finding connection where there is none, seeing a significant pattern where there is only amorphous contingency, suspecting a plot in what is a discrete series of chance events is, of course, the medical definition of paranoia. Both paranoia and plot loom large in the novel ; there is a pop group called "The Paranoids" ; Hilarius is of course a case of this particular mental condition ; all the different groups and cults of the political and sexual underground in the novel integrate along their own uniquely paranoid versions of history, politics or eros ; as to plots, they are all subsumed in the Tristero system, a conspiracy that was hatched in the Low Countries at the very beginning of the modern, middle-class, industrial-capitalist era, had a hand in all major events of European history from Cromwell's Commonwealth to the American Civil War, and is still active in subverting the social and legal order of the United States, driving the country towards a final heat-death of all social and political organization.

Where plot and paranoia truly fuse we get plot in a somewhat extended sense as well : the plot of the novel itself.

Now, plot is again a type of interpretative design, ordering contingent occurences into a meaningful pattern. Its denotations cover areas that are both non-literary and literary, and Pynchon seems to make a systematically exhaustive use of most of them. There is, for instance, a "paranoid style" in American politics, based on a belief in some kind of world-wide conspiracy of evil, plotting to subvert American freedom and democracy,[11] and this has an obvious connection with the Tristero system in the novel ; also, in the theological sense, the world and its history is God's plot, outlined in the Bible, though finally revealed only by the Apocalypse, and this cluster of ideas has again something to do with Pynchon's various references to revelation and the Word in the novel (indeed, the closure of the plot, the imminent crying of lot 49 at the auction, can be seen as an ironic apocalypse, revelation suspended in the uncertainty of disbelief) ; and, finally, there is the psychiatric sense, plot as something suspected, amorphous coincidences seen as part of a meaningful, if hostile, regularity.

On one count, Oedipa Maas represents this psychiatric sense of the word : the plot of the novel is, in fact, the plot she makes of, or discovers in, the Inverarity estate she is the executor of. Whether or not there is a message, coded into the Inverarity estate (which, in the course of the novel, becomes a comprehensive metaphor for America itself), and if so, whether it was put there by Inverarity himself (whose name may mean both untruth and — by translinguistic pun — *dans le vrai*)[12] to convey the meaning of America to Oedipa, is highly uncertain and never resolved in the novel ; all throughout there is, however, a strong possibility that there is *no* such message ; that the plot Oedipa makes for herself (and for the novel) is in fact a structure of delusion, a paranoic projection of order.

Which makes *The Crying of Lot 49* into a highly paradoxical version of the classic *Bildungsroman*. All through the novel, Oedipa's quest for meaning hovers uncertainly between being an education in knowing or an education in paranoia, with the terrible suggestion that the two may be, in fact, identical, that to be human is, in some very general philosophical or socio-anthropological sense, to be the captive of a kind of madness, peculiar to the entire species. That this generic lineage, the *Bildungsroman* pattern is there in the novel as a significant allusion is quite evident in the way *The Crying of Lot 49* establishes itself, at least in the idea of its plot, as a "posthumanist" revision of the archetypal humanist *Bildungsroman*, Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. At the end of Goethe's work, the plot of the novel is revealed to have been the benevolent conspiracy of the aristocratic circle of the "Tower", with the intention of presenting the protagonist with an artificially pre-arranged and patterned version of experience and "educate" him through it. Pynchon's novel entertains the same as one of its possibilities while, with characteristic "posthumanist" reticence, refuses to give Oedipa (and us) the certainty of such a final revelation.[13]

Also, when Pynchon raises, and dramatizes, the question of model or metaphor, of pattern or paranoia in the medium of art, he chooses the same art form Goethe made use of for his own purposes : the role of the (invented) Jacobean revenge play, *The Courier's Tragedy*, its text, its performance and its criticism, in Oedipa's education recalls the function the world of theatre (in forms ranging from puppetry to high tragedy) has in Wilhelm's quest for meaning in life. That this is perhaps again a deliberate allusion on Pynchon's part, may be supported by the possibility of word play in German on the name of the (invented) author of this play. From "Wharfinger", with minimal transposition, highly relevant meanings can be extracted : accordingly, the play is either a *wahr(er) Finger*, i.e., a "true pointer" to what Oedipa is looking for or, by way of the German verb *fangen* ("to catch, entrap") of which "fing" is the past form, a "veritable catcher" or "trap" for Oedipa.

And this is what it is, representing, in an even more complicated form, the novel's paradoxes on model, metaphor, pattern and paranoia. Art is a form of knowing or interpretation : first, an interpretation, an organizing into some meaningful pattern, of experience ; second, it exists in interpretation, in its audiences's effort to make sense of it ; and, third, if it is a performing art, its production or performance is again a privileged form of interpretation. Then there is the question of establishing its definitive text, which is, in turn, again largely a matter of interpretation. In trying to see *The Courier's Tragedy* as a clue to a meaning, as some kind of meaning, Oedipa has to confront and cope with all these senses in which a work of art is interpretation ; and she gets caught up in all the uncertainties these senses, and also their complicating interdependencies, involve. This line in the novel is, of course, self-reflexive

in a more local, literary sense : whatever trouble Oedipa has with the play (whether in the form of textual variant, stage performance or critical appreciation) will be the kind of trouble we, the readers must be aware of, and allow for as a complicating factor, in any interpretation of *The Crying of Lot 49*.

But it is self-reflexive in a more general sense as well : Oedipa's "working with" *The Courier's Tragedy* epitomizes, on a metafictional level, more general paradoxes inherent in the act of knowing ; paradoxes of models *vs* metaphors, pattern *vs* paranoia. That is why *The Crying of Lot 49* turns out to be a *roman philosophique* after all : though its "language" is concerned with entropy and information, and, through these, the meaning of America and, also, of all civilization, its metalanguage concerns the status and nature of knowing, of making and using our interpretative constructs, including that particular interpretative construct we call literature and which, in turn, includes that particular mode of knowing we know as *The Crying of Lot 49*.

NOTES

[1] For this quality see, *e.g.*, E. Mendelson, "Introduction" in E. Mendelson (ed.), *Pynchon : A Collection of Critical Essays*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1978, p. 14.

[2] For a very useful summary, in Hungarian, of these theories and, also, of their interrelatedness see R. Tarján, "Norbert Wiener és a kibernetika" (Norbert Wiener and Cybernetics), in N. Wiener, *Válogatott tanulmányok* (Selected Essays), Gondolat, Budapest, 1974, pp. 5—21.

[3] Cf. R. Tarján, "Norbert Wiener és a kibernetika", p. 13.

[4] For Maxwell's Demon and Brillouin's work see R. Tarján, *op. cit.*, pp. 14—15.

[5] Cf. the interesting passage Tony Tanner quotes (in his *City of Words*, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, p. 152) from the conclusion of Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes tropiques :*

> "Man has never — save only when he reproduces himself — done other than cheerfully dismantle million upon million of structures and reduce their elements to a state in which they can no longer integrated . . . Taken as a whole, therefore, civilization can be described as a prodigiously complicated mechanism : tempting as it would be to regard it as our universe's best hope of survival, its true function is to produce what physicists call entropy : . . . 'Entropology', not anthropology, should be the word for that discipline that devotes itself to the study of this process of disintegration in its most highly evolved forms."

[6] Page references are to *The Crying of Lot 49*, Picador, Pan Books, London, 1979.

[7] A Spanish word with some literary fame in American fiction ; it is the much-discussed keyword in Hemingway's important short story "A Clean, Well-lighted Place".

[8] See, for instance, Richard Poirier's essay "A Literature of Law and Order", in R. Poirier, *The Performing Self*, Oxford University Press, 1971.

[9] Partly by way of an anagram of "isn't safe", partly through Latin *nefastus*. This — together with other cryptogrammatic aspects of the names of the characters in the novel — is pointed out in Robert Murray Davis's article, "Parody, Paranoia, and the Dead End of Language", *Genre*, 5 (1972), pp. 367—77.

[10] The terms I use here are Wallace Steven's. See his poem *Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction*, Part 3 ("It Must Give Pleasure"), Poem 7 :

> "To find, not to impose . . .
> . . . It is possible, possible, possible."

[11] Described by Richard Hofstadter in an influential article (*Harper's Magazine*, November, 1964). See also R. W. B. Lewis on the relevance of this idea for the "apocalyptic" strain of modern American fiction in "Days of Wrath and Laughter", in R. W. B. Lewis, *Trials of the Word*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1965, esp. p. 215.

[12] This etymology is pointed out by Frank Kermode in his article "The Use of Codes" in S. Chatman (ed.), *Approaches to Poetics*, Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1973. p. 68.

[13] Other minor, though revealing, possibilities of connecting the two novels include the interesting fact that both "Maas" and "Meister" can be seen as forms of the word "master"; ironically, neither Oedipa nor Wilhelm is the master of her/his own fate.

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Traición, expiación y escritura en dos textos de Augusto Roa Bastos

(Hijo de hombre y *La rebelión)*

por

ALAIN SICARD

La historia del Paraguay es una de las historias más dolorosas del continente. Es la historia de un país extenso progresivamente transformado en una "isla rodeada de tierras", de un país que permanentemente tuvo que luchar, desde los años de su independencia, en tiempos de José Gaspar Francia, el fundador de la nación paraguaya, contra la codicia de sus potentes vecinos y contra los imperialismos extranjeros : recuérdense la guerra de la Triple Alianza (1864 – 1870) en la que la coalición de Argentina, Uruguay y Brasil exterminó el 65% de la población paraguaya y en ella un 85% de los hombres, y la guerra del Chaco (1932 – 1935) en la que por intermediario del Paraguay y de Bolivia, lucharon dos compañías petrolíferas rivales. La historia del Paraguay es, en la actualidad, la historia de un país enteramente dominado por los hacendados y el capital extranjero, de un país que sigue aplastando la más vieja y retrograda dictadura latinoamericana : la del General Stroessner. Es, por fin, la historia de un país de exiliados : entre 1945 y 1971 se calcula que el Paraguay perdió más de un millón de sus habitantes. Entre ellos, al escritor Augusto Roa Bastos que podía escribir al final de su primera novela, *Hijo de hombre* (1961) estas palabras que podrían servir de epígrafe a toda su obra :

> Creo que el principal valor de estas historias radica en el testimonio que encierran. Acaso su publicidad ayude, aunque sea en mínima parte, a comprender, más que a un hombre a este pueblo tan calumniado de América, que durante siglos ha oscilado sin descanso entre le rebeldía y la opresión, entre el oprobio de sus escarnecedores y la profecía de sus mártires . . ..

La obra de Roa Bastos obedece toda ella a esta profunda vocación testimonial. Pero es, al mismo tiempo, una obra atravesada y decisivamente marcada por la crisis que conocen hoy día la literatura militante o la literatura de testimonio. La obra del paraguayo se sitúa en esta crisis de una manera que tal vez explique su relativa marginalización comparado con los otros escritores del "boom". Si bien reconoce Roa la autonomía de la ficción literaria se niega a desligarla por eso de toda responsabilidad histórica. Decide no eludir sino asumir plenamente la contradicción entre el escritor y la historia — contradicción que es, para él homóloga de la contradicción entre el individuo y la

colectividad — haciendo de ella el eje de su producción narrativa. *Yo el Supremo*, donde culmina la reflexión sobre este tema, no será el objeto de las reflexiones que siguen, pero si constituirá su horizonte necesario, ya que se propone examinar dos personajes que constituyen etapas hacia la globalización y dialectización de las relaciones escritura-historia en la figura del Dictador Supremo : el Teniente Vera en *Hijo de hombre*, y Miguel, el protagonista-narrador de *La rebelión*, cuento escrito en una fecha imprecisa entre 1955 y 1960, pero probablemente contemporáneo o apenas posterior a *Hijo de hombre*.

*

Miguel Vera, uno de los principales personajes de *Hijo de hombre*, es oficial del ejército. Pero la vocación militar no llegó nunca a ser su verdadera vocación. Frente a Quiñones que fue compañero suyo en la Escuela Militar, reconoce : "El no es un militar como yo, cuya vocación nació de un deslumbrante traje de cadete". Es un hombre mal integrado a su oficio, y su "exceso de sentimentalismo" — su generosidad conduce al destierro cuando las rebeliones agrarias de 1912. Veinte años después se encuentra otra vez enfrentado a la misma situación : Cristóbal Jara, hijo de un protagonista de la insurrección de 1912, y sus compañeros le piden en cabezar militarmente el levantamiento que se prepara : "El ciclo recomenzaba, y de nuevo me incluía. Lo adivinaba oscuramente, en una especie de anticipada resignación. ¿No era posible, pues, quedarse al margen?". Miguel Vera acepta ayudar a los insurrectos pero, un día de borrachera, los traiciona. Reprimida la insurrección, se halla recluido con otros prisioneros en un islote, y luego mandado al frente durante la Guerra del Chaco. Durante la terrible batalla de Boquerón, a punto de morir de sed, es salvado gracias al heroísmo de Cristóbal Jara, uno de aquéllos a quienes su imprudencia había denunciado. De regreso de la guerra, encontramos a Miguel Vera de alcalde en su pueblo natal :

> Yo estaba en mi pueblo natal como un intruso. Me hallaba sentado en la mesa de un boliche junto a otros despojos humanos de la guerra, sin ser su semejante. Como en aquel remoto cañadón del Chaco, calcinado por la sed, embriagado por la muerte. Ese cañadón no tenía salida. Y sin embargo estoy aquí. Mis uñas y mis cabellos siguen creciendo, pero un muerto no es capaz de retractarse, de claudicar, de ceder cada vez un poco más.

La bala que terminará con los días del exteniente Vera — ¿ accidente ? ¿ suicidio ? — matará a un hombre ya muerto. "Un ser exaltado, lleno de lucidez pero incapaz en absoluto para la acción", comentará alguien que lo conoció.

En el pasaje de la novela que relata el interrogatorio del prisionero Vera, se encuentra esta descripción significativa :

> La puerta entornada del calabozo le dejaba caer en la mitad del pecho una polvorienta barra de sol que partía su cuerpo en dos pedazos sombríos.

Vera fue, durante toda su vida, este hombre hecho de dos pedazos, esta mitad de hombre separada de su otra mitad histórica y colectiva por un espacio imposible de colmar, y que es precisamente, para el novelista de *Hijo de hombre*, el espacio de la narración.

No es casual sino rico de futuros desarrollos el que Miguel Vera cumule en la novela los status de traidor y de narrador. Unas frases sitúan bien la relación entre ambos status :

> Mi testimonio no sirve más que a medias. Ahora mismo, mientras escribo estos recuerdos, siento que a la inocencia, a los asombros de mi infancia se mezclan mis traiciones y olvidos de hombre, las repetidas muertes de mi vida. Los estoy viviendo estos recuerdos, tal vez los estoy expiando.

La escritura como expiación. Es decir la escritura nutriéndose de las fallas de la acción, desplegándose sobre el fondo de esta "incapacidad para obrar" que caracteriza a Vera. "Cuando no se puede obrar se escribe" constatará amargamente años después el protagonista de *Yo el Supremo*. Narrar no es obrar sino todo lo contrario : ir en busca a través de la propia deficiencia con respecto a la acción de una historia en la que las condiciones individuales de la escritura le prohiben participar. En el caso de Vera : buscar a partir de la propia culpabilidad lo que constituye su envés objetivo :

> . . . a mi regreso de Itapé, después de tanto tiempo, casi como un extraño, comencé la tardía investigación de los hechos, no para ayudar a la justicia — que ya se había cumplido al margen de las leyes — sino para llegar hasta el fondo de una iniquidad que nos culpaba a todos.

En *Hijo de hombre* está prefigurado el proceso que será el proceso generador de *Yo el Supremo*, y que Roa Bastos definió en alguna parte con el término de "involución" : búsqueda a "contra-vida" (es el título de una novela inédita del escritor paraguayo), a través de la propia negatividad, de una continuidad inaccesible por los caminos individuales de la escritura. *Hijo de hombre* restituye fantasmalmente esta continuidad por medio de la abolición de la cronología lineal, de los desplazamientos en el tiempo y en el espacio de los personajes o de la multiplicación de los focos narrativos. El primer capítulo de la novela ilustra magistralmente este tipo de narración que Roa perfeccionará en los cinco primeros cuentos de *Moriencia*. La memoria individual del Teniente Vera que escribe sus recuerdos se va disluyendo en esta "memoria viviente del pueblo" que es el viejo Macario. El narrador, para emplear un verbo predilecto de Roa, "se desmemoria", el texto se desescribe para alcanzar un más allá o un más acá de la palabra escrita en la oralidad del testimonio :

> Eco de otros ecos. Sombra de sombras. Reflejos de reflejos. No la verdad, tal vez, de los hechos, pero sí su encantamiento.

En *Hijo de hombre* como en los futuros cuentos y novelas de Roa Bastos, es por el sonido como se manifiesta la "intrahistoria" es decir la permanencia

profunda de lo colectivo. La guitarra de Macario — que reaparecerá en un cuento de *Moriencia* — es la voz del tiempo sumergido :

> Empezábamos a oir bajito la guitarra que sonaba como enterrada o como si la memoria del sonido aflorase en nosotros bajo el influjo del viejo.

Narrar es rescatar la guitarra enterrada. Desandando los caminos de la memoria escrita es aproximarse a la memoria colectiva del sonido que, en un tiempo remoto, se confundió con la palabra. Con razón escribe Enric Miret en un penetrante estudio :

> En *Hijo de hombre*, la multitud de personajes narradores parece organizarse según una graduación que iría desde Miguel Vera, narrador pleno, definido ya al nivel de la escritura hasta esos vagos narradores impersonales. La función narrativa, podríamos decir, tiende a lo anónimo.[1]

Queda por añadir que, al origen de esta tendencia y determinándola, se encuentra el status de traidor del protagonista-narrador principal : Miguel Vera.

Si en *Hijo de hombre* el protagonista-narrador Miguel Vera define su testimonio como una expiación, no llega nunca a definirlo, como lo hará más tarde El Supremo, como una traición. Sin embargo, esta idea no está ausente del texto. Está sugerida en un pasaje que merece ser resumido y analizado brevemente.

En una de las páginas de su diario intimo, Vera cuenta que acaba de recibir, en el presidio donde está recluido un paquete que contiene diarios atrasados, que relatan la represión de la insurrección, y varios libros. Deja de lado, sobre el catre de su compañero, revolucionario, "El zurdo", los diarios, y hojea *Guerra y paz* de Tolstoï, recordando que "la había comprado creyendo que tenía alguna relación con el arte castrense". La novela del escritor ruso le trae a la memoria un pasaje de otro texto suyo acerca de una tribu extinguida hacia mucho tiempo, texto en el que "alguien dice de pronto : todos los atzures han muerto. Pero hay aquí un papagayo que conoce algunas palabras de su idioma".

"¿ A qué clase de sobrevivencia aludía Tolstoï ?" se pregunta Vera en cuyamente este recuerdo está asociado a la presencia en el presidio de un pájaro al que llaman "aräräka" en guaraní —, "el más antiguo habitante del penal", que se pasa el día gritando irónicamente a los prisioneros, en guaraní : "¡ Yapiä-ke ! ¡ Yapiä-paiteke !" "¡ Escapemos ! ¡ escapemos todos !". Por fin entre los libros están también las *Memorias* del Padre Maíz, un famoso orador sagrado. En esta "desgarrada y a la vez cínica confesión", el sacerdote "intenta justificar su conducta durante la guerra grande... sus etapas de servil sometimiento al Mariscal[2] y su posterior abominación y retractación". Y el Teniente Vera recuerda aquel día, veinte años antes, en el que, bajo la presión popular,

el orador había inaugurado y consegrado el calvario hereje de Itapé. La página de *Hijo de Hombre* que acabamos de resumir anuncia por su técnica la novelística futura de Roa Bastos. Todos los elementos que la integran esconden, detrás de un carácter aparentemente anecdótico y heterogéneo, una coherencia secreta : constituyen una red de significados convergentes. El denominador común es aquí el hiato entre la escritura y la acción por una parte, y, otra, entre palabra escrita y oralidad. El narrador relega los diarios portadores de hechos para hojear obras de ficción. Luego la equivocación suya a partir del título engañador de *Guerra y paz*, revela un desfase entre acción y ficción : es como si un libro se hubiera sustituido con otro, de la misma manera que el habla de la tribu desparecida de los atzures, en el otro texto de Tolstoï aludido, se sustituye con el habla del papagayo. Con la diferencia, sin embargo, que el papagayo no engaña : copia, repite. No sin razón el papagayo será ave elogiada por El Supremo en sus invectivas contra la tradición de los "escribones" y "clerigallos".

> El papagayo que regalé a los Robertson rezaba el Padre-Nuestro con la misma voz que el obispo Panés. Mejor aun que el obispo loragallo. Dicción más nítida, sin salpicaduras de saliva. Ventaja del pajarraco tener la lengua seca. Entonación más sincera que la hipócrita jerga de los clerigallos. Animal puro, el papagayo parlotea un lenguaje inventado por los hombres sin tener conciencia de ello. Sobre todo sin interés utilitario. Desde el aro al aire libre, pese a su doméstico cautivario, predicaba una lengua viva que la lengua muerta de los escritores encerrados en las jaulas-ataúdes de los libros no puede imitar.

Este pasaje de *Yo el Supremo* desarrolla, y aclara, la rápida alusión al papagayo en *Hijo de hombre*. Hasta la imagen de la jaula está en cierne en el texto de 1961. En efecto, el papagayo de Tolstoï viene asociado a un pájaro que acompaña a Vera y sus compañeros : "el más antiguo habitante del penal" precisa con intención el narrador, que siempre con intención de su nombre en lengua guaraní, que es también lengua de tribu desaparecida. Y es en este idioma de la palabra colectiva como el pájaro parece burlarse del narrador encarcelado gritando irónicamente : "Escapemos, escapemos todos". Al individuo encerrado en la jaula de la palabra escrita, el pájaro venido desde el fondo de la tradición oral y popular recuerda la maledicencia que pesa sobre la escritura : siempre es apócrifa, como lo es sin duda (confesamos no habernos dado el trabajo de averiguarlo) la frase de Tolstoï sobre el papagayo que sirvió a Roa para construir el mitema.

El último elemento del pasaje que analizamos es la referencia a las Memorias del Padre Maíz. Funciona también a partir de la misma dicotomía escritura-oralidad. Es la historia de un orador que al escribir se convierte en un traidor. Veinte años antes, en el calvario de Itapé, cuando expresaba oralmente, aunque de mal grado, la voluntad colectiva, entonces si su palabra era portadora de verdad. Se notará, en la cita que sigue la discreta y elocuente reaparición del papagayo :

> La voz caía sobre la multitud congregada al pie del promontorio. El viejo loro de la oratoria sagrada, revestido de los ornamentos, senil y desmemoriado, graznando sobre el campo ardido de sol el sermón de las siete palabras. Ahora se me antojaba que él no hacía más que repetir también algunas palabras de un idioma extinguido.

En el Padre Maíz se encarna pues una *traición* — y esto es lo que hace de él una especie de doble del traidor Vera de lo oral por lo escrito, traición que prolonga la traición del Teniente indicando los escollos de la escritura y los posibles caminos de la salvación : devolver la palabra al pueblo anónimo leyendo la continuidad de su acción invisible debajo de la espuma de los acontecimientos. Esta continuidad no la revela el testimonio en su engañadora precisión, sino la inagotable imprecisión del mito. En el primer capítulo de la novela, Macario enseña al narrador Vera este caminar a reculones en la cronología hasta encontrar en el mito del Cristo de Itapé el secreto de las esperanzas futuras de su pueblo. Pero el mito no tiene antes ni después. Puede yacer enterrado en el pasado, igual que puede ocupar el espacio de un futuro aun inexistente, como lo muestra ejemplarmente. "La rebelión", el último cuento de *Moriencia*.

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Miguel se llama también el protagonista-narrador de "la Rebelión". Desde la cárcel donde espera, con otros revolucionarios, el momento de ser interrogado por la policía, entrega al papel su testimonio. El cuento se desarrolla, pues, paralelamente en el plano inmediato de la cárcel donde Miguel escribe y en el plano de los sucesos que relata. En la época de estos sucesos, al mismo tiempo que estudiaba, estaba Miguel trabajando en la Telefónica con un compañero a quien llaman Muleque. Miguel tiene vocación de escritor. Muleque que perdió una pierna en una precedente insurrección, es militante revolucionario. A Muleque que le objeta la inutilidad de la actividad literaria, Miguel le contesta con criterio personal :

> Yo no quiero ayudar a nadie . . . Yo escribo para mí, y si me leen o no me leen me importa un bledo. Escribo porque me de la gana . . . Sí, ya sé que vas a decir que es como masturbarse . . . ¿ Y qué ? Cada uno lo que le calma las glándulas. A vos la Revolución, así, con mayúscula, la jeta bien inflada al pronunciarla. A mí papirofagia o la papiropaja, si querés . . . .

A pesar de estas divergencias, Miguel se ha dejado convencer por Muleque que entre en el movimiento clandestino. En el país se hace un cuartelazo mientras los dos amigos están cumpliendo con su oficio en la Telefónica. Se trata aparentemente de una de esas "crisis" frecuentes en los regimenes militares. Un pelotón de soldados se apodera de la Telefónica e imponen a los empleados que colaboren. Mientras tanto los dos bandos militares se observan sin entrar en contacto. Se siente uno "como entre bastidores del decorado armado para una representación que tarda en empezar", comenta el narrador. En este clima hecho de aburrimiento y nerviosidad, irrumpe Muleque con una noticia sorprendente :

mujeres se están reuniendo en la plaza, frente al cuartel, y parece que lo mismo está ocurriendo en todo el país. Miguel acompaña a Muleque hasta la azotea y su compañero la enseña la compacta masa de mujeres agrupadas en un sitio expuesto al tiro de los dos bandos. Una de las mujeres consigue hablar en un altoparlante. Antes de ser reducida al silencio, consigue hacer un llamado a la tropa para que dejen las armas y deserten de sus cuarteles. En este momento un capitán irrumpe en la terraza donde están Miguel y Muleque. Oye a Muleque gritando a los soldados que no tiren sobre las mujeres. Los soldados bajan las armas. El capitán dispara contra Muleque. Entonces Miguel "ve lo indecible" : los soldados desertando en masa y grupos de civiles cada vez más numerosos apoderándose de los nidos de ametralladoras y de los carros de asalto. "Ellos . . . son ellos" murmura Muleque cuyas últimas palabras serán para pedir que corra a los conmutadores para transmitir la noticia.

El relato de Miguel — y también el cuento de Roa — se mantendría dentro de la tradición de la literatura de testimonio si el "testimonio" de Miguel no precisara ciertas comillas. En efecto está curiosamente puesto en duda por los compañeros de cárcel del narrador :

> Me miran con ojos macilentos de reprobación y de miedo, y ya ni siquiera contestan a las preguntas que hago a los más próximos, no tanto para precisar algunos detalles como para confundirlos y avergonzarlos. Es inútil que quieran convencerme de que no hubo combate, que no se disparó un solo tiro, que las tropas volvieron tranquilamente a su cuartel, y que todo sigue como antes. Muleque no murió porque le hubiera reventado el impacto de aquello que veíamos desde la azotea. Yo *ví* que los soldados del cantón se negaron a hacer fuego y que el capitán disparó sobre Muleque.

¿Dónde está la verdad? La rebelión : ¿realidad o ficción?. Reina la misma incertidumbre que en el primer cuento de *Moriencia,* a propósito del ex-telegrafsta de Manorá más o menos cunfundido con su colega de Itapé que pertenece a otro libro, *Hijo de hombre.*

Si se examinan las condiciones de producción del testimonio, se nota que, en varias partes, el texto hace hincapié sobre la dificultad que experimenta Miguel para escribir sus apuntes : dificultad en lo de la expresión, por lo "indecible" del espectáculo :

> . . . no se puede más que imaginarlo con representaciones que uno saca de frases hechas, de los recuerdos ; ahora que, por más que escarbe en mis recuerdos, esto que veo allí abajo no se parece a nada conocido, y es que en el recuerdo y tal vez también en la esperanza las cosas no se parecen más que a sí mismas. Allí está pasando algo extraño. Algo extraño como la verdad, dijo una vez Muleque cabeceando de sueño, pero ya no me acuerdo a propósito de qué.

A esta dificultad para traducir esta verdad extraña en palabras corresponde una dificultad material para escribir :

> El pucho de lápiz se me escapa de las manos entre quejidos, escupidas y empujones . . . . Me cuesta mucho seguir escribiendo. Tengo la sensación de que el trozo de lápiz se me va alejando cada vez más con la mano descoyuntada, y el esfuerzo para cada trazo me iguala todo el cuerpo en un solo dolor, me aplana contra el piso de la celda como si yo fuera el papel en que escribo.

Lo que exprimenta el narrador es una verdadera *desposesión* de la escritura de la cual encontraremos la razón profunda si nos trasladamos al otro plano del relato, en los sucesos que ocurren en la azotea. Lo que ve y oye allí Miguel — las mujeres reunidas, los soldados desertando — lo ve y oye únicamente gracias al intermediario de Muleque. Este es quien trae el primero la noticia, y, quien desde la azotea, guia la mirada de Miguel :

> Al principio no las vi — Muleque me apretó el brazo y agitó las manos en dirección a los reflejos que ondeaban allá abajo. Entonces comencé a verlas, emergiendo poco a poco de entre la opaca brillazón de polvo y calor . . .

Instantes más tarde, cuando volverá a la azotea sin Muleque, Miguel no logrará ver a las mujeres. Muleque es también el único que consigue descifrar las palabras de la mujer en los altoparlantes y traducirlas — la palabra está en el texto — para Miguel. La narración de Miguel depende de Muleque, de la misma manera que la narración de Vera, en *Hijo de Hombre*, dependía de Cristóbal Jara (que salva al narrador de la muerte) y de Macario (que hace posible la reconstitución de la historia del Cristo de Itapé). Muleque representa la misma instancia *exterior* al relato, y, de cierto modo, *anónima :*

> Muleque se llama en realidad Juan del Rosario Alcaraz, un apellido que tampoco debe de ser el suyo porque desde los tres años, suele contar, lo metieron en el Asilo y no llegó a conocer ni siquiera a su madre . . . .

En el casi anomimato de Muleque se expresa su pertenencia a la colectividad de la que es emanación. No existe, sin embargo, ninguna ruptura, como en *Hijo de hombre* entre este personaje "colectivo" y Miguel, el protagonista narrador : ya sabemos que éste, lejos de ser, como Vera, un traidor, ha aceptado entrar en la conspiración. Además Miguel y Muleque coinciden en una práctica vecina de la escritura que es la transmisión telegráfica. Merece ser subrayado el hecho de que Miguel inicia la redacción de sus apuntes en su puesto de trabajo :

> . . . me he puesto a teclear estos apuntes simulando que traduzco y copio las tiras del Morse por lo que, en definitiva, las dos operaciones vienen a ser más o menos idénticas ; sólo que traducir las puntas y rayas de esta descalabrada estación de mis nervios y hacerlos coincidir con la realidad es algo mucho más difícil.

Hemos visto que Muleque también "traducía". Pero en el sentido inverso : no la "descalabrada estación de sus nervios" sino, directamente, la realidad misma, copiada luego por los ojos de Miguel y penosamente trasladada al papel por su mano descoyuntada. Así que la transmisión telegráfica a la vez se distingue de la escritura (Miguel *simula* teclear los apuntes que terminará escribiendo en la cárcel) y se confunde con ella (la últimas palabras de Muleque a Miguel son para que *transmita* la noticia). Hay, por consiguiente, diferencia pero no solución de continuidad entre la transmisión objetiva y la relación

subjetiva de los hechos. Ambas son totalmente interdependientes : del mismo modo que la visión de Miguel depende de la de Muleque, lo que quiere transmitir Muleque necesita del testimonio escrito de Miguel. La verdad objetiva revelada desde su anonimato por Muleque no tiene otro camino que la fabulación de Miguel para existir. Por eso, falsa en cuanto a la veracidad de la historia circunstancial, la narración afirma su fidelidad a la historia profunda : profetiza la victoria futura inscrita en el fracaso de la rebelión e incontrastable del movimiento popular carga de una realidad superior a la simple realidad de los hechos. En la intersección de la mirada de Muleque — de la que nunca sabremos lo que vio *realmente* — y de la mano de Miguel — que escribe bajo el imperio de esta mirada — se encuentra el mito de este porvenir victorioso : esta muchedumbre de mujeres que no tienen procedencia, que "están" allá presencias absolutas, despojadas de la sombra de verosimilitud o de engaño que suelen desprender las realidades circunstanciales :

> Bajo el sol de plomo, sus siluetas se yerguen sin sombra, sombras ellas mismas con los mantos oscuros. Casi todas parecen enlutades en la salvaje reverberación que las iguala y apelmaza en un denso y a la vez transparente hacinamiento.

En esta masa densa, igualada, encuentra su unificación la visión doble que produjo el relato. "La tierra de nadie, preñada de muerte, reverberante y sombría" que habitan estas mujeres es, como lo será años más tarde, en *Yo el Supremo*, el penal de Tevegó "un lugar que se ha llevado su lugar a otra parte". Es la tierra del mito, a la cual el escritor puede acceder con tal que consienta asumir dialécticamente su incapacidad de ver con sus ojos individuales la realidad de la historia y su capacidad de fabularla por medio de la escritura. El sistema del doble que asoma en "la rebelión" como en casi todos los cuentos de *Moriencia* cumple esta función. El doble no es explícito en este cuento pero lo sugiere más de un detalle del texto. Por ejemplo, en la misma página coinciden el dolor provocado en Muleque por el balazo, y el dolor del narrador que relata el suceso : " . . . el esfuerzo para cada traza *me iguala todo el cuerpo con un solo dolor*" . . .

Cuando muere Muleque, de cara a la plaza, Miguel ya no necesita más intermediario : ve *directamente* el triunfo de la insurrección popular. En "la rebelión", el "hombre de los pedazos" que era el Teniente Vera realiza su reunificación.

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Entre el Teniente Vera, traidor de Jara y de sus amigos, encontrando en la escritura el camino de la expiación, y Miguel, el protagonista de "la rebelión", fiel compañero de Muleque el revolucionario, encontrando en la transgresión de los hechos — en su traición por medio de la escritura — el camino de la fidelidad a la continuidad profunda de la historia, existe una filiación que

hallará en *Yo el Supremo* su expresión sintética. En *Hijo de hombre*, ya empieza a desmoronarse cierta concepción mistificada de la literatura militante, a partir de una constatación básica resumida, en *Yo el Supremo*, en la "nota final del Compilador" :

> El a-copiador declara, con palabras de un autor contemporáneo que la historia que en ella debió ser narrada no ha sido narrada.

La historia no se confunde con su escritura. La palabra escrita nunca coincide con el hecho. Pero en este desfase que determina su impotencia como tal se sitúa todo el poder de la literatura, su capacidad para revelar una "trans-historia" mítica que es la evidenciación en cada acto humano de un sentido que lo rebasa sin por eso inscribirse en otro cielo que el, terrestre, de la colectividad humana. La contradicción escritura/historia no conduce, pues, a Roa Bastos a despojar la literatura de su vocación testimonial sino a desplazar el lugar del testimonio de modo que, a través de las infinitas máscaras del mito, transparente la cara luminosa de la esperanza.

NOTAS

[1] Enric Miret : *En torno a Hijo de hombre* (Cuaderno de *Norte* — Revista Hispánica de Amsterdam — 1976).

[2] Se trata del Mariscal López, continuador de la obra de Francia.

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Ficción, historia:

Una problemática de la ambigüedad

por

MARYSE RENAUX

Una tierra asolada por cataclismos naturales y políticos, un universo feroz en el que la hostilidad del ambiente se une a la violencia ciega de las fuerzas sociales, tal es la imagen que la novela realista del siglo 19 y de principios del 20 contribuyó a difundir entre los lectores europeos.

Innegablemente en esta percepción de lo americano se nota la influencia indeleble de España. En efecto, durante todo el período colonial, los intelectuales iberoamericanos — peninsulares y criollos, la mayoría de las veces, y en contados casos, mestizos — se limitaron, pese los esfuerzos de algunos por remozar desde dentro los géneros literarios legados por la metrópoli, a reproducir los patrones propuestos por España. Así prosperaron en el Nuevo Mundo y hasta perduraron de modo totalmente anacrónico las formas, los géneros literarios al uso en España.

Si, a eso se agrega el papel determinante de la censura en la vida intelectual de Hispanoamérica, la función esterilizadora de la Inquisición que sólo toleraba el desarrollo del teatro, usado sistemáticamente como instrumento de adoctrinamiento, de edificación, o de la poesía lírica, pero se cuidaba de prohibir toda obra de ficción, es fácil entender por qué tardó tanto en desarrollarse la novela.

No pudiendo expresarse libremente lo más genuino de América durante el período colonial, con la Independencia los impulsos oprimidos se desbocaron y fue la novela, precisamente, la encargada de expresar la especificidad americana.

Así la búsqueda y la expresión de la autenticidad se dieron dentro de los marcos del realismo e inevitablemente, como ocurre en todo país colonizado que rompe sus trabas, empezaron por ser una reivindicación del pasado, una glorificación de los orígenes.

Pero ya está rebasada esta etapa tal vez imprescindible de la literatura indianista, indigenista. El localismo de la literatura de principio de siglo injustamente tachada de "exótica" ha cedido el paso a una percepción fundamentalmente nueva de lo real, de lo americano.

Juzgada excepcionalmente documental, centrada exclusivamente sobre cuestiones sociales, la narrativa anterior ha sido desplazada por una nueva

narrativa que repudia la univocidad y aspira precisamente a aquella apertura que la faltaba a la literatura de principios de siglo.

El contenido mismo de la autenticidad se ha modificado, se ha vuelto más problemático. Lo indio, el tema del gaucho, o sea, lo rural, tiende a pasar al segundo plano con provecho de los temas urbanos, bajo la presión de los cambios socioeconómicos.

Pero lo que más radicalmente ha cambiado es el panorama espiritual e ideológico, de las minorías intelectuales, de los escritores de clase media. Los acontecimientos políticos interiores de América Latina y sobre todo la segunda guerra mundial han engendrado un escepticismo difícil de contener. La desconfianza ha ganado terreno y se opone a una visión unilateral de lo real.

Sin renunciar a testimoniar, los escritores contemporáneos expresan a su manera, mediatizada, a través de textos de corte muy personal, una realidad más ambiciosa en la que objectividad y subjetividad se licúan, en la que las vivencias personales dicen ocultándola la amarga condición de América Latina.

Ya que dentro del poco espacio de este artículo no es posible tratar el tema de modo exhaustivo, nos limiteremos a exponer algunas reflexiones sugeridas por la lectura de las obras de Onetti, Donoso, Droguett y Lezama Lima, novelistas todos que descuellan por la originalidad de su producción, más precisamente por su forma de enfocar la realidad latinoamericana.

En todos ellos se advierte un descentramiento de las preocupaciones del escritor y un cuestionamiento de la omnipotencia anteriormente concedida a la Historia. El acatamiento a los hechos, el sometimiento a las "lecciones" de la Historia a su supuesta verdad todas estas certezas se vienen abajo.

Lo que repudian Onetti, Donoso, Droguette, Lezama Lima es justamente la transparencia de lo cotidiano, la inmediatez de la literatura. Se niegan a no ser más que meros intermediarios entre el grupo social y la obra. Lo narrado, parecen decir — si es que caben semejantes esquematizaciones — o sea América con sus conflictos y sus problemas importa menos que la manera de narrarlo. Lo contingente, la Historia importa menos que la resonancia que suscita en los espíritus.

Así, por ejemplo, un escritor como Carlos Droguett cuya obra se inspira a menudo directamente en la historia nacional ha sido arrinconado por cierta crítica literaria precisamente porque su obra no se ajusta a los cánones de un realismo cerrado.

En cuanto al uruguayo Juan Carlos Onetti, ha precisado en varias ocasiones a ciertos críticos ávidos de clasificaciones socorridas que su obra — se refería a *El astillero* — no es ningún calco, ninguna alegoría de la realidad uruguaya contemporánea. Reducir dicha novela a una dimensión meramente política, en este caso a las tentativas de reflotamiento de la economía uruguaya por Battle y Barres resultaría, indudablemente, esterilizador.

Además la evolución de la obra de Onetti bien muestra que la tiranía de los hechos, todavía muy presentes en forma immediata en *El Pozo* o en *Tierra de Nadie* cede el paso a una percepción desmultiplicada e imaginativa de lo real, simbolizada por su novela más ambiciosa tal vez, la *Vida Breve*.

Es la concepción onettiana de la realidad netamente metafísica. Su obra gira en torno a tres ejes geográficos : Montevideo, Buenos Aires y Santa María que tiende paulatinamente a ser la única referencia geográfica de su universo. Ahora bien, esta Santa María ideada por el autor, sintomáticamente no tiene referente exterior al campo de la ficción y es precisamente la que va informando toda la obra de Onetti. La ficción crea por lo tanto, para moverse con mayor libertad, su propio lugar lo mismo que un lenguaje específico.

También pasa al segundo plano la temática de las primeras obras de Onetti (temática del grupo) mientras que asistimos a la total primacía del individuo, aislado, marginado o marginándose deliberadamente como Aranzuru en *Tierra de Nadie*.

La Historia, los hechos en bruto o sea la vida de la Colonia, que algún tiempo creyó posible relatar el narrador objectivamente, o mejor dicho que soñó con relatar en *La Vida Breve*, en un pasajero arranque de optimismo, se van esfumando.

A la historia con sus altibajos, sus avances y retrocesos la sustituye el cumplimiento fatal de las Esencias, las cuales sólo se dan en la obra de Onetti en número limitado, por no decir que se reducen a una sola Esencia, la Desgracia.

Podrían aplicarse a la obra de Juan Carlos Onetti estas líneas de Faulkner que tantas similitudes presenta con el escritor uruguayo.

"Un homme est la somme de ses propres malheurs. On pourrait penser que le malheur finirait un jour pas se lasser, mais alors c'est le temps qui devient votre propre malheur".

Son en este caso muy pocas las esperanzas que le quedan al hombre americano. Sólo cabe una postura fatalista, escéptica o cínica, como en la angustiosa novela de Donoso *El obsceno pájaro de la noche*, en que la "claridad recuperada" del narrador, personaje reducido al estado informe de paquete de harapos, sólo desemboca en la siguiente comprobación :

Esta es la única forma de existencia, el escozor de las raspaduras, el ahogo de las pelusas, el dolor del agarrotamiento, porque si hubiera otra forma de existencia tendría que haber también pasado y futuro, y no recuerdo el pasado y no sé de futuro, alojado aquí en el descanso venturoso del olvido porque he olvidado todo y todo se ha olvidado de mí. Mi único atributo es el de compañero de la soledad, la vigilo para que nada perturbe el saco que me protege más eficazmente que el adobe de estos muros. Si, recuerdo los muros. Pero no recuerdo nada más, y el futuro se prolongará sólo hasta el momento que caigan. Falta poco para que todo esto concluya como debe concluir.[1]

Tan extraña como la del chileno Donoso la novela del cubano Lezama Lima, *Paradiso*, publicada en 1966 en pleno período revolucionario, mantiene la misma tonalidad de sus obras poéticas precedentes, a saber, marginalización respecto de la historia.

Cierto es que no llegan algunos ecos de los grandes momentos de la vida nacional a través de las páginas sobre el allanamiento de la universidad por la policía, o a través de la figura de la vieja Mela, separatista empedernida. Pero estas referencias históricas no constituyen más que unos jalones dentro de la narración y la colectividad socio-política se esfuma ante la omnipresencia de la colectividad familiar. Es la familia, con sus pequeñeces y sus grandezas y la oscura finalidad que la rige, el verdadero centro de interés de *Paradiso*. Como lo veremos más adelante, debería partirse del estudio de la familia para llegar a formarse una idea cabal de la sociedad ahí aludida.

Si en todas las obras analizadas más arriba llama la atención el carácter borroso de la realidad histórica también en ellas se encuentran otros distintivos que, a nuestro juicio, caracterizan fundamentalmente la nueva narrativa de la que venimos hablando : el tratamiento particularmente elaborado del material narrativo, la preocupación por el lenguaje, el interés por cómo se engendra el sentido.

Todo ello se plasma a través de la adopción de técnicas literarias nuevas. Así el enfoque múltiple, la simultaneidad de versiones, en algunas ocasiones incompatibles entre sí, contribuyen con el tratamiento del tiempo, el monólogo interior los que afantasman lo narrado.

Buen ejemplo de ello es *Paradiso* en que Lezama Lima, entreteje vivencias del pasado, del presente y hasta del futuro, barajando lo ocurrido y lo por ocurrir en un arrebato de inspiración política.

Queda definitivamente pulverizado el realismo ingenuo de los novelistas de principios del siglo. La inquietud intelectual de la nueva narrativa engendra ya no sólo una actitud de rechazo sino una interrogación sobre la real.

Al "sueño realista" tan difícil de destruir — como lo advierte el narrador en *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* — a "aquel sueño" que se comprende entero lo sucede otro, un sueño que talvez "nos quede grande" y que los adeptos a la nueva narrativa se niegan a rebajar a nuestra media.

Tanto Onetti, como Donoso, Droguett y Lezama Lima, todos claman una misma verdad : la gente tiene muchos destinos y debería huir de lo "literal, pobre, insulso, miserable" por decirlo como Donoso ; lo que puede formularse como sigue : cada uno tiene muchas "vida breves" por hablar como Onetti. Y si nos referimos a Lezama Lima, quién duda que Fronesis y Foción son dos facetas complementarias de una misma edad, la adolescencia ; dos modalidades de una misma inquietud.

No es de extrañar pues que esta nueva ideología de la ambigüedad en que se funda la nueva narrativa desemboque en una proliferación de máscaras y disfraces de toda clase, aunque no siempre de un mismo signo.

En Onetti la máscara se va apoderando paulatinamente del individuo hasta que este llega a confundirse con ella. Es indicio de reificación y lejos de ocultar revela, crudamente, el paso inexorable del tiempo. En Donoso, sobre todo en *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* la necesidad del disfraz se ajusta ante todo a una voluntad, irrisoria desde luego, de poder, como se echa de ver en lo que sigue :

"Yo no entiendo, Madre Benita, cómo usted puede seguir creyendo en un Dios mezquino, que fabricó tan pocas máscaras, somos tantos los que quedamos recogiendo de aquí y de allá cualquier desperdicio con que disfrazarnos para tener la sensación de que somos alguien, gente conocida, reproducción fotográfica en el diario y el nombre debajo, aquí nos conocemos todos, en realidad casi todos somos parientes, ser alguien, Humberto, eso es lo que importa y parpadea la luz de la lámpara y cojea la mesa bajo los codos de mi hermana sosteniendo su rostro en sus manos como en la última postal de la Bertini, máscara también la de mi hermana, máscara de la Bertini porque su rostro no era suficiente, uno va aprendiendo las ventajas de los disfraces que se van improvisando, su movilidad ; como el último ocultó al previo, basta un trapo a cuadros amarrado a la cabeza."[2]

Igualmente, hasta diríamos que más significativa de esta nueva percepción de lo real, en la medida en que constituye la misma armazón de la novela, estructurándola básicamente, es la utilización del Mito o de sus fragmentadas degeneradas, los rituales.

Mito platónico en *Paradiso*, mito cristiano fundamental en la obra de Droguett para quien la escritura es glosa incansable de la Palabra divina ; en Onetti, mito cristiano invertido, vaciado de toda transcendencia y, sin embargo, obsesionante como lo revelaría un estudio detenido del adjetivo "celeste" mitos contemporáneos, conmovedores y tristemente irrisorios en Donoso. Todos sirven, más o menos explícitamente, de punto de arranque a las ficciones citadas más arriba.

Ahora bien. ¿Qué función cumplen estos mitos — colectivos o personales — este despliegue de máscaras, la penetración masiva de lo imaginario en la nueva narrativa?

Lejos de obrar, como podría pensarse a primera vista, como instrumentos de desrealización, aportan a la comprensión de lo humano, de lo histórico una indiscutible profundidad.

En el mejor de los casos, se entiende el más evidente, el de Roa Bastos en *Yo el Supremo*. Los mitos guaraníes y la figura ya legendaria del doctor Francia contribuyen a anclar la novela en el tiempo, a prestar a la historia pasada y presente del Paraguay resonancias múltiples, proféticas.

En los casos de Onetti, Donoso, Lezama Lima, los mitos usados — herméticos a primera vista — vienen a ser unos excelentes reveladores de una realidad que se da por fragmentos en sus obras. Así, Juan Carlos Onetti, pese

a la extensión de lo onírico en su obra, es un buen exponente de la amarga condición del pueblo uruguayo, tal vez historia uruguaya es indiscutible.

Pero a través de todas las ficciones de Onetti no deja por eso de configurarse la imagen desolada, ruinosa, de la Banda Oriental, colonia en segundo grado, sin pasado auténtico sin porvenir "fundador" de Santa María, de una "tierra de nadie".

Quién podría negar que el alucinante despliegue de máscaras asumidas por el narrador de *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* es el Mudito a la vez que Humberto Peñaloza ; una vieja entre otras tantas, el hijo de Iris Mateluna, Boy, el pordiosero, la pordiosera — arroja una luz muy cruda sobre el desconcierto, la alienación de las capas urbanas más pobres de Chile.

Puede leerse *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* como la lucha carnavalesca de los desposeidos por acceder a un estatus que se les niega, como un desquite sórdido de los "sin nombre, sin cara", la búsqueda de un "ser entero" que justamente sólo posee el rico Azcoitía. El miedo a la descomposición, a la disolución, a toda clase de operación cobra entonces un sentido preciso estrechamente ligado a la frenética acumulación de las viejas : acumulación de trapos, harapos, pero también de otras formas de saber susceptibles de contrarrestar la omnipotencia de la casta de los amos.

Esta "crónica de monstruosidades" como la define el narrador de *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* deja asomar, finalmente, un mundo social infernal y angustioso.

Límpida, inocente, nos parece en cambio la novela de Lezama Lima. Profundamente antillana, pese a toda la erudición del autor, a las constantes referencias, a los mitos neoplatónicos. En efecto, ¿ qué es lo que mitifica en *Paradiso ?* A decir verdad, todo en esta novela está bañado, impregnado por una luz neoplatónica.

Desde la violencia feroz de la dictadura, los atropellos de la policía hasta la violencia casual de la vida cotidiana. Los hechos aparentemente más nimios revisten un carácter sagrado. Se integran en una trama preestablecida que los rescata de su vulgaridad. Sin embargo, el símbolo más evidente de la unidad platónica lograda lo constituye la Familia.

Dentro de la Familia, el enlace matrimonial está encargado de realizar la unión de complementarios tan celebrada en *Paradiso*. A la dispersión, a la pérdida sucederán los reencuentros, apertura hacia lo sagrado, hacia lo universal. La familia, pese y gracias a sus fallas, sus rupturas, sus estridencias, sus desviaciones, realiza el sueño platónico de absorción, asimilación, de integración de los complementarios. Y con ello también nos habla Lezama Lima de las Antillas, del Caribe en que se le rinde a la familia un verdadero culto cuya significación convendría elucidar más detenidamente, pero que no es ajeno a una carencia de raíces históricas.

Así la Familia glorificada de Lezama Lima nos remite a un tiempo muerto, como lo insinua el narrador de *Paradiso*, a un tiempo difícilmente aprovechable que se intenta precisamente domeñar.

Lo que nos revela esta novela es una visión desde dentro, la intra-historia de la Cuba prerrevolucionaria, buscando afanosamente, como la madre de Licario, "un sentido final" aunque momentáneo y renovable al trajín cotidiano.

Detrás de la perfección del mito, se agazapa pues la angustia de la búsqueda.

Si admitimos — simplificando excesivamente, desde luego — que :

1. El repudio por la narrativa moderna latinoamericana, del realismo cerrado contribuyó a una reactivación benéfica de la reflexión sobre la naturaleza de la novela.

2. La actual narrativa latinoamericana ha accedido plenamente a una plurivocidad fecunda.

3. La coherencia estética de una obra es de otra índole que la del mundo exterior, regido por leyes económicas científicamente definibles.

4. Es aventurado buscar *a toda costa*[3] una red de analogías u homologías entre la obra y la realidad exterior,.

5. La división entre textos — respuestas y textos — preguntas es inoperante ya que "la literatura es siempre una pregunta a través de una respuesta, una respuesta a través de una pregunta".[4]

6. El propio de la literatura es la ambigüedad — dándole a la palabra el sentido de apertura, en ningún caso de confusión.

7. Todo texto tiende a excederse a sí mismo y de esta proliferación del sentido proviene la capacidad de sugerencia del texto.

Nos es forzoso reconocer que las obras citadas más arriba — ejemplo de esta nueva narrativa alzada contra los presupuestos positivistas de la novela realista — por su reflexión sobre la escritura, por la participación activa que requieren del lector, contribuyen a un enriquecimiento del concepto de realidad. A través de las estructuras delirantes de *El obsceno pájaro de la noche :* de las redundancias onettianas, de la musicalidad circular de Lezama Lima, aparece América con su cruda, desesperante realidad.

NOTAS

[1] DONOSO, José: *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* Editorial Argos Vergara — p. 471.
[2] Ibid. p. 134.
[3] El subrayado es nuestro.
[4] DOUBROVSKY, Serge: *Pourquoi une nouvelle critique* (Denoël).

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La opinión de la corona española sobre la rebelión de Túpac Amaru

por

JEAN-PIERRE CLEMENT

Ahogados en sangre, como es bien sabido, la rebelión de Túpac Amaru y los movimientos afines, el gobierno español decide tomar de nuevo firmemente en manos las riendas de América. Aun antes de la muerte de los últimos jefes, el 16 de febrero de 1783 — Diego Cristóbal Túpac Amaru será ejecutado el 10 de julio —, se nombra al caballero de Croix para suceder al virrey Agustín de Jáuregui. El 28 de marzo del mismo año, se le manda una carta "Muy reservada" *Ynstruiendole de los principales acaecimientos en el Reyno del Peru con el fin de que le sirvan de govierno estas noticias.*[1] Contrariamente a lo que parece rezar el encabezamiento, no se trata de un resumen de los acontecimientos, sino que de una tentativa para explicar los disturbios pasados a la futura autoridad suprema del país ; se alega esencialmente la debilidad del poder virreinal, en las personas de Guirior primero y de Jáuregui después, frente a las exigencias criollas y a las violencias indias. Según Gálvez, pues, el origen de la sublevación no está en la situación vivida por los habitantes de América, sino en la falta de firmeza de los virreyes que se sucedieron en Lima.

Las razones históricas de la insurrección

Abundan, sin embargo, los testimonios de la época que insisten sobre la responsabilidad de la gestión colonial española :

> considero — escribe, por ejemplo, el arzobispo de Charcas —, que así el injusto manejo de corregidores con sus repartimientos, como los nuevos impuestos han sido la causa de la triste situación del Reino y de las aflicciones y peligros de que hemos estado cercados.[2]

Y Jáuregui explica los disturbios por

> el exceso de los repartimientos, las mitas, los obrajes, las demasías de los diezmos, las vejaciones de los cobradores fiscales, las infracción de los privilegios concedidos a los indios, su dificultad suma en alcanzar justicia, la venerada memoria de los incas y la esperanza que en la crédula muchedumbre había despertado Túpac Amaru.[3]

Todos los comentaristas de la situación americana están acordes con reconocer que la tremenda explotación sufrida por los indígenas está al origen de la

sublevación. Los principales acusados son los corregidores y los curas. Ya antes de que estallara la rebelión, Francisco Malhortí escribía al ministro de Guerra y ex-virrey de Nueva Granada Sebastián de Eslava, a propósito de los primeros, que imponen a los Indios

> insufribles gavelas, abeneficio desus bolsillos, sin temor de Dios, ni del Rey : siendo preciso ques los Yndios callen, pues sino hay Cepo, Grillos, Cadenas, y aun apoderarse de quanto tienen, p.r/que el Gobernador es despotico [. . .].[4]

De los segundos, los doctrineros, un anónimo dice en un texto de fines del año de 1776[5] que

> mas bien que el nombre de Pastores merecen el de tiranos, pues [. . .] tiranizan a los individuos que compo-/nen estas [sus parroquias].[6]

No deja, pues, de sorprender que en un texto escrito para explicar el porqué de las rebeliones al recién nombrado virrey del Perú, no se aluda más detenidamente a estos dos tipos de explotadores, cuya responsibilidad parece admitida, ya en la época, por todos. Sólo en la *Instrucción de gobierno*, que se le manda unos meses más tarde,[7] aparecen claramente expuestos estos dos motivos de la sublevación, bajo forma de las precauciones que ha de tomar de Croix para conservar la paz en los territorios de su mando :

> Asimismo se tiene entendido que los Yndios reciven muchos agravios de los Religiosos, y Clerigos que los doctrinan, y particularm.te de que los prenden y castigan p.r qualquiera cosa, y algunas veces por que no acuden à sus grangerias, y servicios personales / como ellos querian, y como esto les esta próhivido y no se cumple como debia, os mando no permitais ni deis lugar à que los Curas, Clerigos, ni Frayles à cuio cargo fuera la doctrina tengan carceles, Alguaciles, ni Fiscales, ni hagan cosa que sea en perjuicio de los Yndios [. . .][8].

Y se añade :

> Tambien ordenareis que los dhos. Curas no lleven camaricos, comidas, Yerva, leña, ni otra cosa semejante de los Yndios, sino solam.te el salario q.e les estubiere señalado.[9]

La explotación general de que sufren los indígenas está convenientemente explicada en los artículos 36 a 38 (págs. 51—57) y la necesaria protección de que deben beneficiar en los números 39 y 40 (págs. 57—60). Empieza así el primer artículo aludido :

> Son grandes los agravios, y daños que segun se tiene entendido padecen los Yndios en sus personas, y haciendas, siendo oprimidos de los Españoles, Frayles, y Clerigos, y otros empleados para todo genero de trabajo en que, pueden desfrutarlos para su aprovecham.to, sin que de su parte haya resistencia, ni defensa, sugetandose à todo lo que se les ordena, como gente tan miserable.[10]

De ahí la actitud paternal que se le recomienda adoptar al virrey :

> os he querido decir que en todo lo que teneis à v.ro. cargo solo el alibio de los Yndios, y su buen tratam.to ha de ser v.ro. mayor cuidado, y el prãl. de que me habeis de dar cuenta, avisandome de los efectos con que adelantareis su mejor govierno espiritual, y temporal [. . .].[11]

Pero todo lo mencionado hasta aquí no se encuentra en el primer texto de Gálvez a de Croix, que se puede considerar como la interpretación del sublevamiento por la corona. En dicho documento, mucho más interesante que el segundo que acabamos de ver (la *Instrucción de gobierno)*, por ser menos general y más apegado al problema referido, se admite en algunas líneas situadas en la 7ª página — con evidencia no se trata de algo que se quiere presentar como esencial — que la explotación del indígena puede tener parte en la responsabilidad de la rebelión :

> En èl *Perú*[12] se cuidaba de sacar del infeliz Yndio toda la vtilidad temporal posible, sin ponerle religion, costumbres, civilidad, ni conocimiento, ni obediencia, y amor al Rey. Ellos no habian visto cerca de si sino tiranos Corregidores, iguales Curas, y por este metodo han sido todos los q[e] han tratado con ello [. . .] ; creyendo tal vez por este mal exemplo / que asi será el Soberano que los (govierna) *domina* [. . .].[13]

Sin embargo, reconocer la culpabilidad de ciertos funcionarios de la corona no significa que se extienda la reprobación al propio poder real, ni que se juzgue aceptable la protesta india. Se silencian, claro, todos los trámites legalistas de Túpac Amaru por los años de 1776—78, así como el desprecio con que se recibieron y el subsecuente fracaso que sufrieron. En esta cuestión tan controvertida de quiénes tienen la culpa del estallido de la rebelión, la pluma de Gálvez trata de disculpar al poder central, responsabilizando a cuantos estén más alejados posibles del trono (los Criollos y la Audiencia) o apartando de su sombra protectora a todos los que, aunque teniendo de él su autoridad, perdieron su confianza por su postura excesivamente humana (los virreyes Guirior y Jáuregui).

Gálvez incrimina a los Criollos

De ninguna manera acepta el gobierno que pese sobre sí el menor cargo. El ejemplo de las reformas fiscales introducidas a partir de 1776 y concretizadas por la venida del visitador general Antonio de Areche es muy elocuente para el caso : he ahí un poder que, por sus decisiones descontenta tanto a los Criollos y a los Indios como a las llamadas "castas" (mestizos y pardos), y que rechaza toda responsabilidad, diciendo que la culpa la tienen las víctimas. ¡Menudo paralogismo! De acusado pasa Gálvez a acusador :

> Pues segun las diferentes noticias recividas *y comprobadas* en varias ocasiones, se deduce una (casi) evidente prueva de que el origen, y raiz de (el tumulto) *la sublevacion del Peru* se dispuso en la misma Capital de Lima *desde el año de 1776.* no obstante que ha pretendido persuadirse que la causa de / el [sic, por 'ella'] era el haberse plantificado la visita general de todos los Tribunales de Justicia, y de R! Hacienda.[14]

Y prosigue su discurso, explicando que los disturbios han nacido del egoismo de los Criollos :

> En las providencias expedidas por este Tribunal de Visita para el arreglo de los Ramos de la R! Haz.da eran inmediatamente comprendidos todos los Hacendados p.r los muchos intereses que posehian [sic] sin pagar la correspondiente contribucion de ellos, y como los mas interesados residen en la Ciudad de Lima, sugerian especies malevolas á los demas del Reyno [. . .].[15]

Es verdad que buena parte de las medidas tomadas en la Corte y aplicadas en Lima por Areche, amenazaban directamente los intereses criollos : además de la creación de la Aduana (en 1773) con su gravamen del 3% sobre las importaciones procedentes de la península y del 5% sobre las extranjeras, se pueden señalar, a partir de 1776, la transformación del quinto real en diezmo — tasa menor, pero que se aplica a toda la producción minera, y ya no únicamente al oro y a la plata —, los impuestos sobre pulperías y el aguardiente, y sobre todo el que la alcabala pase del 4 al 6% (Real Cédula de 26 de julio de 1776). Es cierto que se manifiesta rápidamente el descontento de los Españoles americanos. Son conocidos, entre otras reacciones, el asalto por ellos a la aduana de Arequipa — y a la casa del corregidor — a principios de 1780,[16] y los disturbios, también ocasionados por la aduana y la alcabala, que se verifican en La Paz en marzo del mismo año[17] y en Cochabamba en abril.[18] Los pasquines fijados en las puertas de las iglesias en estas y otras ocasiones son, y es obvio decirlo, obras de Blancos (la corrección del estilo, las medidas criticadas, etc. son claros indicios de ello).[19]

Pero si el texto ministerial expone la realidad cuando reza que los Criollos se resisten muy temprano a las reformas que perciben como contrarias a sus intereses, miente por omisión al no precisar que las decisiones tomadas en la metrópoli y aplicadas con esmero y rigor por el visitador general Areche perjudican también los intereses de los Indios (extensión del tributo a los yanaconas, alcabala sobre los productos "de la tierra", aduana que provoca el alza de los precios, etc.) y a las "castas" (mestizos y mulatos sufren directamente de medidas como la creación del estanco del Tabaco y la creación de la fábrica de cigarrillos,[20] del impuesto sobre el aguardiente y del padrón que se les quiere imponer y que es preludio a su inclusión entre los tributarios). Es decir que en su aviso a de Croix, Gálvez sólo tiene en cuenta parte de las causas del descontento, no lo presenta como general y trata de hacer recaer la responsabilidad sobre un único grupo social — el de los Criollos —, mostrando así que si éstos no hubieran enseñado el mal camino, los Indios se hubieran quedado quietos en sus pueblos. Actitud ciega que contrasta con la acostumbrada inteligencia del ministro y que no convence al lector. Tanta mala fe traduce más bien la voluntad del poder central de aprovecharse de la ocasión para someter a los Españoles americanos, cuya potencia económica y social empieza a ser excesiva para la metrópoli.

Guirior, defensor de los Criollos

Un ejemplo lo muestra nítidamente : el del llamado "gravamen de la vajilla" ; he ahí como lo cuenta — ahorramos los detalles — Eulogio Zudaire[21] : "El virrey Guirior, en virtud de la real cédula de 12 octubre de 1776, había publicado un Reglamento de plateros [. . .] sobre el pago del quinto de la corona y la contraseña en las piezas labradas. Pero había exceptuado de tales gabelas la vajilla de oro y plata y las alhajas que estuvieran ya incorporadas al ajuar privado."[22], y eso ateniéndose a la legislación antigua. Areche no se conforma con esa decisión y obtiene de Madrid que impere su manera de ver : a pesar de sus protestas — "Recurrió el consulado del comercio de Lima[23] al propio Areche alegando que podía tenerse por seguro que no había "marco de piña" que no hubiera sido previamente diezmado, antes de transformarlo en objeto de uso" — [24] los Criollos tienen que pagar el impuesto sobre la vajilla.

Hay más : en todo aquel asunto, Guirior se puso del lado de los tasados. Por eso denuncia Gálvez el hecho de que estaban

> [. . .] apoyados todos por el Virrey, ò con el exemplo / fatal de sus *publicas* proposiciones, pues llegò el caso de proferir que las R.s orñs. comunicadas por este Ministerio de Yndias à nombre del Rey (,) se expedian sin tomarlas primero de su autoridad soberana.[25]

La razón de los sublevamientos que acaba de vivir el país queda, entonces, muy clara :

> El debil govierno en que se mantubo el Reyno del Peru en tp̃o de su virrey D. Manuel de Guirior ha sido causa para que por aq.s. Provincias hubiesen tenido principio los alvorotos que tantos parjuicios han ocasionado en ofensa de Dios, del Rey, y de sus Vasallos.[26]

El fin de Guirior es obtener la supresión de la visita general, que considera como provocadora de disturbios, lo que el ministro de Indias ve como una voluntad de conservación, una negación del cambio necesario, o sea un

> [. . .] sixtema [sic] del Gefe prãl. de aquel Gobierno, que tiraba principalm.te à que el Rey determinara la extincion de la Visita grãl, ò mas propiamente reforma de los embegecidos daños en que estaba, y se miraba aquel Reyno [. . .].[27]

De ahí nace la protesta en el país, según Gálvez, protesta cada vez más general y activa :

> Esta conducta del Virrey Guirior seguida, y observada por los magnates de la Capital, y sus conaterales [sic, por 'connaturales'], pasò à los Subalternos de todas clases [. . .].[28]

El reemplazo de Guirior viene a constituir una urgente necesidad : el 21 de julio de 1780, entrega el poder a Jáuregui y embarca para España en el Callao el 7 de octubre siguiente — un mes escaso antes de la insurrección de Túpac Amaru — ; en aquella circunstancia, la burguesía mercantil de Lima le

agradece la postura comprensiva que tuvo durante su gobierno al salir fiadores de los 40 000 pesos de garantía que debía dejar el ex-virrey "los sujetos de más caudal y crédito de Lima".[29]

La "debilidad" del gobierno de Jáuregui

Pero la alianza objetiva no desapareció con él ; por el contrario, siguió todavía más viva con su sucesor :

> En el actual Govierno de Dⁿ Agustin de Jauregui no ha dejado de notarse en esta parte alguna desconfianza, pues hà sido facil à entregarse à las manos corrompidas de que debiera haber huido si tuviera mas perspicacia [. . .].[30]

Y el ministro llama con gran firmeza la atención del nuevo virrey, de Croix, sobre este aspecto del problema : los malos consejos que ofreció a Jáuregui la Audiencia — que a la sazón estaba entre las manos de los Criollos, como lo ha demostrado perfectamente Guillermo Lohmann Villena —.[31] Gracias a la potencia económica de aquel grupo resultan inútiles las sanciones impuestas por la corona :

> Jubilò S. M. de sus Plazas de Oydores de aqª Audª à Dⁿ Pedro Brabo *del Rivero* y al Conde de Sierra bella [Cristóbal Messía y Munibe], pero estos con su maña y la vnion Dⁿ Antonio Boza [y Garcés], Asesor que fue (del Virrey D. Manl de Amat) *de un Virrey anterior*, no solo contribuyeron al mal govierno (del Virrey) *de* Guirior, sino que han seguido con su industria, y oculta mano conduciendo à (el actual Virrey) *Jáuregui*.[32]

Y se repite la acusación de interesados de que ya se les acusó :

> Estos alucinadores secretos del Govierno nada hacen en que no estè su inmediato interes : todo lo abandonan, ò tratan de ceremonia quando no esperan ventaja de seguir su adulacion, si otros detestables fines con que (vencen) *adquieren* dadivas, ò que les respeten, y tengan por de poder, ò influjo con el que manda, como lo logran.[33]

Fue verdaderamente "aquel govierno debil, y mal aconsejado",[34] como concluye Gálvez. El final del texto relata — para el ministro parece el colmo de la debilidad — el episodio del indulto general ofrecido por Guirior a los últimos rebeldes indios el 12 de setiembre de 1781. Por aquel documento, concedía el virrey el perdón real a los insurgentes, hasta a "los *mas sacrilegos* Gefes de la Revelion" lamenta el Secretario de Indias.[35] Además ordenó, después de la rendición de éstos, que se hiciese "tres dias de luminarias" y "una Misa solemne de gracias que celebro de Pontifical el Arzobispo, mandando asistiese todo el Pueblo."[36] No contento con estas medidas escandalosas, "pues à la verdad ni lo merecia el suceso, ni lo (aguanta) *sufre* el decoro",[37] decide otorgar pensiones y favores a los cabezas de la sublevación.[38]

Frente a estas decisiones, el rey no puede sino aceptarlas, por lo menos en apariencia :

> Pero no obstante esto mando S. M. se la advirtiese como se hizo que no debia de ningun modo estender dho. Yndulto à los referidos autores, y cavezas de la (rebelion) *sublevacion* que nunca merecen, ni deben quedar impunes, y que en esta segura inteligencia procurase vivir mas cuidadoso, y precavido contra aq^{os} delicuentes para vigilar sobre su conducta y asegurarlos si diesen algun / motivo de desconfianza aun an lo mas leve.[39]

Antes de todo pleito, está condenado Diego Cristóbal por la corona y no se admite la actitud conciliadora del virrey, puesto que se estima que los Indios

> piden mas el escarmiento justo que la *debil* dulzura, para hacerles conocer la veneracion que deben a S. M. y à sus Leyes, à la religion, y sana doctrina.[40]

La firmeza es la única respuesta posible, dice Gálvez en sustancia. De ahí que se ordene al virrey el arresto de los jefes indios a los que se acaba de indultar.[41] De ahí que acompañen a de Croix hasta Lima "dos Regimientos completos del Exercito, con cuia tropa, y la que actualmente existe alli, habra la suficiente para hacerse obedecer, y poner en respeto la Soberania [. . .]".[42] De ahí en fin que, para afianzar esta idea en la mente del nuevo virrey, se le recuerde la dureza con que Gálvez apagó en Nueva España los disturbios consecutivos a la expulsión de los Jesuitas, represión presenciada por le propio de Croix.[43]

Las relaciones entre Criollos e Indios

En tales condiciones es lógico que se considere como responsables de los disturbios a los Criollos y a sus representantes de la Audiencia que dieron a los Indios el mal ejemplo primero, y que tampoco hicieron nada para que cesase o por lo menos disminuyese la explotación del indígena :

> Mucha parte de este desorden [el exceso que representa dicha explotación] pudieran à la verdad haber remediado los Tribunales (de Justicia) *de aq*^{l} *Reyno*, siendo lo que debian ser sus Ministros, pero debiles en el cuidado, olvidados en parte de la / administraccion [sic] de (ella) *Justicia*, y enseñanza ecleciastica, è interesados en el abuso, y consentim^{to} del exceso, no han procurado hacer otra cosa que el mirar p^{r} sus vtilidades.[44]

Es verdad que los que avanzan fondos y venden mercancías — muchas veces inútiles y siempre caras — a los corregidores — que a su vez practican después con los Indios el repartimiento forzoso de ellas — son negociantes y mercaderes de Lima y otras ciudades interiores. Lo explica muy bien John R. Fisher en un artículo[45] que concluye así : "En otras palabras, los verdaderos enemigos de los indios fueron en esa época aquellos que controlaban la vida económica y social dentro del virreinato peruano, particularmente en las áreas rurales. En

general eran criollos, no españoles."[46] Y estos procedimientos vuelven a practicarse después de la rebelión tupamarista, como lo prueba muy claramente Alfredo Moreno Cebrián en su definitivo trabajo sobre el corregidor.[47]

También es cierto que, a lo largo de la historia colonial, los Españoles americanos se han opuesto con cierta frecuencia a medidas llenas de humanidad que trataban de mejorar la suerte de los Indios, pero que alcanzaban sus intereses, y el lema de "La ley se obedece, pero no se cumple", no es ningún juego de palabras, sino que corresponde a la realidad.[48] Y por consiguiente no puede sino fracasar toda tentativa de alianza entre criollos e indígenas. Es cierto que, en los comienzos de su insurrección, Túpac Amaru trató de unirse con los criollos, intentó atraerlos — abundan en el libro de Boleslao Lewin las cartas del cabecilla indio y de sus tenientes dirigidas a ellos y encabezadas por expresiones cariñosas ; ofrece sueldos superiores en sus filas a los Blancos —, trata de protegerlos contra las exacciones de sus propias tropas — "las pocas reliquias q^{e} han quedado de Españoles a mi deven la vida", escribe al obispo del Cuzco —,[49] pide la abolición de las nuevas medidas de las que gran parte descontentaban a los Criollos.

Pero la unión entre los Indios y los Blancos americanos era imposible porque se oponían en todos los casos, porque eran ya dos clases que luchaban cada una por sus propios intereses. Cuando Túpac Amaru proclama abolida la esclavitud y suprimidos la mita y el trabajo forzado, no puede agradar a los propietarios criollos de las plantaciones azucareras, de las minas o de los obrajes. Como lo señala con razón Joseph Perez, "Su triunfo, así, no habría significado solamente el fin de la dominación española, sino que habría marcado, probablemente, el declinar de los privilegios de los hijos de los conquistadores."[50] Y los criollos — salvo algunas pocas excepciones — se pusieron entonces del lado de las autoridades españolas. Pero queda en las memorias gubernamentales que, cuando la llegada de Areche a Lima, se han erguido contra el poder en un fuerte movimiento de protesta. Esto es, en fin de cuentas, una confesión de impotencia postergada : reconoce el ministro que el gobierno ha tenido — en parte por lo menos — que ceder ante las oligarquías regionales del imperio. Al vender gran parte de los títulos y empleos el gobierno, de los Habsburgos primero, de los Borbones después, se privó de toda posibilidad de manumisión completa sobre los grupos burgueses que se estaban constituyendo y fortaleciendo con la absorpción del poder administrativo local a la potencia económica. Es decir que esta acusación del ministro revela la fragilidad política del poder estatal. De la toma de posición de los criollos favorable a la independencia dependerá el que se realice la emancipación de las diferentes colonias españolas ; sin esta participación fracasarán las tentativas, como lo demuestra el ejemplo de México. ¿ Y los Indios ? Pues, como lo constata Tibor Wittman : "Después de la caída del "rey de Cuzco" no les interesaba ya quién estuviese en el poder."[51]

NOTAS

[1] A. G. I., Lima 640. El documento consta de 1 hoja que lleva el título y 30 páginas de texto. Está expedido en el Pardo. En lo sucesivo, se abreviará en *Principales acaecimientos.*

[2] LEWIN, Boleslao, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y los orígenes de la Independencia de Hispanoamérica.* Buenos Aires, S. E. L. A., 1967, 3ª ed., pág. 690.

[3] Citado *ibid.*, pág. 691.

[4] MALHORTI, Francisco, *Discurso dirigido Al Exmo Sor Dn Sevastian de Eslaba, sobre los males, y abusos de la America, y verdadero modo de remediarlos.* B. N. Madrid, MS 11 039, fol 23 r°—v°.

[5] *Descripción de la Ciudad de Lima Capital del Perú, su temperamento, opulencia, carácter de sus Naturales, y Comercio, con algunas reflexiones sobre la frequencia de temblores y carencia de lluvia en su valle, y sus inmediaciones.* B. N. Madrid, MS 11 026. Ver mi ponencia, pronunciada sobre este texto en el 2° Congreso de la A. F. E. R. P. A. (Asociación Francesa de Estudios e Investigaciones sobre Perú y Países Andinos) en Grenoble (dic. de 1975) : *L'antagonisme entre Espagnols d'Espagne et Espagnols d'Amérique à travers une description de Lima de 1776*, Actas del coloquio, pp. 113—138.

[6] *Descripción de Lima*, fols. 39 v°—40r°.

[7] *Ynstruccion de Govierno que V. M. manda observar à Dn Teodoro de Croix nombrado Virrey, Governador, y Capitan General del Reyno del Peru.* A. G. I., Lima 640. Esta *Instrucción* "reservada" consta de 1 hoja con el título y 86 págs. que contienen 63 artículos.

[8] *Instrucción de gobierno*, art. 42, págs. 61—62.

[9] *Ibid.*, art. 43, pág. 62.

[10] *Ibid.*, art. 36, pág. 51.

[11] *Ibid.*, art. 52, pág. 74.

[12] Subrayamos las palabras o expresiones añadidas y escribimos entre paréntesis las que se borraron o tacharon en el texto primitivo.

[13] *Principales acaecimientos*, págs. 7—8.

[14] *Ibid.*, págs. 1—2.

[15] *Ibid.*, pág. 2.

[16] LUCENA SALMORAL, Manuel, *Los movimientos antirreformistas en Sudamérica: 1777—1781. De Túpac Amaru a los Comuneros*, en "1776. Bicentenario de la Independencia norteamericana", *Revista de la Universidad Complutense.* Madrid, enero-marzo de 1977, vol. XXVI, núm. 107, págs. 87—88.

[17] LEWIN, *op. cit.*, págs. 148—153.

[18] *Ibid.*, págs. 175—177.

[19] Ver los pasquines copiados por B. LEWIN, *op. cit.*, págs. 155, 115—156, 163, 179—180, etc.

[20] El estanco de los Tabacos fue instituido en Lima en 1753 y extendido a las provincias en 1774—75. En 1780, con la creación de la Real Fábrica de Cigarrillos y su monopolio para la elaboración de este producto, los talleres familiares — muchas veces de mestizos y mulatos — perdieron toda posibilidad de seguir trabajando. Esta fábrica duró poco — en razón del paro y del alza de los precios del tabaco que provocó — y desapareció en 1791 (Ver José Hipólito UNANUE, *Guía política, eclesiástica y militar del virreinato del Perú.* Lima, Imp. de los Huérfanos, 1795, págs. 21—23.

[21] ZUDAIRE HUERTA, Eulogio, *Manuel de Guirior, Virrey de Santa Fe y Lima.* Pamplona, Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1972, págs. 22—23.

[22] *Ibid.*, pág. 22.

[23] Desde hacía tiempo, pero más particularmente en el último cuarto del siglo XVIII, el Consulado de Lima está entre las manos de los comerciantes criollos de la capital del virreinato.

[24] ZUDAIRE HUERTA, *op. cit.*, pág. 23.

[25] *Principales acaecimientos*, págs. 2—3.

[26] *Ibid.*, pág. 1.

[27] *Ibid.*, pág. 4.

[28] *Ibid.*, pág. 3.

[29] ZUDAIRE HUERTA, *op. cit.*, pág. 28.

[30] *Principales acaecimientos*, pág. 10.

[31] LOHMANN VILLENA, Guillermo, *Los ministros de la Audiencia de Lima (1700—1821).* Sevilla, C. S. I. C., E. E. H. A., 1974, CXXIV—200 págs.

[32] *Principales acaecimientos*, pág. 11.

[33] *Ibid.*, pág. 13.

[34] *Ibid.*, pág. 24.

[35] *Ibid.*, pág. 16. Se notará que la corrección añade al texto primitivo el superlativo de "*mas sacrilegos*", encareciendo así la crítica.

[36] *Ibid.*, pág. 18.

[37] *Ibid.*, pág. 19.

[38] Ofrece 1 000 pesos al año a Diego Cristóbal, hermano de Túpac Amaru, 600 pesos a cada uno de sus dos sobrinos, Mariano (hijo de José Gabriel Túpac Amaru) y Andrés Noguera (hijo de su hermana). Por otra parte, el indulto confirma la extinción del reparto de mercancías por los corregidores — ya decidida el 9 de dic. de 1780, como primera respuesta a la sublevación — y suprimía por un año la recaudación del tributo indígena. Sobre este indulto y sus consecuencias, ver B. LEWIN, *op. cit.* págs. 612—635.

[39] *Principales acaecimientos*, págs. 17—18.

[40] *Ibid.*, pág. 16.

[41] *Ibid.*, págs. 24—25.

[42] *Ibid.*, pág. 27.

[43] *Ibid.*, pág. 30. Parece este último párrafo escrito por otra pluma. ¿Será del propio Gálvez? Es muy posible, puesto que se trata de unas frases más personales.

[44] *Principales acaecimientos*, págs. 8—9.

[45] FISHER, John Robert, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y el programa de la reforma imperial de Carlos III*, en "V° Congreso de Historia de América". Lima, 1972, t. II, págs. 406—417.

[46] *Ibid.*, pág. 416.

[47] MORENO CEBRIAN, Alfredo, *El corregidor de indios y la economía peruana en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid, C. S. I. C., 1977. Ver el párrafo titulado "Los subdelegados en el camino de los corregidores", págs. 697—702.

[48] Hablando de las decisiones oficiales que los Americanos se niegan a aceptar, el autor anónimo de la *Descripción de Lima* escribe : "De esto al fin nace que las ordenes de la Corte, y Superior Govierno, ordinariamente se obedecen, pero no se cumplen." (fol. 30 v°).

[49] LEWIN, *op. cit.*, pág. 867.

[50] PEREZ, Joseph, *Los movimientos precursores de la emancipación en Hispanoamérica*. Madrid, Alhambra, 1977, pág. 126.

[51] WITTMAN, Tibor, *Historia de América Latina*. Budapest, Ed. Corvina, 1980, pág. 186.

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Mito y miseria en "El astillero" de Onetti

por

XIMENA MANDAKOVIĆ

El mundo novelesco de Onetti está poblado de seres angustiados y miserables. Provienen generalmente de los bajos fondos y allí deambulan durante el breve lapso de vida que se les ha impuesto. Se encaminan a la muerte lenta y dolorosamente ; sólo en ella encontrarán su identidad, su rostro verdadero.

Larsen, alias Juntacadáveres, proxeneta fracasado, recorre las novelas desde *La Vida Breve* (1950), hasta *Dejemos hablar al viento* (1979). Es protagonista solamente de *Juntacadáveres* (1964)[1] y de *El astillero* (1961).

Numerosos personajes de mitos y leyendas, clásicos y modernos, son utilizados en relación con él.[2] Los contenidos mitológicos tienen una clara función de anti-destino. Aparecen como alusiones discontinuas y llegan a constituir núcleos parciales específicos creadores de diversos niveles de realidad.

El mito napoleónico es altamente significativo. Surge por primera vez en *La Vida Breve*, evocando sólo el período glorioso :

> Bastará con que pienses en las palabras : Marengo, Austerlitz, Borodino y los Cien Días.[3]

Más adelante la relación con el personaje se hace precisa :

> Hubiera querido historiar estos cien días que nos estremecieron. Desde el regreso de Rosario, puerca ciudad de mercaderes, hasta este embarco a Santa Elena.[4]

En *Juntacadáveres* se alude al oficio de Larsen y a su sobrenombre :

> Me quedé conversando con el héroe local, el que juntó más cadáveres que Napoleón.[5]

En cuanto a los nombres, Brausen (antecedente directo de Junta) y Larsen, creemos que es válida una aproximación a dos victorias de Bonaparte : Bautzen y Lutzen, frente a la coalición pruso-rusa en 1813.[6]

En *El astillero*, por el contrario, no se hace mención a ninguna victoria ; sólo se considera la decadencia del Emperador, así como sólo se trata de la decadencia definitiva de Larsen hasta su muerte.

Las primeras líneas de la novela presentan ya el paralelo Larsen-Napoleón anunciando justamente lo que no sucede ni en la existencia de Bonaparte ni en la de Larsen : la prolongación de los cien días, el breve retorno de Napoleón al poder y la regencia del prostíbulo de Larsen :

> Hace cinco años, cuando el gobernador decidió expulsar a Larsen (o Juntacadáveres) (. . .) alguien profetizó (. . .) su retorno, la prolongación del reinado de cien días (. . .).[7]

El hecho de que el relato comience con la evocación de los cien días muestra claramente la intención del narrador de seleccionar el lapso más efímero de la vida del Emperador : el ejercicio del poder entre dos períodos de prisión, el uno en Elba y el otro en Santa Helena. Esto nos permite comprender enseguida que lo que interesa es lo precario, la última tentativa del hombre por cumplir lo que cree ser su vocación. Tentativa que sólo anuncia la decadencia y la muerte del héroe, lo despoja casi de su gloria mitificada, lo reduce a la medida del hombre contemporáneo, lo ubica en un mundo en que el heroísmo es imposible.

La mostración de este solo núcleo del mito napoleónico, el retorno glorioso aunque frágil, ilumina a Larsen y le otorga esa misma característica. Sus cien días son aquellos durante los cuales regentó el prostíbulo que creara en Santa María y de donde fuera "desterrado"[8] enseguida.

Como Napoleón llega a Santa Helena, posesión inglesa, Larsen llega a "la ciudad enemiga", Santa María, y de allí va a "la isla" en donde se establece :

> Tal vez esto, Petrus en la isla, hubiera modificado su historia y la nuestra : (. . .) Jeremías Petrus, emperador de Santa María, Enduro y Astillero.[9]

Aunque la cita se refiere a Petrus la transferencia a nuestro personaje es lógica ya que lo que Larsen pretende es conquistar el imperio de Petrus al casarse con su hija, Angélica Inés.

Con este propósito la visita en el jardín de la casa de su padre. Durante esas visitas es vigilado por dos perros : Dick y Lord. Ahora bien, según el Conde Las Cases el responsable de Santa Helena era Lord Keith ; menciona además a Hudson Lowe y a Castelbreagh[10] encargados de su custodia.

La sirvienta de Angélica Inés se llama Josefina[11] y Larsen tiene con ella la única relación afectiva verdadera y desinteresada.

> Podría casarse con ella, pegarle o marcharse ; y cualquier cosa que hiciera no alteraría la sensación de fraternidad, el vínculo profundo y espeso.[12]

Y Larsen se marcha, la deja, como Napoleón repudiara a Josefina de Boharnais, martiniquesa, "créole" ; frente a ella, la sirvienta criolla "Josefina la negra",[13] su pieza modesta, el corte de tela barata guardado en el armario.

Larsen, "pobre hijo de pobres" vive en una pieza de hotel, el hambre, el frío y la soledad lo asedian. Es Gerente General del imperio de Petrus

— mundo de los muertos — pero es un proxeneta fracasado, "el peor de los fracasos para un hombre de verdad". (Del mismo modo Napoleón es un rey prisionero, el peor de los fracasos para un Emperador.) Su sueldo, cuatro, cinco o seis mil pesos, figura sólo en el libro de cuentas. Acepta el ilusorio cargo, y los compañeros de trabajo lo aceptan "(. . .) porque podrían distraerse con las alternativas del combate entre Larsen y la miseria, con sus triunfos y sus fracasos en la interminable, indecisa lucha por cuellos duros y limpios, pantalones sin brillo, pañuelos blancos y planchados, por caras, sonrisas y muecas que traslucían la confianza, la paz de espíritu, aquella grosera complacencia que sólo puede procrear la riqueza".[14]

La miseria del hombre de nuestra América, representado por Larsen, se transforma gracias a la integración del mito en el relato. Simples y breves alusiones a Napoleón constituyen poco a poco un núcleo mítico que crea un segundo nivel de realidad e ilumina al personaje — ciudadano contemporáneo y banal — con el prestigio del héroe legendario. La lucha por la vida se convierte en lucha por el poder, la acción cotidiana en acción heroica, la marginalidad y la cesantía en destierro y venganza del enemigo.

Es lo que llamamos *función dignificadora del mito.*

Dignificadora o enaltecedora, esta función se ejerce en todos los planos de la novela. El personaje ennoblece sus motivaciones por medio de la heroicidad. El espacio se amplía y lo nacional se convierte en universal. Nuestros países jóvenes y despojados se emparentan con la vieja Europa, con la historia del Occidente Moderno.

La perspectiva ontológica de Onetti le permite decirnos que la angustia de ser hombre es siempre la misma, que la vida breve es dolorosa y no tiene sentido alguno. Y es por eso que la búsqueda es infatigable, porque se crea lo que no se tiene.[15]

El hombre es finito y busca la eternidad, está abandonado e indefenso y busca la salvación.

Esta búsqueda se expresa en "El astillero" a través del mito bíblico, de sus personajes y sus símbolos.

El punto de partida son las dualidades semánticas "gloria-glorieta" y "casa-casilla", sólo tres de estos elementos participan de la connotación mística : gloria, glorieta y casa.

El tercer capítulo "La Glorieta" I contiene todos los elementos de la primera dualidad. La Gloria es la casa construída sobre catorce pilares. "(. . .) Larsen veía la casa como la forma vacía de un cielo ambicionado, prometido ; (. . .) como las puertas de una ciudad en la que deseaba entrar, definitivamente (. . .)".[16]

Hace la corte a Angélica Inés para ser el propietario, por sucesión, del "Imperio" de Petrus y así poder acceder a la "gloria", es decir la casa.

A cada visita es recibido en la glorieta que precede a la gloria y sólo puede mirar la casa que, aunque próxima, permanecerá cerrada para él.

De la descripción de los dos lugares se deduce que se trata de una evocación del templo de Salomón, que éste hiciera construir en Jerusalén en honor a Jehová.

Gloria-glorieta corresponden a la dualidad mística Santo-Santísimo concebida como el templo de Dios. Dice el libro de los Hebreos 9/2 "Porque fué construído un primer lugar en el cual estaba el *candelabro* y también la mesa y la exhibición de los *panes;* y lo llaman "el Lugar Santo". 9/3 Pero detrás de la segunda cortina estaba el compartimento llamado "el Santísimo" 9/4. Este tenía un incensario de oro y el arca de la alianza cubierta de oro por todas partes".

(Estos lugares se encuentran tras la fuente lalmada "mar fundido").[17] En el primer libro de los Reyes 6/20, el Santísimo es presentado como un cubo perfecto.

Dice *El astillero:*

> Junto al estanque, después del estanque, una glorieta (. . .) Más allá de la glorieta estaba la casa blanca y gris, *cúbica* (. . .) alzada sin gracia por los *pilares.*[18] (. . .) En la glorieta "el *candelabro* — viejo y empañado, con formas de bestias y flores — macizo (. . .) siete velas quemándose en el frío".[19] Había una mesa (. . .) "cubierta por un mantel (. . .) por platos con *tortas* y *dulces.*[20]

Todos los elementos esenciales del lugar Santo tienen su equivalente, ligeramente banalizado, en la novela. La forma cúbica y el candelabro se mantienen tal cual, las columnas se transforman en pilares, la fuente en estanque y los panes en tortas y dulces.

En cuanto al Santísimo, la casa, lo que la caracteriza de modo permanente son las columnas, que en la simbología judeo cristiana expresan la unión indisoluble del cielo y la tierra. Las más célebres son las llamadas Jaquín y Boaz.

El incensario y el arca de la alianza, ambos de oro, son evocados por el resplandor "amarillo" o "cobrizo" que se ve a través de las ventanas. (p. 145).

Larsen no logra entrar en la casa. Hacía el final de la novela Angélica Inés lo invita a comer "arriba" (p. 188) pero la invitación llega demasiado tarde. En cambio Petrus y su hija pueden hacerlo. En el libro de los Hebreos 9/5 se dice que sobre el arca están los querubines lo que explica que Angélica Inés pueda entrar. En 9/7 se precisa que solo el sumo sacerdote tiene derecho a entrar allí.

Petrus sería el Sumo Sacerdote y a la vez San Pedro, guardián de los cielos : su hija, el ángel, vicario del jefe de los apóstoles. "Petrus gozando de su gloria en el piso alto de la casa"[21] Angelica Inés es ángel y símbolo religioso : "Era un paso procesional (. . .) era como si la muchacha fuera avanzando su apenas mecida pesadez, estorbada doblemente por la impuesta lentitud de un

desfile religioso y por los kilos de un símbolo invisible que transportara, cruz, cirio o el asta de un palio".[22]

El mito impregna a tal punto el relato que transforma profundamente los personajes y el significado de sus actos.

Larsen, cafiche fracasado que trata de heredar la fortuna de Petrus casándose con su hija, se convierte en místico buscador de la gloria.

Petrus, armador arruinado y explotador de un dominio fantasmal, alienado por el amor al dinero, se vuelve el Jefe de los Apóstoles y Guardián del Cielo.

Angélica Inés, tonta o loca, siempre riéndose de nada, adquiere rasgos de sacerdotisa y símbolo místico.

Nuevamente se manifiesta la función dignificadora del mito, su fuerza sublimadora de la condición lamentable del hombre, de su miseria.

El término "casilla" de la segunda dualidad, queda fuera de toda connotación místico-religiosa y como antítesis de "casa" conserva un significado unívoco ; es lo humano, la pobreza, la vivienda del marginal de la sociedad. Allí la luz sólo entra por (. . .) "el agujero serruchado con limpieza que llamaban ventana y que cubrían en parte vidrios, cartones y trapos".[23]

En esa casilla, especie de casa para perro un poco agrandada, nace el hijo de la preñada y del suicida Gálvez mientras Larsen se prepara a morir huyendo de la vida.

La figura prestigiosa de Napoleón, la búsqueda de la gloria, se revelan ahora inútiles. Todo lo que había servido para dignificar la condición de Larsen se despoja de su significado. La asimilación del hombre al héroe del 18 Brumario es imposible, los lugares santos, las casas de los ricos son inaccesibles para el hombre común.

Cuando el personaje se acerca a la muerte, a su verdad, la función del mito se invierte . . . Toda la construcción mística se desmorona, como el astillero mismo. Napoleón se convierte en la antítesis absoluta de Larsen, en la constatación definitiva de la imposibilidad del heroísmo. Del mismo modo el templo de Salomón se convierte en la antítesis de la casilla.

Surge así la función intensificadora de la miseria humana. El mito significa al hombre en un primer momento y enseguida lo sumerge aún más en su pequeñez y en su dolor.

> (. . .) alcanzó unos minutos después el muelle de tablas y se puso a respirar con lágrimas el olor de la vegetación invisible, de maderas y charcos podridos.[24]

Ha vivido tratando de asemejarse al héroe y al burgués, pero cuando constata la vanidad del esfuerzo reconoce su condición : "Nosotros los pobres".[25]

Los pobres, el pobre, el ser anónimo que sólo recobra su identidad en la muerte : "(. . .) en los libros del hospital figura completo su nombre verdadero".[26]

NOTAS

[1] Retenemos la cronología de Rodríguez Monegal quien afirma que estaba terminada ya en 1957.

[2] Ulises, el caballero medieval (que se acerca notablemente a Perceval), Orfeo, Napoleón, el compadrito malevo, Cristo, Judas, Jeremías, San Pedro, el Angel guardián del cielo, etc.

[3] *La Vida Breve*. Ed. Sudamericana. Buenos Aires 1968. P. 51.

[4] *La Vida Breve* p. 274. El nombre de la isla aparece sin h, probablemente para asimilarlo a Rosario en su carácter local.

[5] *Juntacadáveres* Revista de Occidente. Madrid. 1969. P. 100.

[6] Según "Le mémorial de Sainte Hélène. Comte de Las Cases. Flammarion. Paris. 1951. Tomo I. p. 277.

[7] *El astillero* p. 7.

[8] La palabra es empleada a menudo por Onetti, también "imperio" refiriéndose al astillero y a la fortuna de Petrus e "isla" para designar el pequeño puerto.

[9] *El astillero* p. 144.

[10] "Mémorial de Sainte Hélène". Tomo I p. 52—53.

[11] Esto no es en absoluto casual ya que las sirvientas en la obra de Onetti se llaman generalmente Rita, como la de Juntacadáveres.

[12] *El astillero* p. 193.

[13] *El astillero* p. 41.

[14] *El astillero* p. 50.

[15] *Juntacadáveres* P. 96.

[16] *El astillero* p. 20—21.

[17] Según el plano del Templo-Palacio de Jerusalén. Traducción del Nuevo Mundo de las Santas Escrituras. Edición en español. Watchtower Bibl. N. York 1967.

[18] *El astillero* p. 19—20.

[19] *El astillero* p. 56—57.

[20] Id. P. 20.

[21] Id. P. 145.

[22] *El astillero* p. 121.

[23] Id. P. 194.

[24] *El astillero* p. 194.

[25] Id. P. 192.

[26] Id. P. 196.

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El tiempo del mar perdido

por

FERNANDO MORENO TURNER

En medio de la heterogénea pero también sistemática descripción con que inicia *El otoño del patriarca*,[1] surge un elemento que, enigmático en un comienzo (" . . . los rosales nevados de *polvo lunar* . . ., p. 6), encuentra una explicación — todavía limitada — líneas más adelante : " . . . y más allá de la ciudad, hasta el horizonte, vimos los cráteres muertos de ásperas *cenizas de luna de la llanura sin término donde había estado el mar*." (p. 7). Por lo demás, esta aclaración había sido antecedida por una primera referencia a la desaparición del mar : " . . . la máquina del viento [. . .] para que la gente de la casa soportara *la nostalgia del mar que se fue*." (íd.).

Tales evocaciones del mar perdido, así como la alusión al "polvo lunar" que puede verse en el lugar antes ocupado por las aguas, serán reiteradas — por distintos narradores — a lo largo del texto[2] y constituyen, por un lado, una anticipación de la situación narrativa que será desarrollada mucho más tarde (p. 247)[3] y, por otro, un factor de cohesión interna, una articulación necesaria debido, fundamentalmente, a la complejidad del mundo mentado y a su particular temporalidad.

No son éstas, sin embargo, las únicas funciones que cumplen dichas recurrencias. Una vez conocida la totalidad de la historia se advierte plenamente el carácter multifacético de este elemento. La pérdida del mar aparece entonces como un núcleo que afecta al conjunto de la acción y de sus circunstancias, como uno de los mecanismos sustentadores del universo simbólico representado.

Antes de detenernos en el examen de algunas de las múltiples incidencias significativas de la pérdida del mar, conviene señalar también que, a su vez y desde el punto de vista de las motivaciones del personaje central y de su entorno, la presencia del mar, su existencia, posee una fuerza y una importancia singulares. En efecto, no podemos olvidar que, de acuerdo con lo expresado por el dictador, la obsesión por el mar es una de las causas esenciales de su viaje desde las tierras del interior hacia la costa y es, además, el impulso primordial que lo conduce a la toma del poder :

> . . . yo que abandoné mis páramos de niebla y me enrolé agonizando de calenturas en el tumulto de la guerra federal, y no crea usted que lo hice por el patriotismo que dice el diccionario, ni por espíritu de aventura, ni menos porque me importaran un carajo los principios federalistas que Dios tenga en su santo reino, no mi querido Wilson, *todo eso lo hice por conocer el mar* . . . (p. 201)

Una vez dueño del país, el patriarca mantiene con el mar una relación privilegiada, un contacto que reviste distintas formas y matices. Desde la casa de los dictadores derrocados o desde las ventanas de la casa del poder, el patriarca observa incansablemente un mar sosegado, límpido, envolvente, vivificante. Un mar que forma parte de ese "mundo del Caribe" que en el mes de diciembre "se volvía de vidrio" (p. 20) y permitía ver "el universo completo de las Antillas desde Barbados hasta Veracruz" (p. 44). Es una "ciénaga dorada" en abril (p. 70) y una "ciénaga florida" en enero (p. 216). Vasto e inmutable, el mar omnipresente irrumpe en el palacio presidencial, no sólo gracias a la presencia de la brisa, sino también mediante su representación en los sueños del dictador : " . . . y desbordaba la faz de la tierra, y el espacio y el tiempo, y sólo quedaba él solo flotando bocabajo en el agua lunar de sus sueños de *ahogado solitario*, . . . " (p. 13).[4]

De ahí que cuando el país ya no puede hacer frente a las exigencias de sus poderosos acreedores, el dictador se resista a entregar lo que ha llegado a ser el único bien de la nación. Pero finalmente debe ceder, amenazado por la intervención directa y la ocupación (" . . . o vienen los infantes o nos llevamos el mar," p. 247), consumándose así su entrega. De ahí también que, posteriormente, el patriarca esté convencido de que en su cuerpo "ensopado en una materia incesante y salobre" (p. 257) y cubierto en algunas de sus partes por "pólipos y crustáceos microscópicos" (p. 258) se evidencia el regreso del mar.

Es lícito entonces preguntarnos por el sentido que puede tener este episodio de la pérdida, de la entrega del mar. Una situación que, como tantas otras, ya había sido adelantada mucho antes de que conociésemos todas sus causas : " . . . se pensaba que era un hombre de los páramos [. . .] por la inconcebible maldad del corazón con que le vendió el mar a un poder extranjero . . ." (p. 50).

Ya hemos indicado que el episodio admite múltiples interpretaciones. La que mencionaremos en primer lugar proviene de las declaraciones hechas por el propio escritor. En efecto, en distintas oportunidades, García Márquez ha insistido en la función preponderante que los datos anecdóticos, los elementos familiares y otros, adquieren en la configuración de su mundo narrativo.[5] Y con respecto a *El otoño del patriarca* ha declarado que no se trata solamente de una fábula delirante sobre el dictador latinoamericano, sino que además el texto forma parte de sus memorias personales : "*Cent ans de solitude* était écrit à partir des expériences de mes parents et grands parents, des gens que j'avais connus enfant, des choses qu'on m'avait racontées, des légendes et

froyances populaires. En revanche, *L'Automne du patriarche* est un roman condé totalement sur mes expériences personnelles. Mais chiffrées. Si vous voulez, c'est une partie de mes Mémoires."[6]

Y en otra ocasión, con respecto a la pérdida del mar, el escritor indica que " . . . probablemente todo este episodio del dictador que vende el mar y del dictador que se queda perdido por la falta del mar, corresponde un poco a la historia de la cual hablábamos hace un momento, del muchacho de Aracataca, del muchacho de Barranquilla que a los doce años llega a la ciudad más extraña y más remota que recuerda, que es una ciudad gris, una ciudad cenicienta, una ciudad fría, con tranvías que echan chispas en las esquinas, con hombres vestidos de negro, con calles totalmente llenas de muchedumbre, donde no hay una sola mujer y, sobre todo, donde no hay mar. Yo tengo la impresión de que esa es probablemente una interpretación mucho más correcta de todo el episodio del dictador que vende el mar."[7]

Es indudable que dichas aclaraciones constituyen un elemento de gran interés para entender esta situación narrativa particular, y la novela en su totalidad, desde una perspectiva que podríamos denominar personalizada o biográfica. Permiten explicar la presencia obsesiva de temas y motivos, y su funcionamiento con respecto a la vinculación que puede establecerse entre el mundo mentado, por una parte, y el mundo vivido, por otra. Sin embargo, también es evidente que esta explicación difícilmente puede inferirse de la mecánica interna del texto si desconocemos los pormenores biográficos del escritor. De ahí que, sin olvidar esta primera aproximación, creamos necesario buscar otras significaciones que emerjan, esta vez, de la articulación y cohesión de los distintos factores constitutivos del universo inaugurado por el texto. Por lo demás, otras palabras de García Márquez autorizan esta exigencia: "Las novelas son como los sueños [. . .] Como los sueños están construídas con fragmentos de la realidad, pero terminan por constituir una realidad nueva y distinta."[8] Una realidad nueva, agregamos, en la que se expresa una cierta actitud frente al mundo. Y en cuanto obra literaria, *El otoño del patriarca* es una producción que viene del mundo para hablarnos del mundo, de nuestro mundo, de sus angustias y esperanzas, de sus sueños y de sus pesadillas. Y basándonos en los datos entregados por el propio texto intentaremos encontrar y elucidar ese mensaje.

Es indudable que la anécdota de *El otoño del patriarca* se nutre de la historia. En su universo narrativo podemos rastrear la presencia de situaciones y personajes que han marcado la evolución histórica de América Latina. Baste recordar que en ese extraño y extraordinario mundo del patriarca se mencione la llegada de las tres carabelas y del "almirante de la mar océana", o la visita del poeta Rubén Darío y la presencia de los dictadores en exilio y de los infantes de marina para que tengamos la certeza de la presencia de la Historia. Y es en este contexto que se sitúa el episodio de la venta del mar.

En efecto, constantemente la novela hará alusión a una serie de factores que caracterizarán el reino del patriarca como un país subdesarrollado y dependiente. Aunque a veces desdibujado por los múltiples acontecimientos y la intrincada red verbal, el texto va trazando el retrato de un país agrario, de una nación que es una fuente casi inagotable de riquezas naturales, pero que poco a poco va siendo despojada de ellas :

> . . . estamos en los puros cueros mi general, habíamos agotado nuestros últimos recursos, desangrados por la necesidad secular de aceptar empréstitos para pagar los servicios de la deuda externa desde las guerras de la independencia y luego otros empréstitos para pagar los intereses de los servicios atrasados, siempre a cambio de algo mi general, primero el monopolio de la quina y el tabaco para los ingleses, después el monopolio del caucho y el cacao para los holandeses, después la concesión del ferrocarril de los páramos y la navegación fluvial para los alemanes y todo para los gringos . . . (p. 224)

Se trata de una dependencia política (el dictador "está en el trono [porque] lo sentaron los ingleses y lo sostuvieron los gringos con el par de cojones de su acorazado", p. 29) y económica que va más allá de la mera concesión o venta de las fuentes indispensables para el desarrollo, puesto que las grandes potencias no vacilan en pasar a la acción directa si el deudor no puede o no quiere cumplir los compromisos contraídos con las compañías extranjeras, sin olvidar, por cierto, las intervenciones realizadas con el acuerdo y bajo la petición del propio gobernante (Cf. por ejemplo, pp. 117, 225).

Fuente de degradación y de despojo, el saqueo alcanza las características de un monstruo insaciable. Su labor invasora y destructora finalizará sólo cuando haya terminado la operación de entrega completa de los recursos nacionales : se concede al embajador Warren el "derecho de pesca sin límites de las naves de su país en nuestras aguas territoriales" (p. 109), y al embajador Traxler el "derecho de la explotación vitalicia de nuestro subsuelo" (p. 225).

Las citas anteriores resumen de manera adecuada, en lo fundamental, lo que ha sido la historia de América Latina. Una historia de continuo despojo, la paradójica situación de las naciones subdesarrolladas que son también exportadoras de capital. De este modo, así como resulta difícil establecer una relación precisa entre la figura del patriarca y la de un dictador "real" — pues en verdad contiene a muchos de ellos — así también el saqueo presentado en la novela no alude directamente a la situación de un país determinado, sino a un conjunto de ellos. Azúcar, caucho, cacao, algodón, café, plátanos, salitre, cobre, estaño, hierro, petróleo, son riquezas que han pasado a manos de las potencias y las compañías extranjeras, constituyen el aporte impago de la tierra latinoamericana al poderío económico extranjero.[9]

Y la venta del mar constituye el último eslabón de la continua y constante cadena de expoliación : " . . . este país no vale un rábano, a excepción del mar, por supuesto, que era diáfano y suculento . . .", dice el embajador Rox-

bury (p. 242). Para mantenerse en el poder y evitar una nueva intervención extranjera el patriarca concede entonces "el derecho de disfrutar de nuestros mares territoriales en la forma en que lo consideren conveniente a los intereses de la humanidad y la paz entre los pueblos . . . " (p. 249). La situación es ahora tan trágica como irreversible. Ya no se trata tan sólo de disponer del mar, sino también de su conversión en un objeto de consumo y, por ende, de la apropiación y del traslado de ese objeto hacia los territorios del nuevo propietario :

> . . . se lo llevaron en piezas numeradas los ingenieros naúticos del embajador Ewing para sembrarlo lejos de los huracanes en las auroras de sangre de Arizona, se lo llevaron con todo lo que tenía dentro, mi general, con el reflejo de nuestras ciudades, nuestros ahogados tímidos, nuestros drangones dementes . . . (p. 248)
> . . . pero nunca me pude imaginar que eran capaces de hacer lo que hicieron de llevarse con gigantescas dragas de succión las esclusas numeradas de mi viejo mar de ajedrez [. . .] se llevaron todo [. . .] y sólo dejaron la llanura desierta de áspero polvo lunar . . . (p. 249)

Es obvio que un acontecimiento de esta naturaleza aparece, en sentido literal y como tantos otros hechos en la novela como algo inverosímil e increíble. Dejando de lado el hecho de que en esta descripción aparezcan los rasgos característicos de las posibilidades modernas de la técnica, este suceso sorprendente adquiere sentido funcional dentro de los límites de la imaginación poética hiperbólica predominante en el texto. Pero también es cierto que si se intenta interpretar la imagen, vinculándola con el contexto de la dependencia al que hemos aludido, surgen una serie de analogías y significaciones.

Hay varios trabajos críticos que, desde este punto de vista, presentan una interpretación del episodio de la venta del mar. Así, para Graciela Palau se trata de una versión alegorizada de ciertas situaciones ocurridas realmente en la República Dominicana ; se estaría aludiendo en el texto a las maquinaciones de los caudillos dominicanos Pedro Santana y Buenaventura Báez que estaban dispuestos a vender el país al mejor postor : "Santana anexa la República a España ; Báez negocia un empréstito de banqueros ingleses en 1869 ; la bahía de Samaná, al noroeste de la isla, en el Atlántico, se convierte en botín. Durante su gobierno provisional (1866), el general Cabral propone compartir con los Estados Unidos la soberanía de las aguas de la bahía a cambio de su defensa. Báez propone después la anexión del país entero para salvarse de la ruina".[10] Más tarde, bajo el gobierno de Ulises Hereux, la bahía y la península de Samaná siguen siendo el botín con que se tienta a las potencias extranjeras. Sabemos, además, que posteriormente los infantes de marina estadounidenses ocuparán el país y que luego se iniciará la conocida "era de Trujillo".

Por su parte, Gonzalo Celorio propone otra versión de la pérdida del mar. Dice este estudioso que " . . . no es sólo una imagen hiperbólica sino también, y más que nada, una alegoría : su vínculo con la realidad latinoamericana es

dramáticamente estrecho. Es el caso, huelga decirlo, de Bolivia, que habiendo tenido acceso al mar se ve de pronto despojada de su presencia física — no sólo económica — al replegar sus fronteras por conflictos internacionales en los que no dejó de meter primero sus narices y luego el cuerpo entero el imperialismo norteamericano."[11]

El investigador Manuel Maldonado Denis entrega, a su vez, un sentido distinto. Indica en su estudio sobre *El otoño del patriarca* que para los portorriqueños la descripción de ese despojo de las riquezas marinas no puede provocar una sorpresa demasiado grande y que la desproporción y la hipérbole resultan finalmente atenuadas porque se trata de un suceso que todos sus compatriotas conocen. Y se pregunta "¿No era acaso eso mismo lo que se pretendía hacer con la construcción de un superpuerto en nuestras aguas territoriales? De otra parte, si el mar es contaminado, minado y despojado de toda riqueza mineral, vegetal y animal, si éste no nos pertenece sino que forma parte de las aguas territoriales de la metrópoli, ¿no es acaso la entrega del mar?".[12]

Todas estas opiniones nos parecen válidas y coherentes. Y no porque queramos adoptar una posición difusamente ecléctica sino porque del mismo modo como el despojo de las riquezas básicas que nos presenta el texto puede ser resentido por un número considerable de naciones, este episodio de la venta del mar puede ser comprendido desde distintos puntos de vista si se toman en cuenta las realidades semejantes que han marcado la Historia latinoamericana. Por esto creemos que la alegoría no puede ser exclusiva, sino que, desgraciadamente, la realidad lo comprueba, esta incluye al mismo tiempo todas aquellas situaciones en que diferentes países se han visto despojados del mar. Hasta tal punto que incluso podríamos incorporar a este conjunto de interpretaciones lo sucedido en Panamá. Recordemos que en la zona que por entonces pertenecía a Colombia se planeó construir un canal interoceánico. Las malas gestiones y los escándalos políticos condujeron al desastre la compañía encargada de su realización. Los Estados Unidos se convierten en compradores de la concesión y de las maquinarias, pero Colombia se niega a ratificar un tratado que estipulaba el arriendo — la entrega — de una franja territorial. Un alzamiento — dirigido y fomentado por agentes de la compañía — proclama la República Independiente de Panamá y el 18 de noviembre de 1903 se firmaba un acuerdo: "A cambio de la concesión perpetua de una zona de diez millas entre la capital de la nación y su principal puerto atlántico, Estados Unidos concedía a Panamá un subsidio anual y "garantizaba su independencia".[13] Esta podría ser también otra variante, desde la perspectiva adoptada, del episodio de la venta del mar.

Pero pensamos que el plano interpretativo puede ser ampliado todavía más. Si consideramos que el mar aparece como un leitmotiv a lo largo de la intriga evocada por el texto, que se convierte en una de las preocupaciones obsesivas del patriarca, si tomamos en cuenta la nostalgia y la impotencia

desgarrada expresada por los narradores que evocan ese mar (p. 50, por ejemplo) no nos parece absurdo proponer que éste adquiere no sólo un carácter globalizador y representativo de todas las riquezas naturales del país, sino que también contiene los rasgos definitorios de una identidad y de un origen, los aspectos típicos de lo fundamental, de lo propio y peculiar. De este modo, la venta del mar podría significar la pérdida del origen y de la identidad, correspondería a la situación de alienación, a la situación que conocen los países latinoamericanos que no han perdido solamente sus riquezas básicas sino que además — y por causa de lo anterior — su independencia y autonomía, en la medida en que estos factores son la expresión de la potestad legítima e inalienable para decidir sobre sus propios destinos.

Sin embargo, aunque aceptamos plenamente el carácter sincrético de esta obra de García Márquez, aunque vemos en este episodio de la pérdida del mar una suerte de compendio de los despojos de los que han sido objeto los países latinoamericanos (así como el texto en su integridad puede ser considerado un compendio poético de la Historia latinoamericana y de sus dictaduras), creemos que la correlación histórica no lo explica todo y que resulta necesario integrar todos los elementos dentro de otro sistema que pueda englobar un mayor conjunto de posibilidades significativas. Es así como la especial configuración del personaje, de su tiempo y de su mundo, e incluso la presencia de una serie de indicios de distinta índole, nos pueden conducir a la detección de otro nivel de intelección estética : el que se refiere al universo del mito. De este modo, intentaremos, brevemente, incluir algunos aspectos vinculados con la pérdida del mar dentro de un marco de naturaleza distinta pero que, sin embargo, no se aleja de la Historia, sino que la configura y la integra. En diversos niveles, a veces en estrecha conexión con la Historia, el Mito, que funde y confunde aspectos de diverso origen y factura, caracteriza al personaje y a su entorno.

Ya hemos indicado que en el interior de las situaciones narrativas textuales aparecen una serie de sucesos que pueden equivaler a acontecimientos verificados en la Historia de Latinoamérica. Pero éstos elementos aparecen diseminados e inmersos dentro de un conglomerado de anécdotas íntimas, familiares y sociales del universo del patriarca, un universo cuya historia, como sabemos, está regida por eras (la del cometa, por ejemplo). Además, los episodios "históricos" no siguen una progresión temporal, sino que se presentan de acuerdo con las coordenadas fundamentales que corresponden a la expresión de un tiempo donde todo coexiste, de un tiempo detenido, que es el tiempo del Mito. Por otro lado sabemos que el país del patriarca, hecho a su imagen y semejanza, aunque presenta aspectos reconocibles de distintos espacios concretos, no puede ser identificado con algún país en particular. También sabemos que posee una ubicación privilegiada que lo convierte en una suerte de *axis mundi*. Situado en algún lugar del Caribe y las Antillas, es para América

Latina un lugar de origen y génesis, pues allí comenzó su irrupción en la Historia con respecto al resto del mundo. Tierra de utopía, antes imaginada que conocida, América Latina se "funda" un viernes de octubre: el texto sitúa el país del patriarca en el lugar de esa fundación. El mito no es otra cosa que el relato de la fundación y los orígenes.

En relación con el patriarca, podemos decir que su figura está construida con una serie de características que permiten relacionarla con un grupo de dictadores que ha conocido el continente y que podrían haber servido de "modelo" para la realización literaria.[14] Pero también advertimos que el personaje aparece asociado con una serie de creencias, leyendas y supersticiones (pp. 49, 129, 169, por ejemplo). Es un hombre mesiánico, capaz de hacer milagros (pp. 51, 90, 104, 247), omnipresente e indispensable (pp. 158, 184, 199, 233), una suerte de arquetipo en el que parecen converger las tendencias y demandas espirituales de la colectividad, y que conoce los períodos cíclicos de renovación; es también un personaje mítico.[15]

Y la presencia y la pérdida del mar funciona en el interior de esta zona de confluencia y de interrelación entre el Mito y la Historia que se verifica en los distintos niveles textuales. Constituye, en primer lugar, la meta que nuestro héroe debe alcanzar luego del penoso itinerario, del viaje de iniciación que supone su periplo del interior hacia la costa. Pero como el dictador es más bien una suerte de antihéroe mítico, una vez alcanzado su objetivo no realizará una labor civilizadora sino destructora. Una tarea de destrucción sistemática que culmina con la pérdida del mar hecho que, además de las connotaciones históricas ya mencionadas, participa de la simbolización del Mito. En efecto, si para la imaginación mítica el agua, el mar, es símbolo de muerte y de vida, de disolución y de retorno a lo inorgánico, es efectivo además que, según nos informa Northrop Frye, uno de los signos característicos del apocalipsis lo constituye *la desaparición del océano*.[16]

El tiempo del mar perdido es entonces el tiempo del continuo despojo del continente, también el tiempo del apocalipsis. Pero no se trata del apocalipsis, de la destrucción de todo el mundo, sino del derrumbe del mundo mítico que ha instaurado y en el que participa el dictador. El episodio de la pérdida del mar aparece como uno de los puntos culminantes del proceso lento pero inexorable que conduce al aniquilamiento del mito, de la base mesiánica y milagrosa que sustenta al patriarca y a su poder. Lentamente, a través de la constatación de las falacias de la milagrería (pp. 151, 156, 158), a medida que quedan los engaños al descubierto (pp. 228, 229) y que se constata falsedad de los pronósticos y augurios (122, 195, por ejemplo), se produce en el texto un proceso de desmitificación, de pulverización de los mitos y del mito. Inapelable e irrecusablemente, todas las creencias, las supersticiones se van desmoronando. La degradación va envolviendo al mundo del dictador, a los personajes vinculados con él, a sus actos. Incluso, el deseo del patriarca —ma-

nifestado a través de sus sueños de "ahogado solitario" — de reingreso en la materia originaria se cumple de acuerdo con estas pautas de degradación. Porque el regreso del mar que se manifiesta en su cuerpo es una versión corrupta de la reintegración en la materia primigenia. Nacido en medio de la fetidez y la podredumbre, el patriarca regresa a su putrefacción original (pp. 135, 257, 258).[17]

Y cuando el dictador acepta la pérdida del mar, pretende movilizar al pueblo para que proteste en contra de la expropiación. Pero la masa anónima es ahora capaz de establecer los límites de lo falso y lo verdadero y permanece inmutable frente a sus requerimientos (". . . pero nadie hizo caso mi general, no quisieron salir a la calle ni por la razón ni por la fuerza . . .", p. 248). La pérdida del mar es entonces el factor desencadenante de esta toma de conciencia y por ende, del comienzo del fin del mito. Una vez comprobada la muerte del dictador, el pueblo vive un lunes "histórico" (p. 7), no solamente porque ha sucedido un gran acontecimiento, sino además porque es el síntoma de lo que puede ser el despertar hacia una nueva era, el término del tiempo del eterno retorno, del tiempo de la dependencia, el fin de la historia de la alienación.

La muerte del patriarca, el derrumbe del mito nos enfrentan con un vacío que espera ser llenado, invitan a romper definitivamente el círculo. Historia y Mito se conjugan para entregar la imagen de una realidad que aunque maravillosa, es amarga, caduca y dolorosa. Una realidad que espera, de una vez por todas, ser sustituída. Sustituída por el advenimiento de una nueva época, en la cual serán los pueblos los sujetos de su propia historia, de una historia auténtica, siempre y cuando puedan y sean capaces de construirla.

NITAS

[1] García Márquez, Gabriel : *El otoño del patriarca*. Plaza Janes S. A. Editores, Barcelona, 1975, 271 pp. Todas las citas remiten a esta edición. En el texto nos limitamos a indicar la(s) página(s) correspondiente(s). Los subrayados son nuestros.

[2] Por ejemplo, en las páginas 9, 11, 50, 90, 130, 175, 187, 202, 214, 221, 234.

[3] De hecho, todo el texto de la novela está construído sobre la base de anticipaciones — relativas, por cierto — : todo ya ha sucedido y el narrador irá completando poco a poco las diversas situaciones que en un primer momento sólo se limita a mencionar sin mayores comentarios.

[4] Otras alusiones a sus sueños de ahogado solitario encontramos en las páginas 191 y 253.

[5] Recordemos su afirmación "Yo no podría escribir una historia que no sea basada exclusivamente en experiencias personales". Gabriel García Márquez, Mario Vargas Llosa : *La novela en América Latina : diálogo*. Milla Batres, Ediciones UNI, Lima, 1968, pp. 9—10.

[6] "A Bogotá, chez García Márquez" (entrevista de Claude Couffon). *L'Express*, N° 1332, 17—23 janvier 1977, p. 118.

[7] "Gabo cuenta la novela de su vida" (6). Reportaje de Germán Castro Acevedo. *El Espectador*, 21 de marzo de 1977, p. 5-A. En esta misma oportunidad García Márquez agrega : "Porque además tengo otra impresión, que es la gran trampa en la que pueden caer, no sólo los críticos sino los lectores, es creer que *El otoño del patriarca* es la novela de

un dictador. Si alguien tiene la curiosidad de leerlo con otra clave, es decir, en vez de pensar en un dictador, pensar en un dictador famoso, probablemente el libro resulte mucho más comprensible." En otra entrevista, el escritor insiste en esta idea : "De todas maneras hay un personaje básico en el dictador, no hay una excepción, el básico soy yo mismo, su propio autor. Pero el dictador a quien más se parece es Juan Vicente Gómez." Gabriel García Márquez : ". . . Mucho de lo que he contado es la primera vez que lo digo . . ." (Entrevista). *América Latina*, N° 1 (25), Moscú, 1980, p. 96.

[8] Castro, Rosa : *Con Gabriel García Márquez*. En Pedro Simón Martínez (comp.), *Recopilación de textos sobre Gabriel García Márquez*. Casa de las Américas, La Habana, 1969, p. 33.

[9] Sobre estos aspectos pueden consultarse, por ejemplo, Eduardo Galeano ; *Las venas abiertas de América Latina*, Siglo XXI Editores, Madrid, 14ª edición, 1976 ; Helio Jaguaribe et al. : *La dependencia político económica de América Latina*, Siglo XXI Editores, México, 1969 ; Sergio de la Peña ; *El antidesarrollo de América Latina*, Siglo XXI Editores, México, 1971 ; Tulio Halperin Donghi : *Historica contemporánea de América Latina*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1975.

[10] Palau de Nemes, Graciela : "Gabriel García Márquez, *El otoño del patriarca*". *Hispamérica*, N° 11—12, Año IV, 1975, p. 178.

[11] Gonzalo Celorio : *El surrealismo y lo real maravilloso americano*. Editorial Sep. Setentas, México, 1976, pp. 140—141.

[12] Denis, Manuel Maldonado : "La violencia del subdesarrollo y el subdesarrollo de la violencia. Un análisis de *El otoño del patriarca* de Gabriel García Márquez". *Casa de las Américas*, Año XVI, Nſ 98, La Habana, septiembre—octubre 1976, p. 29.

[13] Halperin Donghi, *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

[14] Sobre este aspecto, véase Angel Rama : "Un patriarca en la remozada galería de dictadores". *Eco*, N° 178, Bogotá, agosto 1975, pp. 408—443 ; Laura Restrepo : "*El otoño del patriarca*". *La historia reflejada en el espejo cóncavo. Literatura y Sociedad*, N° 17, 1975, pp. 58—66 ; Ernesto Volkening : *El patriarca no tiene quien lo mate*, *Eco*, N° 178, Bogotá, agosto 1975, pp. 337—387, entre otros.

[15] La caracterización del mito y del personaje mítico ha sido abordada desde diversos puntos de vista, por ejemplo, por Milagros Ezquerro : "*El otoño del patriarca*". *Mythe du pouvoir et pouvoir du mythe. Imprévue*, N° Spécial 1977, Montpellier, pp. 3—35 ; Katalin Kulin : *García Márquez : "El otoño del patriarca." Sin Nombre*, Vol. VIII, N° 1, abril—junio 1977, pp. 20—36 ; Jacques Joset : "Cronos devorando al Otoño, su hijo descomunal". *Revista Iberoamericana*, N° 94, enero—marzo 1976, pp. 95—102.

[16] Cf. Northrop Frye : *Anatomie de la critique*. Editions Gallimard, Paris, 1969, pp. 179—180. El mundo del patriarca contiene incluso elementos de la imaginería apocalíptica y de la imaginería demoníaca que indica Frye, según lo hemos demostrado en otra ocasión.

[17] Cf. las interesantes observaciones de Saúl Yurkievich : "La fiction somatique". *Silex*, N° 11, Grenoble, 1er semestre 1979, pp. 112—118.

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Luvina y Comala: dos caras de la misma realidad

por

KATALIN KULIN

El presente estudio se propone analizar — basándose en algunos aspectos que se ofrecen para hacer una comparación — dos obras de Juan Rulfo : el cuento *Luvina* y la novela *Pedro Páramo*. Lo que resalta a la primera lectura es que ambos protagonistas se aproximan desde fuera al escenario de la narración. Este método tiene la gran ventaja de contar con la mirada del foráneo, más penetrante que la de un nativo, al mismo tiempo que puede valerse también de las experiencias de una o más personas implicadas en la vida de la población. En *Luvina* se las proporciona el interlocutor/narrador y en la novela un grupo de almas en pena que instruyen a Juan Preciado narrándole los acontecimientos sucedidos en los tiempos de Pedro Páramo.

Tal acercamiento a la realidad de Luvina y Comala se puede identificar fácilmente con el acercamiento del autor a la realidad de su país, en su doble carácter de ciudadano mexicano y de intelectual/artista. Éste último mantiene una sabia distancia de la vida cotidiana juzgándola a base de su amplia visión del mundo, no limitada por las fronteras de México.

Las dos obras coinciden también en que el anónimo del cuento (sea el que se dirige a Luvina o el que narra sus experiencias pasadas) es un viajero, tal como Juan Preciado, hijo de Pedro Páramo. El autor se vale de uno de los topoi más antiguos del mundo : hay que emprender un viaje para realizar algo grandioso (en los cuentos de hadas para ganarse la mano de la princesa), someterse a pruebas como lo hace Uliseo, el prototipo de todos los viajeros. El topos que aparentemente corresponde al camino recorrido para alcanzar la felicidad, en la mayoría de los casos (acaso en su totalidad) se traduce en una búsqueda por conocer el mundo o/y el mismísimo ego del viajero. Hasta según la Biblia somos peregrinos en esta tierra, concepción repetida por San Juan de Crisostomo cuyo nombre figura en las dos obras : el nombre completo de Luvina es San Juan de Luvina, y el amor de Pedro Páramo se llama Susana San Juan. Por supuesto, puede tratarse de una coincidencia casual. De todos modos, el viajero simboliza no sólo a la persona que busca su felicidad, su tierra, sino también a la que no encuentra su verdadera patria, su hogar definitivo. En busca de este hogar parte, respectivamente partió, Juan Preciado,

así como el anónimo de Luvina y aquel otro que le cuenta sus experiencias, arrastrados todos por una ilusión. (". . . comencé a llenarme de sueños, a darle vuelo a las ilusiones"[1]; "Fui a ese lugar con mis ilusiones cabales . . ."[2].

A la ilusión que impulsa a los personajes a emprender el camino se añade la nostalgia por el lugar, destino de su viaje. En el cuento el que usa tinta negra para dibujar el pueblo termina por pedir la poco antes despreciada bebida a la cual se había acostumbrado en Luvina, y en el caso de Juan Preciado es la nostalgia que le implantó su madre por el hermoso valle de Comala, la que lo empuja a buscar a su padre.

La emoción de estos personajes es ambigüa, una curiosa mezcla de repulsión y atracción, compartida probablemente por el autor en su amor amargo por la tierra natal, por la patria.

Según antiquísimos usos mitológicos y literarios el viajero está acompañado por un guía que ha de orientarle en el mundo desconocido. Este papel, cuyo ejemplo más representativo lo tenemos en el Virgilio de Dante, se confía a un sencillo arriero, sustituido por el primer viajero en el cuento, por varias almas en pena en la novela. El final de viaje también resulta parecido : el que cuenta sus experiencias vividas en Luvina termina por decir que éstas acabaron con él, y Juan Preciado termina por morir. La breve existencia de Juan Preciado se complementa con la vida larga y llena de experiencias de Pedro Páramo y la del joven viajero de Luvina con las vivencias de su informador ya a punto de dar por terminados sus días. Entre el joven y el viejo se traza toda la trayectoria que el hombre recorre en el transcurso de la vida y sólo se distinguen los dos por representar distintas etapas del mismo camino. Son personas que se pueden sustituir mutuamente y que se complementan una a otra no por tener características parecidas u opuestas, sino por sentirse comprometidas en la mismas empresa: descubrir, explorar, conocer su mundo y a sí mismas. Por no saberse nada más de ellos resalta su identidad como viajeros. Aunque en la novela el autor propicia más detalles sobre sus personajes, lo que importa no es su carácter, sino su voluntad y capacidad para recorrer el camino, hacer el viaje en el reino desconocido de la existencia tanto en sus dominios internos y externos. El género de la novela forzosamente ofrece más posibilidades para poner de relieve varios matices dentro de la misma tendencia permitiendo una gradación representada por los distintos personajes.

Hasta en ciertas discrepancias entre las dos obras lo que se nota es más bien la doble cara : el haz y el revés de la misma realidad. En *Luvina* el autor incurre en una descripción morosa de la naturaleza prestándoles a los habitantes una atención reducida. En cambio, en *Pedro Páramo* el acento se pone sobre los pobladores. En Luvina todavía vive gente, pero en Comala ya no. Con un método no basado en la paradoja el autor se fijaría más en los que viven, reservando menos espacio a una comunidad ya extinta. Por lo tanto, el parecido entre las dos obras resulta ser justamente el método paradójico.

En *Luvina* el que pretende viajar al pueblo quisiera conocer la vida de la población. Pero casi todos los detalles niegan la existencia de esta vida. Las calles abandonadas, las puertas cerradas, la gente oculta en sus casas casi sin dar señales de vida, las mujeres que aparecen únicamente por la noche, envueltas en sus rebozos y vestidos negros, su silencio apuntan todos hacia la muerte. Todo lo que se sabe de su vida diaria se reduce a negativas. No hay varones, no hay qué comer, no hay nada. No nos faltan sin embargo las informaciones porque el ambiente general lo sugiere muy eficazmente la naturaleza. Es una región estéril que duele y lastima en sus escasas manifestaciones. Al silencio guardado por los pobladores se opone el paisaje pedregoso, casi sin plantas que clama y reclama mediante el uso de verbos y sustantivos que expresan ruidos o acciones (aunque se trata de cosas que no actúan) que mientras hieren muchas veces evocan la sensación de un ruido desagradable. La tierra se *desgaja* en barrancas hondas, plantitas tristes se *agarran* con sus manos al despeñadero de los montes. El chicalote "se oye *rasguñando* el aire con sus ramas espinosas, haciendo un *ruido* como el de un cuchillo sobre una *piedra de afilar*."[3] El viento *muerde* las cosas y "*rasca* como si tuviera uñas . . . *raspando* las paredes, *arrancando* tecatas de tierra, *escarbando* con su pala *picuda* por debajo de las puertas . . .".[4]

Rulfo humaniza la naturaleza atribuyéndole dolores y ataques, capacidad de sufrir y voluntad de herir. Las plantas tienen manos, las nubes parecen ser vejigas infladas, o sea, las plantas son como si fueran hombres que sufren y luchan, las nubes, a su vez, como si fueran organismos vivos que se van y regresan de una manera incalculable igual que los maridos en Luvina ; el viento tiene un instrumento (pala picuda) como el que usan los hombres. Se ve la figura del viento recorriendo las calles de Luvina, "llevando a rastras una cobija negra"[5] y los alambres rechinan "como si fuera un rechinar de dientes".[6]

A la humanización de las cosas corresponde una cosificación de los humanos. Se habla de los *goznes* de nuestros huesos y en Luvina "no se conoce la sonrisa, como si a toda la gente le hubieran *entablado* la cara".[7] Los viejos suben y bajan la cabeza, "hasta que acaban aflojándose los *resortes*"[8] y los maridos "*plantan* otro hijo en el vientre de sus mujeres."[9] La cosificación quita aun más la vitalidad a los seres humanos. Son tan sólo sombras que pasan "repegados al muro de las casas"[10] más muertos que vivos.

En *Pedro Páramo* tenemos menos señales para la cosificación de los humanos. Conviene recordar, sin embargo, que en la novela los personajes — excepción hecha con Juan Preciado — carecen de cuerpo, o sea, no son humanos. Por ello, Rulfo, fiel a su método paradójico, los representa como si fueran personajes reales, atribuyéndoles corporeidad como lo hace con las plantas de Luvina. Cuando Juan Preciado ve un fantasma advierte "que su voz estaba hecha de *hebras humanas*, que su *boca* tenía *dientes* y una *lengua* que

se trababa y destrababa al hablar, y que sus *ojos* eran como todos los ojos de la gente que vive sobre la tierra".[11] En cambio, el único vivo entre los fantasmas, dice de sí mismo : "Mi cuerpo, que parecía aflojarse, se doblaba ante todo, había soltado sus *amarras* y cualquiera podía jugar con él como si fuera trapo".[12]

El lugar de Luvina se una al de Comala a fuer de contraposición. Para ir a Luvina hay que subir, en cambio, Comala se sitúa en un valle y exige por lo tanto que el viajero emprenda el camino hacia abajo. Luvina está en un cerro pedregoso sin vegetación donde los habitantes apenas pueden sobrevivir por faltarles el alimento. Comala tiene tierras muy fértiles, que, sin embargo, no brindan puesto que ya no hay quienes las cultiven. De un lado, es la naturaleza la que no ofrece productos, la que convierte a los vivos en medio-muertos y, de otro lado, es la comunidad de los hombres — muertos — la que transforma la rica naturaleza en campos sin cultivo. Desde este punto de vista, el cuento y la novela parecen complementarse una vez más, representando dos enfoques del mismo problema : la existencia imposibilitada. Ello explica que ambos pueblos se califiquen de infierno, o sea, de un lugar que no sirve sino para torturar a los hombres.

El informador anónimo dice : "San Juan Luvina. Me sonaba a nombre de cielo aquel nombre. Pero aquello es el purgatorio."[13], y el guía, Abundio, le explica a Juan Preciado antes de llegar a Comala : "Aquello está sobre las brasas de la tierra, en la mera boca del infierno. Con decirle que muchos de los que allí se mueren al llegar al infierno regresan por su cobija".[14]

El clima de los dos pueblos es insoportable por razones opuestas : o demasiado frío o demasiado caluroso, pero ambos casos apuntan hacia la misma conclusión : son lugares donde no se puede vivir.

El cuento a la novela asoman al mismo espacio vacío y tienen el mismo ambiente sonoro, donde el silencio se oye y los ruidos son mudos. Las voces no vienen de seres vivos, sino de plantas, del viento humanizado o de hombres muertos sin corporeidad. No es un ser humano, sino *el ser* el que se queja, hecho que refuerza enormemente la validez del lamento.

En ambos pueblos escasea el aire. Esta atmósfera sofocante (y no forzosamente por el calor) opera unida al ambiente sonoro. "No, no era posible calcular la hondura del silencio que produjo aquel grito." (Grito irreal que emite un alma en pena.) "Como si la tierra se hubiera vaciado de su aire. Ningún sonido ; ni el del resuello, ni el del latir del corazón . . ."[15] En Luvina también aparece esta falta de aire. "Poco antes del amanecer se calmó el viento . . . hubo un momento en esa madrugada en que todo se quedó tranquilo, como si el cielo se hubiera juntado con la tierra, aplastando los ruidos con su peso . . ." La mujer pregunta qué es este ruido y recibe la respuesta : "Es el silencio".[16]

Sin aire no existe vida, ni hay existencia humana sin palabras. Es como si en estos pueblos a la gente le atraparan el gollete y estuviera al punto de

ahogarse. Justamente eso es lo que le pasa a Juan Preciado a quien la muerte le corta el aliento. No tenemos ninguna indicación sobre su posible enfermedad. Es joven aun, no muere por razones somáticas. Con una técnica parecida a la afinidad electiva lo humano se manifiesta en la esfera inanimada que a su vez muestra características humanas. Así algo que ocurre en la conciencia de Juan Preciado se presenta como realidad inanimada : escasea el óxigeno y aparentemente son los pulmones del joven los que carecen de la materia indispensable. En realidad, es el ánima, la conciencia la que está perjudicada. Con el método de Rulfo el daño conciencial no sólo se manifiesta como un daño material, un daño no surgido de la interioridad del personaje, sino como un daño infligido por el mundo externo. La transposición de un fenómeno conciencial en un fenómeno material se justifica perfectamente por el hecho de que la muerte le sobreviene a Juan Preciado por motivos extraconcienciales (que por supuesto tienen su efecto trágico sobre la conciencia) por haberse encontrado en un ambiente social tal como el que se le ofrece en Comala, es decir, por motivos que se califican de materiales.

La sensación de purgatorio-infierno se acentúa también por la oscuridad. Rulfo elige la noche para el primer encuentro del narrador de Luvina con los habitantes del pueblo y Juan Preciado al llegar a Comala tiene que pasar por una serie de cuartos oscuros en la casa de doña Eduviges. A la falta de luz se juntan efectos sonoros para crear un ambiente verdaderamente infernal : "... seguía oyendo el murmullo de mucha gente en día de mercado. Un rumor parejo, sin ton ni son, parecido al que hace el viento contra las ramas de un árbol en la noche ... Comencé a sentir que se me acercaba y daba vueltas a mi alrededor aquel bisbiseo apretado como un enjambre, hasta que alcancé a distinguir más palabras casi vacías de ruido : Ruega a Dios por nosotros."[17] El murmullo, las voces sin boca que le hielan el alma a Juan Preciado (dice a Dorotea : "Me mataron los murmullos."[18]) nos hacen recordar el Infierno de Dante y la experiencia de Uliseo en el mundo de los muertos.

Hemos visto que los protagonistas del cuento y de la novela generalizan su experiencia por representar entre sí todo el transcurso de la vida humana. También se ha señalado que su objetivo es explorar los respectivos pueblos. De una pregunta que el narrador dirije a su mujer al llegar a Luvina resalta que la exploración va más allá del pequeño mundo pueblerino. "¿En qué país estamos, Agripina?"[19] se refuerza un poco más tarde con el "¿Qué país es éste, Agripina?"[20] La consternación, la incapacidad de orientarse y comprender caracterizará también a Juan Preciado y hasta Pedro Páramo queda asombrado ante el mundo inaccesible de Susana San Juan.

La pregunta hecha en Luvina pone de relieve la preocupación del autor por su propio país donde la vida queda imposibilitada, trátese de un lugar árido como Luvina o de un valle tan fértil como Comala. Luvina es un "lugar moribundo donde se han muerto hasta los perros y ya no hay quien le ladre al si-

lencio"[21] y Comala sólo está poblado por las almas en pena. La única respuesta posible ha de ser : es el país de la muerte.

Hacia la misma idea apunta la aventura de Juan Preciado con la mujer cuyo "cuerpo . . . hecho de tierra, envuelto en costras de tierra, se desbarataba como si estuviera derretiéndose en un charco de lodo. Yo me sentía nadar entre el sudor que chorreaba de ella y me faltó el aire que se necesita para respirar".[22] ¿Quién es esta mujer hecha de tierra? Su relación incestuosa con su hermano es producto del aislamiento total al que conduce a veces la miseria. Este episodio, sacado de la vida real adquiere dimensiones que hasta superan los límites de lo nacional por dar lugar incluso a una interpretación mítica : la materia primaria se imagina como mujer que da origen al mundo y que muchas veces tiene a su hermano por marido. Juan Preciado encuentra por ello en la mujer la esencia de la existencia humana, material, perecedora, fugaz. Reconocer esta esencia equivale a un golpe mortal, con la mujer deshecha se derrumba el mundo y con el mundo toda la esperanza de Juan Preciado. Por lo tanto, es forzoso que muera. Señales previas anuncian que sobreviene su muerte. Ya al llegar a Comala comienza a sentir cansancio y se le va escapando la vida. El narrador de Luvina regresó del pueblo pero en vano porque Luvina "acaba con uno".[23] Su vida se ha vuelto en nada como el cuerpo de la mujer hecha de tierra y en algo peor que la nada : en una no-existencia, en un desasosiego que no cesa ni con su ausencia de Luvina, (en *Pedro Páramo* ni con la muerte) en cierta clase de hambre, en el sentido literal y figurativo de la palabra. La gente de Luvina al igual que la de Comala ha padecido hambre por falta de alimento así como debido a su apetito jamás satisfecho por una vida feliz, íntegra y digna. Los de Comala siguen con su hambre hasta después de la muerte, por ello son incapaces de descansar en la tumba. Es un hambre que se nutre del rencor que les tortura por su vida gastada en vano. Nadie, ni el mismo Pedro Páramo ha podido alcanzar lo deseado. Muerto ya hace tiempo sigue aún siendo un rencor *vivo*. En *Luvina* el hambre trasforma a los vivos en sombras, en *Pedro Páramo* los muertos todavía parecen arrastrar su existencia amarga como si fueran vivos. Cuento y novela se complementan desde este punto de vista también.

Para regresar de Luvina a la altitud "normal" hay que bajar ; desde Comala el camino conduce hacia arriba. "El camino subía y bajaba ; sube o baja según se va o se viene. Para el que va, sube ; para el que viene, baja."[24] A pesar del aparente contraste en su altitud geográfica la Luvina de los cerros y la Comala del valle acentúan una situación igualmente fuera de lo regular.

El viajero que se ha ido a conocer el mundo y a sí mismo necesita una nueva perspectiva. Dentro de las limitaciones de su vida diaria ésta le falta, quedando cautivo de los prejuicios, cegueras y convenciones de su ambiente. La altitud y el abismo ofrecen y aseguran la mirada novedosa. Al mismo tiempo

las dos perspectivas se complementan lo mismo que fueran fotografiadas ambas caras de un planeta.

El desvío de lo cotidiano y de lo regular permite llegar al meollo de la vida y sociedad mexicanas y poner en evidencia la miseria del hombre que tiene que sufrir en todas las acepciones de la palabra. En el valle fértil de Comala sólo crecen frutas agrias y Luvina carece no sólo de frutas, sino de flores también. Amargura, esterilidad prevalecen y retuercen la vida en purgatorio-infierno.

NOTAS

[1] Rulfo, Juan : El llano en llamas, Pedro Páramo, La Habana, 1968, Casa de las Américas. p. 149. De aquí adelante véanse todas las citas según esta edición.
[2] p. 97.
[3] p. 94.
[4] p. 94.
[5] p. 86.
[6] p. 99.
[7] pp. 95—96.
[8] p. 101.
[9] p. 101.
[10] p. 103.
[11] p. 154.
[12] p. 158.
[13] p. 103.
[14] p. 152.
[15] p. 181.
[16] p. 99.
[17] p. 210.
[18] p. 209.
[19] p. 97.
[20] p. 99.
[21] p. 103.
[22] p. 207.
[23] p. 103.
[24] p. 150.

Die erste Schule der ungarischen Literaturgeschichte

Das *Philológiai Közlöny* (Philologisches Mitteilungsblatt) und Gusztáv Heinrich

Wer war es, der der ungarischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung den Weg gewiesen hat? Und zu welcher Zeit? Die Antwort lautet meistens: David Zwittinger[1] an der Wende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert, Peter Bod[2] in der Mitte, Pál Wallaszky[3] Ende des 18 Jahrhunderts, Ezsaiás Budai[4] zu Beginn, Ferenc Toldy[5] im ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Ein jeder Name kann aus einem bestimmten Blickwinkel gesehen den Anspruch erheben, in dieser Aufzählung an erster Stelle zu stehen. Im allgemeinen Bewußtsein wird Zwittinger und Toldy die größte Anerkennung gezollt. Die Vielfältigkeit der Beurteilung zwingt daher dazu, die Frage konkreter zu formulieren, unter einem näher bestimmten Gesichtspunkt, mit einer klaren Zielsetzung.

So lautet die Frage folgendermaßen: Wessen Geistes war die Schule, die die Köpfe der ungarischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung, deren erste Generation gemeinschaftlich und kontinuierlich herangebildet hat?

Wie uns bekannt ist, haben Áron Szilády und Gusztáv Heinrich, die Begründer der 1891 herausgegebenen »*Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*« (Literaturgeschichtlichen Mitteilungen) die bereits vorhandene Garde von Fachleuten, die das breite Feld der Forschung erkundete, um sich versammelt und zusammengehalten. Das war die erste moderne, im bürgerlichen Sinne verstandene institutionierte Werkstatt der ungarischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung. Dieses Wissen müssen wir jetzt durch die Tatsache ergänzen, daß zuvor die erste moderne Schule, die der ungarischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung zielgerichtet und institutionell den Weg wies, die Zeitschrift *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlemények* (Allgemeine Philologische Mitteilungen) war. In der folgenden Studie möchten wir über die erste Periode, die ersten anderthalb Jahrzehnte der Mitteilungen berichten, bis zu der Zeit, als zuerst die *Literaturgeschichtlichen Mitteilungen*, später, ab 1912 die *Irodalomtörténet* (Literaturgeschichte) sich dem Blatt anschlossen, sich in die Aufgaben teilten und sie dann fast zur Gänze übernommen haben. Dies erfolgte in Zusammenarbeit mit den Generationen, die das Blatt für die beiden letzteren herangebildet hatte und ohne die nicht nur die damaligen, sondern auch die nachfolgenden literaturgeschichtlichen Arbeiten unvorstellbar gewesen wären.

I. Die ungarischen und ausländischen Umstände der Herausgabe der *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlemények*

I. 1. *Zweifacher Beginn; der erste: hohe Ansprüche und mangelhafte Situationskenntnisse: epigonenhafte Verwirklichung*

Die Mitteilungen haben, wie auch im späteren die *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, nach zwei Anläufen, unter zwei Redakteurkollektiven ihren Weg genommen. Zuerst (1871—72) wurden sie unter der Redaktion von *Ottó Hóman* und *Antal Bartal* herausgegeben. Der eigentliche Initiator, die treibende Kraft war ungeachtet der gemeinsamen Redaktion der damals dreißigjährige Hóman. Auch József Eötvös, der damalige Kulturminister, zeigte Interesse für das Unternehmen. Die praktische Verwirklichung fand allerdings nicht seinen Beifall. Sein Nachfolger (sein Schwager, der seine Ansichten am besten kannte) hat dem Blatt jedenfalls keine Unterstützung gewährleistet, so daß dieses aus Mangel an finanzieller Deckung nach einem Jahr einging. Die Neuherausgabe erfolgte sechs Jahre später, im Jahre 1877. Diese sechs Jahre waren die letzte Phase des Jahrzehntes, dessen außergewöhnliche Wichtigkeit für die Geschichte des ungarischen Denkens wir heute immer mehr erkennen. Von dieser zweiten Herausgabe war Hóman völlig ausgeschlossen; Bartal demgegenüber nahm als ständiger Mitarbeiter an der Arbeit des Blattes teil. Die Zeitschrift ergoß sich gegen Hóman fortwährend in herabschätzenden, feindseligen Anspielungen, bis schließlich Jenő Ábel, der seine jungen Kräfte in dem gemeinsamen Arbeitseifer verbrauchte, und der Gruppe an der Spitze stehend, die Zielrichtung gab, mit einer Polemik, die auch als Abrechnung verstanden werden kann, Hómans Lage völlig unmöglich machte. Gab es in diesen Feindseligkeiten etwas, dem Auffassungsunterschiede zugrunde lagen oder ging es hierbei nur um persönliche bzw. Gruppeninteressen?

Es steht außer Zweifel, daß auch die schwächsten Nummern des ersten Jahrgangs des Blattes vom Jahre 1876 besser waren als die besten des von Hóman. Die zahlreichen Auszüge aus ausländischen Zeitungen, die vielen, ohne gedankliche Klarheit verfaßten Artikel und die sich in Details verlierenden Rechtfertigungen bar jeder Schlußfolgerung gaben dem Unternehmen von 1871 den Anstrich, als handele es sich um die ungarische Beilage der Veröffentlichungen einer deutschen Universität, als sei es der gemütliche, interne Gedankenaustausch von Wissenschaftlern, die sich in die Sphäre ihres Fachbereiches zurückgezogen haben und dem Außenstehenden fast nichts zu sagen haben. Der berechtigte Vorwurf der Verfasser von 1876 gegenüber ihren Vorgängern mündete darin, daß jene unfähig waren, die ungarische Situation richtig zu erkennen und demzufolge weder eine geeignete Mitarbeitergruppe zusammenstellen noch ein entsprechendes Arbeitsfeld ausarbeiten konnten. Der äußerst real veranlagte Pál Hunfalvy, der jedes wissenschaftliche Unternehmen von Herzen unterstützte, ein Wissenschaftler von europäischem Format, hat sich nach dem Eingehen des Blattes angesichts des Neubeginns mit selbstverspottender Resignation folgendermaßen geäußert: »Überlassen wir diese Studien vorläufig den Deutschen (und den Westeuropäern), weder das Wissen noch die Zahl unserer Fachleute reichen aus, um eine solche Arbeit bewältigen zu können.«

Hómans Unternehmen hatte dennoch einen epochengeschichtlichen, besonderen Zug, den zur Sprache zu bringen es sich lohnt. Er verfaßte einen kurzen Abonnementsaufruf und ein zielgerichtetes Programm, was dem Unternehmen von 1877 fehlte. Dieses Fehlen der Vorveranschlagung eines Programmes in dem zweiten Unternehmen verrät den Geist des Budapester Germanistikprofessors *Gusztáv Heinrich*, der jegliches Diktionsvorwort, jegliche Versprechungen verachtete. »Das eine Hauptübel der ungarischen

Philologie (der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung) ist die Rücksichtnahme auf das sogenannte breite Publikum, das verursacht größtenteils das leere Gerede, die Geistlosigkeiten, denen wir in literaturgeschichtlichen Arbeiten so oft begegnen« (1877: 300). Auch Hóman hielt nichts von Diktionsvorschriften, betonte aber in Übereinstimmung mit dem Zeitgeist der 70er Jahre nachdrücklich die Wichtigkeit der Durchsetzung der »wissenschaftlichen Errungenschaften« als Voraussetzung für die Beseitigung des »geistigen Rückstandes.«

Aber nicht der Inhalt des anderthalb Seiten langen Programms verdient große Beachtung, sondern die Studie, mit der sich die zwei Redakteure einführten. Bartal erörtert in drei Fortsetzungen das Wesen der *kontrastiven Sprachwissenschaft*, deren geschichtlichen Wert und deren neue Richtungen, während Hóman, ebenfalls in drei Fortsetzungen, den derzeitigen Stand der *Homerischen Frage* analysiert. Bartal beginnt seinen Artikel mit Erörterungen, die in den Mitteilungen von 1877 selten zu finden sind. In der Zivilisationsgeschichte von Buckle und dem Grundwerk Darwins findet er zu seiner Arbeit Anregungen hinsichtlich der Geschichtsbetrachtung und der Tätigkeit im öffentlichen Leben. Diesem kausalen-rationalen Erbe der Aufklärung entsprechend bemüht er sich seine Argumente aufzubauen, in deren Sinne er sich als jemanden versteht, der im europäischen Positivismus vor 1870 die Fortsetzung der Aufklärung sieht und der sich um die Beseitigung der Fehler der romantischen Geschichtsbetrachtung bemühte. »Wie wir uns bei der Beschreibung der Geschichte der Völker nicht mehr mit einer einfachen Aufzählung von Fakten zufriedengeben, sondern versuchen, die Ursachen der Ereignisse zu finden und die Gesetze der Veränderungen in bezug auf den gesellschaftlichen und den Bildungstand aufzudecken, genauso wie der Naturforscher, der sich nicht auf die Beschreibung und Veranschaulichung der Erscheinungen und ihrer äußerlich spürbaren Wirkungen beschränkt, sondern mit Hilfe von Experimenten, Vergleichen und eingehenden Beobachtungen deren Wirkungsgesetze erforscht und formuliert, laut derer alle Erscheinungen der stofflichen Welt erklärbar sind, »genauso« müssen der Sprachwissenschaftler und der Literaturforscher vorgehen.« (241.1.) Hóman betonte seinerseits, daß, wenn auch Friedrich August Wolf zu Unrecht die einzelnen Teile der homerischen Epen verschiedenen Dichtern zugeschrieben hatte, dieser dennoch den richtigen Weg beschritt, als er die Quellen des großen Werkes in den Kulturströmungen des Volkes suchte. Wolfs Bestrebungen, die mit den Forschungen August Bech's nach einer universalen Lebensform konform liefen, waren auch unabhängig von den exakteren Methoden Karl Lachmanns nützlich. Auch wenn wir in Betracht ziehen, daß die Wahrheit auf der Seite seiner Gegner (hauptsächlich Gregor Wilhelm Nitsch und Ottfried Müller) stand.

Bartal übertrieb in seinen Erörterungen zweifelsohne (noch dazu mit einigem Dilettantismus) die geschichtlichen, gesellschaftlichen und sprachwissenschaftlichen Möglichkeiten der Durchsetzung naturwissenschaftlicher Methoden. Hóman dagegen legte mehr Gewicht auf seine kommentierten, oft naiven Betrachtungen als auf die klare, proportionierte, allgemein verständliche Zusammenfassung seines Gegenstandes. Das Bezeichnende für beide ist aber dennoch, daß sie sich darum bemühten, ihr Anliegen — die Beseitigung »des geistigen Rückstandes« — so vorzutragen, daß dieses sich ideologisch den neuen heimischen Möglichkeiten, den gesellschaftlich-weltanschaulichen Perspektiven der positivistischen Wissenschaftlichkeit sowie dem kulturellen Programm anpaßte; aufgrund der überzeugenden, den gesellschaftlichen Interessen entsprechenden, utilitaristischen Behandlung dieses Anliegens und aufgrund ihrer ideologischen Betrachtungsweise gehören beide zur Reformer-Generation der 70-er Jahre.

Heinrich und seine Anhänger hatten aber darin recht, daß das Blatt auch dann keine Resonanz gefunden hätte, wirkungslos geblieben wäre, wenn es staatlich unterstützt worden wäre. Ohne Situationskenntnisse kann auch Begeisterung nicht viel ausrichten, das Ideologisieren kann sich in so einem Falle sogar hemmend auswirken. Der Mißerfolg,

aus Mangel an Situationskenntnissen gegeben, ist auch aus soziologiegeschichtlichem Gesichtspunkt lehrreich. Alle beide entstammten ungarndeutschen Familien, einem deutschen Milieu. Aber alle beide einem andersartigen. Hinsichtlich des Grades der Assimilation und Akkulturation wichen sie sichtlich voneinander ab. Hóman stammte aus Moson, also aus einem Gebiet, in dem in der Bevölkerung eine verhältnismäßig große Unsicherheit hinsichtlich des Bewußtseins der nationalen Zugehörigkeit herrschte, besonders aus bildungsmäßigem Gesichtspunkt. Er wuchs in den 50er Jahren unter dem ständigen Einfluß der österreichischen Kultur heran. Seinen Sohn hat er, so scheint es uns, in bezug auf die Sittlichkeit des Historikers bei weitem übertroffen, hinsichtlich des Talentes reichte er aber nicht an diesen heran. Ungeachtet seines bewußten Ungartums blieb er bis zuletzt in den Fesseln des Thunschen, akademischen, ein wenig philiströsen Bildungskultusses der einheitlichen Monarchie und des loyalen Beamtengeistes. Es war sein Wunsch, die *Heimat diesseits der Leitha* auf einem genauso hohen geistigen Niveau wie das Gebiet *jenseits der Leitha* zu sehen und dies, so meinte er, sei mit einer einfache Übertragung zu erreichen. Er wollte das ungarische Spiegelbild der österreichischen bzw. deutschen klassischen Philologie schaffen, mit griechischen Auktor-Ausgaben, mit größter philologischer Akribie.

Bartal (Bartl, Bartel) begann seinen Weg in dem kleine-Leute-Milieu der Handwerker der Bergarbeiterstädte, in dem sich schon seit langem die Anpassungsfähigkeit an die vom ungarischen Adel regierten Einrichtungen herausgebildet hatte. Bedeutend älter als Hóman, war er schon von der Erziehung und Ausbildung her mehr an die heimische Welt der Grundbesitzer gebunden. Er unterrichtete in Schulen und als Hauslehrer und verfaßte lateinische Lehrbücher und Wörterbücher für die schulische Ausbildung der Adeligen. Aufgrund seiner unerschöpflichen Leistungsfähigkeit kämpfte er sich zu einem der bis zum heutigen Tag besten Kenner der ungarischen Lateinbildung empor, aber über eine besondere Phantasie verfügte er nicht. Er war der Typ des unentbehrlichen Mitarbeiters, der seine Aufgaben gewissenhaft erfüllte. Doch die Aufgabenübernahme des Hómanschen Blattes war nicht real. Bei der Heinrichschen Zeitschrift begrüßte man deshalb Bartal mit der gleichen Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der er dort seinen Platz fand.

Die geistige Frische und Lebendigkeit, die großen Absichten, das geschichtliche Vertrauen, sowie der tendenziöse Willensausdruck in der ersten Hälfte der 70er Jahre werden jedenfalls dadurch bezeugt, daß in der anspornenden Atmosphäre jener Jahre jede heranreifende Persönlichkeit, jedes Talent teilhaben wollte, mitmachen wollte, überwiegend im Geiste des positivistischen Liberalismus von vor 1870, der im damaligen Ungarn noch durchtränkt war vom Erbe der Reformzeit.

I.2. *Die zweite Gründung: realpolitischer Redakteur; ein Mensch vom Geiste der Freimaurer; zielbewußter Redakteur: Heinrich*

Diesem Geiste war damals auch Gusztáv Heinrich verpflichtet. In der linksgerichteten, liberalen, kulturell-literarischen Zeitschrift von Sándor Endrődi und Aladár György, dem ***Figyelő*** (Beobachter), vertrat er die *Hettnersche Richtung* der gesellschaftlich determinierten Geistesgeschichte und propagierte deren demokratische Bestrebungen, jedoch ohne den naiven hómanschen Übertragungsversuch. Für Heinrich kennzeichnend waren Situationsempfinden und Anpassung an die Umstände.

Er ist eine der bedeutendsten Persönlichkeiten der ungarischen Geschichte der Wissenschaft, einer der Hauptvertreter der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung. In den entscheidenden ersten drei Jahrzehnten der institutionierten Literaturgeschichtsforschung war er Initiator, Organisator und Erzieher in einer Person. Die geistesgeschichtliche Schule versuchte, ausgelöst durch den Konflikt zwischen Heinrich und dem jungen

János Horváth, der in der Zeitschrift *Irodalomtörténet* (Literaturgeschichte) die Richtung der Geistesgeschichte geschaffen hatte, bewußt oder unbewußt Heinrichs Bedeutung zu schmälern, wahrscheinlich nicht nur wegen der unterschiedlichen wissenschaftlichen Methoden. Heinrich war ein Mensch vom Geiste der Freimaurer, verhältnismäßig frei von allen ererbten nationalen und religiösen Bildungen. Seinen Weg nahm er aus der im damaligen Budapest gebildetesten Schicht, dem lutheranischen Kleinbürgertum. Der Vater war Beamter bei einem Handelsunternehmen. Die Loyalität der Honoratioren, die die Mentalität der ungarischen Komitatswelt angenommen hatten, lag ihm fern. Die Welt betrachtete er in seiner utilitaristischen Aufgeklärtheit als ein Vertragssystem der wechselseitigen Aufgaben und Gegenleistung. Seine Nachfolger und zugleich Gegner von der geistesgeschichtlichen Schule bemühten sich ihn als eine kühle, kunstfeindliche Persönlichkeit darzustellen. Dabei hat er für seine begabten (und armen) Schüler jederzeit viel getan. Von der älteren, über amtliche Macht verfügende Garde hat er als einer der ersten den Weg zum *Kreis des Nyugat* (Westen) gefunden und während Professor Négyessy, dessen Verdienste bei der Erziehung der Generation des *Nyugat* uns bekannt sind, sich von seinen einstigen Schülern entfernte und János Horváth, der bedeutendste Vertreter der ungarischen Richtung der Geistesgeschichte, sich von seinen einstigen Freunden abwandte, hat Heinrich auch in der Zeit, als die Gegenrevolution ihren Höhepunkt erreichte, *Babits*, dem großen liberalen Dichter der sich aufs Land zurückzog, herzliche Anteilnahme und persönliches Interesse erwiesen. Und *Lőrinc Szabó*, der aufbegehrende junge Dichter, der in den zwanziger Jahren seinen Weg begann, hat mit beinahe familiärem Wohlbehagen die Anerkennung des »Alten« quittiert. (Lőrinc Szabó : Tagebücher, Briefe, Aufsätze Bd. 1974, 104, 106)

Bei der Gründung des Blattes stand aber Heinrich noch am Anfang seiner Laufbahn, besser gesagt am Beginn seiner Macht. Und nicht sein Name war Garantie und »Eintrittskarte« in staatlicher und gesellschaftlicher Hinsicht, bzw. in der Gesellschaft der Offiziellen, sondern der von *Emil Ponori Thewrewk*. In der aus Siebenbürgen stammenden, über Buda nach Preßburg gelangten adeligen Beamtenfamilie, die die bürgerliche Lebensweise angenommen hatte, beschäftigten sich Vater und Großvater voller Hingabe mit Antiquitäten und anderen geschichtlichen Reliquien. In der Familie spürte man den Geist der kleinstädtischen deutschen Professoren, der ungarischen Ordenshäuser und Hochschulen sowie den des wißbegierigen Provinzadels. Obwohl der Enkel bzw. Sohn mehrmals die großen deutschen Zentren der Wissenschaft aufgesucht hatte, spiegelten sich in seiner Tätigkeit zu gleichen Teilen begeisterter Dilettantismus und wahres Sachverständnis wider. 1873 nahm er an einem Kongress der deutschen Philologen teil, wo man seine Rede mit einer dem Gast gebührenden großen Ovation begrüßte. Als er so geehrt nach Hause zurückkehrte, machte er sich, seine Beziehungen ausnutzend, sofort daran, nach deutschem Vorbild die ungarischen Philologen in einer »Gesellschaft« zusammenfassen, Jahresversammlungen abzuhalten und eine ständige Fachzeitschrift zu veröffentlichen.

Zu diesem Zeitpunkt trat Heinrich auf den Plan. Es ist nicht einfach, den gedanklichen, methodischen Charakter Thewrewk's zu bestimmen; vom thematischen ganz zu schweigen. Er schrieb über das, was er gelesen hatte und in dem Geiste, den das Gelesene widerspiegelte. Heinrich verschaffte (oder erzwang) sich neben Thewrewk seinen Platz. Er überließ seinem Teilhaber die Titel des Gründers, des Präsidenten, des Schirmherrn, sowie die festlichen Eröffnungen — er selber nahm das Blatt mit einer fast an Willkür grenzenden Entschlossenheit in die Hand und gestaltete es im selbstsicheren Bewußtsein seiner Situationskenntnis. Die Endkonsequenz seiner Situationskenntnis lief darauf hinaus, daß sich das Verhältnis von Macht und Wissenschaft, von dem Gesellschaftsapparat und der Wissenschaft, in diesem Falle von der Geschichtswissenschaft, grund-

legend verändert hatte. Er spürte die europäischen Veränderungen, die im Jahre 1848 vor sich gingen, in Westeuropa 1871, bei uns aber 1875 ihren wahren Sinn offenbarten. Aus dem Propagator der Hettnerschen radikal-liberalen Geschichts- und Wissenschaftstheorie wurde er zum realpolitischen Organisator der bürgerlichen Wissenschaft, die innerhalb der Besitzermacht ihren Platz einnahm.

Um die Änderung seines Verhaltens und seine wissenschaftsorganisatorische Tätigkeit verstehen zu können, müssen wir die europäische Geschichtswissenschaft, besonders die deutsche Wissenschaft des Altertums überschauen, vor allem aber den Rollenwechsel in der klassischen Philologie.

I. 3. *Ein Abstecher: auf dem Scheideweg: interpretierende Wissenschaft oder nur textologische Philologie*

In einem solchen uralten, ausgewogenen Wissenschaftszweig wie der klassischen Philologie kommt es selten zu dramatischen Situationen. Das Jahr 1872 brachte eine solche Situation, einen solchen Wechsel. Die Beschäftigung mit der griechisch-lateinischen Literatur war auch nach der großen Epoche des Humanismus üblich, ja sogar Pflicht; auch in deutschen Landen. Sowohl in den protestantischen Schulen des Nordens als auch in den katholischen des Südens bedeutete das Studium des Altertums geistiges Training, einen Beweis für Bildung und einen mannigfaltigen Bestand an Maximen. Die sich mit dem Altertum beschäftigende Literaturforschung erhielt in der Aufklärungsbewegung und in der Periode der Klassik eine neue deutende Funktion. Zweifellos wurde in der mit dem Namen Winckelmann's verknüpften Epoche allegorisiert und idealisiert. Die wirkliche, geschichtliche Interpretation und Einschätzung erfolgte um die Jahrhundertwende bzw. am Anfang des Jahrhunderts in der Praxis der kulturgeschichtlichen Schule. Der in der zweifachen Anziehung von Aufklärung und Romantik, im Schnittpunkt des von der Kantschen, Schlegelschen, Herderschen und Hegelschen Geschichtsauffassung gebildeten Vierecks stehende *August Boeckh*, einer der grössten Altertumswissenschaftler aller Zeiten, hatte sich die Wiederbelebung des Altertums zum Ziel gesetzt, damit dadurch jedes Zeitalter zum Selbstverständnis und zur Selbstgestaltung gelangen kann (Staatshaushaltung der Athener, 1817). Von der Literatur erwartete er dazu viel Hilfe, die er auch erhielt. Die Hegelsche Zeit gab der Interpretation neue Anregungen. Der spätere, linke Flügel der Hegelianer verstärkte die Bemühungen, die sich auf die Interpretation der Gegenwart bezogen. Der rechte Flügel auch, aber mit der Absicht, die Berechtigung der bestehenden »Weltordnung« zu beweisen. Der aufwärtsstrebende Bund der Junker und Besitzbürgertums sympathisierte allerdings eher mit dem »ideologielosen« Verhalten der Fachwissenschaftler, die sich auf die Wiederherstellung der Texte, auf den Vergleich und die Pflege von Texten, mit einem Wort, auf die textologische Philologie konzentrierten als mit der Interpretation des rechtsgerichteten Flügels, der nur die »Weltordnung« in den Mittelpunkt stellte. In England, der Heimat des »praktisch denkenden« Bürgertums hatten sich bei der Herausgabe von Texten Bestrebungen solcher Art schon früher durchgesetzt. Es reicht auf den Meister der kritischen coniectura und critica coniecturalis *Richard Dawes* (1708—1765) zu verweisen.

Im Bismarckschen Preußen und danach im Kaiserreich Wilhelms II. wurde diese Einstellung in den Kreisen der akademischen Intelligenz unter dem Einfluß des Bewußtseins um die positivistische naturwissenschaftliche Exaktheit zu einer wahren Theorie, Ethik und Weltanschauung. Gleichzeitig galt sie als Beweis für die Ernsthaftigkeit des echten Wissenschaftlers und die Würde des Fachmannes. Wahre »Analysierungslaboratorien« entstanden um je einen hervorragenden Philologen der Textpflege.

Es ist unbestreitbar, daß das literarische Faktenwissen und die Erschließungsmethode durch diese Werkstätte in großem Maße bereichert wurden. Besonders seit der Zeit, in der die Anregungen Herders und der Romantiker weitergeführt und präzisiert und diese Methoden und Zielsetzungen auch in bezug auf das alte Literaturgut der Nationalliteraturen verwendet wurden. Die deutschen Universitäten wurden zu den europäischen Meisterschulen der Erschließung mittelalterlicher Texte. Angefangen von dem großen Meister der französischen Textausgaben Gaston Paris bis hin zum »Vater« der ungarischen Textpflege, Áron Szilágyi, erhielten hier zahlreiche hervorragende Philologen ihr letztes Grundwissen. Dabei schlug die Boeckhsche Auffassung gerade zu dieser Zeit in das Gegenteil um. Bei ihm dienten der Text und alle anderen Denkmäler der Kenntnis des griechischen Lebens und der Kunst, jetzt wurden sie der Texterschließung und -pflege untergeordnet.

In dieser Zeit hielt man *Fr. Ritschl* für die größte Kapazität, den »princeps philologiae« auf dem Gebiet der Textpflege. Zu Ende der 60er Jahre erweckte einer seiner Schüler sein besonderes Interesse. Er lud ihn häufig zu sich nach Hause ein und es war größtenteils sein Verdienst, daß dieser junge Philologe gleich nach Beendigung der Universitätsstudien als Dozent an die Baseler Universität berufen wurde. Der junge Wissenschaftler schickte seinem Meister zwei Jahre später voll besorgter und stolzer Erwartung sein erstes Buch, dessen Entstehen er auch seinen beiden besten Freunden gegenüber nur verschwommen angedeutet hatte. Auch nachdem der junge Verfasser in einem beleidigten Brief seine Ungeduld zum Ausdruck gebracht hatte, äußerte sich Ritschl nicht dazu. Demgegenüber erschien von der anderen großen Begabung dieses Wissenschaftszweiges, von Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, eine Kritik, laut der das Buch, »Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik« (1872), weder Fisch noch Fleisch, die Aussage unsachgemäß, ungenau, nicht beweisbar und überflüssig sei und sein Verfasser Friedrich Nietzsche, die Aufgaben des Wissenschaftlers und das Wesen des Griechentums verkenne. Der Kritik stimmten fast alle Vertreter des Wissenschaftszweiges einstimmig zu, und Nietzsche, der sich noch eine Zeitlang an der Universität und in seinem Fach zu halten versuchte und sich auch weiterhin als Philologe betrachtete, geriet für eineinhalb Jahrzehnte als Autor in Vergessenheit. Sein Kritiker dagegen machte innerhalb dieser Zeit eine glanzvolle amtliche Karriere; er stieg in den Adelsstand auf und war der Stolz der damaligen Altertumswissenschaft. Seine Kenntnisse in bezug auf das Griechentum glichen denen von Boeckh, mit dem Unterschied, daß er all sein Wissen in den Dienst der Textausgabe, -bearbeitung und -pflege stellte.

Es ist unwichtig dem nachzugehen, ob Nietzsche in der Tragödienfrage recht hatte und ob die Anschuldigungen von Moellendorf berechtigt waren oder nicht. Wichtig ist, daß die Philologie und die in sie eingebettete Literaturwissenschaft an einem Scheideweg angelangt war : sollte sie für die Anerkennung und die Unterstützung ihrer Bemühungen die Selbstbeschränkung in Kauf nehmen, auf die Interpretation im weitesten Sinne des Wortes — in bezug auf die Kunst, Geschichte und das Leben selbst — verzichten und sich zurückziehen in die Grenzen des Fachbereiches, in die Universitätsräume und den Unterrichtsbetrieb? Nietzsche sah ungeachtet seiner Jugend diese Zwickmühle sehr genau. An den treuen Freund seiner Universitätszeit und späteren hervorragenden Religionshistoriker, *Erwin Rhode*, schrieb er folgendes : »Der Mensch vereinsamt in dieser Wissenschaft völlig . . . Ich habe das Sprechen ganz verlernt . . . Doch wenn die Zeit gekommen ist, will ich sprechen, so frei und so ernst, wie es nur möglich ist. Wissenschaft, Kunst und Philosophie sind in mir völlig eins geworden.« (15. Febr. 1870) In demselben Jahr formuliert er seinem anderen Freund, *Baron Gersdorff* gegenüber, worin er Anlaß und Ursache für die Gefahr des Verstummens, der fachlichen Einengung sieht: »Vertraulich gesagt : Ich sehe in der Macht des heutigen Preußens eine Gefahr für die

Kultur . . . Wenn wir doch für unsere nationalen Erfolge nicht auf anderen Gebieten bezahlen müßten. Egal wie schwer es auch sei, wir Philosophen müssen stark genug sein, um in dem allgemeinen Durcheinander bedacht zu bleiben.« (7. Nov. 1870) In diesen frühen Briefen hat er wieder und wieder seiner Überzeugung Ausdruck verliehen, daß er den wichtigsten, den einzigen Sinn seiner pädagogischen und philologischen Arbeit in der Interpretation, in der Erschießung des führenden und erfüllenden Werts des Lebens sieht.

II. Die drei Stufen der Vervollkommnung der *Közlemények* (Mitteilungen)

II. 1. *Die Anforderung der europäischen Disziplin und der europäischen Norm; in der wissenschaftlichen Forschung; die Nutzung und Überspielung des historischen Anspruchs des patriarchalischen nationalen Liberalismus*

Heinrich, der zu Beginn des Jahrzehntes Mitarbeiter des Endrödischen *Figyelő* war und die deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bewegungen aufmerksam verfolgte, mußte von der »Geburt der Tragödie« gewußt haben, da dem *Figyelő* sie in langen Artikeln abgedruckt und Moellendorfs Kritik in Deutschland großen Staub aufgewirbelt hatte. Doch Nietzsches Namen hat er in dem folgenden Jahrzehnt nie erwähnt. Aber auch der Moellendorffschen Richtung schloß er sich nicht an. Ein überzeugender Beweis seines Situationsempfindens und seiner Zielstrebigkeit ist die schnelle, entschiedene Gestaltung des Profils des Blattes. Er sah klar, daß die gesellschaftliche Struktur Ungarns, das sich in industrieller Hinsicht zwar entwickelte, aber wirtschaftlich dennoch patriarchalisch-agrarisch organisiert war, sich in großem Maße von dem industriell führenden, doch unter großgrundbesitzerlichem Einfluß stehenden deutschen Staate unterschied. Die ungarische Gesellschaft bedurfte noch der ideologischen Unterstützung der Geschichtsschreibung, während die deutsche eher den zivilisatorischen, naturwissenschaftlichen und industriellen Erfolgen den Vorrang einräumte. Heinrich bemühte sich, diese Tatsache zu nutzen und die sich daraus ergebenen Möglichkeiten seiner Auffassung unterzuordnen. ». . . . . wir müssen alles selbst vollbringen, nur an den Randgebieten des zu bearbeitenden Feldes können wir vom Ausland nützliche Hilfe erwarten, — auch die wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten des Auslandes müssen wir unserem nationalen Wesen und unserer Entwicklung entsprechend auf's Neue überarbeiten und uns zu eigen machen. Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob unsere bisherige Arbeit den Anforderungen und Bedürfnissen der Wissenschaft gerecht geworden ist?« Er antwortete auf diese Frage mit einem energischen Nein. Die Entwicklung der modernen einheimischen Wissenschaft stellte er sich als ein Drei-Stufen-Programm vor das er auch konsequent verwirklichte.

In den ersten Nummern des neuen Blattes waren noch die Autoren deutscher Zunge, deutscher Bildung und die, die der deutschen Wissenschaftlichkeit verbunden waren, in der Mehrzahl. Was die Artikel anbelangt, so überwogen die *lateinisch-griechischen* Themen. Jedes Thema wurde aber so bearbeitet, daß es klare Fragen und Schlußfolgerungen enthielt. Artikel ließ er häufig umschreiben oder tat es selber. Die Erörterung von sterilen und von den einheimischen Lehrern zu weit entfernt stehenden, sehr detaillierten Fragen gestattete er nur einigen alten Autoren und seinen Redakteurteilhabern. Die klassische Philologie sah er als ein Übungsfeld an, da »die klassische Philologie die Schule jedes Philologen ist«, »eine der abgeschlossensten, zuverlässigsten Schulen«. »Lückenhaft und stückwerkartig ist das Fachwissen eines jeden Philologen, der die Prinzipien und Methoden der klassischen Philologie nicht kennt.« (1887 : 296) Die Methoden der »romanischen« und »germanischen« Literaturforschung könnten wir erst dann nützlich anwenden, wenn wir das Wesen der klassischen Philologie erfaßt hätten,

da sie alle beide Zweige hervorgebracht habe. Mit einem Wort, über die Geschichte sprach auch er, aber er verstand auch hinsichtlich der Forschungsmethoden etwas anderes parunter als die meisten seiner in Ungarn ausgebildeten Mitarbeiter.

II. 2. *Der Aufschwung der kulturgeschichtlichen Forschung in bezug auf das Mittelalter, den Latinismus und die Literatur*

Sobald es möglich war, versuchte er die das Lateinische als Fach beherrschenden Verfasser in Richtung des einheimischen Latinismus zu lenken. Er meinte, »einige, die durch seltene Begabung und günstige Umstände in eine privilegisierte Position gelangt sind«, könnten dies auch in der allgemeinen Altertumsforschung nutzen. Unserer finanziellen Lage, unserem wissenschaftlichem Rüstzeug, unseren eigenen Bedürfnissen entsprechend würden wir jedoch »besonders die europäischen philologischen Erkenntnisse erweitern und vertiefen, die in engerer oder lockererer Beziehung zu unserem Land und unserer Nation stehen.« (1887 : 298) Seine größte Entdeckung in dieser Hinsicht war die Person des jungen *Jenő Ábel*, dem er den Weg wies und den er als Vorbild hinstellte.

Der aus einer Budapester bürgerlichen Familie stammende junge Mann, der väterlicherseits halb Deutscher, halb Ungar, mütterlicherseits hingegen Engländer war, galt aufgrund seiner sprachlichen und logischen Begabung als wahres Wunder. Schon am Ende seiner Gymnasialzeit beherrschte er die zwei klassischen Sprachen genau so gut wie die modernen westlichen. Auch in den führenden Richtungen der Philologie und deren Problemkreisen war er überaus bewandert. Ábel beschäftigte sich anfangs mit dem Altertum, dann auf Anregung seines Redakteurs noch für kurze Zeit gleichzeitig, später fast ausschließlich mit der an den heimischen Latinismus anknüpfenden ungarischen Kulturgeschichte und mit textologischer Philologie. Er besaß das gleiche methodische Sachverständnis wie die Schüler Ritschels, aber sein Interesse den ungarischen Verhältnissen entsprechend war besonders in den heimischen Angelegenheiten sehr viel wacher und kritischer als das ihre. Sein kritischer Standpunkt basierte vor allem auf den verschiedenen Fachrichtungen der Kulturgeschichte wie der Geographie, Politik, Unterrichts- und Institutsgeschichte. Diese kritische Einstellung war zu dieser Zeit sehr vonnöten. Unter den neuen friedlichen Verhältnissen ergoß sich aus den Archiven eine Flut von lateinischen Schriften, den schönsten Renaissancewerken der Corvina Bibliothek König Mathias', von denen ein Teil nach Hause gelangt war und vom Publikum mit überschwänglicher Begeisterung begrüßt wurde. Das Material mußte nicht nur historisch eingeordnet, sondern auch bewertet werden, da es dem Publikum in dieser Hinsicht völlig an Orientierung fehlte und die Meinungen zwischen Extremen schwankten.

Deshalb scheute sich Ábel auch nicht, den Wert der schönsten Corvinas, der durch die Buchgeschichte, die Reihenfolge und die Vollständigkeit des Textes gegeben wird, auf den erforderlichen Stand zu senken. Auch bisher kaum erwähnte Autoren beurteilte er nach ihrem kulturgeschichtlichen Wert und ihrer entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung (z. B. Péter Garázda, Péter Beriszló usw.) und den Quellenwert von nebensächlich erscheinendem institutsgeschichtlichen Material unterstrich er mehrmals. Da er in der Kulturgeschichte überaus bewandert war, arbeitete er sehr erfolgreich beim Vergleich von Manuskripten und der Erforschung ihrer Herkunft sowie bei der Ergänzung von beschädigten bzw. lückenhaften Texten. Ausgerüstet mit dem Handwerkszeug der Boeckhschen Schule und ihrer Nachfolger der Jahrhundertmitte, doch ohne deren Tendenziosität, sammelte er die kulturgeschichtlichen Schriften und arbeitete sie auf. Eine Synthese konnte so schwerlich entstehen, aber im Vergleich zu der adelig-ideologischen, vom kalvinistischen Geist der Jahrhundertmitte beseelten Geschichtsschreibung, die die das nationale Unrecht und den Nationalcharakter betonende Generation Sala-

mons und Szilágyis herangebildet hatte, stand sein (und Heinrichs) Positivismus der Wirklichkeit näher. Ábel betonte die günstige Auswirkung der Unterrichtsverhältnisse in den heimischen deutschen Bürgerstädten und äußerte sich anerkennend über die zivilisatorische Bedeutung einiger Maßnahmen des Wiener Hofes. (Unsere Universitäten im Mittelalter; Luther, Melanchthon und L. Stöchel, Theater in Bártfa im XV. und XVI. Jahrhdt. usw.). Die allgemein verbreitete Ansicht, daß die Verhältnisse im königlichen Ungarn schlimmer waren als die in der Türkenbesetzung, konnte er aufgrund seiner Kenntnisse nicht teilen. Auch gehörte seiner Meinung nach die Beurteilung der Geschichtsbetrachtung und Ästhetik nicht zu seinen Aufgaben.

Heinrich, der ihn übrigens schon als (übrigens katholischen) Schüler des Budapester lutherischen Gymnasiums gekannt hatte, stellte sich hinter ihn. Er unterstützte die Veröffentlichung seiner Publikationen und ebnete ihm, im Interesse seiner fachlichen Laufbahn, den Weg an der Universität. Mit 22 Jahren ist er Privatdozent, mit 26 Jahren zweiter Redakteur, mit 28 Jahren ordentlicher Professor an der Budapester Universität. Ungeachtet des Verlustes, den sein früher Tod bedeutete, war seine Laufbahn dennoch vollständig, da er seine Sendung erfüllt hatte. Mit ihm und neben ihm, von ihm lernend, mit ihm streitend, wuchs bis zum Ende der 80er Jahre eine Generation heran, die den heimischen Latinismus erforschte und alle Methoden der Altertums- und Latinismusforschung des Auslandes beherrschte. Die parallele Bewegung zum Ausland wurde zurecht hervorgehoben. Eine bedeutende ungarische Forschung könnte sich nur deshalb entwickeln — behauptete man —, weil die universalen Richtlinien der Forschung angewandt würden. Ábel hatte Hóman eben das vorgeworfen, daß dieser die deutschen Erkenntnisse der klassischen Philologie als spezifisch deutsch erachtete und dementsprechend eine spezifisch ungarische klassische Philologie schaffen wollte. »Es wäre töricht, wollten wir auf's Neue das erschaffen, was das Ausland in Jahrhundertelanger mühevoller Arbeit zustandegebracht hat.« (1877, 355) Mit Heinrich stimmte er auch in dieser Ansicht völlig überein. Auf dem Gebiet der universalen antiken Philologie »wird unsere Arbeit im großen und ganzen eine reproduzierende Tätigkeit sein«, schrieb der Redakteur, »nicht aus Mangel an Talenten, sondern weil wir keinen Zugang zu den Hilfsmitteln und Quellen haben, unser Publikum zahlenmäßig gering ist und die Verhältnisse stiefmütterlich sind.« (1887 : 298) Es scheint überflüssig zu erwägen, welche Richtung Ábel eingeschlagen hätte, wenn er ein reifes Mannesalter erreicht hätte. Soviel ist jedoch sicher, daß Heinrich die Tätigkeit seines ausgezeichneten Schülers und Mitarbeiters als eine Stufe, als eine Vorschule der nächsten Phase angesehen hatte. Während in den ersten Jahrgängen der *Mitteilungen* noch viele Artikel zur klassischen Philologie standen, die keine Beziehungen zu Ungarn hatten, verschob sich dieses Verhältnis ein paar Jahre später zugunsten des ungarischen bzw. zu Ungarn in Beziehung stehenden Latinismus. Und wieder ein paar Jahre darauf waren die Artikel zur ungarischsprachigen iterarischen oder Kulturgeschichte in der Mehrzahl.

II. 3. *Die endgültige Verlegung des Schwerpunktes auf die Materialerschließung und die Kritik der ungarischen Literatur*

Seit einem halben Jahrhundert »beginnt man den ganzen Apparat der wissenschaftlichen Philologie auf die neuere Literatur zu übertragen und in ihr anzuwenden«. Wir besitzen allerdings »nicht einen einzigen Schriftsteller, dessen Werk in einer, den wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen entsprechenden Ausgabe existiert; Monographien, Autobiographien, Studien von wissenschaftlichem Rang gibt es nur in geringer Zahl. Unsere Literaturgeschichte, sofern man von einer solchen überhaupt sprechen kann, ist nur in bescheidenem Maße wissenschaftlich, es überwiegen die oberflächlichen, meist

subjektiven Meinungsäußerungen, . . . ein bedeutender Teil ist geradezu Mythologie und die Mythen erhalten sich mit unglaublicher Zähigkeit und werden von einem Schriftsteller an den anderen weitergegeben . . . Leere Phrasen und ein auf den Mangel an Bildung zurückzuführender geschwätziger Ästhetizismus, bilden die Hauptelemente der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung. Wirklich wichtige Probleme bleiben ungelöst und, was noch schlimmer ist, werden gar nicht aufgeworfen. . . . Wenn wir diese wichtigen Probleme erforschen und im Besitz ihrer Lösung sind, können wir uns an die Bedürfnisse des Publikums anpassend« eine solche zusammenfassende Literaturgeschichte schreiben, die sich auf die Ergebnisse der intensiven wissenschaftlichen Forschungen wird stützen können. (1887 : 299—301). Im System des dreistufigen Aufbaus der Zeitschrift kam auch eine geschichtlich-chronologische Überlegung zum Tragen. Der Redakteur hoffte, daß sich die ungarische Literaturgeschichtsschreibung in die internationalen Forschungen zum Mittelalter und zur Renaissance einschalten könnte, da sie in dieser Hinsicht noch sehr am Anfang stand, und im Besitz des auf internationalem Niveau und in seinen internationalen Beziehungen aufgearbeiteten Materials könnte man, darauf aufbauend, die Erschließung der späteren Phasen beginnen. Natürlich sind beide Tendenzen nur als allgemein vorhandene Absicht anzusehen, denn gleich in den ersten Jahren veröffentlichte Heinrich selbst Arbeiten sowohl zur ungarischen Literatur als auch solche zum 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Demgegenüber gab es auch zu Ende der 80er Jahre Artikel zu ausgesprochen antiken Themen. Es ist recht aufschlußreich, wenn wir uns vergegenwärtigen, daß von den vierundvierzig (44) Aufsätzen des Jahrganges 1877 nur drei (3) ungarische Beziehungen aufwiesen, von den achtundvierzig (48) des Jahres 1888 dagegen schon sechsundzwanzig (26). Es stellt sich die Frage, was für einer Anschauung der Redakteur des Blattes zum Siege verhelfen wollte.

III. Das Wesen der Wissenschaftlichkeit der *Közlemények*

III. 1. *Das Verhältnis der* Mitteilungen *zu den früheren und zeitgenössischen Publikationstypen*

Wir müssen wieder einen kurzen aber wichtigen Abstecher machen. Die ungarische Literaturgeschichtsschreibung besaß zum Zeitpunkt der Herausgabe der *Mitteilungen* vier Hauptformen der Publikation : 1. die *Budapesti Szemle* (Budapester Rundschau) und den *Akadémiai Értesítő* (Akademischer Anzeiger), 2. den Abafischen *Figyelő*, 3. die gedruckten Abschlußgerichte und Jahresbücher der Gymnasien, 4. die in verhältnismäßig geringen Zahl und sporadisch erscheinenden Einzelausgaben von Büchern und Heften.

Als fünften Typ könnte man die schnell wieder eingehenden schöngeistigen Zeitschriftenunternehmen erwähnen, sowie die literaturgeschichtlichen Veröffentlichungen in den Feuilletonsspalten der Tageszeitungen (z. B. die Studien zu József Katona, dem größten ungarischen Dramenschriftsteller).

Diese hatten allerdings keine Konzeption, waren von der Gelegenheit und dem Zufall abhängig, so daß sie keinen besonderen Typ vertraten.

Die vier Typen der Publikationsformen lassen sich auch den Genres nach einteilen, aber nicht immer entspricht ein und derselbe Publikationsort ein und demselben Genre. Die *Budapesti Szemle* (und der *Akadémiai Értesítő* sowie einige amtliche Jahrbücher) bevorzugten den dem Englischen verwandten Essay. Dies entwickelte sich unter den Zentralisten, einer streng liberal denkenden Gruppe, die ihren Blick nach Westeuropa richtete und die Bildung der Nation als Aufgabe des Staates betrachtete. Unter Gyulai

und seinen Mitarbeitern wurde es weiterentwickelt. Diese Form des Essays ging mit dem Faktenmaterial und seiner Dokumentation sparsam um. Sein Ziel war die Erläuterung : die zu beweisende Voraussetzung einer Schlußfolgerung ideologischer Art wurde, zu einer These verdichtet, mit klarer Logik und in einer allgemein verständlichen Vortragsweise dargeboten. Bei Gyulai gewann das psychologische Element an Bedeutung, denn die Gattung ließ komplizierte Vergleiche, eine allseitige Nachweisbringung und eine detaillierte stoffliche Erschließung, die zahlreiche geschichtliche Bezüge impliziert, nicht zu.

Die drei anderen Publikationstypen enthielten teils ineinanderübergehende, teils von einander abweichende Genremerkmale. Von großer, heute kaum noch vorstellbarer Bedeutung waren die Jahresbücher der Gymnasien. In ihnen konnte man oft sehr gehaltvolle Aufsätze lesen, die das Ergebnis der Sammler- und Erschließungstätigkeit vieler Jahre oder eines ganzen Lebens waren. Häufig war aber auch die überholte Scheinwissenschaftlichkeit vom Geiste der ehemaligen *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Wissenschaftliche Sammlung) zu finden. Ebenso die verschwommene, erhabene und rezitationsartige Schönrednerei. Aber auch die besten Studien verkörperten größtenteils nicht das Niveau der Methoden der Geschichtsforschung des Zeitalters.

Der *Beobachter* der 1876 umgestaltet wurde, entwickelte sich aus dem früher von Aladár György und Sándor Endrődi geleiteten kulturell-literarischen Organ zu einem fachwissenschaftlichen Mitteilungsblatt. Er veröffentlichte Artikel jeglicher Art: informativen wie theoretischen Inhalts, Rezensionen über ausländische Werke, Kritiken über einheimische, biographische Zusammenfassungen, genaue Detailschilderungen. Heute herrscht über das Blatt zumeist die eingefleischte Meinung, daß es die dilettantische Wissenschaftlichkeit und das Fehlen eines geschichtlichen und ästhetischen Urteilsvermögens verkörperte. Das ist zwar wahr, bedarf aber einer Berichtigung : abgesehen von den Schwächen, erschienen zeitweise Zusammenfassungen und wichtige Textveröffentlichungen von erfreulicher Frische und einem guten Niveau. Es reicht auf die Übersicht über die Richtungen in der damaligen Literaturgeschichte von József Szinnyei (in Anlehnung an Brandes) zu verweisen oder auf die Briefe Kazinczys, die das Blatt veröffentlichte und so dem Publikum zugänglich machte. Wenn der *Beobachter* nicht das geeignete Organ war, um geschichtliches Material mit modernen Methoden zu erschließen und Probleme des geschichtlichen Bereiches klären zu helfen, die Feuilletonspalten der Tageszeitungen vermochten dies noch weniger. Die Einzelausgaben wiesen, was das fachliche Niveau anbelangt, die gleichen Züge und Extreme auf wie die Jahresbücher der Gymnasien.

Mit einem Wort, im Zeitalter der großen europäischen Stofferschließung und -vorbereitung fehlte es in Ungarn an einer Werkstatt und einem Mitteilungsblatt für diese Arbeit. Heinrichs Blatt räumte deshalb in den ersten fünf, sechs Jahren den Kritiken der Aufsätze, die in den Programmen der Gymnasien erschienen, einen bedeutenden Platz ein, während er die Tätigkeit des *Beobachters* mit einigen herablassenden Bemerkungen aburteilte. Wo er das starre Festhalten an überholter Besserwisserei spürte, die da glaubt, ihre Thesen nicht beweisen zu müssen und sich in einer Flut von weitschweifigen Phrasen ergießt, dort war seine Kritik unbarmherzig bis zur Grobheit. Dort aber, wo er Talent vermeinte, zollte er ihm Anerkennung, half und erzog. Belustigend und ergreifend zugleich ist das Verfahren, das Heinrich anwandte, wenn er die Arbeiten seiner Mitarbeiter oder eine seiner eigenen als besonders gut geglückt empfand. In dem Falle wurde eine sogenannte »Selbstbesprechung, Selbstrezension« angefertigt, die die Art und Weise und den Gang der Verarbeitung veranschaulichte, um »nach Möglichkeit auch andere auf den von uns eröffneten und gepflegten Pfad zu locken« (1879 : 73) Daß dieser »Lockerversuch« nicht ohne Erfolg blieb, wird dadurch bestätigt, daß die anerkannten Autoren der gymnasialen Programme in den kommenden Jahren schon unter den ständigen Autoren

der *Mitteilungen* zu finden waren. Die *Mitteilungen* zogen sich zielstreibig aus ihnen und besonders aus der Budapester Universitätsjugend ihre Mitarbeitergarde heran.

III. 2. *Die westlichen Vertreter der Heinrichschen Auffassung über Geschichte und Wissenschaft*

Die entscheidende Frage ist, so betonen wir nach dem kleinen Abstecher wieder, welche geschichtlichen und literaturgeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkte bei der Auswahl von Heinrichs Mitarbeitern eine Rolle spielten? Der liberale demokrat Hettner bekannte, daß die literarischen Formen und Ideen als wichtige Mittel zur Weiterentwicklung der Gesellschaft spiralenförmig zirkulieren. Die Nation, die auf einer höheren Entwicklungsstufe der Gesellschaft steht, gibt die Formen und Ideen ihrer Literatur an die weniger entwickelte weiter, diese ebenfalls an die tiefer stehende usw. Dieser Prozess ist auch in entgegengesetzter Richtung denkbar. Wenn die Strömung von oben nach unten verläuft, entwickeln und vervollkommen die Ideen die »Empfängergesellschaft«, in entgegengesetzter Richtung entwickelt und vervollkommnet die »Empfängergesellschaft« die Ideen. In der Epoche nach der Renaissance hatte diese Strömung laut Hettner den Verlauf England- Frankreich-Deutschland-Mittel- und Osteuropa. Die entgegengesetzte Richtung könnte z. B. durch die inspirierende Wirkung der Familiärität der osteuropäischen patriarchalischen Gesellschaft und durch die Innerlichkeit der deutschen Kleinstädte auf die englische Industriegesellschaft versinnbildlicht werden. Sowie deren Reflexion auf höherer Ebene. Hettner vermerkte vor allem die Strömungsbewegung von oben nach unten und sein mit Recht berühmter Schüler Georg Brandes ebenfalls.

Brandes war aber nicht nur Hettners Schüler, sondern auch der Bewunderer Nietzsches und der erste ausländische Verbreiter seines Ruhms. Er war der erste ausländische Verfechter von Nietzsches Ideen. Hettner verband den Geschichtsevolutionismus der linken Hegelianer mit dem frühpositivistischen Soziologismus naturwissenschaftlicher Prägung. Brandes wurde nicht nur deshalb zum Verfechter der Ideen Nietzsches, weil dieser sich den Bestrebungen der auf die Interpretation verzichtenden Spätpositivisten entgegenstellte, sondern auch deshalb, weil er die Korrektion und Erneuerung der Geschichtsauffassung Hettners und seiner Anhänger als notwendig erachtete. Immer mehr Wissenschaftler spürten die Dringlichkeit der Abgrenzung der Geschichtswissenschaft von den Disziplinen, die auf naturwissenschaftlichen Gesetzen basieren. Im Einfluß Nietzsches sahen die Denker des Bürgertums die Möglichkeit des geschichtlichen Erlebens, der geschichtlichen Intuition angelegt, die Gegenwärtigkeit des Erlebniselementes, das zu der Zeit im Werk des frühen *Dilthey* schon spürbar war, seine Ausstrahlungskraft aber erst zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts entfaltete.

Vorläufig hütete sich die überwiegende Mehrheit noch vor der subjektivistisch-irrationalen, auf eigenen Erlebnissen beruhenden Geschichtsinterpretation. Noch lieferte der agnostizistische Realismus des wiederauflebenden Kantschen Kritizismus der Geschichtswissenschaft seine philosophischen Argumente. Der Wunsch des einzelnen Menschen nach moralischer Freiheit sowie nach der historischen Erlangung der Freiheit stand hier den natürlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten gegenüber.

Im Brennpunkt der Tätigkeit, durch die die Geschichte aufgenommen, interpretiert und nutzbar gemacht wurde, standen Individuum und Subjekt, Individualität und Subjektivität. Davon war die intuitionsbegründete erlebnishafte Interpretation des extremen Individualismus und Subjektivismus nicht mehr weit entfernt.

III. 3. *Die herrschenden einheimischen Anschauungen, Auffassungen und die* Mitteilungen; *Toldy und Heinrich, der Kreis um Arany und Heinrich*

Heinrich folgte Hettner ungeachtet der Anerkennung, die er ihm zu Beginn des Jahrzehntes zollte, nicht. Brandes, den er aus den Veröffentlichungen des Endrödischen *Beobachters* kennen mußte, auch nicht. Auch den Herrschen einheimischen Anschauungen schloß er sich nicht an, wenngleich er sie auch nur zum Teil zurückwies.

Die in diesen Jahren in Ungarn herrschenden Anschauungen erschienen in einer zweifachen Variante; Ferenc Toldy verkörperte die eine, János Aranys sehr unterschiedlich interpretierte Anschauungen die andere (er war nicht nur der größte Dichter der Zeit, sondern auch der größte Denker innerhalb der Literaturtheorie.) Mehr als vier Fünftel der schulischen Lehrbücher folgten in bezug auf die ungarische Literaturgeschichte als Ganzes Toldy, sowohl hinsichtlich der Einteilung als auch hinsichtlich der Auffassung. Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, daß in den 50er Jahren selbst Arany seine Unterrichtsvorbereitung auf der Grundlage der Toldyschen Ansichten angefertigt hatte. Ungeachtet dessen, worüber die Mitglieder des Arany-Kreises innerhalb des Themenkreises und des Geschichtsabschnittes schon geschrieben hatten, war ihre Wirkung auch auf die treuesten Anhänger Toldys nicht zu leugnen. Wie bekannt, hatte Toldy selbst Arany gebeten, in die Ausgabe des Barockdichters Gyöngyösi von 1864 seine, Aranys Studie über Gyöngyösi aufnehmen zu dürfen. (AJ krk XI. 812.)

Wie bekannt, betrachtete Toldy die von *Gervinus* überarbeiteten Anschauungen der Gebrüder Schlegel als Vorbild. Er war kein auf ideelle Klarstellungen eingestellter Geist, weder in ästhetischer noch in geschichtsphilosophischer Hinsicht. Er übernahm von seinen Lehrern Prinzipien nur im allgemeinen, er wandte sie instinktiv an und nutzte sie im Interesse der adeligen Ideologie der Reformzeitalters (ungarischer Vormärz), die im Dienste der Verbürgerlichung stand. Die geistigen Äußerungen der Nation verfolgte er sehr aufmerksam und wünschte die Ausprägung und Bewußtmachung des nationalen Wesens zum Leitgedanken des Handels zu erheben. Die Nation betrachtete er als eine untrennbare Einheit mit eigenständiger Entwicklung. Den geistigen Repräsentanten der Nation sah er in der führenden politischen Schicht und der zu ihr gehörenden Intelligenz. Die religiösen, politischen und sozialen Kämpfe (falls er die letzteren überhaupt zur Kenntnis nahm) faßte er als einen Prozeß auf, der die Reinigung und Entfaltung des nationalen Geistes bewirkt. Seine ästhetischen Ansichten waren engherzig und überholter als seine Geschichtsbetrachtung. Er bemühte sich nicht, sich die philosophische Ästhetik der Gebrüder Schlegel zu eigen zu machen. Vom moralisch fundamentierten ästhetischen Denken der Anhänger Kants und dem seiner Zeitgenossen übernahm er am meisten, allerdings zumeist nur äußerlich und phrasenhaft (z. B. die Dreiheit des Guten, Schönen und Wahren). Dem Beispiel des Auslandes folgend reduzierte er Literatur als solche auf die schöngeistige Literatur, nicht theoretischen Überlegungen zufolge, sondern aufgrund seines, nur die Form berücksichtigenden Pragmatismus.

Arany übte wie schon erwähnt eine nachhaltige Wirkung aus, aber meist über Vermittler. Seine Skizzen (»Volkstümlichkeit in der Lyrik,« »Das ungarische Volkslied in der Literatur«, — »Gedankensplitter«), die der Fundierung der Synthese von Geschichte und Ästhetik dienen sollten, waren aus den Manuskripten und aus Gesprächen bekannt. In ihnen spürte man die Verquickung seiner Anschauungen und derer des Hegelianers *János Erdélyi*, bzw. die Umformung jener. Auch er verstand die Nation als Einheit, aber als eine nationale Einheit, die sich *auf die Mehrheit* gründet. Der Schwerpunkt der Entwicklung des nationalen Bewußtseins lag seiner Meinung nach bei der, aufgrund der Interessen und Ideale zur Mehrheit gehörenden Intelligenz, bzw. bei denen, die die Folklore-Literatur schufen. Deshalb sprach er mehr und mehr über die Einheit von

Volkstümlichkeit und Nation als Ideal. Seine Umwelt klammerte das Moment der Zugehörigkeit zur Mehrheit aus und betrachtete das Wesen und die Form der Nation als eine geistige Realität, die zur einer sich organisch entwickelnden Hierarchie gehört und sich gemeinsam mit dieser entfaltet. Das Moment der Interessen enthielt nicht die die Grundlagen der Einheit bildende Zugehörigkeit zur Mehrheit, sondern die Zugehörigkeit zur Hierarchie in sich. Das berühmte Motto von der Vereinigung der Interessen bedeutete für die Mehrheit, der weiteren Entwicklung der Hierarchie zu dienen. Sogar László Arany, der liberal denkende Sohn des großen Dichters, hervorragender Dichter und Theoretiker selbst, sah die Gründe für den Niedergang des nationalen Geistes von Epoche zu Epoche nicht im Verzicht auf die Zugehörigkeit zur Mehrheit, sondern im Zerfall der Hierarchie (»Unsere politische Dichtung«). Die Anschauungen der sich als die Erben der Reformzeit begreifenden und die gesellschaftliche Struktur des Ausgleiches beherrschenden Schicht wirkten so auf die Geschichte zurück. Die Anschauungen Toldys und des Arany-Kreises (nicht die Arany's) faßte der sehr konservative *Zsolt Beöthy* zusammen. Auf der Grundlage des Ausleseprinzips leitete er die Ideen, die die Romantik überdauerten, in den Positivismus über, und schuf seine neue Konzeption der Nationalliteratur, deren Wirkung noch heute spürbar ist. Nicht den *nationalen Geist* betrachtete er als höchsten Wert, sondern das Sichtbarmachen und Bewahren des *nationalen Charakters*, der aufgrund der natürlichen Gegebenheiten im historischen Prozeß der Auslese entstanden ist und von der *dominierenden Schicht in der jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen Hierarchie* verkörpert wird. Seiner Meinung nach gleichen sich auch die begabten Menschen, die anderen Schichten der Gesellschaft entstammen, bzw. die, die von anderer Nationalität sind, dem Charakter, dem Wesen der Nation an oder übernehmen spezielle Züge ihres Charakters, wie z. B. bei Petőfi die Freiheitsliebe oder bei Arany die besonnene, epische Weisheit (siehe seine Universitätsvorlesung über die Theorie der Literaturwissenschaft, 1905—1907, Steinabdruck. Nationalbibl. Budapest). Auf die gleiche Weise glaubte er auch die ästhetischen, belletristischen Werke der Literatur von denen, die nicht dazu angehören, trennen zu können, »da sich in diesen die Seele der Nation auf's Reinste offenbart und sie (die Werke) die Seele der ganzen Nation ansprechen.« (*Geschichte der ungarischen Literatur*, I. 1896. 8—10.)

Obwohl Heinrich Toldys Bedeutung in nationaler und wissenschaftgeschichtlicher Hinsicht betonte und seine menschliche Größe anerkannte, lehnte er ihn entschlossen ab. Nicht unbedingt aufgrund seiner Geschichtsbetrachtung und seiner Ideologie, sondern wegen seiner Auffassung von der Wissenschaft und aufgrund seiner wissenschaftlichen Methoden. »Ferenc Toldy, der Mann, der sich grosse Verdienste erworben hat, ist überall und immer der Fels, auf den . . . gebaut wird, obwohl wir heute schon wissen, daß man auf einen Toldy in keiner Hinsicht bauen darf.« (1887 : 300) Weiterhin erklärte er, daß in der falschen Auffassung von der *nationalen Mission der Geschichtschreibung* auch der Grund für die Unwissenschaftlichkeit und das Fehlen einer Ästhetik in der Literaturforschung zu suchen sei. Er lehrt sein Leserpublikum nicht, Kritik an der Geschichte zu üben, über die Geschichte nachzudenken, sondern begnügt sich damit, ihm Begeisterung einzuhauchen. So wies Heinrich klar darauf hin, daß diese passive Resistenz ein Erbe der Zeit, Generation und herrschenden Schicht ist und schon zu ihrer Zeit überbewertet wurde. Die Überreste davon seien geradezu schädlich, da sie die Vorwärtsentwicklung hemmten. »Nach der Katastrophe von 1849 war dieser Gesichtspunkt berechtigt und wichtig«, schrieb er nachgiebig. »Damals mußte man auf die ganze Nation Rücksicht nehmen und einwirken, um die Ungarn vor Mutlosigkeit und dem Verlust der nationalen Identität zu bewahren . . . Heute haben sich die Verhältnisse völlig verändert, auch das Publikum ist ein anderes. Nach den einstimmigen Meinungen der Verlage, bringt es wenig Interesse für unsere wissenschaftliche Literatur auf, ja nicht einmal für die Werke, die ihm grad-

wegs zugedacht sind. Natürlich ist nicht die Rede davon, daß wir keine Literaturgeschichte für das breite Publikum schreiben sollen, so wird es uns doch gelingen, tieferes Interesse für die Literatur zu erwecken ; — aber . . . bevor das Material nicht wissenschaftlich gesiebt, aufgearbeitet und ins Reine gebracht worden ist, kann man nicht einmal für das breite Publikum Wertvolles schreiben«, da sonst die Köpfe nur mit einem Wust von »Mythen«, »Gefühlsergüssen« und »geistlosem Geplänkel« vollgestopft würden. (1887 : 301)

Da er Toldy aufgrund seiner passiven Resistenz so hart verurteilte, ist erklärlich, daß er auch den vorwärtsstrebenden Beöthy, sowie die von ihm vertretenen Anschauungen und Methoden mit tiefer Ironie betrachtete. Es ließ sich leicht ableiten, daß die »Mythen«, das »leere Gerede« und der »geschwätzige Ästhetismus« von ihm und um ihn herum weitergetragen wurde. In Hinsicht darauf war es von großer Bedeutung, daß er, wenn auch sehr behutsam, niederschrieb, auf welche Weise Arany selbst aus dem Arany-Kreise ausgeschieden war. Voller Anerkennung äußerte er sich z. B. über die psychologische Scharfsicht, die künstlerische Gestaltung und die Aufnahmebereitschaft, die Gyulai in seiner Studie über József Katona bezeugte. Er deckte aber zugleich zwei solche Mängel auf, die Gyulais gesamte Tätigkeit in Frage stellten. Gyulai zog auch in der Neuausgabe seines Werkes nicht die Stücke Katonas in Betracht, die vor dem *Bánk bán* entstanden waren. So konnte weder in ästhetischer noch psychologischer Hinsicht ein getreues Bild von der künstlerischen Substanz, Gestaltung und Methode im *Bánk bán* entstehen. Auf den anderen Mangel weist er zwar taktvoll, aber nicht mit einem minderen Nachdruck hin : das Unberücksichtigtlassen von Arany's vergleichender (komparativer) Tätigkeit (1883 : 1945).

Wie Endrődi bezog auch Heinrich sich oft auf den »Erörterer« Arany. In erster Linie auf die Quellenkonfrontation und den Vergleich in den Studien Arany's Zrínyi und Tasso« und »Bánk-Bán«. Auch in seinem Essay über Gyulai vom Jahre 1911, das wohl das beste Gyulai-Porträt bis zum heutigen Tage ist, betont er, was er bei Gyulai vermißt und bei Arany in vollem Maße findet ; genaue historische Kenntnis, epochengemäße Geschichtsmethoden sowie eine eigenständige, auf die Kultur angewandte Geschichtsbetrachtung. Die größten Tugenden des Literaturhistorikers Gyulai wären die Tugenden des schöngeistigen Literaten, Novellisten und Romanschriftstellers. Er sei zwar Psychologe gewesen, aber keiner, der geschichtliche Epoche und Kunst miteinander konfrontierte. In seinen Werken würden die psychologischen, ästhetischen, ethischen Vorstellungen und Normen seiner Zeit auf die Vergangenheit zurückprojiziert. Zum vollständigen Bild gehört noch ein Unterschied ; der zwischen Szilády und Heinrich. Zu Beginn der 80er Jahre wurden sie immer engere Bundesgenossen und gaben gemeinsam die Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények (Literaturgeschichtliche Mitteilungen) heraus. Szilády redigierte die neue Zeitschrift straffer und methodischer als Heinrich die seine. Zweifellos war aber Szilády von den Anschauungen her konservativer. Ungeachtet seiner in Göttingen verbrachten Jahre war Szilády den Anschauungen des ungarischen Adels verpflichtet, insbesondere der ungarischen adlig-kalvinistischen nationalcharakterologische Geschichtsbetrachtung. Während Heinrich z. B. das 18. Jahrhundert, die karolinisch-theresianische Zeit und die Kultur des königlichen Ungarns mit der gleichen Begeisterung analysierte wie jede andere Epoche, wandte sich Szilády eher der Reformationszeit, der Kultlur Siebenbürgens und der Kultur des von den Türken besetzten Ungarns zu. Während Heinrich fast bis zu seiner eigenen Zeit vordrang, veröffentlichte Szilády lieber Artikel zu Themen aus der Epoche vor dem Reformzeitalter. Heinrich machte sein Leserpublikum mit einer ungeheuren Menge von ausländischer Fachliteratur bekannt, Szilády dagegen stellte auch in Anbetracht des ungarisch orientierten Profils der Zeitschrift wenig Material dieser Art vor, theoretisches überhaupt nicht. Szilády war unvergleichbar gründlicher, Heinrich aber von offenerem Geiste und ein besserer Pädagoge.

IV. Die geistig-tendenzielle Ausstrahlung der *Közlemények*

IV. 1. *Der Schöpfer des Rahmens der Arbeit; der Wissenschaftsorganisator, der gelehrte Pädagoge, der Vermittler der Methode: der Vorbereiter*

Heinrich unternahm es jedoch nicht, eine historisch-ästhetische Konzeption zu entwickeln. Die Thesen und Formeln des Kreises um Arany wandte er in manchen Fällen als einleitenden bzw. hinüberführenden Teil oder als Abschluß eines Artikels mit ästhetischer Funktion an, in Wirklichkeit aber hatte er nicht viel mit ihnen zu tun. Am liebsten verwandte er die Geschichtsauffassung und historische Methode seines Freundes, Wilhelm *Scherer*. Scherer, der anfangs selbst in Hettners Banne stand, war ein überlegener, kluger Mensch von realpolitischen Verhalten, das er ganz bis zum Opportunismns, sogar bis zum Zynismus übertrieb und überspitzte. Wenn Ihr das so wollt — war allen seinen Äußerungen zu entnehmen. Der Nationalismus des Bismarckschen Reiches erscheint bei ihm nur als Phrase. Er betrachtete aber auch die geschlossenen Interpretationen der geschichtsphilosophischen Richtungen der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts mit tiefer Skepsis. Nach Hettners Auffassung arbeitete er eine so weite, liberal-evolutionistische Formel aus, die frei blieb von jeglicher teleologischen Betrachtung und Beurteilung, die bloß zur positivistischen Forschung der historischen Ereignisse, ihrer Entstehungsursachen und Entstehungsumstände verpflichtet war. Seine berühmte dreifache Formel lautet folgendermaßen : das dichterische Werk bestehe aus dem, was der Dichter als biologisches, gesellschaftliches, kulturelles Erbe (Ererbtes) mit sich bringe, aus dem, was er von seinen Vorgängern und Zeitgenossen spontan oder bewußt gelernt habe (Erlerntes) und schließlich aus dem, was er selbst erlebt habe, was enger an sein Subjekt gebunden sei (Erlebtes). Diese Formel war eine sehr weite und kategorial gesehen eine formallogische Betrachtung des Prozesses der geschichtlichen Evolution, so daß sie eigentlich geeignet war, jegliche Auffassung und Methode zu akzeptieren oder aber abzulehnen. Sie ließ sowohl soziologische, psychologisierende, stilgeschichtliche Erklärungen zu wie auch solchen Raum gab, die sich auf die Verbindung zwischen den einzelnen künstlerischen Bereichen bezogen. Scherer schrieb auch eine Poetik von großem Format, die nach *R. Wellek* die beste ist unter den letzten Zusammenfassungen über den klassischen Stoff dieses Themenkreises. Diese Arbeit zeugt auch von der Bestrebung, diese zweifache Möglichkeit zu sichern. Sie betont den historischen Charakter der Poetik, wie dies die Forscher der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts taten, aber auch ihre Subjektgebundenheit, Subjektbezogenheit, wie dies seine Zeitgenossen meinten.

Scherer wäre, obwohl er seine Formel gleichfalls auf Richtung, Gattung, Periode, Nationalliteratur anwandte, mit der Geschichtsauffassung des Hohenzollern-Reiches, das die nationale Eigenprinziplichkeit besonders betonte, in Konflikt geraten, wenn er Hettner folgend die mit der europäischen Progression einhergehende Strömung in den Mittelpunkt seiner Untersuchungen gestellt hätte. Heinrich war in dieser Hinsicht freier. Er dachte zwar nicht daran, eine selbständige wissenschaftliche Literaturgeschichte zu schreiben und setzte seinen Schülern und Mitarbeitern auch nicht dieses Ziel, aber letzten Endes sammelte er Material zu einem solchen Werk. Er verwarf nicht die Möglichkeit und Notwendigkeit von vorläufigen Synthesen, war aber der Meinung, daß Kenntnis und Kritik des Stoffes zu einer wirklichen wissenschaftlichen Synthese noch nicht ausreichten. Er füllte die Scherersche Formel mit einem Komparatismus, der eine dreifache Aufgabe hatte.

Heinrich war bestrebt nachzuweisen, daß die charakteristischen Objekte der einzelnen Literaturen auch in anderen Literaturen vorhanden sind, *dieselben Objekte*

entweder in derselben Form oder in einer nationalen Variante. Sie durchströmen den ganzen zusammengehörenden Kulturkreis. Wenn nicht dieselben Objekte vorhanden sind, so ist eine *ähnliche Betrachtung* andersartiger Objekte innerhalb desselben Kulturkreises zu verzeichnen. Nach Möglichkeit vermied er ästhetische Ausführungen — diese Tätigkeit schien ihm romantische Spekulation zu sein. Er meinte aber *das Literarischwerden eines Themas* gerade in der Ähnlichkeit der Betrachtung der Objekte zu entdecken. Schließlich wollte er aufzeigen, daß *dieselben Objekte* bzw. die gleiche Betrachtung von ähnlichen Objekten in ähnlichen, miteinander verwandten geschichtlichen Perioden erscheinen und in den einzelnen neueren Literaturen heimisch werden. Aus all dem ist ersichtlich, daß er bemüht war, die Scherersche Formel mit möglichst vielen Hettnerschen Elementen zu füllen und eine möglichst lange Reihe von ungarischen Dichtern und deren Werken in den zivilisatorischen Entwicklungsgang der europäischen Kultur hineinzuversetzen. Er leugnete nicht ihre Originalität, es ist aber zu vermerken, daß er dies oft tat, indem er nebensächliche oder zufällige ästhetische Züge dieser Werke hervorhob. Daß er bei den Beziehungen innerhalb des europäischen Kulturkreises die deutsche Vermittlung für besonders wichtig hielt, ist nicht nur und nicht in erster Linie mit seiner deutschen Abstammung, mit seiner deutschen Bildung oder seiner politischen Orientierung zu erklären, — um so weniger, als diese Orientierung nicht besonders charakteristisch für ihn war —, sondern mit der Geltendmachung der Hettnerschen entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Konzeption. Das bedeutete leider zugleich auch soviel, daß er den Gedanken vom ungarischen Primat akzeptierte, wenn er ihn auch nicht ausdrücklich betonte. In seiner Zeitschrift erschien eine Reihe von Artikeln, die die Kultur der nationalen Minderheiten mit Wohlwollen behandelten, aber fast ein jeder Artikel enthielt — wenn auch in milder Form — den Anspruch auf Vorrecht.

Nichtsdestoweniger stand er — außer Péterffy — in der Wissenschaft der Zeit dem Beöthyschen Verhalten am energischsten gegenüber. Es wäre Aufgabe eines Psychologen aufzudecken, was Heinrich dazu trieb, daß er fast fanatisch versuchte, bei allen Erscheinungen zu beweisen, daß sie nur in der einheitlichen europäischen Gesamtkultur entstanden sein könnten und nur in diesem Zusammenhang Bedeutung, Sinn und Geschichte hätten. Soviel kann aber auch ohne psychologische (oder tiefenpsychologische) Untersuchungen festgestellt werden, daß der Realpolitiker, der zu Kompromissen neigende Heinrich sein Leben lang etwas davon bewahrt hat, was sein Zeitgenosse, der junge László Arany im Namen dieser ganzen Generation — ein bißchen pathetisch — folgendermaßen ausdrückte: »Es ist an der Zeit, daß der ungarische Dichter und Wissenschaftler sich von der Flut der universalen Ideen tragen läßt.«

IV. 2. *Die Zusammenfassung der Methoden der* Közlemények *nach Tendenzen; die Stoffgeschichte: Stoffgeschichte und Komparatistik; geistige Aufgeschlossenheit und liberale nationale Idee: Erbe und Verwandtschaft*

Die *Mitteilungen* haben in anderthalb Jahrzehnten die eigenartige Forschungsrichtung und Methode, die *Stoffgeschichte* ausgearbeitet, die vollständig nur in ihnen zur Geltung kam und ihre ersten Ergebnisse dort brachte. Heinrich wußte wohl, daß die systematische Arbeit ohne diese Ergebnisse unmöglich gewesen wäre. Aufgrund dieser Ergebnisse blickte er — wie wir schon gesehen haben — mit gewisser Geringschätzung auf den *Essay* herab. Der Abhandlung gegenüber hielt er es für unernste, nutzlose Zeitverschwendung. Es erübrigt sich zu sagen, daß seine Meinung grundfalsch war. Der Essay ist eine unentbehrliche Gattung der Literatur und der Literaturwissenschaft. Abhandlung und Essay sind nicht etwas Unvereinbares, sie sind aufeinander angewiesen. All dies ist allgemein bekannt, wir sprechen trotzdem davon, weil hier zwei Elemente seines Erbes

gleichzeitig erfaßt werden können — ein sehr wertvolles und ein ziemlich retrogrades Element.

Vom letzteren war schon die Rede : Heinrich wies jede geschichtlich nicht genügend bewiesene These, Konzeption, Idee zurück, versuchte aber nicht, aus seinen eigenen Thesen eine Synthese zu schaffen — er verwies diese Arbeit immer wieder in die Zukunft. Einige Grundthesen, einige Verhaltensgrundzüge lieferten *die Arbeitshypothese*, die eine unentbehrliche Voraussetzung jeder erfolgreichen Forschung ist. Diese Thesen und Grundzüge bildeten die Grundlagen seiner Methode und Forschungsrichtung, der Stoffgeschichte.

Auch noch heute neigen viele Menschen dazu, die Stoffgeschichte, vor allem unter dem demagogischen Einfluß der bisherigen literarischen Geistesgeschichte, teilweise mit der primitiven Art der Vergleichung gleichzusetzen, die den Weg und die Verwandtschaft der Themen aufgrund ihrer äußeren Ähnlichkeiten festzustellen suchte ; z. B. aufgrund der Ähnlichkeit der einzelnen zufälligen Elemente von Geschichten, Gestalten, Situationen. Oder aber sie setzten sie mit der anderen Art gleich, die Wirkungen erforschte und sich dabei gleichfalls auf zufällige biographische, literarische usw. Beziehungen, Berührungspunkte und Lektüren stützte. Die stoffgeschichtliche Vergleichung besteht aber nicht darin und bedeutete auch für Heinrich etwas anderes. Sie bedeutete für ihn die Registrierung, Beschreibung, Erklärung der charakteristischen Eigenschaften des literarischen Objekts, mit deren Hilfe es in die Weltliteratur eingereiht, eingeordnet, zu gleichen Gruppen der kulturellen Erscheinungen gerechnet werden kann. Für ihn war die Stoffgeschichte nicht gleichzusetzen mit der Geschichte der literarischen Sujets, sondern sie war Geschichte der literarischen Objekte. Objekt und Aufgabe seiner Forschungstätigkeit waren Dichter, Dichtung, Publikum, ihre Eigenschaften und Beziehungen.

Vom wertvollen Verhaltenserbe dieser stoffgeschichtlichen Forschung sollen hier zwei Momente hervorgehoben werden : das eine ist die permanente Warnung vor den geschichtlich nicht genügend fundierten synthetisierenden Ideen, das andere die ständige Forderung der Komparatistik. Heinrich meinte, daß der Essay, wenn er auf die beglaubigende Stütze der Abhandlung verzichtet und sich bloß auf den »überwältigenden Einfall« und auf die Intuition verlässt, gewöhnlich mehr schadet als nützt. Daß seine Warnung begründet war, beweisen viele Essays, die zwischen den zwei Weltkriegen entstanden sind sowie die berechtigten Klagen des bedeutenden liberalen Essayisten und Dichters des 20. Jahrhunderts, Mihály Babits, gegen seine Zeitgenossen. Es wird hier nicht deshalb auf Babits verwiesen, weil er — wie schon erwähnt — gute Beziehungen zu dem alten Wissenschaftler unterhielt, auch nicht deshalb, weil seine klagende Aussage besonders treffend ist, sondern deshalb, weil er — seiner ausgezeichneten philologischen Bildung entsprechend — Heinrichs Zeitschrift gut gekannt haben muß und eher noch deshalb, weil sie, was ihre Forderungen nach Objektivität, Historizität und Komparatistik sowie ihre liberale Auffassung von der nationalen Idee betrifft, ähnlicher Meinung waren.

Historische Faktenmäßigkeit und philologische Objektivität waren für sie beide unentbehrliche Voraussetzungen für die Beschäftigung mit Literatur. »Neues zu sagen ist leicht« — schreibt Babits — »ein jeder Mensch von größerer Belesenheit und ein bißchen Erfindungsgabe kann sogar täglich solche Umbewertungen vornehmen, solche Theorien schaffen, welche im Buch von . . . zu finden sind.« Der Essay, der solche »leichten Synthesen« schafft, sei charakteristisch für Menschen »unterhalb der Grenze eines bestimmten Lebensalters« (Babits bezeichnete einen gewissen *Typ von Menschen* — war dieser auch noch so alt — als »unterhalb der Grenze eines bestimmten Lebensalters«). Dieser Essay — fährt er fort — »kritisiert alles, nur sich selbst und seine Theorien nicht, weil es sie als Maßstab setzt« — und weil es immer und prinzipiell unterläßt — »die Richtigkeit der Anfangsdaten zu kontrollieren« (»Schriftsteller zwischen den zwei Weltkriegen«, O. J. S.

215, 224, 284). All das liegt nicht weit entfernt davon, was Heinrich von der »oberflächlich vergleichenden subjektiven Meinung«, von den »Gefühlsergüssen«, vom »geistlosen Geplänkel« und von der »erstaunlich zähen und hartnäckigen Vererbung der Mythen« sagte.

Nicht weniger bedeutend und nicht weniger verwandt ist ihre Auffassung von der Wichtigkeit der *Komparatistik*. Heinrich betonte immer wieder und wollte dem allgemeinen Bewußtsein einimpfen, was auch Babits nicht oft genug hervorheben konnte: Die ungarische Kultur sei ein unabtrennbarer Teil der europäischen Kultur; Ableitung und Deutung eines jeden ihrer Elemente könnten nur durch die Bewertung des Verhältnisses dieser Elemente, ihrer Verwandtschaft und ihrer Unterschiede vorgenommen werden. Heinrich war (wie auch Babits) der Ansicht, daß die Kulturen Mittelosteuropas durch ihre Lage und durch ihr Schicksal miteinander verwandt seien, nicht zuletzt gerade in der Hinsicht, daß sie alle den Entwicklungsgang der universalen europäischen Ideen und Ideale auf ähnliche Weise betrachteten und von ihrer Literatur die funktionale Metamorphose dieser Ideale erwarteten. Diese Verhaltensweise und dieses Ideengut machten sich die Völker zueigen und bereicherten dadurch ihre eigene Kultur und zugleich auch die europäische Gesamtkultur; Heinrich und Babits meinten, der Historiker gelange, indem er diese Bestrebung erfasse, zu einer universalen menschlichen Schicht, die tiefer liege als die trennenden Eigenschaften. »Da gehen wir über die nationalen Unterschiede hinaus und stoßen zu einer undifferenzierten, eigentlich internationalen Schicht vor.« (Babits, das., 234.)

Heinrich und Babits waren Anhänger der europäischen liberalen Auffassung von der Nation (vgl. dazu die Antwort von Babits im Fortissimo-Prozeß und die Polemik von Heinrich gegen die »Irodalomtörténet«). Heinrich nahm zwar die Herrschaft des Adels und des Gutsbesitzers im politischen und öffentlichen Leben zur Kenntnis, quittierte sie stillschweigend; Babits (besonders in den 30er Jahren, als er sein Ungartum beweisen wollte) berief sich ähnlich unter dem Einfluß der damaligen öffentlichen Meinung und unter dem Druck seiner Gegner auf seine adelige Herkunft und auf sein Gesinnungserbe. In Wirklichkeit aber waren sie — wenn auch in konservativer und nicht eindeutiger Weise — Anhänger des *bürgerlichen Liberalismus*. Sie vertrauten genauso (wenn nicht noch mehr) auf die gemeinsame und universale »Tiefenkultur« der Völker, wie diejenigen, die im Sinne des national-völkerschaftlichen Selbstverwirklichungsprinzips, ererbt von adelig-romantischen Ansichten, ihnen ihr Bürgertum und ihren Liberalismus vorwarfen und behaupteten, sie seien weniger empfänglich für nationale Werte und Interessen. Babits und Heinrich gingen aber nicht so weit zu behaupten (das wäre eine Sackgasse gewesen), daß die sog. volkshaften Tiefenkulturen alleinige Mittel der Seelengestaltung und der gegenseitigen geistigen Beziehungen seien. Die wahre Höhen- und Tiefenkultur könne gleichfalls Mittel und Objekt dieser Gestaltung und dieser gegenseitigen Beziehungen sein. Heinrich drängte deshalb darauf, nach den alten und anonymen Denkmälern und zusammen mit ihnen auch die moderne Literatur und Kultur mit Hilfe der vergleichenden Methode zu erforschen.

V. Zusammenfassung: Wissenschaft eines Unpolitischen? — Wissenschaft eines Halbpolitischen

Worin besteht also der gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Wert der Tätigkeit des Leiters der *Mitteilungen* und in welchem Sinne kann der umgewandelte Thomas Mannsche Titel als Kapitelüberschrift auf ihn angewandt werden? Als Lob oder als Tadel? Die Unterschiede in der deutschen und ungarischen Entwicklung können diese Frage

mit annähernder Sicherheit beantworten. Es war das Unglück der deutschen Intelligenz der Jahrhundertwende, daß die tätige Selbstverwirklichungsperiode der liberalen Demokratie im geschichtlichen Entwicklungsgang des Bürgertums, an dessen Weg die Entwicklung der Intelligenz gebunden war, fehlte. Als dieses Bürgertum die wirtschaftliche Macht ganz und die politische mindestens zur Hälfte erlangte, stand es nicht mehr in seinem Interesse, die grundlegenden Prinzipien der liberalen bürgerlichen Demokratie zu verwirklichen. So war es bemüht, die Intelligenz dazu zu bringen, sich mit den Naturwissenschaften zu beschäftigen. Als Ideologie diente dabei der Gedanke, daß die Intelligenz ihrer »nationalen Sendung«, der Repräsentation der germanischen geistigen Größe durch diese Tätigkeit am ehesten Genüge tun könne. Die Industrie, deren Entwicklung einen großen Aufschwung nahm, brauchte und unterstützte die Naturwissenschaften. *F. Th. Roosevelt*, der damalige Präsident des USA, äußerte sich auf seiner Europareise über nichts anderes so überwältigt als über die zivilisatorische Zusammenarbeit der deutschen Industrie und der Naturwissenschaften. Den sogenannten geisteswissenschaftlichen Bereich der Gesellschaftswissenschaften wollte diese herrschende Ordnung in die isolierende Rolle, die »Würde« des Fachspezialistentums hineinführen.

Zweifellos setzten sich große Massen der Intelligenz zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts und vor dem ersten Weltkrieg diesem doppelten Verhalten entgegen — aber der überwiegende Teil teilte es und wurde gewollt oder ungewollt stiller Teilhaber oder untätiger Zuschauer der Machtbestrebungen der Nazis.

Die ungarischen Machthaber konnten aufgrund des damaligen Niveaus der gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Entwicklung sowie der ethnischen Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung ihre Repräsentation noch nicht den Naturwissenschaften überantworten. Sie mußten sie in den geisteswissenschaftlichen Gesellschaftswissenschaften verwirklichen, vor allem in derjenigen historischen Gesellschaftswissenschaft, die tief von der traditionellen Rechtswissenschaft durchdrungen war. Diese Gesellschaftswissenschaft propagierte die Machtstellung der »auserwählten« Nationen und Klassen und ihren Sendungscharakter als Ergebnis des Entwicklungsprozesses im Sinne der Vorsehung und unterstützte diese Erklärung mit modernen naturwissenschaftlichen, nationaldarwinistischen Thesen. Die immer größer werdende Rolle Beöthys stand in geradem Verhältnis zu seiner in dieser Richtung tendierenden Ideologie.

Dieser geisteswissenschaftlichen Repräsentation, dieser geschichtlich-literaturgeschichtlichen Repräsentation, dieser Ideologie hätte nichts anderes mehr schaden können als eine Kulturgeschichte oder gar Zivilisationsgeschichte, die sowohl der romantischen als auch der positivistischen Auffassung vom nationalen Entwicklungsprinzip das untrennbare Bezugssystem der europäischen Evolution entgegengesetzt hätte. Heinrich wäre aufgrund seiner Bildung für diese Aufgabe geeignet gewesen, weil er weder ein Anhänger der romantischen noch einer der positivistischen Wissenschaft war. Er ist als ein Kind der liberalen kulturgeschichtlichen Schule vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts anzusehen, die das Prinzip des Organischen und Wechselseitigen vertrat. Seine Tätigkeit, seine Geistesrichtung (und Zeitschrift) brachten trotzdem keine Kulturgeschichte von soziologischem Aspekt zustande, die die europäischen Zusammenhänge vor Augen hielt und der isolierenden nationalen Eigenprinziplichkeit hätte entgegengesetzt werden können. Die Kulturgeschichte ist immer Vorbedingung, sine qua non der wissenschaftlichen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung. Nur dann kann sie diese Rolle erfüllen, nur dann kann sie Kulturgeschichte der Literatur (history of civilisation of literatur) werden, wenn sie die Verlebendigung einer synthetisierenden und zwar einer auf ästhetische Weise synthetisierenden Literaturwissenschaft — Literaturgeschichte ist. Und das fehlte bei Heinrich. Er hatte Geisteskraft und Mut dazu, die sich auch in Beöthys Literaturgeschichte offenbarende Ideologie der Gutsbesitzer im Sinne der Kulturgeschichte der Literatur abzu-

wehren, hatte aber keine Kraft (kein Talent oder keinen Mut), ihr eine andere Ideologie, eine andere ästhetische Synthese entgegenzusetzen. Dies war aber jedoch in erster Linie nicht die Folge der Unzulänglichkeit von persönlichem Mut und Talent, sondern die des Fehlens von gesellschaftlich-kultureller Unterstützung und Anregung.

Auch so entzog er dem Wirkungskreis der nationalistischen Ideologie bedeutende Kräfte und pflanzte das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl der europäischen Nationalkulturen bedeutenden Kräften ein. Nationalistische ungarische Literaturwissenschaft gab es in großer Zahl, aber nur einige, die die literarischen Werte auf das Blutmäßige zurückführen wollten. Heinrichs erzieherische Tätigkeit spielte eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Bewußtmachung der Tatsache, daß das Faktenmaterial der nationalen Kultur nur in einem größeren, in diesem Falle in dem europäischen Zusammenhang richtig gedeutet werden kann. Er selbst aber schuf kein solches System, sondern blieb auf halbem Wege stehen. Seine unpolitische Haltung war allerdings nicht ohne politische Bedeutung. Seine die reaktionäre politische Einstellung »negierende unpolitische Haltung« muß zur (reaktionären) »affirmativen politischen Haltung« von Beöthy in Bezug gesetzt werden. Um eine Variante des Thomas Mannschen Titels auf seine Tätigkeit anzuwenden, könnte man sagen: Wissenschaft eines liberalen Halbpolitischen.

ANMERKUNGEN

[1] Zwittinger, Dávid : *Specimen Hungariae Literate*, Frankfurt/M.—Leipzig, 1711.
[2] Bod, Péter : *Magyar Athenas*, Nagyszeben 1766.
[3] Wallaszky, Pál : *Conspectus Reipublicae Literariae in Hungaria*. Pozsony, 1785.
[4] Budai, Ezsaiás : *Régi tudós világ*, (Die Gelehrtenwelt der Alten), Debrecen, 1802.
[5] Toldy, Ferenc : *Handbuch der ungarischen Poesie*, Pest, 1827.

G. Béla Németh

La vie littéraire et artistique à Paris dans le journal de Rodolphe Apponyi (1826—1850)

Les mémoires jalonnent les siècles passés et constituent non seulement des témoignages particuliers du temps, mais aussi une sorte de production proprement littéraire. Leur étude est à juste titre très instructive et très enrichissante et peut apporter des informations importantes sur l'époque en question.

Le XIXe siècle est surtout riche en mémoires, tout d'abord à cause des grands bouleversements de la Révolution et de l'Empire. La prise de conscience de l'Histoire, du Temps qui passe et de l'homme qui peut être le témoin des grands changements, incitent quelques uns à mettre par écrit leurs souvenirs. *Heine* a bien vu l'importance de ce grand nombre de mémoires en France : « Il suffit de raconter fidèlement ce qu'ils ont vu et fait pendant les trente dernières années, et ils ont une littérature personnelle comme aucun peuple et aucun siècle n'en a encore produit; ces mémoires d'hommes d'État, de soldats et de nobles femmes qu'on publie chaque jour en France forment un cycle de tradition qui donnera à la postérité suffisamment à réfléchir et à chanter, et rayonnera autour de la vie du grand Empereur, laquelle s'élèvera au centre comme une

colonne gigantesque . . . »[1] L'époque de la Restauration et de la Monarchie de Juillet est non moins intéressante mais peut-être pour des raisons différentes. Ici, c'est surtout une certaine désillusion après les déceptions de la Révolution de 1830 qui se manifeste et aussi un certain besoin d'écrire, de s'exprimer dans un monde qui rend l'acte impossible et inutile. D'où le ton de raillerie, de mépris, souvent très sensible dans ces mémoires, envers ceux qui font l'Histoire et qui veulent renouveler les arts et la littérature.

Parmi ces nombreux mémoires, il en existe un, assez peu connu, dont l'auteur est un comte hongrois, Rodolphe Apponyi. L'intérêt de ses mémoires se trouve dans le fait — d'après notre opinion — qu'il est étranger, il juge donc les évenements en France en se tenant forcément un peu à l'écart et cette distanciation souligne encore le ton personnel de l'ouvrage. Il raconte fidèlement un très grand nombre d'événements et il donne le portrait de nombreux personnages de l'époque, dont nous avons choisi dans une première partie de notre travail quelques aspects seulement, la description des salons littéraires et surtout la figure de Balzac. La deuxième partie examinera quelques autres représentants de la vie littéraire, tels Lamartine, Vigny, Hugo, Musset, Dumas, Eugène Sue, les Girardin, etc. ainsi que les mentions de la vie artistique, la musique et la peinture.

Pour mieux rendre le ton de l'ouvrage, nous avons décidé d'en insérer de larges extraits, avec quelques commentaires nécessaires en espérant pouvoir fournir de cette façon — sinon des données inconnues jusqu'ici — du moins quelques contributions à certains faits de sociologie littéraire peu connus ou peu appréciés par la critique, souvent trop concentrée sur les jugements de valeur établis par la postérité.

Le comte Rodolphe Apponyi est arrivé à Paris le 5 février 1826 en tant qu'attaché de l'ambassade d'Autriche à Paris, son oncle, le comte Antoine Apponyi étant nommé ambassadeur. Il y demeura pratiquement pendant toute sa vie, jusqu'en 1850 et mourut trois ans après à Vienne. Il commence à rédiger ses notes dès son arrivée en France et il poursuit cette activité jusqu'à son départ définitif. Son journal, rédigé en français, fut publié entre 1913 et 1926[2] par Ernest Daudet, en quatre volumes et précédé d'une préface. C'est un témoignage précieux des années 1826—1850, car le jeune comte, observateur perspicace, s'intéressait à tous les aspects de la vie parisienne, à celle de l'aristocratie avant tout. Le destinataire de ce journal est la mère d'adoption de Rodolphe, une Italienne de naissance, compatriote et amie de l'ambassadrice, la comtesse Thérèse de Serbelloni. Non seulement le journal lui est destiné mais aussi une grande correspondance, encore inédite, sauf quelques passages reproduits dans la préface du journal. Elles témoignent de l'amour filial de Rodolphe envers sa belle-mère, et possèdent la même verve et le même don littéraire que le journal. Une partie considérable de ces lettres se trouvent transcrites parmi les manuscrits inédits de feu Alexandre Eckhardt, professeur titulaire de la chaire de français à l'Université de Budapest, pendant de longues années, de 1923 à 1959.

C'est sur la base de l'édition mentionnée du journal et du manuscrit d'Alexandre Eckhardt que nous essayons de retracer le tableau des milieux littéraires et artistiques des années 1826—1850.

En ce qui concerne le journal, l'éditeur Ernest Daudet, a procédé à certains remaniements du texte : « Avant donc de livrer son manuscrit à l'impression, il a fallu y faire un certain nombre de coupures ou substituer des initiales à des noms qui méritent plus d'égards qu'il ne leur a montré. Ces amputations nécessaires ont été surtout pratiquées dans des parties du manuscrit original, dépourvues d'intérêt historique et n'ont affaibli l'opinion personnelle de l'auteur que dans la mesure où les convenances l'exigeaient. »[3] A ce propos, il faut noter qu'Alexandre Eckhardt a complété un certain nombre de pages du journal d'après le manuscrit original et qu'il en ressort — à première vue et sans une étude approfondie et comparative des deux textes — que l'éditeur français

avait une tendance à supprimer non seulement des remarques compromettant certaines personnes, mais aussi des remarques critiques concernant la politique française. Il est assez curieux de voir que même entre 1913 et 1926 quelques remarques du comte hongrois concernant certains défauts de la politique française, ou des Français en général, ont pu risquer de blesser l'amour-propre de cette nation, si indulgente et si railleuse quand il s'agit d'étaler les défauts ou les mérites nationaux.

Une deuxième remarque s'impose à propos du texte, car Ernest Daudet, dans la préface mentionnée, note également : « A cet égard, ma tâche n'a été autre chose qu'une mise au point partielle et accidentelle, laquelle a eu pour effet, tantôt de redresser des phrases défectueuses, tantôt de faire disparaître quelques affirmations que le comte avait négligé de contrôler et d'atténuer, ici ou là, le caractère de ses dires quand ils m'ont paru trop rigoureux et pas assez justifiés. »[4]

Évidemment, une réécriture rigoureuse et complète du texte original pourrait seulement rendre toutes les nuances et toutes les significations du manuscrit, mais n'étant pas en mesure de le faire, nous nous sommes contentés de prendre en considération les corrections et les rajouts qui figurent dans le manuscrit d'Alexandre Eckhardt, lesquels — malheureusement — ne vont pas jusqu'à la fin du journal et s'arrêtent vers la fin des années 1830.

Même sous cette forme-là, ces deux textes, le journal édité et le travail d'Alexandre Eckhardt, nous permettent de voir certains aspects de la vie littéraire et artistique de l'époque en question. Il y a, tout d'abord, quelques tableaux remarquables de la vie dans les salons, où apparaissent plusieurs écrivains et poètes de renom : Balzac, Hugo, Musset, Vigny, Lamartine, etc.

D'autre part, on peut trouver dans le journal certains jugements sur les auteurs et sur les œuvres littéraires et artistiques qui nous renseignent sur la mentalité de ce jeune Hongrois, aristocrate et conservateur. D'après Daudet : « . . . un homme d'ancien régime aussi indulgent pour le passé que sévère pour le présent, disposé cependant à considérer avec beaucoup de philosophie les choses et les hommes de son temps, même quand ils lui déplaisent. »[5]

Il y a encore un troisième point d'intérêt dans le journal, et c'est Ernest Daudet qui y attire notre attention : « Ce journal, il le continua jusqu'en 1851, écrivant ainsi, et probablement sans se douter de l'importance de son travail, l'histoire au jour le jour d'un quart de siècle et complétant ses récits d'une infinité de détails, de portraits, de révélations qui seraient perdus s'il ne nous en avait pas conservé le souvenir. Les histoires privées, les intrigues mondaines ne l'intéressaient pas moins que les événements publics. Il s'y attarde volontiers et nous lui devons de pénétrer à sa suite dans la société aristocratique de cette époque, de connaître les aventures souvent scandaleuses qui s'y déroulent, les hommes et femmes qui en sont les héros et parmi lesquels il semble que Balzac ait pris certains personnages de ses romans : la duchesse de Langeais, Mme de Beauséant, Marsay, Nucingen, Rastignac, le marquis d'Ajuda, pour ne citer que ceux-là. »[6]

Est-ce une affirmation ou une hypothèse ? En tout cas, on se sent invité à s'aventurer dans une recherche qui promet des résultats intéressants.

1. Balzac raconte l'histoire de deux amoureux sur une île déserte

Le jeune comte hongrois était une figure connue des salons aristocrates, surtout à cause de sa qualité de danseur et d'organisateur de *galops* lors des grandes fêtes données par des personnes illustres de la société parisienne. Alexandre Eckhardt a rédigé un article, également inédit, sur ces exploits du comte.[7] Il avait donc maintes occasions d'assister à

des soirées les plus diverses[8] et c'est ainsi qu'il a pu voir Balzac, pour la première fois, lors de la soirée de la marquise de la Bourdonnaye, le 15 mars 1833. Voici la description qu'il en donne dans son journal :

« Ce gros bonhomme de tournure et figure communes, c'est Balzac . . . » Puis il fait le portrait des hommes célèbres y présents, — Jules Janin, Victor Hugo, Salvandy, Eugène Sue, l'abbé Pradt, Rességuier, M et Mme de Girardin, Mme Sophie Gay et d'autres, très bien caractérisées par quelques mots. « Pendant que nous parlions, toutes les dames entouraient M de Balzac pour le prier de leur raconter une petite histoire. Il avait beau dire qu'il n'en avait point l'habitude, qu'il n'était point préparé, que toutes ces dames, tous ces hommes lettrés et spirituels lui en imposaient, tout cela fut inutile, on lui fit prendre place à la cheminée. Jules Janin se placa vis-à-vis du narrateur et fit, pendant que l'autre contait, le feuilleton, en critique de l'histoire, de la manière la plus spirituelle, la plus impitoyable pour notre pauvre Balzac, qui se fâcha tout rouge. Dans son histoire, il y avait deux amants échoués sur une île déserte ; ils sont près de mourir de faim ; l'amour seul les soutient et leur fait découvrir un couvent. Dans ce couvent, ils trouvent de quoi manger à satiété. Ceci fut une véritable bonne fortune pour Jules Janin qui railla spirituellement ce bon diner servi dans une île déserte, ces moines bien nourris sur un roc escarpé sans arbres, sans végétation quelconque, et tout cela placé là pour recevoir les amants de M de Balzac, qui, sans secours, auraient dû impitoyablement mourir de faim.

La marquise de la Bourdonnaye, en femme d'esprit, ne se mêla point de la discussion. Elle fit mieux : pour rétablir la bonne harmonie parmi ces beaux esprits, elle les engagea à passer dans la salle a manger où le souper le plus délicat les attendait.

Je suppose pourtant que la lacryma, le bordeaux, le vin de Champagne n'ont pas entièrement étouffé tout sentiment de vengeance dans Balzac, et qu'il voudra bien, ne fut-ce que pour nous faire plaisir, prendre sa revanche avec Jules Janin. »[9]

Apparemment, Rodolphe n'est pas ravi de Balzac. On sait que les débuts de Balzac dans la vie mondaine n'étaient pas sans difficultés. La Duchesse d'Abrantès, dont il fait la connaissance en 1825, l'introduit dans beaucoup de salons, entre autres chez Mme Récamier. Dès 1829, l'année de ses premiers succès littéraires, sa vie mondaine devient plus intense. Peu à peu il réussit à s'assurer une renommée dans le milieu aristocratique. D'après les témoignages des contemporains, il arrive, malgré son physique peu séduisant, à charmer surtout les femmes par son esprit brillant et sa capacité de raconter des histoires intéressantes.[10]

Celle-ci, dont notre auteur donne le compte rendu semble un peu maladroite. Pourtant, l'idée du couvent situé sur une île nous fait songer au début de *La Duchesse de Langeais*, le roman, dont il a terminé la rédaction un an plus tard, en février 1834. Voici quelques phrases de la description de cet endroit où l'héroïne du roman s'enfuit pour y mourir : « Ce monastère a été construit à l'extrémité de l'île, au point culminant du rocher, qui, par un effet de la grande révolution du globe, est cassé net du côté de la mer, où, sur tous les points, il présente les vives arêtes de ses tables légèrement rongées à la hauteur de l'eau, mais infranchissables. Ce roc est protégé de toute atteinte par des écueils dangereux qui se prolongent au loin, et dans lesquels se joue le flot brillant de la Méditerranée. Il faut donc être en mer pour apercevoir les quatre corps du bâtiment carré dont la forme, la hauteur, les ouvertures ont été minutieusement prescrites par les lois monastiques. »[11]

C'est d'ailleurs dans le même roman que Balzac donne le tableau de la société du faubourg Saint-Germain et le portrait d'un de ses specimens, la Duchesse de Langeais. » C'était une femme artificiellement instruite, réellement ignorante ; pleine de sentiments élevés, mais manquant d'une pensée qui les coordonnât ; dépensant les plus riches trésors de l'âme à obéir aux convenances ; prête à braver la société, mais hésitant et arrivant à l'artifice par suite de ses scrupules ; ayant plus d'entêtement que de caractère, plus

d'engouement que d'enthousiasme, plus de tête que de cœur ; souverainement femme et souverainement coquette, Parisienne surtout ; aimant l'éclat, les fêtes ; ne réfléchissant pas, ou réfléchissant trop tard ; d'une imprudence qui arrivait presque à de la poésie ; insolente à ravir, mais humble au fond du cœur ; affichant la force comme un roseau bien droit, mais, comme ce roseau, prête à fléchir sous une main puissante ; parlant beaucoup de la religion, mais ne l'aimant pas, et cependant prête à l'accepter comme un dénouement. »[12]

La marquise de Castries, le modèle de ce personnage, personnifie le type de femme dont Balzac avait l'occasion d'observer le caractère et le comportement lors de ces soirées.

2. Balzac parle du magnétisme animal

Un an plus tard, le 8 mai 1834, nous trouvons une autre mention de Balzac dans le journal de Rodolphe. La scène se déroule dans le salon de l'ambassadeur, Balzac étant entre-temps introduit chez les Apponyi.[13]

« Hier soir, il était question chez nous des progrès que fait le magnétisme et des résultats inconcevables qu'on en obtenait. Le duc de Laval, qui aime à faire l'esprit fort, nia tout ce qu'on disait là-dessus et soutint qu'il n'en était rien.

— Il y a deux ans que je pensais exactement comme M le duc, observa M de Balzac qui était là ; il m'aurait fallu toutes sortes de preuves évidentes pour me résoudre à croire à une chose dont on voit les résultats sans qu'il soit humainement possible de les expliquer. Je me trouvais à la campagne, poursuivit-il, avec quelques-uns de mes amis. Le soir, on parla de magnétisme ainsi que nous en parlons en ce moment. Je m'énonçais contre, dans le même sens que M le duc. Il se trouvait parmi nous un médecin qui soutint avec force que le pouvoir du magnétisme existait réellement et qu'il ne tenait qu'à moi ou à une autre personne de bonne volonté de lui donner le moyen de prouver la vérité de son assertion. Une des dames qui se trouvait comme nous en visite dans ce château fut déclarée par lui comme très sensible au magnétisme. Il fallut quelque temps et mille promesses et assurances de notre part et de son amie, la maîtresse de maison, avant que cette dame consentit à se prêter à cette expérience. Le médecin commença donc à la magnétiser ; il ne lui fallut que quelques minutes pour l'endormir. Elle répondit alors à toutes nos questions exactement comme si elle était éveillée ; elle nous reconnut sans ouvrir les yeux ; elle nous dit toutes les cartes que je lui présentais, tout cela ne me suffit pas encore ; je voulus que la voyante me dit des choses qu'elle n'aurait pu nous dire dans son état naturel. Je tirai donc cinq cartes au hasard, sans les regarder ni les montrer à personne ; je les mis dans ma poche, puis je demandai à la somnambule quelles cartes j'avais. Sans trop hésiter, elle me les nomma toutes. J'allai ensuite dans la chambre voisine, je tirai une carte après l'autre et elle me les nomma toutes.

— Maintenant, me dit le médecin, touchez-la et demandez-lui des renseignements, quelques détails sur ce qui se passe dans l'intérieur de la maison et une personne qui se trouve en ce moment à Paris et dont vous désirez avoir des nouvelles.

Sur ma prière, tout le monde se retira, excepté la maîtresse de maison, qui, selon la volonté de la voyante, devait rester auprès d'elle. Lorsque nous fûmes seuls, je la priai de me dire ce qui se passait en ce moment dans le salon d'une dame de mes amies, à Paris. Elle me répondit qu'il y avait plus de monde que de coûtume; elle me nomma toutes les personnes. Comme il s'en trouvait dans le nombre que mon amie ne voyait pas habituellement, je crus que la voyante se trompait; je le lui dis, ce qui parut la fâcher, et lorsque je lui demandai pourquoi tout ce monde était réuni, elle me répondit qu'on venait de demander la fille de mon amie en mariage, que les personnes que je ne paressais

pas connaître étaient le futur et ses parents. Ceci me parut une mauvaise plaisanterie, je savais positivement qu'il n'était point question de marier la jeune personne et que si cela avait été, on m'en eût certainement prévenu. Le médecin rentra sur mon invitation, ainsi que toutes les autres personnes. Je lui dis ce qui venait de m'être raconté et que pour le coup, cette fois-ci, le magnétisme était en défaut. Le médecin m'assura qu'il était persuadé du contraire et que je ne devais porter aucun jugement avant de m'être renseigné. Son air d'assurance me piqua si vivement, que je pris sur-le-champ une chaise de poste et me rendis à Paris. Jugez de mon étonnement et de celui de mon amie lorsque je lui détaillai tout ce qui s'était passé chez elle la veille et qu'elle me dit que tout avait été exactement ainsi, que le mariage de sa fille avec ce jeune homme était chose décidée, quoique inattendue, et qu'au moment où j'arrivai, elle m'écrivait pour me donner cette heureuse nouvelle. Depuis ce jour, il m'est impossible de douter de l'existence de la force surprenante du magnétisme, et une fois convaincu, je suis devenu un des plus zélés défenseurs. Je suis donc magnétiseur moi-même et j'ai une telle force qu'il y a bien peu de personnes qui me résistent, puisque toutes deviennent chez moi somnambules, pas toujours à la première séance, mais infailliblement après les avoir renouvelées plusieurs fois de suite. En mettant une personne en rapport avec ma somnambule, je lui ferai dire par elle jusqu'à ses pensées les plus secrètes.

— Mais, dit M de Laval, s'il en est ainsi, il me semble que, pendant les années où j'ai été ambassadeur en Espagne, à Rome, à Vienne, à Londres, j'aurais beaucoup mieux fait de me procurer une bonne somnambule de votre façon, mon cher Balzac, et je le conseillerai beaucoup à M l'ambassadeur d'Autriche ici présent.

Nous nous mîmes tous à rire de cette phrase de M de Laval, Balzac nous donna encore une foule d'autres exemples dans le genre précité, tous également étonnantes. Mais ce qui me déplaît surtout, c'est cette influence que conserve le magnétiseur sur la personne magnétisée; point de temps, point de distance ne détruit cette influence qu'il a sur vous. Vous restez son esclave, lui à Saint-Pétersbourg et vous en Amérique; il vous forcera, par sa seule volonté, à penser à lui dans le moment où il l'exigera de vous.

M de Balzac nous a dit qu'il avait bien souvent fait cette expérience ; qu'il avait, par exemple, fortement désiré que la personne qui se trouvait sous son influence magnétique, et absente en Angleterre ou partout ailleurs, pensât à lui au moment même, et qu'elle le lui prouvait en lui écrivant et en lui donnant de ses nouvelles.

— J'inscrivais, continua-t-il, la date du jour dans mes tablettes, et je ne manquais jamais de recevoir la lettre voulue et portant la date que j'avais inscrite. C'est une expérience très facile, très licite et que je me suis permise souvent pour convaincre les personnes qui ne voulaient pas croire à mes assertions. »[14]

La structure du récit donnée par l'auteur du journal est remarquable. D'abord, il relate les paroles du narrateur, (de Balzac), qui commence par dire qu'il avait des doutes à propos de l'existence du magnétisme, mais qu'il a fini par en être convaincu et, par ce fait, convaincre son audience. Rodolphe, — en bon narrateur lui aussi — y ajoute les remarques du public pour animer la scène, et ses propres réflexions. Pour terminer, il cède de nouveau la parole à Balzac.

L'histoire racontée par Balzac semble beaucoup plus élaborée que la précédente et c'est peut-être la cause de son succès. Il procède à certains remaniements en ce qui concerne son attitude vis-à-vis du magnétisme. Au fait, il s'y était familiarisé beaucoup plus tôt, vers les années 1820 et non sans l'influence de sa mère, adepte fervente et même spécialiste de cette science, ainsi que de nombreux ouvrages sur le magnétisme qui se trouvaient dans la bibliothèque de la famille. Dans la préface de *La peau de chagrin* qui date de 1831, il parle d'une faculté surhumaine, propre aux «écrivains réellement philosophes, un phénomène moral, inexplicable, inoui, dont la science peut difficilement rendre

compte. C'est une sorte de seconde vue qui leur permet de deviner la vérité dans toutes les situations possibles; ou, mieux encore, je ne sais quelle puissance qui les transporte là où ils doivent, ou ils veulent être. Ils inventent le vrai, par analogie, ou voient l'objet à décrire, soit que l'objet vienne à eux, soit qu'ils aillent eux-mêmes vers l'objet. »[15]

Parmi les romans de *La comédie humaine*, *Louis Lambert*, les *Martyrs ignorés* et surtout *Ursule Mirouët* témoignent de ce grand intérêt de Balzac pour le magnétisme et le somnambulisme. Dans ce dernier il a même inséré tout un traité sur « une des sciences des plus importantes », sur « la science des fluides impondérables ». Donc pour Balzac c'est surtout le côté scientifique qui est important, et il néglige l'aspect curatif du magnétisme. L'histoire racontée pár Balzac chez l'ambassadeur devait avoir d'autant plus de succès que les idées de Messmer, de Gall, de Lavater ont été bien connues à l'époque et que plusieurs journaux s'occupaient des exploits des grands médecins magnétiseurs et de leurs somnambules.[16]

3. Balzac offre au prince Schönburg le manuscrit de Melmoth réconcilié

Les rapports de Balzac avec l'ambassade d'Autriche ont été déjà en partie traités par Marcel Bouteron, dans son article intitulé *Balzac et les Apponyi*, paru dans la Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie, en 1935. Quelques lettres très cordiales, échangées entre l'ambassadrice et l'écrivain y sont publiées qui montrent combien les relations étaient serrées depuis la présentation de Balzac à la famille Apponyi, en 1843. C'était la comtesse Marie Potocka, cousine de Mme Hanska qui introduisait l'écrivain dans ce milieu, mais d'après le témoignage d'une lettre de Mme Hanska, elle n'appréciait pas beaucoup que Balzac fréquentât sa cousine.[17]

Le 28 avril 1835 on trouve une nouvelle apparition de Balzac dans le journal. Le prince Schönburg, envoyé extraordinaire de l'Empereur Ferdinand II, arrive de Vienne en visite officielle et il apporte à cette occasion des nouvelles de Mme Hanska pour Balzac. Il raconte sa visite chez l'écrivain, vivant en cachette à cette époque-là, et Rodolphe écrit dans son journal l'histoire suivante :

« Il a aussi frayé beaucoup avec des gens de lettres (le prince Schönburg), il a eu quelque peine à découvrir M de Balzac qui se trouvait sous le coup d'une condamnation par contumace pour ne pas s'être rendu à l'appel pour le service de la garde nationale et a été obligé de se cacher dans une maison obscure au fond d'un faubourg. Le prince, à force de prendre des informations, et d'adresse en adresse, parvint jusqu'à lui et le trouva vêtu d'un froc monacal et ceint d'une corde.

Vous êtes étonné, mon prince, lui dit M de Balzac, de me voir vêtu en ermite ; c'est que, dans le fait, je mène une vie qui m'autorise à endosser le froc. Il y a plusieurs semaines que je n'ai quitté cette chambre ; j'achève un livre que je vais publier bientôt et qui m'a beaucoup donné à faire ; de plus, on m'a condamné à quelques mois de prison, parce que je n'ai pas fait mon service de garde national, je dois donc me cacher ici où je suis à peu près sûr que les huissiers ne me découvriront pas. Plus tard, je me rendrai et j'irai à Tours pour purger ma contumace.

Le prince Schönburg a été enchanté et désenchanté tour à tour par M de Balzac. Il a trouvé en lui immensément d'esprit, une facilité de parole inconcevable, une imagination vive, une conversarion intéressante, mais un décousu d'idées, de pensées, d'action, beaucoup de vanité et peu de sens commun. Quoi qu'il en soit, le prince, qui a aussi sa bonne dose de vanité, a cru devoir flatter beaucoup cet auteur, afin de l'avoir pour ami ; c'est la seule manière, au fait, de gagner ces gens-là ; mais si, malheureusement, ils s'aperçoivent de votre arrière-pensée, alors vous risquez qu'ils se moquent de vous et cela

avec raison. Je crains que Schönburg ait un peu passé par là, car lorsqu'il veut être fin, il montre parfois la corde.

Quelque temps après la visite du prince, Balzac se rend à son tour chez lui et lui apporte un livre très bien relié, orné des armes de la maison de Schönburg, doré sur tranches et qui contient, à ce qu'il disait (M de Balzac), le manuscrit d'un de ses romans. J'ai vu ce manuscrit. C'est la première épreuve de l'imprimeur, toute tachée et biffée, chargée de corrections de la main de M de Balzac, mais cela ne peut cependant s'appeler un manuscrit. M de Balzac a-t-il voulu se moquer du prince, ou est-il pétri de vanité au point de croire qu'une mauvaise épreuve soit un trésor pour le prince, par la seule raison que lui, auteur de ce livre, a corrigé de sa main les fautes de l'imprimeur? Dans ce genre tout est possible, mais ce dont j'aurais douté, si je n'en avais été témoin, c'est de voir M de Schönburg ravi de Balzac et de son cadeau. »[18]

Balzac devait, pendant cette période assez tourmentée de sa vie, quitter son appartement de la rue Cassini, et s'installer 13 rue des Batailles, dans les décors qu'il décrit dans *La Fille aux yeux d'or*. En même temps, il continue à travailler et le début de l'année 1835 est marqué par la publication d'un nombre considérable d'ouvrages,au mois de mars, *Le Père Goriot*, puis des rééditions des *Études de mœurs*, des *Scènes de la vie privée*, etc. et, en juin, le 6e volume du *Livre des conteurs*, contenant *Melmoth réconcilié*.[19]

Le cahier d'épreuves corrigées de ce roman a une très grande valeur, le manuscrit ayant disparu c'est surtout sur la base de ces feuilles que l'on peut reconstituer la genèse du texte et ses variantes. Il est conservé dans la famille du diplomate autrichien et mis à la disposition des chercheurs.[20]

4. À propos d'un passage du Lys dans la vallée

Balzac fait quelques autres apparitions dans le journal de ce comte hongrois, et il est peu apprécié. Le 8 juin 1836 il raconte une soirée passée chez la princesse de Belgiojoso dont les mauvaises manières semblent abhorrer notre brave diplomate :

« Voici d'autre part, comment M de Balzac, qui se dit descendant des d'Antraigues, et qui, malgré sa prétention aux bonnes manières, en a de détestables dans le monde, s'y prend dans son dernier ouvrage qui vient de paraître : la Lys dans la vallée, pour raconter la première entrevue de son héros avec son héroïne. Notez que ce héros est un jeune homme timide outre mesure qui assiste pour la première fois à une grande fête où, inconnu et ne connaissant personne, il promène son ennui. »[21]

Et ici il copie le passage du roman comme suit :

« Mes yeux furent tout à coup frappés par de blanches épaules rebondies, sur lesquelles j'aurais voulu (pouvoir) me rouler, des épaules légèrement rosées qui semblaient rougir, comme si elles se trouvaient nues pour la première fois, de pudiques épaules qui valaient (avaient) une âme, et dont la peau satinée éclatait à la lumière comme un tissu de soie. Ces épaules étaient partagées par une raie, la long de laquelle coula mon regard, plus hardi que n'eut été ma main (que ma main). Je me haussai, tout palpitant, pour voir le corsage, et fus complètement fasciné par une gorge chastement couverte d'une gaze, mais dont les globes azurés d'une rondeur parfaite étaient douillettement couchés dans des flots de dentelle. Les plus légers détails de cette tête furent des amorces, qui réveillèrent en moi des jouissances infinies : le brillant des cheveux lissés au-dessus d'un cou velouté comme celui d'une petite fille, les lignes blanches que le peigne y avait dessinées et où mon imagination courut comme en de frais sentiers, tout me fit perdre l'esprit. Après m'être rassuré (assuré) que personne ne me voyait, je me plongeai dans ce dos, comme un enfant (qui) se jette dans le sein de sa mère en baisant à plusieurs reprises

toutes ces épaules où se roula ma tête (et je baisai toutes ces épaules en y roulant ma tête). »[22]

Comme il existe plusieurs variantes de ce texte, et comme celui qui est reproduit dans le journal n'est tout à fait conforme à aucune d'elles, nous avons mis entre parenthèses celles qui sont prises dans l'édition de la Pléiade. *Le Lys dans la vallée*, fut publié, en partie, pour la première fois dans la *Revue de Paris*, en 1835, et le volume mis en vente le 18 juin 1836, donc un peu plus tard que ne le dit l'auteur dans son journal. Or, le texte qui y figure aujourd'hui est celui qui correspond le plus à celui de l'édition Furne, datant de 1844.[23] Faute d'informations précises, il faut supposer que l'éditeur du journal, Ernest Daudet l'a pris dans cette édition, car il a procédé à quelques remaniements du texte, comme il l'a mentionné dans sa préface. D'autre part, sa datation fait parfois défaut, comme Eckhardt a attiré l'attention sur ce point, mais d'après ses manuscripts inédits il est impossible de vérifier à quels endroits la datation de Daudet est inexacte.

Cette scène du *Lys dans la vallée* devait d'ailleurs beaucoup impressionner le public de l'époque et il n'est certainement pas dû au hasard que les illustrateurs des œuvres de Balzac aient choisi ce passage pour attirer les lecteurs. L'image figure même sur le frontispice de l'édition des œuvres illustrées de Balzac, par Nanteuil et Staal, publiées entre 1842 et 1848.[24]

Le jugement négatif de l'auteur du journal porté sur le roman de Balzac est d'autant plus étonnant que d'après la critique contemporaine il ne s'agissait pas d'une œuvre immorale, au contraire, Félix Davin écrit que Balzac a « promptement et avec un talent qui tient du prodige, réalisé la railleuse promesse faite dans sa préface, en peignant l'idéal de la vertu dans Henriette de Lenoncourt, la femme de Mortsauf. »[25]

D'autre part, Rodolphe Apponyi critique le comportement du milieu artistique, surtout celui qui se trouve autour de la princesse de Belgiojoso, tels Musset, Liszt et beaucoup d'autres, mais il existe des témoignages des contemporains d'après lesquels ses manières n'étaient pas irreprochables non plus. Marcel Bouteron cite un passage du *Voyage en Italie* de la comtesse Anna Potocka : « Le souvenir de Madame d'Apponyi charmait encore ceux qui se rappelaient ses soirées musicales et glaçait les autres quand ils pensaient à sa raideur. Le duc de Laval disait, en voyant le neveu de cette dame (notre Rodolphe), jeune homme mal élevé et se vautrant sur tous les canapés : « Quel dommage qu'il ne puisse avaler un peu de sa tante ! »[26]

5. Poésie et musique chez Delphine de Girardin

Pendant ces innombrables soirées mondaines, des *raouts*, comme on disait à l'époque, Rodolphe avait l'occasion de rencontrer la plupart des poètes, des écrivains et des artistes. En dehors des grands salons aristocratiques comme ceux de Mme Récamier, de la princesse de Bagration, de la duchesse d'Abrantès, de la marquise de la Bourdonnaye, de la comtesse Molé, des Fitz-James ou des Guiche, il y en avait d'autres, peut-être moins brillants mais non moins intéressants. Delphine, la fille de la poétesse Sophie Gay, épouse du journaliste Émile de Girardin, ouvrit en 1831 son salon qui réunit bientôt quelques grands noms de l'époque. L'auteur du journal écrit le 17 mars 1836 :

« Chez Mme de Girardin, il y avait beaucoup de gens de lettres, d'abord sa mère, Mme Sophie Gay, puis Alfred de Musset, et Lamartine, Balzac, Victor Hugo, Jules Janin, Émile Deschamps, Alexandre Dumas, Rességuier et autres. Mme de Girardin nous a récité de jolis vers de sa composition avec une grâce et, qui plus est, une simplicité parfaites. Lamartine nous en a dit de charmants et qui n'ont pas encore paru. Ces déclamations alternaient avec des romances, dont les paroles étaient composées par un des auteurs

présents, et mises en musique par Labarre qui les accompagnait ou les chantait. Plusieurs de ces romances ont été composées par Mlle Lambert, charmante jeune personne remplie de talent et qui chante d'une manière inimitable. Chaque fois qu'on se mettait au piano, Mme Sophie Gay nommait l'auteur du poème qui nous exposait le sujet ; on nommait ensuite l'auteur de la musique qui chantait ou accompagnait le chant de sa composition.. »[27]

Ici, le journal apporte une information importante sur le fait que *la romance* était assez populaire en France pendant les années 1830. Ce genre poétique simple, sur un sujet attendrissant et sentimental, était un genre préféré tout au long du XVIIe et du XIXe siècles, mais il existe relativement peu d'informations sur les milieux qui le prâtiquaient et l'appréciaient.[28]

D'autre part, il est peu étonnant que Rodolphe aime cette sorte de divertissement, ses goûts vont le plus souvent vers les œuvres les plus faciles. La poésie de Delphine de Girardin, d'inspiration sentimentale et religieuse, correspond parfaitement à ses préférences.

Rodolphe Apponyi, ce comte hongrois qui passe vingt-six ans de sa vie à Paris et qui, par sa carrière de diplomate, peut assister à toutes sortes d'événements politiques et artistiques, reste quand même à l'écart et garde toujours une certaine distance par rapport aux Français. Or, il n'est Hongrois que par ses habits et non par ses sentiments. Il ne fait aucune mention à des événements importants de la Hongrie, pas même à la révolution et à la guerre d'indépendance de 1848—49. Serviteur fidèle de l'Autriche, à quelques rares exceptions près, il se garde d'émettre des jugements critiques sur la grande politique, et il omet toutes confidences personnelles. Le seul domaine où il laisse libre cours à son esprit critique et railleur est donc le domaine artistique. Sur ce point, il semble plutôt appartenir à la jeunesse vivant sous la Restauration et dont Balzac écrit dans les *Illusions perdues :* « Travailleuse, cette belle jeunesse voulait le pouvoir et le plaisir ; artiste, elle voulait des trésors ; oisive, elle voulait animer ses passions ; de toute manière elle voulait une place, et la politique ne lui en faisait nulle part. Les viveurs étaient des gens presque tous doués de facultés éminentes ; quelques-uns les ont perdues dans cette vie énervante, quelques autres y ont résisté.».[29] En ce sens-là, Rodolphe Apponyi était bien un viveur qui a réussi à résister à des excès de toutes sortes.

Éva Martonyi-Horváth

NOTES

[1] Heinrich HEINE, *Reisebilder*, 1824. 1826. trad. française, Paris, Calmann—Lévy, s. d. tome I. pp. 130—131.

[2] Rodolphe APPONYI, *Vingt-cinq années à Paris* (Journal) éd. et préfacé par Ernest DAUDET, Paris, en IV. volumes. Les deux premiers ont paru en 1913, le troisième en 1914 et le quatrième en 1926.

[3] Journal, t. I. p. XXX.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Journal, t. I. p. XXXII.

[6] Journal, t. I. p. XXIX.

[7] Les manuscrits d'Alexandre ECKHARDT se trouvent à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Budapest. Voir aussi du même auteur: *Le véritable journal de R. A.*, in ELTE Évkönyv, Bpest, 1955, pp. 191—201 (en hongrois).

[8] Ces bals et ces fêtes se trouvent évoqués dans la plupart des mémoires de l'époque, cf. sous ce rapport : Jacques VIER, *La comtesse d'Agoûlt et son temps*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1955.

[9] Journal, t. II. pp. 366—370.

[10] Cf. André MAUROIS, *Prométhée ou la vie de Balzac*, Paris, Hachette, 1965 ; Madelaine BERRY, *Balzac*, Paris, Éd. Universitaires, 1972. pp. 24—28.

[11] BALZAC, *La Duchesse de Langeais*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1977, t. V. p. 906.

[12] Ibid. p. 935.

[13] cf. op. cit. de Marcel Bouteron.
[14] Journal, t. II. pp. 427—431.
[15] BALZAC, *La peau de chagrin*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1979, t. X. p. 52.
[16] cf. l'introduction de Madelaine FARGAUD in BALZAC, *La comédie humaine*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1976, t. III. *Études de mœurs : Scènes de la vie de province, Ursule Mirouët*. pp. 735—768.
[17] Marcel BOUTERON, *Balzac et les Apponyi* (lettres inédites) in : Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie, Budapest, 1935. pp. 297—303.
[18] Journal, t. III. pp. 75—77.
[19] Pour ces dates cf. la Chronologie de Balzac, établie par Pierre-Georges CASTEX in BALZAC, *La Comédie humaine*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1976. t. I. p. XCVI—XCVII.
[20] cf. Histoire du texte de Melmoth réconcilié, par Moïse de YAOUANC, in BALZAC, *La Comédie humaine*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1979. t. X. p. 1377.
[21] Journal, t. III. pp. 263—264.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Histoire du texte, établie par Jean-Hervé Donnard, in BALZAC, *La Comédie humaine*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1978, t. IX. p. 1687.
[24] cf. *Littérature française*, t. 12. Éd. Arthaud, Paris, 1973. pp. 78—79.
[25] cf. note 23, p. 1632.
[26] Marcel BOUTERON, op. cit. p. 303.
[27] Journal, t. III. pp. 209—210.
[28] cf. *Littérature française*, t. 13. Éd. Arthaud, Paris, 1979.
[29] BALZAC, *La Comédie Humaine*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, t. V. 323 p.

Cultura brasileira de hoje

O Instituto Português da Universidade ELTE organizou, nos dias 28 e 29 de Outubro de 1981, um ciclo de conferências subordinado ao tema "Cultura brasileira de hoje". Iniciativas destas, de que a primeira foi a celebração do quarto centenário da morte de Camões, em 1980, integram-se num plano de realizações daquele Instituto, a prosseguir, no corrente ano, com novo ciclo dedicado ao tema da cidade na obra de alguns poetas europeus, nomeadamente Cesário Verde.

A literatura, em focagens variadas, dominou o Encontro, mas também o cinema e o género telenovela, em especial, mereceram honras de tratamento.

Maria Lúcia Lepecki, da Universidade de Lisboa, inaugurou a série de comunicações. Natural de Estado de Minas Gerais, estava à vontade para se debruçar sobre alguns "Aspectos do realismo simbólico na literatura brasileira" e, mais concretamente, sobre o romance de Autran Dourado, também ele mineiro, e que a conferencista já analisara em livro.

Autran Dourado (1926), que se estreia em 1947, é autor de uma dúzia de romances e, segundo Lepecki, pode-se dizer que todas as suas narrativas se organizam "em torno de um núcleo ideológico mínimo e totalizante", a saber, a morte, entendida como *passagem*, pois os mortos *continuam a viver* no mundo dos vivos, "tornando-se até agentes provocadores de conflitos no protagonista ou outras personagens". Assim sendo, "esta negação da morte como destruição releva de uma dimensão mítica", permitindo, ainda, "a elevação do estatuto do morto dentro do grupo a que pertence". Daqui decorre que, em grande

parte desta ficção, "não existe conflito de gerações, pois o *velho*, porque próximo da morte, isto é, da condição de divindade familiar, torna-se objecto de respeito, não de contestação".

Tocando, depois, o aspecto, na área vocabular, do ritual da erótica e a sua ligação à morte, Lepecki avancou para um esquema de síntese : "Na evidência imediata da vida urbana de traços nitidamente arcaízantes, no retrato de mundos perdidos e longínquos, no traçar de personagens que podem parecer inverosímeis, por antiquadas, a temática de A. Dourado se encontra na mesma linha da angústia, do absurdo e do espanto que caracteriza o romance de ambientação urbana cosmopolita." Dourado ergue, na sua obra, — à volta da média burguesia na pequena cidade do interior de Minas Gerais — "um libelo acusatório contra um mundo morto-vivo que, prolongando até ao absurdo os estertores agónicos, impede a floração e a descoberta do novo modo de ser".

O professor Zoltán Rózsa, o impulsionador do Instituto Português desde a sua fundação em 1977, voltou-se para o audio-visual no Brasil, conduzindo-nos, ao lado de uma literatura já plenamente autónoma, aos momentos mais altos da cinematografia brasílica, que equacionou entre um realizador "heróico", Carlos Diegues, e o cume da mesma pela câmara do malogrado e genial Glauber Rocha, de acentos pasolinianos.

A especificidade, contudo, da aventura brasileira foi vista no género telenovela e no que esta tem de único. Imagine-se uma série de centenas de episódios, a passar durante seis meses pelo espaço de meia hora diária, nos receptores : isso é a telenovela, que reconstitui, no Brasil, o acto colectivo por excelência de fazer cultura.

Com efeito, do autor(ou adaptador)do texto ao universo vastíssimo de actores e restantes trabalhadores, todos se obrigam a laborar no cumprimento de regras rígidas, como, p. ex., o afastamento, enquanto durar a telenovela, do mundo de fora . . . Como no teatro medieval, em que todo o povo colaborava, ou no romance de cordel do século passado, em que a opinião des leitores contava bastante, também aqui os produtores lançam mão de institutos de opinião pública que, junto dos telespectadores, auscultam da aceitação ou não do enredo e demais pormenores. Se as críticas forem negativas, o realizador está sempre a tempo de, nos episódios que, entretanto, estão a ser preparados, obedecer ao gosto do público. Salientem-se, aqui, as contribuições de nomes dos mais consagrados da cultura além-atlântico, casos de Jorge Amado e Chico Buarque de Holanda, este no sector musical.

Pál Ferenc, assistente universitário, tradutor e radialista de assuntos de língua portuguesa, falou sobre *Macunaíma*, de Mário de Andrade, "Uma obra representativa do Modernismo". Partindo da afirmação deste : "a *Macunaíma* foi a obra-prima que não chegou a ser obra-prima", procurou demonstrar por que motivos podia, finalmente, esta obra tornar-se muma obra representativa do Modernismo.

Sendo Mário de Andrade um líder do movimento modernista, as sua obras sempre representaram, aquando do seu nascimento, o estado do desenvolvimento mental e formal e de ambiente geral dos componentes deste movimento. Após o elogio da cidade e as renovações poéticas propostas pelo autor, era a altura da viragem dos modernistas para o campo nacional, o Brasil ; as pesquisas folclóricas estão resumidas nos manifestos primitivistas e Antropófago, e é para sintetizar essas experiências na busca de identidade nacional que Andrade escreve *Macunaíma*. Esta obra-rapsódia contém, por um lado, todas as propostas de renovação formal e estilística a introduzir na literatura brasileira, para o que o seu autor tomou dos futuristas e surrealistas franceses a ideia de escrever automaticamente, instintivamente, ou, ainda, a mania da velocidade, a polifonia, desejos de um novo vocabulário poético, etc. Por outro lado, há nele um desejo de esboçar etnológica, geográfica, folclórica e linguisticamente este grande país, como um todo inteiro, homogéneo. Dá-se, assim, figura de herói o brasileiro típico, "herói sem carácter". Em suma, Andrade trouxe para a literatura muitos elementos do viver brasileiro, criou um

certo tipo de herói, melhor, anti-herói, que depois seria retomado pela literatura da década de 30, e, primordialmente, formou uma língua que, no dizer de Oswaldo de Andrade, fez avançar de quarenta anos o desenvolvimento da língua literária nacional.

O autor do presente artigo, leitor de Português, deu, por seu turno, "Notícia de Carlos Drummond de Andrade", um dos autores que, no interior do poema, mais reflectiram sobre o próprio acto de escrever. Da matriz irónica ao *sentimento do mundo* ou da justiça para os povos, Drummond faz, nesses metapoemas, o seu percurso de homem empenhado que não esquece, porém, os materiais com que se debate. Aí afirmará, violento mesmo, o seu nome; do leitor ou aprendiz de poeta requer, num tempo de consumismo e técnica alienatória, firmeza e disponibilidade para uma entrega total à arte.

De um interesse palpitante foi a comunicação do professor Georg Rudolf Lind, da Universidade de Graz, "Literatura de cordel no Brasil de hoje". De carácter para-jornalístico, levou-nos a casa dos trovadores de Salvador da Bahia, no Nordeste, onde, dizia um desses artistas, "o povo gosta de nós, acredita em nós mais do que nos locutores da rádio ou da televisão. Mesmo os acontecimentos políticos da actualidade têm que ser confirmados pelos cantadores, senão o povo não acredita". Estes profissionais sobrevivem ou através de opúsculos modestamente impressos ou cantam, eles próprios, os seus versos, fazendo-se acompanhar pela viola. "Casta fechada com particularidades muito definidas", informa o professor Lind, estes tinham "uma tradição popular de muitos séculos atrás de si, transmitiam as regras do versejar para os aprendizes e cultivavam temas que já tinham desaparecido do reportório europeu, p. ex. Carlos Magno e os doze pares de França. As raízes da cantadoria estendiam-se até à Idade Média da Europa, até à tradição ibérica que os portugueses tinham transplantado para o Brasil."

À vastidão da temática, que continua a oferecer grandes dificuldades à investigação científica, corresponde uma grande variedade formal, com relevo para as arbitrariedades gramaticais e liberdades poéticas, que exigem ao leitor não-brasileiro um esforço especial na sua decifração. O conferencista referiu, finalmente, o aproveitamento da cantadoria nas obras de escritores brasileiros de renome, casos de Ariano Suassuna, dramaturgo, e de Jorge Amado.

"Origens e roteiro do modernismo brasileiro" foi o tema do ensaísta, editor e tradutor János Benyhe. Após a aclaração de questões de terminologia (modernismo e vanguarda), o conferencista esboçou os antecedentes plásticos do movimento, passando revista às exposicões de Segall, Malfatti, etc, inspiradas por correntes europeias.

Em relação à obra de Oswaldo de Andrade, Mário de Andrade, Menotti del Picchia e outros corifeus, à actuação dos grupos literários paulistas e cariocas, ao papel da Semana de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (1922), ao despertar dum novo regionalismo (coincidindo com certo exotismo cosmopolita de moda na Europa da época) e ao conflito do academismo com o espírito inovador, realçou as características da vanguarda brasileira impulsionada por modelos estrangeiros porém autónoma num vasto contexto do futurismo universal.

Descobriu na rica ramificação brasileira (antropofagia, regionalismo e integralismo) e nas projecções sociais do modernismo uma como síntese do múltiplo futurismo e vanguarda europeus, insistindo na importância e trancendência duma nova e poderosa afirmação da consciência nacional arraigada numa imagem moderna do Brasil e repercutida até aos nossos dias.

"Literatura e Práxis social no Brasil", que Carlos Alberto Azevedo, professor em Berlim Ocidental, focou, incidiu sobre o romance nordestino de 1930, tido por cíclico e abordando situações típicas dessa região, seja, "decadência dos valores patriarcais, a desagregação dos imensos latifúndios e o desenvolvimento industrial das cidades litorâneas (atraindo a população rural), o banditismo social e as secas periódicas que provocam a rarefação demográfica."

Autores como José Lins do Rego e Amado, mas, sobretudo, Graciliano Ramos, José Américo de Almeida e Rachel de Queiroz, — sobretudo estes — falam da produção e dos seus dramas sociais, salientando "a decadência do latifúndio, origem de todos os males naquela região do Brasil".

De seguida, analisou o projecto estético-cultural do Movimento Regionalista—Tradicionalista—Modernista de Recife (1926), influenciador dos supracitados romancistas e cujo animador foi o sociólogo pernambucano Gilberto Freyre, relacionando-o, depois, com a produção literária modernista de 1922, radicada no eixo Rio-São Paulo.

A difícil obra que é *Grande Sertão : Veredas* enformou a derradeira comunicação, de Eva Sebestyén, docente do Instituto Português, sobre "O mundo maravilhoso de Guimarães Rosa". O tema do romance é a recriação do mundo mineiro, para o que o autor se empenha numa escala muito amplo e variada de meios literários. A mineiridade, a vida geograficamente isolada, intimista, recebe uma ênfase de cor local através de inovações linguísticas, a que se associa um fluxo de lirismo dentro da narrativa. A própria forma literária faz-nos lembrar uma epopeia popular arcaica de, p. ex., quadros soltos.

A grande novidade de Guimarães Rosa, no sector da literatura regionalista e que deu abertura para a poesia concretista, foi o seu experimentalismo, no qual, tendo por base um rigoroso esquema de invenções, tudo vale, desde que se seja original tanto no conteúdo como na forma.

Ernesto José Rodrigues

The Bible of Vizsoly

In the course of nearly four centuries Gáspár Károlyi's Hungarian Bible ran into more than three hundred editions. Its various copies — capital-lettered, clasped, leather-bound, paper-back, printed on fine paper, gilt-edged, illustrated, bulky as well as slender ones nestled beside the calendar, on the girders and in the corner files, on carved book-shelves and in the hands of village women, poets, priests as well as of scholars. Some sought and found consolation in it, some took delight in its archaic ring, some learnedly scrutinized it, yet none was ever able to shake off its impact. The force, wildness and wealth of Károlyi's language, its myriad colours and savours even today show through the style of the different revisions which are ever more modern and frequently bleak and bleached, though undoubtedly more intelligible.

Did the preacher of Gönc foresee what an immortal "best-seller" would his work be when he wrote his humble preface "To the reader". " . . . All are free to bring present to the house of God. Others may bring gold, silver and precious stones. I shall bring what I can, namely, the complete Bible in the Hungarian language, which from the earliest times many a man has been anxious to offer yet none has realized. Therefore I beg all Christian readers not to slander me and fill me with bitterness for this my work . . . If somewhere in the translation I have strayed and missed the mark, it should be seen not as an act of temerity but my peccability. At those places the reader is asked to take note and send me an admonition so that, as long as God keeps me in this body, I may amend this our translation until it is fine and proper."

*

Vizsoly, a village of the county Borsod, where the first Hungarian Bible was printed "by Balint Mantskovit", "on the 10th day of the month of the Blessed Virgin, MDXC", recently had the opportunity to see again the work born on its soil in its authentic form and renewed beauty. As a result of the grandiose venture of the department Magyar Helikon of the Európa Publishing House and several years of extremely complex and painstaking work, the *Bible of Vizsoly* has been published in a facsimile edition. It is the first such edition since its publication — after the lapse of 390 years.

The publishing house organized a journey to Vizsoly and Gönc to celebrate and commemorate the event. Our large group was joined by leaders of the county and the village, priests of the region and people from the village; it was in the crowded hall of the community centre that we could cast a glance at the two-volume Bible for the first time.

In his opening speech academician Gábor Tolnai, the excellent scholar of old Hungarian literature, termed Gáspár Károlyi's work the integral part of the totality of Hungarian culture, the greatest "occurrence", beside Bálint Balassi's poetic achievement, of the 16th century. "Károlyi," he said, "created a work which was to determine the Hungarian language for centuries and its impact, through Balassi, Arany and Ady, is being felt even today.

Literary historian *András Szabó* expounded the significance of the Károlyi Bible in the history of culture and set forth some relevant data concerning the circumstances of the great work. "The idea of the edition of the Hungarian Bible was conceived around 1585 and it was realized in five years. The sedulity of Károlyi and other preachers would not have been sufficient for this rapidity, since the gravest obstacle was posed by the printing costs. Our sources unanimously affirm that in its realization credit is due to the Hungarian aristocrats of the Reformed Church who were not only wealthy and good soldiers but also religious and learned, most of them wrote verse as well . . . They may even have launched an extensive fund-raising campaign to promote the edition of the Hungarian Bible, of this, however, the most important source, Károlyi's preface, referring to the modesty of the patrons, remains silent . . . From the preamble it turns out that Gáspár Károlyi was also aided by assistants in the work of translation; these are not known either, obviously on account of their modesty like that of the patrons. A random linguistic sample has detected that there were at least three contributors; no more data is available on them."

How often we are talking about "the translator's humility" nowadays!

(The errand-boy who carried the manuscripts and proofsheets from the parsonage of Gönc to the press set up in the manor-house of Vizsoly, was none other than the fourteen-fifteen-year-old Albert, the brilliant — translator-to-be of the Psalms, Szenci Molnár — it was indeed a good exercise and a superb choice of a master. True, though, that before he performed his task, his thirst for knowledge had driven him along innumerable ways of meandering and penury.)

János Domokos, manager of the Európa Publishing House, gave an account of that long and complex process which had preceded the facsimile edition of the Vizsoly Bible. The uncountable snags of the undertaking, the intricate task of coordinating conflicting views may be entirely perceived by the experts, the non-professionals are confronted with the product "only".

In the project of the publishing house the edition of the Bible figured for the first time in 1957. At that time a new translation of the Bible was envisaged. The idea of a facsimile edition came to be formed twenty years later.

"With the facsimile edition," said János Domokos, "we offer the original quality of the *Vizsoly Bible*, within the farthest limits possible. For the tattered, alien-accented letters we are amply compensated by the emotional asset, the genuine surplus value of

ancientness and authenticity — all what this monument of our culture implies for every one of us."

A memorable moment ensued : János Domokos on behalf of the publishing house handed its gift, the renewed Vizsoly Bible to GáspárKárolyi's late successor Dezső Juhász, the pastor of Vizsoly.

What the first-edition Scripture now made available implies for researchers, scholars and linguists was rendered palpable by László Kürti, bishop of the Calvinist diocese west of the Tisza. Even he who had been for many years head of the Old Testament department of the College of Theology in Debrecen, could not take in hand any of the surviving copies. The text has become available, it can be studied and analyzed. If only for this sole reason the publication of it is a stop-gap indeed.

The intimate celebration continued at Gönc, the scene of Károlyi's quondam congregation. His sculpture of classic craftsmanship having been wreathed, Kálmán Madarassy, the parson of Gönc called to mind with fine and spirited words the self-sacrificing work, past and recent, which had given rise to this value of cultural history. "Blessed be Gáspár Károlyi in his ashes who attended to that strange inner and upper voice which told him to give the complete Scripture in the hands of the populace . . . Now we may happily marvel that it has been reborn in the form of a facsimile, we may witness here and now, in the socialist Hungary the renascence of what was printed in 1590 . . . Thanks to the divine spark which made it conceive, thanks to the toiling hands, the magnificent cooperation, the splendid unity of the actions. There do exist such grand moments of which the brilliance has a nation-wide dimension and a crucial significance . . . We should express our gratitude to the workers and contributors of this great achievement. . . . "

The "physical" executor of the book, artist Tibor Szántó, winner of the Munkácsy Award, has performed a feat which can be likened only to that of a genial translator who vivifies a long-dead poet and makes him sound, somehow in today's parlance yet with an archaic ringing. The sometime printer, Bálint Mantskovit, had laboured under far more primitive circumstances. Still the publishing house, guided by Tibor Szántó, faced the task of rendering archaic the *modern* stock of developed typography with circumspect care : to make the old-and-new Bible authentic and at once delightful to eyes of today. The scope of this writing does not permit to give an account of the stages of the work requiring great expertise and patience galore. Instead, the product itself will speak about it : the book which, regretfully, would reach only a fragment of those who — despite its high price — wish to buy it. The 28 thousand copies have proved ever so few.

*

In our age the life-expectancy of a text-translation is no more than seventy-eighty years. What is the underlying spirit that invigorates Károlyi's *words* and makes them flourish over four centuries? Let us disregard this time the content and examine the text itself, the passion and devotion shining through it, and the "context", but not in a stylistic but in a historical sense.

As the traditional protestant view has it, all the misfortune that befell the partitioned Hungary was caused by the haughtiness, greed and many evil tempers of the noblemen and "princes". Károlyi expresses this in his first and only original work, "Two Books", in the following words : "If the prophets were to be living now, what would they say about the enormous cruelty and voracity which prevails in the princes of this nation and country . . . The skin of the poor village is stripped, its meat is filched and its corpse fouled . . . When they desire gold or silver, they gape their mouths at the whole vil-

lage . . . When they have a house or castle built, it is built with the pauper's blood, and they fence off their castle and would not pay the reward of the poor man's pain and labour . . ." But "the Scripture says that woe betide the town which was built with blood, woe betide the house which was erected with perfidious money . . . "

One who had said this in his own name earlier : with how immense an insight could he translate the whip-words of Isaiah, Jeremiah, the imploring cry for help in Psalm 35, the solace of the New Testament ! Reflecting on it with a translator's mind : Károlyi's secret is his full identification, in a vogueword : empathy.

In the vicinity of four hundred years my fancy conjures up the picture : amidst the Biblical vine of the landscape at Gönc palms of the Holy Land were swaying wherever he turned his eyes, the Red Sea flowed asunder, dusty mules were carrying poor people, the briar and the purple cloak were aglow, Iahweh had a Hungarian moustache and Jesus called the weary ones to himself in the fairest Hungarian language.

Zsuzsa Rab

Jahrestagung der Internationalen Lenau-Gesellschaft 1981 in Sindelfingen

Unter den zahlreichen literarischen Gesellschaften, die die Pflege des Andenkens und die Forschung des Lebenswerks von je einem deutschsprachigen Dichter zum Ziel haben, trägt die 1964 in Stockerau (Niederösterreich) gegründete Internationale Lenau-Gesellschaft einen besonderen Charakter. Ihre Mitglieder, zu denen auch die Ungarische Literarhistorische Gesellschaft gehört, sind bestrebt, seit der Entstehung der Gesellschaft neben der wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigung mit der Literatur auch der Völkerverständigung zu dienen. Die jährlich oder zweijährlich organisierten Tagungen werden von verschiedenen Städten und Ländern veranstaltet. Die Vortragsthemen der wissenschaftlichen Symposien beschränken sich nicht nur auf die Dichtung des Österreichers, Nikolaus Lenau, sondern sind oft komparatistisch angelegt. An Hand der Lenau-Rezeption in anderen Ländern oder durch die Darstellung jenes geistigen Milieus, aus dem das Werk Lenaus hervorgegangen ist, liefern die Vorträge gelegentlich auch wichtige Beiträge zu der sozialen und geistigen Entwicklung der Völker Mittel- und Osteuropas. Die Gesellschaft schlägt damit — wie das Oberbürgermeister Dr. Dieter Burger bei der Eröffnung der diesjährigen Tagung in Sindelfingen ausführte — » eine Brücke zwischen den Völkern«.

1981 tagte die Lenau-Gesellschaft zwischen dem 8. und 11. September in der baden-württembergischen Industriestadt Sindelfingen. Die Lenau-Gesellschaft wird, wie die meisten literarischen und künstlerischen Gesellschaften, von einzelnen Städten, zu denen der Dichter eine direkte oder indirekte Beziehung hatte, tatkräftig unterstützt. Zu ihnen gehören u. a. : Stockerau, Klosterneuburg, Kornneuburg und Eisenstadt in Österreich, Esslingen, Weinsberg, Sindelfingen in der BRD, Temeschwar und Lenauheim in Rumänien, Mosonmagyaróvár, Tokaj, Sárospatak und Keszthely in Ungarn. Lenau weilte zwar nie in Sindelfingen, er war aber mit dem schwäbischen Dichterkreis um Ludwig Uhland, mit Justinus Kerner, Gustav Schwab und anderen gut befreundet, und die Stadt, die heute ein wichtiges Zentrum der Donauschwaben ist, nahm in der 18jährigen

Geschichte der Lenau-Gesellschaft bereits das zweite Mal die Aufgabe auf sich, eine Jahrestagung zu veranstalten. Lenau habe, wie das Dr. Dieter Burger in seiner Begrüßungsrede feststellte, in den schwäbischen Raum einen Hauch von Internationalismus gebracht. Es sei fast eine Selbstverständlichkeit, daß die Industriestadt Sindelfingen, in der rund 80 Nationalitäten leben und arbeiten, einer internationalen Tagung ein Forum biete. Lenau sei höchst wahrscheinlich als Dichter ein Europäer, einer der wenigen europäischen Dichter, die es gibt. Sindelfingen sei im »Herzen eine Lenau-Stadt«. Auch in diesem Jahr nahmen Wissenschaftler, Kommunalpolitiker und Lenau-Liebhaber aus elf Ländern (BRD, Dänemark, DDR, Frankreich, Jugoslawien, Österreich, Polen, Rumänien, Schweiz, Ungarn und USA) an der Tagung teil.

Die Veranstaltungsserie begann am Nachmittag des 8. September mit der Generalversammlung, bei der an die drei verstorbenen Mitglieder, unter ihnen an János Bedő, den Vorsitzenden des Stadtrates der ungarischen Lenau-Stadt Mosonmagyaróvár gedacht wurde. Anschließend folgten die Neuwahlen des Vorstandes. Am nächsten Vormittag fand in der Stadthalle die feierliche Eröffnung statt : Nach den Begrüßungsworten des gastgebenden Bürgermeisters wünschte im Namen der baden-württembergischen Landesregierung Frau Minister Annemarie Griesinger der Tagung und der Gesellschaft viel Erfolg. Vizekanzler Dr. Fred Sinowatz, Bundesminister für Unterricht und Kunst der Republik Österreich, Präsident der Lenau-Gesellschaft, wies in seiner Eröffnungsrede nachdrücklich darauf hin, daß in einer Zeit, in der die Wirtschaftskrise und die Verschärfung der politischen Gegensätze drohen, dem kulturellen und wissenschaftlichen Dialog zwischen Fachleuten aus Ländern mit verschiedenen politischen Systemen für die Erhaltung des Friedens eine ganz besondere Rolle zukommt. Auch in unserer Zeit können die enormen Schwierigkeiten auf den verschiedensten Gebieten der Welt nicht allein von Politikern und Diplomaten gemeistert werden. Über die vergangene und zukünftige Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft hat Dr. Sinowatz schließlich festgestellt : »Die Gesellschaft hat in ihrer 18jährigen Geschichte bewiesen, daß sie zu einem europäischen Forum von Wissenschaftlern gewachsen ist. Trotz vieler Schwierigkeiten wird Lenau in allen Mitgliedsländern in verschiedenen Formen zur Diskussion gestellt. Das große Ziel der Gesellschaft ist es, das Gesamtwerk Lenaus noch in den 80er Jahren herauszubringen.«

Nach der feierlichen Eröffnung und den gegenseitigen Begrüßungen durch die Gastgeber und die Sprecher der einzelnen Delegationen folgte der erste wissenschaftliche Vortrag über die »familiengeschichtliche Vergangenheit« Lenaus, gehalten von Generalsekretär Prof. Dr. Nikolaus Britz. Neben der Summierung der bereits bekannten Tatsachen über die Familie Niembsch von Strehlenau und die mütterliche Linie der Pester Patrizier Maygraber gelang es Dr. Britz zahlreiche neue Fakten zu ermitteln. Geographisch reicht das Gebiet, woher die Ahnen des in Csatád bei Temeschwar geborenen Dichters stammen, von Norddeutschland bis zu den südlichsten deutschsprachigen Siedlungen des Banats.

Das zweieinhalb Tage dauernde wissenschaftliche Programm der Tagung enthielt siebzehn Vorträge mit zwei Schwerpunkten : Den ersten Problemenkreis bildeten die Beiträge zu der neuen historisch-kritischen Gesamtausgabe der Werke Lenaus und zu der geplanten internationalen Lenau-Bibliographie, den zweiten rezeptionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Die Tatsache, daß die zwischen 1910 und 1923 erschienene sechsbändige Lenau-Ausgabe des Wiener Germanisten Eduard Castle den zeitgemäßen Forderungen der wissenschaftlichen Textedition nicht mehr entspricht, wurde von Prof. Dr. Antal Mádl, dem Leiter des wissenschaftlichen Beirates der Lenau-Gesellschaft, bereits vor drei Jahren bei der Lenau-Tagung in Keszthely ausführlich dokumentiert. Nicht nur an der willkürlich veränderten Interpunktion und an den Fehllesungen der Handschriften,

sondern auch an der Anordnung der Castleschen Ausgabe ist vieles auszusetzen. Prof. Mádl sprach diesmal über die Konzeption der beiden Lyrikbände der geplanten neuen achtbändigen Ausgabe. Da eine chronologische Anordnung der Gedichte bei Lenau unmöglich ist, hat Castle die Ausgabe letzter Hand der beiden von dem Dichter selbst veröffentlichten Gedichtsammlungen *(Gedichte, Neuere Gedichte)* aus dem Jahre 1844 als Grundlage genommen und diese mit den Gedichten aus dem Nachlaß ergänzt. Lenau hat aber die beiden Sammlungen in den verschiedenen Neuauflagen um zahlreiche Gedichte ergänzt. So könnte die Entwicklung des Lenauschen Œuvres vielmehr von einer Ausgabe dargestellt werden, die die Erstausgaben der beiden Sammlungen (1832, 1838) als Ausgangspunkt nimmt und die späteren Ergänzungen in einem chronologischen Anhang folgen läßt. Da die Ausgabe letzter Hand vom Jahre 1844 zahlreiche Druckfehler enthält, ist es anzunehmen, daß Lenau bei der Korrektur dieser Ausgabe nicht mehr in vollem Besitz seiner geistigen Kräfte war, oder die Korrektur nicht mit der sonst für ihn charakteristischen Sorgfalt gemacht hat. Es wäre deshalb zu überlegen, ob man bei der Textgestaltung nicht von der vorletzten Ausgabe aus dem Jahre 1843 ausgehen sollte. Hinsichtlich der Textvariante vertrat Prof. Mádl die Meinung, daß es unmöglich sei, zu entscheiden, wo die Veränderungen noch sinntragend bzw. rein formal sind ; deshalb müßte der Apparat auch sämtliche Abweichungen der Interpunktion anführen. Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg Werner aus Halle sprach über die Schwierigkeiten der Textgestaltung bei Lenaus *Faust*. Die zwei von Lenau selbst veröffentlichten Fassungen des Werkes (1835—36, bzw. 1940) weichen voneinander so stark ab, daß sie beinahe als zwei selbständige Texte zu betrachten sind. Die Parallelveröffentlichung der beiden Texte erschwert aber den Überblick über die Veränderungen, weshalb Prof. Werner vorschlug, bei der neuen Ausgabe die erste Fassung als Grundlage zu nehmen.

Parallel zu der neuen Gesamtausgabe laufen bereits seit Jahren die Sammelarbeiten der internationalen Lenau-Bibliographie. Gewisse Grundprinzipien wurden schon in Keszthely beschlossen. In den seitdem vergangenen drei Jahren hat Rainer Hochheim, ein Mitglied der Bonner Lenau-Arbeitsgruppe, seine Dissertation über Lenaus Rezeption in Deutschland bis 1918 fertiggestellt und verteidigt. Diese kurz vor dem Erscheinen stehende Dissertation enthält eine Lenau-Bibliographie von etwa 1500 Titeln. Die ungarische Lenau-Bibliographie von Antal Mádl und Ferenc Szász herausgegeben, ist bereits 1979 als Vorabdruck und Diskussionsgrundlage zu der internationalen Bibliographie in Druck erschienen. Ferenc Szász berichtete in seinem Referat in Sindelfingen über die ausgeführten Arbeiten und den gegenwärtigen Stand der Bibliographie. Als Ergebnis der Sammeltätigkeit eines internationalen Teams liegen im Lehrstuhl für deutsche Sprache und Literatur der Loránd-Eötvös-Universität Budapest die bibliographischen Angaben der Lenau-Rezeption in Dänemark, Frankreich, Griechenland, Italien, Polen, Portugal, Rumänien und der Tschechoslowakei vor. Weitere bibliographische Sammlungen sind noch im Gange. Mit freundlicher Hilfe des Zentralinstituts für Literaturgeschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR steht als Xerokopie auch jene bibliographische Sammlung der Internationalen Lenau-Bibliographie zur Verfügung, die für die Fortsetzung des *Goedecke* gedacht war. Nach dem Bericht stellte Ferenc Szász eine die Gesichtspunkte der Lenau-Philologie und der Rezeptionsforschung weitestgehend in Betracht ziehende Konzeption der Bibliographie zur Diskussion.

Die Mehrheit der wissenschaftlichen Vorträge galt rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Problemen. Prof. Dr. Gerard Kozielek aus Wrocław setzte sich mit dem Lenau-Bild der dreibändigen Biedermeier-Monographie von Friedrich Sengle auseinander und unterstrich die Bedeutung Lenaus als eines politischen Dichters. Prof. Dr. Rudolf Schier aus Illinois sprach über die Zwiespältigkeit des Amerikabildes von Nikolaus Lenau, über seine Begeisterung vor der Hinfahrt und seine bitteren Äußerungen nach der Rückkehr. Der

Vortrag wies auch darauf hin, daß mehrere deutsche Zeitgenossen Lenaus damals mit ähnlichen Erfahrungen aus Amerika zurückgekehrt waren. Im zweiten Teil seiner Ausführungen skizzierte Schier die Rezeption der Werke Lenaus in den Vereinigten Staaten. Dr. Helge Nielsen aus Dänemark unternahm die nicht leichte Aufgabe, die Lenau-Rezeption der deutschsprachigen Länder nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg darzustellen. In seinem sehr gewissenshaften und objektiven Referat stellte er diese Rezeption als einen Prozeß der Differenzierung dar. Während in den 50er Jahren die sehr komplizierte und oft widersprüchliche Gefühls- und Gedankenwelt Lenaus meistens vereinfachend auf diesen oder jenen Zug reduziert worden war, entstanden nach 1961 mehrere Arbeiten, die die Persönlichkeit und das Werk Lenaus in ihrer tatsächlich vorhandenen Widersprüchlichkeit erfaßten und interpretierten. In der neuesten Zeit wurde die Lenau-Literatur — nicht zuletzt als Ergebnis der Tätigkeit der Lenau-Gesellschaft — durch eine Reihe von rezeptionsästhetischen Untersuchungen bereichert. Prof. Dr. Strahinja Kostić aus Novi Sad sprach mit philologischer Gründlichkeit und Detailliertheit über die Wirkung Lenaus auf die serbische und kroatische Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts. Kapellmeister Dieter Hülle, Leiter des Kulturamtes der Stadt Sindelfingen, befaßte sich mit der nach den dramatischen Szenen von Lenau komponierten Tondichtung *Don Juan* von Richard Strauss. In seinem bekenntnishaften Vortrag *Zwanzig Jahre Lenau-Forschung* plädierte der Pariser Germanist und Maler Prof. Dr. Jean-Pierre Hammer für die Modernität Lenaus und stellte ein langes, bisher unbekanntes Gedicht vor, das der Dichter angeblich in das Gästebuch eines Schweizer Kurhauses geschrieben hat. Prof. Dr. Martin Stern aus Basel wies auf zahlreiche Spuren der Wirkung Lenaus in dem dichterischen Werk Hugo von Hofmannstahls hin. Er befaßte sich ausführlich mit dem Lenau-Bild der Jugenderzählung des Wiener Dichters *Der Geiger vom Traunsee*, die erst vor kurzem im 29. Band der Sämtlichen Werke Hofmannsthals veröffentlicht wurde.

Neben den Diskussionsbeiträgen, die sich mit den zwei Schwerpunktthemen befaßten, gab es auch einige Vorträge, die gewisse Probleme des Lenauschen Werkes oder seiner Zeit behandelten. Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Martens aus München interpretierte das balladenhafte Gedicht *Die Drei* und untersuchte ganz besonders das Geier-Motiv im Lenauschen Werk. Dr. Rainer Pohl aus Tübingen verglich — durch Friedrich Sengles Biedermeier-Buch angeregt — die Dichtung Lenaus und Mörikes. Der junge Frankfurter Germanist Hans-Georg Schmidt widmete seine Aufmerksamkeit dem schmerzlichen Dilemma, das Lenau zwischen seiner Sehnsucht nach einem ästhetischen Leben und den wirklichen Möglichkeiten empfand. In der Wendung Lenaus vom poetischen zum moralischen Leben und zur Geschichtsphilosophie entdeckte Schmidt bereits bei Lenau dieselbe Wandlung, die später auch Hugo von Hofmannstahl vollzog. Prof. Dr. Antal Wéber aus Budapest sprach über die politischen und literarischen Verhältnisse Ungarns zu jener Zeit, als Lenau in Csatád die Welt erblickte und würdigte die ungarische Spracherneuerung von Ferenc Kazinczy und seinen Genossen bei der Förderung des ungarischen Nationalbewußtseins.

Das wissenschaftliche Programm wurde mit zwei Dia-Vorträgen geschlossen. Annemarie Podlipny-Hehn aus Temeschwar machte die Zuhörer mit der Geschichte des Geburtshauses von Nikolaus Lenau und mit den dort untergebrachten Lenau-Gedenkstätten bekannt. Walter Scheffler aus Marbach am Neckar stellte die Lenau-Autographen vor, die das Schiller-Nationalmuseum in der letzten Zeit erworben hat, und berichtete über eine bisher unbekannte Beziehung Lenaus zu einer Hofdame der Stuttgarter Residenz. (Alle wissenschaftlichen Vorträge der Tagung werden im nächsten Band des *Lenau-Almanach* in Druck erscheinen.)

Ferenc Szász

Congreso de literatura iberoamericana en Budapest

Es innegable que, el hecho de que el XX Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana se celebró en Budapest, marca un punto significativo en el curso de estas conferencias periódicas. Hasta hace poco las dos sesiones de los congresos bienales tenían lugar tradicionalmente en los Estados Unidos la primera, y en algún país hispanohablante de América Latina, la segunda. La elección de Madrid como sede de la conferencia de 1975 era señal de una curiosidad despertada por los resultados del trabajo realizado en Europa en el campo de la investigación de la literatura iberoamericana, y la actual conferencia de Budapest, celebrada por vez primera en un país no-hispanohablante, ha realzado todavía más esa tendencia de creciente conocimiento y reconocimiento de los méritos de los hispanistas europeos.

El Congreso tuvo lugar entre el 17 y el 20 de agosto de 1981 en las aulas de la Universidad Eötvös Loránd de Budapest cuyo Departmento de Español se encargó de la organización de los acontecimientos. Copatrocinaban el Congreso la Academia de Ciencias de Hungría, la Asociación Europea de Profesores de Español — que en 1978 celebró una exitosa conferencia en la capital húngara — y el Centro de Cooperación Iberoamericana.

La sesión inaugural fue honorada por la presencia y el discurso de bienvenida de András Korcsog, Secretario de Estado de Educación y Cultura. A continuación, Mátyás Horányi, Vicepresidente del IILI y Presidente del Comité Organizador del Congreso saludó a los participantes y subrayó entre los objetivos de la conferencia la importancia de la comunicación internacional de los estudiosos de literatura.

El tema principal del Congreso de este año, el pensamiento y literatura de América Latina, inspiró a una noventena de participantes de todas partes del mundo, principalmente a profesores latinoamericanos que enseñan en universidades y escuelas estadounidenses pero asistían también numerosos conferenciantes europeos de la Alemania Federal y la DDR, Bélgica, España, Francia, Gran Bretaña, Holanda, Italia, Polonia, Suiza, etc. El programa se dividió en dos sesiones diarias, una de mañana y otra de tarde, y en cada una hubo tres secciones temáticas : poesía, narrativa y crítica e historiografía de literatura latinoamericana. Dentro de esta distribución general se dieron secciones dedicadas a la literatura de la época colonial, a las tendencias literarias del siglo XIX, a la literatura femenina y a algunas literaturas nacionales : la argentina, la brasileña, la chicana, la mejicana y la peruana.

Las sesiones se iniciaron el lunes, día 17 por la tarde. En la sección A, bajo la presidencia de Giuseppe Bellini, profesor de la Universidad de Venecia, y Bruce R. Stiehm de la Universidad de Pittsburgh, se destacó la conferencia de Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, eminente investigadora de la literatura colonial, que trató las relaciones y la picaresca en *Los infortunios* de Alonso Ramírez. A continuación, el tema de varias ponencias se centró en los diferentes aspectos de la poesía de Pablo Neruda. Paralelamente, en la sección B, donde presidían Alejandro Losada Guido de la 'Freie Universität' de Berlin Oeste y Gustav Siebenmann de Suiza, colaboraron entre otros los profesores Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, Salvador Bueno y Adalbert Dessau con sus trabajos sobre Andrés Bello cuyo bicentenario de nacimiento se celebra este año, la novela antiesclavista cubana y los conceptos de José de la Luz y Caballero, respectivamente. Después de cada conferencia los organizadores permitían observaciones y una limitada discusión por parte de los escuchantes pero la verdadera oportunidad para el libre intercambio de ideas se ofreció en la sección C, en la mesa redonda moderada por Nelson Osorio de Venezuela, sobre

problemas de historiografía de la literatura latinoamericana. Los participantes examinaron la necesidad y las razones de ser de una historia literaria y una crítica específicamente latinoamericanas. El cóctel que por la noche se ofreció en el Café Hungária ayudó a establecer contactos personales entre los conferenciantes.

El segundo día el trabajo de la sección A, presidida esta vez por Robert D. F. Pring-Mill y Dario Puccini, ilustres historiadores de literatura, se reanudó con una excelente ponencia sobre transmutación en los romances de José Martí, realizada por Elvira Aguirre, profesora alemana. Las contribuciones siguentes analizaron temas de Rubén Darío, Valle-Inclán y Juan José Tablada. La exposición de Georgette M. Dorn de los EE. UU. sobre el Archivo de Literatura Hispánica en Cinta Magnética en la Biblioteca del Congreso de Washington, fuera del campo de investigación literaria estrictamente dicho, dio información interesante de esa original empresa norteamericana.

En la sesión simultánea de la sección de narrativa escuchamos entre otras las explicaciones bien concebidas de la profesora Luz María Rodríguez sobre narración y punto de vista en *Balún Canán* de Rosario Castellanos y la ponencia de Sándor Károly, licenciado de la Universidad Eötvös Loránd de Budapest sobre la visión mágico-mitológica en *Mulata de tal* de Miguel Angel Asturias. La tercera sección de esa mañana agrupó conferencias de literatura brasileña con temas ideológicos, poéticos, epistemológicos y periodísticos.

Entre los ponentes de poesía latinoamericana contemporánea creemos justificado destacar a Nelson Osorio, profesor venezolano que habló de la recepción del *Manifiesto futurista* de Marinetti en América Latina, a Stanko B. Vranich que examinó el tema del aburrimiento en la poesía de Luis Carlos López, a Robert D. F. Pring-Mill con su profundo análisis de la fuerza ejemplar de lo poetizado en Ernesto Cardenal y a Claire Pailler cuyo trabajo tocó un terreno poco investigado, el de la poesía nicaragüense contemporánea como instrumento de la toma de conciencia de una identidad nacional. La conferencia de Luis Vélez Serrano de Suiza merece mención por su carácter lingüístico : analizó un microtexto de *Yo el Supremo* de Augusto Roa Bastos, obra eminentemente representativa de la literatura latinoamericana. Cuatro conferenciantes eligieron por su tema algún que otro aspecto de la obra de Carlos Fuentes desde los caracteres, la temporalidad y el existencialismo de su narrativa hasta el pensamiento náhuatl en su teatro.

Las cuestiones filosóficas planteadas por la literatura latinoamericana constituían el programa del último día del Congreso. Alfredo A. Roggiano, creador y organizador incansable del IILI, así como director de la Revista de Literatura Iberoamericana, el órgano oficial del Instituto, dio en su resumen algunas características del estado actual de la crítica literaria en Iberoamérica. Otras ponencias de la sesión referían a la crítica literaria de hoy, a la función de la utopía en la historia del pensamiento de América Latina, al indigenismo, al positivismo y a algunos aspectos específicos de las relaciones inter-literarias.

Dos profesores del Departamento de Español de la Universidad Eötvös Loránd de Budapest participaron en el trabajo de la sesión sobre literatura argentina. La profesora Katalin Kulin presentó su profundizado estudio de la filosofía de Georges Bataille centrada en torno a la comunicación imposibilitada como clave ideológica de la novela *62. Modelo para armar* de Julio Cortázar. Attila Csép examinó la influencia de otro filósofo, la de Marcuse en la novelística, y por excelencia en *Rayuela* del gran narrador argentino contemporáneo. Entre los ponentes sobre literatura femenina cabe destacar a la profesora María Esther Vázquez que habló de la mujer en la actual narrativa argentina.

La exposición que en nuestra consideración alcanzó el mayor éxito fue la presentada por el profesor francés Alain Sicard que analizó de una manera muy convincente los criterios del pensamiento dialéctico en César Vallejo, dando a conocer cómo convertía

en método poético su filosofía social basada en el marxismo. Otro aspecto de la creación del poeta peruano fue el tema de la conferencia interesantísima de Eduardo Neale-Silva, profesor estadounidense que se encargó a comparar el método poético de Vallejo con los de arte plástico del pintor Juan Gris.

En la sección B las sesiones se terminaron con las notables contribuciones de Gustav Siebenmann sobre Ernesto Sábado y la situación cultural argentina y de Didier T. Jaén sobre Borges y la tradición esotérica en *Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius*. En la mesa redonda de la sección C, tras el planteamiento de Luis Iñigo-Madrigal y Dario Puccini, los participantes discutieron cuestiones de la sociología de lectura, la estética de la recepción de obras literarias y las tendencias de política editorial en Hispanoamérica.

El acto final del Congreso, la cena de despedida así como los otros programas complementarios contribuían también al indiscutible éxito de esta conferencia celebrada en Budapest que ofreció una vez más una oportunidad para el intercambio personal de ideas sobre literatura hispanoamericana entre los expertos del mundo entero. Se puede afirmar con satisfacción que el Congreso siguió el camino de sus antecedentes y es de esperar que haya despertado todavía mayor interés en los países europeos por el estudio de la literatura latinoamericana, esperanza que se podrá cumplir dentro de dos años, cuando después de Puerto Rico, siguiendo el futuro ritmo acelerado de anuales congresos del IILI, nos reuniremos en otra capital europea, en París.

Zsuzsa Tomcsányi

BIBLIOGRAPHIA

István Sőtér: *Gyűrűk* (Ringe) Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1980. 692 S.

In zwei vorhergehenden Essay-Bänden hat István Sőtér seine literarhistorischen und theoretischen Schriften veröffentlicht; so in dem Band *Werthertől Szilveszterig* (Von Werther bis Silvester) (1976) diejenigen, die sich mit den Erscheinungen der Epoche von der Wende des 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert bis Petőfi beschäftigen, und unter dem Titel *Félkör* (Halbkreis) (1979) die Arbeiten, die die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts behandeln, während die vorliegende Sammlung im wesentlichen seine Schriften zur Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts enthält. *Gyűrűk* unterscheidet sich von den zwei vorangehenden Bänden auch einigermaßen in der Gattung, was vom Autor so formuliert wird: »Der Verfasser der ersten beiden Bände ist eher Literaturhistoriker, der des dritten, *Gyűrűk*, in erster Linie Literaturkritiker."

Natürlich zieht István Sőtér zwischen Literaturgeschichte und Kritik keinen Trennungsstrich, denn diese beiden Tätigkeiten berühren sich notwendigerweise, ja in irgendeiner Art bedingen sie sich sogar. Und wer sich mit Literaturwissenschaft befaßt, bemüht sich im allgemeinen, diese zwei sich gegenseitig bedingenden Methoden der Annäherung an die literarischen Erscheinungen zu vereinen. Schon seltener ist es der Fall — gewissermaßen als Ergebnis des Einflusses der Arbeitsteilung und der gesteigerten Spezialisierung, der auch in den Gesellschaftswissenschaften zur Geltung gelangt, — daß der Fachmann gleichzeitig auch in seinem »Gegenstand«, hier in der Belletristik, selbst eine aktive Tätigkeit entfaltet. Jene natürliche Einheit, die in der schöpferischen Arbeit des Belletrist-Essayist-Wissenschaftlers zum Ausdruck kommt, ist weder in der Weltliteratur noch in der Geschichte der ungarischen Literatur unbekannt. Schade, daß die Zeit einen solchen Schöpfer-Typ immer weniger zu begünstigen scheint, und dieser Umstand trägt sicher dazu bei, daß in unseren Tagen die Verbindung zwischen der sich mit der Literatur beschäftigenden Fachwissenschaft und der lebendigen Literatur ihre frühere Unmittelbarkeit verloren hat.

Ist jemand Belletrist und gleichzeitig Kritiker und Literaturhistoriker, so bedeutet das nicht lediglich das Einfließen einer gewissen stilistischen Eleganz in die abhandelnde Prosa, der Ertrag besteht aus mehr: dem vertrauten Verhältnis mit dem literarischen Werk, der persönlichen, auch von der Seite des Gegenstandes her erlebten Erfahrung. All das kann helfen, solche Schattierungen wahrzunehmen und zum Ausdruck zu bringen, wie man es in manchen Fällen von einem Forscher anderen Typs vergeblich erwarten würde, auch wenn dieser sonst über noch so große Vorzüge verfügt. Von István Sőtér, dem Literaturhistoriker, wird jedoch mehrmals betont: die schriftstellerische Leistung bietet keinerlei Gewähr dafür, daß die theoretischen Ansichten und Werturteile das gleiche Niveau erreichen wie das literarische Werk. Und auch im umgekehrten Falle gibt es keine Garantie, denn der Fachmann auf dem Gebiet des Romans könnte als Romanautor wohl leicht ein Fiasko erleben. Wo sich jedoch die Tätigkeitskreise harmonisch — und mit einem hohen Grad von Bewußtheit — ineinanderfügen, dort bleibt das Ergebnis meist nicht aus.

Dieser Band veranschaulicht in erster Linie eben mittels der Kritiken — jener gedrängten Werkanalysen, die die Subjektivität nicht vermissen lassen, aber letztlich doch ein objektives Urteil enthalten — die Harmonie der sich auf die Literatur beziehenden Ansichten, die sich aus vielen Fäden zusammensetzende Einheit. Es ist keineswegs ein Zufall, daß beim Kennzeichnen des Werks von István Sőtér ständig die Begriffe »Einheit«, »Vielseitig-

keit« und »Harmonie« auftauchen. Er hat nämlich nie zu den sogenannten strengen Kritikern gehört, beim Schreiben seiner Kritiken und Studien setzte er sich nicht in erster Linie das Ziel, eine Richtung, einen Gedanken, eine Auffassung zu vertreten, sondern ihm ging es um das Verstehen des jeweiligen Werkes, um das Aufdecken seiner besonderen Werte. Und in dieser Hinsicht, im Respektieren der Werte des Werkes, ist er außerordentlich tolerant, er läßt Gesichtspunkte, die zum Teil außerhalb des Werkes liegen (und seien es auch politische) nicht die Oberhand gewinnen. Diese Toleranz bedeutet wiederum keinesfalls, daß Sőtér nur lobende Worte für die Besten der ungarischen Literatur hat. Die Klippen in der Laufbahn, die Widersprüche im Werk oder die Verstöße gegen die Folgerichtigkeit der Gedanken tut er — auch wenn es sich um László Németh, Lőrinc Szabó oder Gábor Halász handelt — mit jener »Unbestechlichkeit« des Kritikers kund, die zu unseren besten Kritik-Traditionen gehört. Dabei ist er immer sorgfältig darauf bedacht, seine Erwägungen in die als wahr beurteilten Korrelationen von Epoche — Persönlichkeit — Werk einzuordnen und sein Urteil nicht von noch so gutgemeinten oder sich progressiv gebenden konjunkturellen Faktoren beeinflussen zu lassen. Diesem Kritiker-Verhalten ist es auch zu danken, daß Sőtér an dem kleinlichen Hader des literarischen Lebens keinen Anteil nahm, was einem Kritiker freilich nicht in jedem Falle und nicht von jedermann als Tugend angerechnet wird.

Das Bemühen um Objektivität, die das Verstehen des Werks anstrebende Rechtlichkeit bedeutet durchaus nicht, daß István Sőtér die literarischen und die damit verbundenen gesellschaftlich-politischen Erscheinungen als Außenstehender betrachtet hätte. Mit Recht verwahrt er sich — an mehreren Stellen seines Buches — gegen die Auffassung, die die Generation als eine Art abgrenzbare literaturgeschlichtliche Kategorie verwenden möchte. Aber das gemeinsame Erlebnis der Vergangenheit, die Übereinstimmung der Aufgaben, die verwandten Züge in der Bildung und die Ansichten, die über die Sendung der Kultur vertreten werden, erweisen sich in einer bestimmten historischen Epoche selbst dann als verbindende Kraft, wenn man von einer programmgebundenen literarischen Gruppierung nicht sprechen kann. Der Zeitraum von der Mitte der dreißiger Jahre bis zum Ende des Krieges forderte die Stellungnahmen gleichsam heraus, während die Nachwelt dazu neigt, die sich so abzeichnenden Entwicklungslinien vergrößert zu sehen, was jedoch die natürliche Begleiterscheinung jeder Perspektive, das Ergebnis einer Selektion der sich als bleibend erweisenden Werte ist. Schließlich besteht eines der höchsten Verdienste der progressiven humanistischen Literatur der Epoche in dem immer bewußteren Programm zum Schutze der geistigen Werte, das sich als Grundhaltung infolge des Vordringens des Faschismus, sozusagen herauskristallisierte: und eigentlich ist diese Haltung für eine sehr bedeutende Gruppe von Schriftstellern jener Zeit bezeichnend, so wie aus dieser Überzeugung auch die Kraftreserve stammt, die — und ein Beispiel dafür sind zahlreiche Schriften Sőtérs — auch dem Dogmatismus der 50er Jahre gegenüber ein besonnenes Streben zur Wahrung der Werte an den Tag legte.

Die Kritik läßt sich vielfach mit einem Lagebericht vergleichen: sie zeichnet die Stellung, die Aussichten und Möglichkeiten einer bestimmten schöpferischen Laufbahn im Schnitt des gegebenen Zeitpunktes auf. Dann werden die darin enthaltenen Feststellungen von der Zeit entweder bestätigt oder korrigiert. Die informierenden Dichter-Porträts, die István Sőtér zu der Gedichtanthologie *Négy évszak* (Vier Jahreszeiten) geschrieben hat, gehören zum Beispiel ganz gewiß zu den von ihm nach bestem Wissen geschaffenen gedrängten und die wichtigsten Kennzeichen vereinenden Dichter-Bildnissen. Obwohl die formulierten Charakteristika Hinweise in bezug auf die noch unausgereiften Abschnitte der Laufbahn hätten bieten können, und er diese mit feinem kritischen Spürsinn auch ahnte, ließ er sich offensichtlich nicht auf Prophezeiungen ein. Um so überraschender ist es, daß sich die vor mehr als drei Jahrzehnten zu Papier gebrachten Symptome fast hundertprozentig bewahrheitet haben. Von unserer heutigen Warte gesehen, hätten wir, die wir den größeren Abschnitt der Laufbahn oder das ganze Lebenswerk kennen, es schwer, wenn wir die gedrängten Darstellungen über die Dichter der Anthologie treffender formulieren wollten.

Alle Schriften von István Sőtér durchzieht der Gedanke daß die ungarische Literatur ein Teil der Weltliteratur ist, daß man ohne Beachtung der Zusammenhänge der Weltkultur die Nationalliteratur nicht stichhaltig interpretieren kann. Er wendet sich entschieden gegen jede Art des Abkapselns, der nationalen Ausschließlichkeit. An verschiedenen Stellen legt er dar, daß dieser Gesichtspunkt für die Größten nie kennzeichnend war, und daß eine ungenügende oder mangelnde Infor-

mation bei einigen von ihnen sich keineswegs zugunsten ihrer sonst so hervorragenden Tätigkeit ausgewirkt hat. Dabei gibt es aber bei ihm niemals ein Überschätzen der formalen Bildung, er ist nicht »urban« in dem Sinne, wie dieser Begriff zu der Zeit, als die Gegensätze eine Spaltung der ungarischen Literatur herbeiführten, verwendet wurde.

Es gehört zu den alten Gepflogenheiten auch in der Fachkritik, daß der Rezensent aus der Themenwahl Schlußfolgerungen auf die Tendenz eines Werkes zieht, aus der Zusammensetzung der Themen und aus den sich darin zeigenden Sympathien irgendeine Literaturauffassung ableitet. Wenn es sich um die Gattung der Kritik handelt, bedeuten solche Mutmaßungen ein großes Risiko, weil ja selbst der im höchsten Maße bewußten Kritiker-Tätigkeit unbedingt etwas Gelegentliches anhaftet, und sei es nur in der Form, daß solche Werke, die es wert sind beurteilt zu werden, nur gelegentlich erscheinen. Etwas anders liegt der Fall bei den Essays, obwohl der Gelegenheitscharakter auch hier zur Geltung gelangen kann (Beispiele dafür sind die Feierlichkeiten und Tagungen, die anläßlich solcher Jubiläen veranstaltet werden, denen in Ungarn eine besondere Rolle zukommt). Doch durch diese Umstände wird der Wert eines Essays höchstens modifiziert, nicht aber bestimmt. All das sind zwar allgemein bekannte Tatsachen, es schadet jedoch nicht, sie trotzdem zu erwähnen, weil im Gegensatz zu den Büchern von István Sőtér so mancher Essay-Band dadurch zu einem ansehnlichen Umfang anschwillt, daß der Verfasser es für erforderlich hält, alle Texte, die er jemals geschrieben hat, von Zeit zu Zeit aufs neue an die Öffentlichkeit zu bringen. Sőtérs Essays sind auch unabhängig von den äußeren Faktoren gründliche, in die Tiefe lotende Schöpfungen — der ehrenvolle Zwang, der mit der konkreten Aufgabe verbunden ist, führt zu keiner Herabsetzung der Ansprüche, sondern steigert diese noch.

So hat er zum Beispiel äußerst Wichtiges über die große Schriftstellergeneration der Zeitschrift *Nyugat* (Westen), über Ady, Móricz und Kosztolányi zu sagen, aber nicht weniger bedeutsam ist, was er über Krúdy and Kassák schrieb. Unter dem Titel *Két világháború között* (Zwischen zwei Weltkriegen) faßt er seine Studien über die namhaften Schriftsteller jener Epoche zusammen. Dabei gilt seine besondere Aufmerksamkeit innerhalb dieses Themenkreises László Németh, über dessen Werk und Wirken man in dem Band fünf Essays lesen kann. Unter ihnen bedeutet — wenn es überhaupt notwendig ist, eine Rangfolge aufzustellen — die Analyse von *Iszony* (Abscheu) *(Németh László és az Iszony)* in jeder Hinsicht eine Grundlagen-Arbeit der Fachliteratur über den Schriftsteller, deren Methode und Feststellungen (der Essay stammt aus dem Jahre 1948) selbst eine Zeit von mehr als drei Jahrzehnten nichts anhaben konnte. Ihrem Wesen nach sind auch jene Schriften in diese Studien-Gruppe einzureihen, in denen die Vertreter der »tragischen Generation« gewürdigt werden und unter denen sich so wesentliche befinden wie die Essays über *Szerb Antal magyar irodalomtörténete* (die ungarische Literaturgeschichte von Antal Szerb) (1958) und das Wirken von *Gábor Halász* (1945). Letzteres entstand aus Anlaß der noch frischen und schmerzlichen Rückerinnerung; in dem anderen setzt sich Sőtér verhältnismäßig früh mit der damals umstrittenen und nicht immer nach Gebühr gewürdigten populären und erfolgreichen Literaturgeschichte auseinander: das tut er mit jener sachlichen Nüchternheit und dem Werk zukommenden Anerkennung, indem er den Wert perspektivisch herausstellt, wie es für die Methode des Essayisten István Sőtér so bezeichnend ist.

Wir können noch nicht einmal die Titel aller in dem Band erschienenen Schriften aufzählen, deshalb sei hier nur die Studien erinnert, die ihr Thema aus der Weltliteratur beziehen: über Werk und Schaffen von Tolstoi, Roger Martin du Gard, Thomas Mann und Camus. Besonders erwähnt werden müssen jene theoretischen Schriften, die unter dem Titel *Történet és elmélet* (Geschichte und Theorie) eine selbständige Gruppe bilden. Mit der namhaften Literaturgeschichtsschreibung der Vergangenheit beschäftigt sich die Studie, die den »Klassizismus« von János Horváth analysiert, während die sich um die Mitte der sechziger Jahre entfaltenden Diskussionen in der Schrift über die neuen Bestrebungen der Literaturtheorie zusammengefaßt werden. Auf diesen Gegenstand kommt Sőtér ein Jahrzehnt später noch einmal zurück (*Irodalmunk és elméletünk* 1976 [Unsere Literatur und unsere Theorie]). Auch in diesen Arbeiten bemüht er sich darum, die Extreme auszugleichen: er steht dem Neuen voll Sympathie, aufgeschlossen, aber nicht ohne Kritik gegenüber, und es gelingt ihm, die Prinzipienfestigkeit und die doktrinäre Unzufriedenheit voneinander abzugrenzen. Wenn er es für notwendig hält, läßt er sich — zwar in durchaus höflichem, zuvorkommendem Ton — auch mit den Autoritäten in eine Debatte ein (früher ging es um einige

Feststellungen Révais, später um gewisse Ansichten von Lukács). Es scheint, als ob in diesen Studien der Glanz, die Innerlichkeit fehlten, die für die Schriften des jungen Sőtér charakteristisch waren ; die Objektivität hat strengere Formen angenommen. Die veränderte Aufgabe, die neue Art von Verantwortung machten sicherlich auch eine Wandlung in der Ausdrucksweise erforderlich, der Gattung nach tritt die Studie an die Stelle des Essays und den Platz des Schriftsteller-Kritikers nimmt der Gelehrte ein.

Als ständig wiederkehrenden Wunsch möchten wir das vielerorts zum Ausdruck gebrachte Gefühl einer Lücke erwähnen, die dadurch entsteht, daß einige unserer Literaturhistoriker sich von einer aktiven Kritiker-Tätigkeit fernhalten, obwohl sie mit solch großem Nutzen zu einer Einschätzung der bleibenden Werte der neuesten ungarischen Literatur beitragen könnten ! (In diesem Band befindet sich nur eine Kritik, die einen neueren Gegenstand behandelt, die Würdigung des Romans *Ménesgazda* (Der Gestütsmeister) von István Gáll, während doch gerade die Dichter-Porträts der *Négy évszak* beweisen, mit welch sicherem Blick István Sőtér die Anzeichen des Talents, der niveauvollen Leistung erkennt.) Wir stimmen mit dem oben erwähnten Wunsch überein, müssen aber zugeben, daß wir weder die Veranlassung noch das Recht dazu haben, einer souveränen Schriftsteller-Persönlichkeit mit Vorschriften für den Interessenkreis oder die Aufgaben zu kommen, schließlich ist es der Schaffende selbst, der sie nach ihrer Wichtigkeit ordnen kann und die inneren Zusammenhänge am besten spürt und erkennt. Eines läßt sich jedoch mit Sicherheit sagen : die Kritiken, Essays, Studien und Porträts von István Sőtér, die ein Thema der modernen Literatur behandeln, sind von bedeutendem Einfluß auf das Bewußtsein unseres gesamten literarischen Lebens.

Antal Wéber

Ximena MORENO ALISTE : Origen y sentido de la farsa en la obra de Juan Carlos Onetti ; Publications du Centre de Recherches Latino-Américaines de l'Université de Poitiers ; Octobre 1973 ; pp. 119

La autora de este ensayo afirma haber estado influenciada por las ideas de Jean Starobinski sobre la máscara y la actividad enmascarada. Esta actividad enmascarada sería la farsa cuyo origen y sentido busca en la obra de Onetti, mejor dicho, en cinco de sus novelas : *El Pozo*, *Tierra de Nadie*, *La Vida Breve*, *El Astillero* y *Juntacadáveres*. Conforme a este propósito, el estudio parte de las etapas del proceso farsesoc hasta llegar a la farsa misma (Primera Parte), después trata los modos de la farsa (Segunda Parte), y por fin intenta captar la expresión literaria de la farsa (Tercera Parte).

El primer paso en el desarrollo de la farsa — dice Moreno Aliste — es el rechazo del mundo. Este «rechazo es esencialmente conflictivo», toma forma de repugnancia contra una escena, figura o situación. La interiorización de la repugnancia lleva al héroe hasta su autodesprecio. Lo mismo sucede con los ideales morales y espirituales, hay un escepticismo frente a las ideologías y los partidos, una infravaloración en cuanto a los valores nacionales. Los héroes de Onetti «buscan y siempre encuentran, un medio de evasión, de inacción, son ahistóricos, no asumen su existencia social». Llegamos así al absurdo onettiano que viene de la lucidez de los personajes quienes al contemplarse a sí mismos viven su vida en un continuo rechazo del mundo, aunque aguantándolo al mismo tiempo.

La augustia que caracteriza al personaje consciente de lo absurbo existencial, lo aisla de los demás hombres y hace sus contactos muy difíciles. La comunicación muy a menudo comienza negativamente : con antipatía, miedo, odio, violencia o humillación en los sentimientos, mentira en las palabras. El amor es «maravilloso y absurdo», pero breve y ajeno al hombre ; la amistad puede conocer mayor duración, pero no tiene la profundidad debida para aliviar la soledad.

El hombre que rechaza este mundo real, se rebela violentamente contra el mismo y crea nuevas realidades con sus medios propios. Según Moreno Aliste esas nuevas realidades serán tentativas de evasión del mundo rechazado — una segunda etapa en el proceso farsesco — mediante el sueño, la mentira y la locura.

En las novelas de Onetti el sueño es una «actividad del estado de vigilia, en que el hombre reconstruye los acontecimientos, libre y activo, agente de su nueva vida». Los sueños gardan los rasgos de la vida real, no la embellecen mucho, siempre siguen el modelo de la vida del personaje quien sueña. A menudo los sueños son «moneda de amistad o amor» cuando los cuentan. Contándolos el personaje suprime la decadencia, la muerte y logra la reversibilidad del tiempo.

La mentira como tentativa de evasión «es la creación verbal y voluntaria de algo que no existe». A veces formula un afán

hacia una realidad ausente y deseada, pero frecuentemente «constituye un castigo, como el infierno, y no una reparación, como el paraíso».

La locura propiamente dicha aparece muy raras veces en las novelas — nota la autora —, pero Onetti describe con gran fidelidad los rasgos de los normales que tienden a la demencia, así sus personajes locos y normales tienen siempre un territorio de mudo entendimiento.

Todas estas tentativas de evasión se instalan progresivamente en el mundo de los personajes onettianos : éstos no niegan la existencia del mundo, sospechan que no pueden prescindir de él totalmente, pero para evitarlo tienen que crear ficciones en su propio interior, y eso les ayudará a aguantarlo. Para estas ficciones adoptará diversas máscaras y protagonizará la representación de su vida, *su farsa*. Con eso llega Moreno Aliste a la noción básica de su trabajo. El sueño, la mentira y la locura tienen aspectos profundamente farsescos, por lo tanto la autora los ha considerado como etapas en el camino hacia la farsa. Sin embargo, dice, hay una diferencia importante entre la farsa y el resto de las tentativas de evasión, y eso es la acción. Las novelas de la farsa son *La vida breve*, *El astillero* y *Juntacadáveres*, cuyo análisis seguirá en la Segunda Parte.

La vida breve es una farsa de salvación. Al porqué contesta Moreno Aliste con el análisis de la novela. El héroe principal Juan María Brausen se percata de que llegó a un fracaso en su vida, del cual sólo puede arrancarlo una salvación. Para él la salvación consiste en un cambio de personalidad y de contactos humanos. La farsa aparece entonces, como una necesidad vital que permite dar respuesta a las cuestiones metafísicas y ayuda aclarar el sentido de la vida. Moreno Aliste describe hasta qué punto la farsa tiene su dinamismo interior, una oscilación continua entre los dos mundos : Brausen existe pasivamente en el adverso y activamente en el farsesco, pero el farsesco no existe sin el adverso. Finalmente, la salvación definitiva no puede realizarse en la farsa, porque la farsa depende del mundo real. La paz puede ser adquirida en el mundo real, reconociendo calmada y lúcidamente el absurdo, el sinsentido, la precariedad.

Juntacadáveres es la farsa de la vocación cumplida, indica Moreno Aliste, siendo éste el punto de partida llega a tener sólo una realización degradada, cómo sus ideales se degradan también. La farsa se juega entonces como si todo fuera según los ideales, pero esta farsa se revela inútil, el esfuerzo por crear un mundo diferente no logra sino hundir a los personajes aún más profundamente en la realidad dolorosa.

El astillero es una farsa más dolida, más amplia y más hundida en el fracaso que las demás novelas. Larsen regresando a Santa María busca reparación y juego en una grandiosa farsa, que por concentrarse en un sitio preciso, el astillero, conoce una intensidad máxima. Pero tampoco en esta novela, la farsa dará resultado, y Larsen descubre un contacto con la vida real en la persona de Josefina. Sin embargo, debe morir en otra ciudad, en un hospital cuyos libros registran su nombre verdadero. Dice Moreno Aliste que Larsen es entonces porque ha sido — su verdadera identidad la revela solamente su muerte, su aniquilación.

El modo narrativo y algunos elementos dependientes contribuyen a la expresión de la farsa que junto con otras expresiones literarias son examinadas por la autora en la Tercera Parte. Esta parte trata la manifestación formal de la farsa, y busca los medios estilísticos de Onetti que producen esta gran interiorización de lo narrado en el lector y que anulan la distancia estética, que normalmente separa al lector de la obra. Moreno Aliste analiza fragmentos del texto de *La vida breve* para demostrar el papel de la pluralidad de narradores, la alternancia de niveles de realidad, la intermitencia de la farsa que viene de la diversidad de narradores, el monólogo interior y los diálogos generalmente muy lentos — los dos como garantía de la predominancia de la acción interna.

Juntacadáveres sirve de ejemplo de cómo la secuencia narrativa, la estructura de la acción influye en el desarrollo de la farsa.

En *El astillero* el procedimiento de creación borrado — es decir, el que todo lo creado en el mundo de ficción puede ser descreado — ocupa un lugar de preferencia. De este procedimiento deriva la narración incierta que caracteriza igualmente *El astillero*. Según la autora del presente trabajo de éste modo la lectura llega a ser un juego de representación, y la obra literaria se convierte en una «decepción» como oposición a la «ilusión de la realidad» que infundían o infunden todavía, las novelas estructuradas tradicionalmente.

La cuestión del tiempo en las novelas de Onetti plantea diversos problemas, porque éstas se desarrollan en un mundo en el que el tiempo parece anulado o al menos muy incierto.

El tiempo externo, cronológico y el tiempo interno crean juntos un tiempo nuevo, el de la farsa, en el que el hombre vive el presente con ojos del pasado. Pero como la autora lo demostró ya, refiriéndose

a otros aspectos de lo rasesco, el tiempo también está condenado al fracaso y a excepción de *La Vida Breve*, todas estas obrar terminan en mundo real con el que el personaje se enfrenta.

Onetti busca siempre la perfección en el lenguaje, y a medida que va avanzando en la purificación de los temas y técnicas, su estilo se hace cada vez más poético y elige de preferencia la imágen. Su objetivo principal es comunicar impresiones, por lo tanto, entre las figuras literarias, la metáfora y el símbolo ocupan lugares de particular importancia. *El Astillero* es incluso una gran metáfora.

Su estilo elíptico le otorga poder a palabras que no constituyen oraciones. «Le Mot fait la Chose», dice Onetti en *Tierra de Nadie* e intenta alcanzar este objetivo. Tal vez sea este afán el que le da algo de farsesco a la palabra : atribuirle algo que no tiene, y creer en ello. La metamorfosis del hombre en actor de farsa aparece evidentemente en el lenguaje.

Ximena Moreno Aliste ha hallado un punto de partida muy invencioso para el análisis de la obra onettiana : buscar lo farsesco, la representación de la comedia humana. Este método revela posibilidades multifacéticas para el examen del contenido la estructura, el estilo, los caracteres, etc. Tal vez, las conclusiones de este ensayo igualmente sirvan para el análisis de los recursos artisticos y/o la estructura de otras obras narrativas.

Anna Belia

Recent Books on Classic American Authors

The Oldest Revolutionary. Essays on Benjamin Franklin. Ed. by J. A. Leo Lemay. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press Philadelphia, 1976. — Gay Wilson Allen : The New Walt Whitman Handbook. New York Univ. Press, New York, 1975 — Donald Pizer : The Novels of Theodore Dreiser. A Critical Study. Univ. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1976.

1. The volume of nine essays on *Benjamin Franklin*, edited by J. A. Leo Lemay, uses several approaches. The biographical essays describe Franklin as a printer with literary inclinations, and discuss his diplomatic mission to England. Four essays deal with Franklin, the writer. One of the remaining two chapters analyzes Franklin's personality, and the last essay sketches the road from Franklin to Emerson.

Lemay feels that Franklin is being judged too much from a late twentieth century point of view, as a model. Too great an emphasis is laid upon the truism that Franklin was "the first American self-made man". This is not even true : he had had numerous predecessors in the colonies who went from rags to riches by their own individual effort. Perhaps these early self-made men (mostly merchants) were less vocal, whereas the means Franklin advocated for achieving success — thrift, industry, temperance, resolution, etc. — became proverbial and legendary through his *Autobiography*. These virtues appear even in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*.

The volume is rather heterogeneous. There is no need of another basic monograph on Franklin : those had been written before. But even admitting the importance of these essays probing into specific details, the selection of these nine essays for a volume does not seem to be justified. Obviously, the volume was planned as one of the books to commemorate the bicentennial of American independence.

The title, *The Oldest Revolutionary. Essays on Benjamin Franklin*, is misleading in two senses of the word. To begin with, not a single essay deals with Franklin as a thinker, a reformer or a rebel. And it would be impossible to depict him as a "revolutionary," not even if we accept that the War of Independence is also called popularly the "Revolutionary War". Franklin was a typical reformer : the real revolutionary figures of the age were Tom Paine and Joel Barlow.

The haphazard selection of essays dealing with minor details in Franklin's career, strangely enough, cast a shadow on Franklin's real importance in the progress of eighteenth-century America, instead of stressing it.

The most significant statement by the editor of the volume is his opposition of the public opinion which holds that Franklin is a representative American. As Leo Lemay says : he is and he isn't. His many-sided talent and tremendous energy raised Franklin above the average successful self-made man : he was not average, but an extraordinary, unique phenomenon.

2. Gay Wilson Allen, with his new book on Walt Whitman tempts us to state that the author did not aim at completeness, in spite of the qualifying "handbook" in the title. This is evident from the structure and the proportions of the book. It is not clear what kind of reader did the author have in mind.

As we learn from Allen's introduction, he intended to write a textbook for college use on Whitman in 1944, but the American publishers were not ready to bring out such a book on an *American* classic — they were accustomed only to English classical writers. Allen finally published *The Solitary Singer. Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* in 1955. This work, as the title shows, is mainly a biography. G. W. Allen's interest in Whitman had an earlier, significant result : the chapter on Whitman's versification in his *American Prosody* (1935).

The new *Handbook* gives a chronology of the main events of Whitman's career on a few pages instead of a more detailed biographical chapter. Chapter I is the critical survey of earlier biographies of Whitman, their results and contradictions. Chapter II is about 100 pages : an account of the subsequent editions of *Leaves of Grass*, their evolution, changes in the material and text ; the chapter is important and informative. Allen accepts the present view of Whitman-philology that *Leaves of Grass* had only six editions, not nine or ten.

The next two chapters are the most exciting for the "advanced reader" of Whitman criticism. Alas, they are the shortest in the book. Chapter III discusses Whitman's thinking. Earlier G. W. Allen — among others — had used A. Lovejoy's expression of "the great chain of being", but in this edition he discarded it, because it belongs to the twentieth century. Similarly, Allen stopped using *pantheism* in connection with Whitman, because he found it anachronistic for the second half of the nineteenth century. Instead, Allen traces Whitman's cosmology and theism to scientific results contemporary with Whitman and known to him.

Chapter IV examines the mode of expression in *Leaves of Grass* and its form : a richer, more detailed version of Allen's 1935 analysis of Whitman's versification. Allen admits that recent linguistic analyses enrich our knowledge of Whitman's poetry, but insists that rhythm and parallelism will always remain of basic importance in his poetry.

The last chapter of the book is a survey of translations and Whitman-criticism abroad. This part should have been published in an independent volume. Here the English—American reader would have been satisfied with some statistical data, while the non-English reader looks for translations, etc. in his or her own country, and finds that the list is disappointing, incomplete. The selected bibliographies joining the individual chapters, on the other hand, are excellent.

3. Donald Pizer is an outstanding critic of the realistic-naturalistic trend in American literature at the turn of the century. In his earlier books and essays he came to many important conclusions concerning the theory and nature of American naturalism. It is a logical step that Pizer, after his books on Hamlin Garland and Frank Norris, turned to the work of Theodore Dreiser.

After a pioneering biography on Dreiser (R. H. Elias, 1947) the standard biography was written by W. H. Swanberg (1965). Dreiser's rank among American novelists has been firmly established. His occasionally awkward style and sometimes shapeless form have not been forgotten, but his importance and greatness was proved and illustrated by F. O. Matthiessen (1951) and the excellent poet-novelist-critic, Robert Penn Warren *(Homage to Theodore Dreiser*, 1971). R. Lehan (1969) and Ellen Moers (1969) concentrated on the novels, the latter on *Sister Carrie* and *An American Tragedy*.

Pizer, analyzing all the novels and some short stories, succeeds in creating a definitive, thorough interpretation and evaluation of the main body of Dreiser's work. In the introductory chapter he examines four early short stories, showing that Dreiser's two main themes (personal experience, and documentary novels based on research) as well as his method and the ambiguity of his thinking had been present in his writing right from the beginning.

The author is a thorough scholar : he gives detailed descriptions of the origins, sources, and versions of the novels, of the circumstances of their usually stormy publication and reception. The novels themselves, however, are in the centre of the book. Pizer agrees with most critics on the evaluation of the novels, in the following order : *An American Tragedy, Sister Carrie, The Trilogy of Desire* (mainly the first volume, *The Financier)*, and *Jennie Gerhardt*. Pizer's originality is in the recognition of essential similarities within the whole œuvre, and in his witty interpretation of certain details.

He points out that Dreiser modified somewhat the idea of *equation* (of extremes

in society and nature) to *equity* (more or less the elimination of extremes) during the Great Depression. In his declining years Dreiser was looking for moral solutions (altruism, self-sacrifice), but he was unable to create an enduring work of art based on these ideas.

Pizer expounds the importance of dreams and illusions in Dreiser's work. His heroes/heroines often become victims of their dream of success, and Dreiser is able to identify himself with this kind of tragedy. The relationship between sexual desire and a longing for beauty is also central in Dreiser's art. The main symbols of the novels define their structure as well : rise and fall ; the alternation of business with love ; parallelisms, and contrasts. But all these directions of movement result in a cycle, often a return to the starting point. The characters have only an illusion of moving forward. Thus, the writer views with gentle irony the vanity of pitiful human efforts. As Pizer points out, Dreiser's irony is not verbal : it is embodied in the structure of his novels — an excellent observation.

Pizer concludes that like other great American writers, Dreiser, too, used romantic American myths for his starting point : but he modified, corrected these myths through his own experience and knowledge of life.

(Charlotte Kretzoi)

György Rába : Babits Mihály költészete : 1903—1920. (Das dichterische Werk, von Mihály Babits : 1903—1920) Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1981. 667 S.

In der literaturgeschichtlichen Monographie-Schreibung ist die Liebe des Verfassers zum Gegenstand seiner Arbeit nichts anderes als weitgehend gründliche Kenntnis. Seine Treue manifestiert sich als Genauigkeit und seine Zuverlässigkeit als Objektivität. Nur ein einziges Moment, nämlich die Tatsache der Wahl des Gegenstandes, verrät seine voreingenommene Begeisterung. Von da an vertieft er die Bekanntschaft, lebt mit dem Lebenswerk, das ihm zum Schicksal wurde, jahre- und jahrzehntelang, unter Umständen bis zu seinem Tode ; und wie ein gelehrter Jurist rechtet er mit ihm und seinetwegen.

Trotzdem führt die Monogamie eines eingefleischten Monographen nicht zur ästhetischen Einseitigkeit, zur Verengung von Geschmack und Kenntnissen. Im Gegenteil, sie verführt ihn zu ständigen Vergleichen mit den Werken anderer Schriftsteller, mit Philosophien und politischen Lehren und inspiriert ihn dazu, — wie ein Verliebter, der auf die Vergangenheit seiner Erwählten eifersüchtig ist, — die Vorgeschichte des Œuvre zu erforschen: angeregt von irgendeinem lakonischen Briefchen oder einer Tagebuchaufzeichnung leitet er die Entstehung eines Gedichtes unter solchen Umständen ab, wie sie in einem Roman nicht ungewöhnlicher vorkommen, zum Beispiel aus den Ermittlungsangaben über die Kellnerin eines einstigen Absteigquartiers.

Auch eine Dichter-Monographie kann eine aufregende Lektüre bieten, besonders dann, wenn nicht nur das Objekt der Arbeit, sondern auch der Verfasser Dichter ist, — ein gelehrter Dichter wie György Rába. Sein Buch umfaßt die erste Hälfte des Lebenswerkes von Mihály Babits, also die Werke des Zeitraums zwischen 1903 und 1920. Obwohl es sich hier schon um das dritte monographische Unternehmen György Rábas handelt, kann man ihn — und nicht nur um des Wortspiels willen — doch als monogamen Monographen bezeichnen : seine erste Monographie beschäftigt sich mit der ersten großen Literaturübersetzer-Generation, und unter ihnen auch mit Babits (*A szép hűtlenek* [Die schönen Ungetreuen], 1969), und die zweite mit einem der bedeutendsten Babits-Nachfolger, *Lőrinc Szabó* (1972), dessen Laufbahn sich an wesentlichen Stellen mit der von Babits berührt.

Es war zu einer Tradition geworden, daß in Ungarn die Lyrik durch ihre Fähigkeit, sich elastisch an die hiesigen Notstandsverhältnisse anzupassen, die Aufgabe der seinerzeit zurückgebliebenen Gesellschaftswissenschaften, ja sogar der Tagespolitik übernahm und so gleichsam als Vertretung des demokratischen Parlaments gelten konnte. Das muß von der Literaturgeschichte und der Geistesgeschichte unbedingt zur Kenntnis genommen werden, und ich halte es auch für berechtigt, wenn diese Tatsache — dort wo es angebracht ist — zu einem der hauptsächlichen Gesichtspunkte unserer Werturteile gemacht wird. Aber man sollte sich doch davor hüten, eine verbindliche ästhetische Norm aus einem Umstand zu konstruieren, zu dem unsere Dichter durch die geschichtliche Notlage gezwungen waren. Wie viele Beispiele beweisen, hatte diese Auffassung selbst bei den Lyrikern der »Hauptwelle« — den Werken von Petőfi, Ady und Attila József — eine unberechtigte Einschränkung zur Folge. Die Lyrik hat nicht nur von der Soziologie, sondern auch von der Erkenntnistheorie, der Psychologie und der Existentialphilosophie äußerst viel auf sich genom-

men — und die Dichtungen von Babits stellen dafür gleichfalls ein glänzendes Beispiel dar.

Einer der größten Vorzüge des Buches von Rába besteht in dem gewissenhaften und weitreichenden Überblick über Babits' dichterisches Werk und die philosophischen Richtungen, von denen es beeinflußt wurde. Der so erschlossene Wert ist für uns nicht vor allem von seiten der Philosophie her wichtig, sondern wir müssen die bildungsgeschichtliche und dichterische Bedeutung darin sehen, daß Babits die differenzierte Denkweise als Methode der Lyrik einzusetzen wußte.

Die geistige Gärung am Beginn des Jahrhunderts verbindet sich in unserem Bewußtsein vor allem mit dem Namen von Endre Ady, aber ich brauche es wohl nicht nachzuweisen, daß er in den Kämpfen der Epoche nicht allein gestanden hat. So ist unter anderem auch Babits mit gewaltiger Entschlossenheit gegen die offiziell geheiligten Normen Aberglauben, Sitten und Geschmackrichtungen des seinem Verfall zutreibenden Ungarn aufgetreten.

Rába beweist überzeugend, daß Babits schon mit seinem ersten Werk ein bedeutender Neuerer war. Eines seiner frühesten Gedichte, die *Óda a bűnhöz* (Ode an die Sünde), ist ähnlich wie der Prolog zu Új versek (Neue Gedichte) ein Werk von explosiver Gewalt. In den Spuren von diesem Ady-Gedicht, das gegen die Mauern anstürmt, dringt eine überwältigende Persönlichkeit in das geistige Leben des Landes ein, ein Repräsentant aller neuen und progressiven Ideen. Babits bricht — seine eigene Person damit gewissermaßen in den Hintergrund stellend — der Idee als solcher Bahn: Wie eine Baudelaire'sche Herausforderung schwingt er die Fahne der umstürzlerischen »Sünde« gegen die zum Tode verurteilte Scheinmoral und legt die Fundamente zu einer Tugend neuer Art. Wann wohl wird dieser Babits würdige Geist der Monographie in unsere Schulen Einzug halten? Wann wird *A világosság udvara* (Der Hof des Lichtes) zu einem verbindlichen Bestandteil der Anthologien? Diese bewundernswert moderne Dichtung weist mit ihrer herausfordernd anschaulichen Beschreibung des Abfalls im »Lichthof« schon in die Richtung der objektiven Lyrik der allerletzten Jahre (Ágnes Nemes Nagy, Dezső Tandori) (Einbegriffen auch einen Bereich im dichterischen Werk von Attila József!)

Babits' Bildung, sein Bewandertsein in der Weltliteratur, seine Aufgeschlossenheit gegenüber neuen Strömungen, sein Bestreben, alles auszuprobieren und vereinigen zu wollen, macht in den ersten Jahren des Jahrhunderts einen bedeutenden Teil jenes Prozesses aus, der dann nach dem Erscheinen der Zeitschrift Nyugat (Westen) 1908 in immer größerem Maße zur Entfaltung gelangt. Zweifellos ist es ihm nicht immer gelungen, die Spannung zwischen Traditionalismus und Neuererwillen so aufzulösen, daß er dabei den Eklektizismus vermeiden konnte, manchmal beläßt sein Stil das weitverzweigte verschwenderisch reiche Bildungsmaterial in seiner Heterogenität. Einen der schwerwiegendsten Einwände gegen seine Dichtung hat meiner Meinung nach Lőrinc Szabó in seiner als Würdigung am Grabe getarnten Anklage, mit Worten wie von Antonius, formuliert: Babits bedeutet »Überall Leben, Leben, *kein vollkommenes* Leben, aber ein wirkliches und tiefes« (Hervorhebung von J. A.). Rába belegt das — absichtlich oder unabsichtlich — aus der Perspektive der Lyrik, die das Privatleben zum Thema hat: »Das dichterische Ziel Babits' ist die Herausbildung einer solchen objektiven Poetik, die sich von der Gefühlsbetontheit der Stimmungslyrik befreit. (. . .) Trotzdem dürfte das Fehlen des Liebesgedichtes zu denken geben.« Schade, daß es hier bei dem »Zu-Denken-Geben« als Anspruch bleibt, denn man kann es nicht leugnen: der große Dichter ist etwas trocken. In einem seiner kühnsten Gedichte, der *Óda a bűnhöz* (aus dem Jahre 1902), wird auch die »angestammte Sünde der Natur«, die Liebe, zu den wertlosen, kleinlichen Dingen gerechnet, nur die Konquistadoren des Geistes, die »Attentäter« sind darin der menschlichen Größe würdig.

Im Herzen der Epoche steht wirklich Ady und nicht Babits, und auch später — nach 1920 — gibt es manchen, der ein vollkommeneres Leben, ein zukunftsträchtigeres Weltbild formt, Babits' Protest gegen den Weltkrieg jedoch — welcher sich am Ende seines Lebens als erweiterte Neuschöpfung seiner selbst in den Jónás-Gedichten wiederholt — verleiht ihm für unser moralisches Bewußtsein die Weihe einer außergewöhnlichen Persönlichkeit.

Die Arbeit seines Lebens ist weit weniger organisch als die des in jedem Augenblick mit sich selbst identischen Ady (freilich könnte ich das auch so ausdrücken: Das dichterische Werk von Babits ist die zur künstlerischen Norm erhobene Heterogenität!), aber fast in jedem Jahr hat er einige solche Gedichte geschrieben, die zu den schönsten oder einem der großartigsten der Epoche gehören. Er ist der Verfasser von bezeichnend individuellen Bravourleistungen — und das meiner Ansicht nach ein-

deutiger, als es der Monograph darstellt, obgleich er äußerst interessante Feststellungen dazu macht, wie Babits seine Bände komponiert hat.

Ich glaube kaum, daß man dieses dichterische Werk, vor allem wenn man es mit Ady vergleicht, als einen einzigen zusammenhängenden Gedichtstrom ansehen kann — was so von Rába auch nicht behauptet wird. Die frühen Dichtungen von Babits gewinnen eine relative Einheit durch das Prinzip »der sich auf allen Stufen der Wirklichkeit äußernden Einfühlung« : jene Absicht, das Werk durch das Fortschreiten von Symbol zu Symbol aufzubauen und so — um es mit Worten von Mallarmé zu sagen — »das der Weltordnung gleichkommende« Buch zu schaffen.

Es nimmt wohl nicht wunder, wenn ein so hochgesteckter Maximalismus zu keinem vollen Erfolg führt, und wir eher von einzelnen Bravourleistungen sprechen, welche ihm im Laufe der vielen Versuche doch gelingen. Und besonders immer dann haben wir das Gefühl, daß der Dichter über sich selbst hinauswächst, wenn die tragischen Ereignisse der Gesellschaft eine elementare seelische Erschütterung für ihn bedeuten (*Május huszonhárom Rákospalotán* [23. Mai in Rákospalota], Antikriegs-Dichtungen).

György Rába selbst ist ebenfalls ein hervorragender Lyriker und trotzdem blieb seine Arbeit demonstrativ frei von aller Lyrisierung ; neben dem Aufrollen des historischen Hintergrundes und der gegenseitigen Beziehungen von Philosophie und Lyrik liegt seine größte Stärke in der Gedichtinterpretation. Darin stellt er einen unbesiegbaren Konkurrenten für seine Kollegen dar, hauptsächlich wenn das Gedicht in der klassischen (griechisch-römischen) Form oder nach den Regeln der westeuropäischen Verskunst geschrieben ist.

Schon in seiner Kurzmonographie über Lőrinc Szabó zeigte sich, welch außerordentlich feines Gehör Rába für die antiken Rhythmen besitzt ; in den Strukturen, die allgemein als freie Versformen angesehen wurden, wies er nach, daß darin an die griechischen Dramenchöre erinnernde Rhythmuselemente von funktionaler Bedeutung enthalten sind. Diese Fähigkeit verhilft ihm auch bei der Untersuchung von Babits zu wichtigen Ergebnissen und bildet den Anlaß zur Auseinandersetzung mit dem anderen Babits-Monographen, Pál Kardos ; als er zum Beispiel nachweist, daß in dem Gedicht, das die moralischen Normen der Gesellschaft offen ablehnt, durch den kontrapunktischen Rhythmus der sapphischen Strophe die edle Größe der antiken Ethik besungen wird.

Sein Werk ist niemals nur eine propagandistische Schrift über Babits, er wendet sich jedoch überzeugend gegen alle jene den Dichter degradierenden Auffassungen, die sich als nicht genügend begründet erweisen.

Es wäre sicher übereilt, seine Urteile schon jetzt zu besprechen, denn was uns vorliegt, ist erst die erste Hälfte seiner Monographie. In der Fortsetzung dürfen wir aber von Rábas bis zur Leidenschaft erhitzten Sachlichkeit noch ungemein viel erwarten.

Jenő Alföldy

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