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On the Aesthetic Relevance of Philosophical Categories

CONTENT AND FORM. ESSENCE AND PHENOMENON

ISTVÁN HERMANN

Content and Form

All human activity has, firstly, a contentwise objective—a teleology—and secondly, ways and means to reach that objective. Thirdly, the activity takes place in a certain form, in a certain setting, etc. This applies to every kind of human activity; it is in this sense that content, method and form are to be distinguished. These categories, however, acquire a special significance in the case of artistic creation. First of all, some works of art are created with a concrete practical use-objective in mind. In such cases one might say, as for instance in the case of architecture, that artistic activity has a definite objective (and even a definite purpose, in the case of architectural art). In the same way, for some works of art (such as those commissioned by the patrons of the art of the Renaissance) the purpose of the work was likewise specified, albeit perhaps less obtrusively than in architecture, but still confining the scope of the artist to a smaller or greater extent. The same applies to every creation of industrial art, including ornament and graphic art, every art for a prize, etc.

The purpose of a work of art, however, is not identical with the total of its objective, teleology and content. In the following, it will be useful to elucidate the difference between content and purpose in a few words.

Art as a Commission by Society

It emerges from the above that there are some artistic creations which fulfil a concrete function. Yet, diversified as these functions may be, they are none of them identical with artistic content proper, primarily because most artistic creations obviously fulfil a much broader range of functions than that in whose sign they came to exist. It is a familiar fact, for instance, that the great dramas of the Greeks were written as entries for the prize contests for the Dionysian festivities where not only the subject, but the duration of the play and the number of protagonists were specified beforehand. But although they clearly did fulfil their intended function, also, they have, over

the millennia that have passed since, been showing new facets to the audiences of every new age. They express something that transcends the age and the framework of ideas in which they were born. Gothic cathedrals are a similar case. The Dome of Milan, for instance, was evidently called upon to express the introverted religious sphere of an age. Today's visitor does not get the same feeling: yet, remote from the original emotional atmosphere as he is, he will nevertheless recognize in this masterpiece of Gothic architecture the tremendous artistic effort that, by the means of art, even if religious in form, turned a welter of dissimilar strata human into a community, endowing it with a shared wealth of moods and feelings.

Further examples would be superfluous. All this goes to prove that, whereas artistic creation and the work of art proper are both apparently aimed at a definite objective which determines their content, in reality, the objective is not nearly so definite and specific; it cannot be centered on or preoccupied with a single act or a single idea; inasmuch as it is real art, it fulfils much more than just the direct social objective for which it has been intended. Generally speaking, one might say that the task entrusted by society to art as art is invariably the creation of a cathartic effect besides fulfilling a concrete function. The original meaning of the word "catharsis" is an inner moral purification. This meaning, however, was expanded by Georg Lukács in his *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*. The impact of a work of art brings a purification in thought, psychology and behaviour as well as in the moral sphere. Lukács explains this by stating that, contrary to Stoic religious ideas whose focus, "*memento mori*", was an awareness of death which man must not lose from sight, Epicurean and mundane tendencies in art resulted in a "*memento vivere*", a concentration on an awareness of life. In this sense, however, catharsis means the dissolution of old constraints, conditionings and obsolete forms of behaviour and the beginning of a reorientation towards new thoughts, feelings and reactions. It would therefore be the greatest possible mistake to confine the artistic content of a work of art to its concrete purpose as outlined above. One should, therefore, speak of a commission by society in a broader sense. The perception of this far from concrete social commission and the ability to meet it in possession of that perception is an important ingredient of the artistic genius. In this sense, then, art has the power to resolve, liberate and alter. It is primarily in terms of this cathartic power and tendency that the content of a work of art can be determined. This is why it is comparatively indifferent whether or not a given work of art has been created with an immediate agitative intent and purpose. Serving so direct a purpose does not, even in principle, preclude the fulfilment of a general social commission, just as, conversely, a work of art delving into the issues of everyday life, however abstract its manner of doing so may be, may still be motivated in its content by that social commission.

Subject and Content

The prime determinant of content in a work of art is thus its cathartic aptitude. In addition, however, it is usual to lump also the subject together with the content. Yet the notion of subject is likewise extremely vague. It is deemed by many to be identical with the plot (action) in epic or dramatic art (in literature) and with certain objects chosen to be represented in plastic art, etc. Others hold the subject to be identical with the message, regardless of the concrete events, objects or musical motives serving as its vehicles. In fact, however, a distinction is to be made between theme and subject. The statement that the theme of a painting is a winter landscape or a war scene does not, in itself, describe the painting. The theme is thus at best an extraneous feature in a work of art. One distinctive feature of the conrete subject is the positive or negative ideological attitude reflected by the artist's approach. In Brueghel's case, for instance, a theme like a "village wedding" provides the artist with an opportunity to express the inner gayety of contemporary Dutch peasant society as it bursts out on a single exeptional occasion. The singularity of the occasion is expressed by an awkwarness apparent here and there in the movements and the persons depicted. This feature, however, already pertains to the ideological formulation of a theme that is not inferior in any way to Brueghel's other characteristic great themes such as the blind, the infanticide at Bethlehem, etc. Thus the subject as an ideologically formulated theme, an artistically represented sphere of meaning formulated from a well-defined point of outlook upon the world is also part of the content. The ideological treatment of the sphere of meaning selected by the artist is a prerequisite to a cathartic effect. That effect must be discussed here precisely because the ideological treatment in question is not simply of a political or epistemological tenor: on the contrary, it was conceived in the sign of a world view that is comprehensive and complete. The way which Endre Ady chooses to express himself is by no means fortuitous:

> Hit, vágy, cél, csók mind-mind azóta más,
> Mióta mi lüktetünk a szívekben.
>
> (All faith and aim, all kiss and all desire
> Is alter'd now we throb in every heart.*)

The relationship of concrete subject and cathartic effect is thus a fundamental component of content; these two moments must not be separated when discussing content. An ideologically formulated theme or plot is the sole means of inducing catharsis. This is why catharsis as the conscious or unconscious objective of creation in art would seem so inane if it were to be divorced

* Translated by Bálint Balkay.

from the subject. Dedication is therefore a fundamental requirement in any work of art. Here again, dedication is not meant in the philosophical or the political sense, but in the comprehensive sense proposed above which may, of course, comprise philosophical or political dedication as an essential element. The intrinsic harmony and unity of content depends on the depth and wealth of the interrelationships holding these attitudes together. Let us elucidate this by an example. Literary history and criticism regard Ibsen's *Nora* as one of the important proclamations of female emancipation in the art of literature. This, of course, is true in a way; yet, if this were all there is to *Nora*, it might at best be rated as a Strindbergian play in reverse, entirely devoid of cathartic effect. The real issue in Ibsen's *Nora* is much deeper than that. It is rather widely felt that, in the way that Nora's husband sets up a doll-house for his wife, Ibsen wanted to unmask a certain Biedermeyer-style family atmosphere above all. The problem, however, is even deeper: the family atmosphere explodes not because it is wrong in itself, but because it is founded upon a lie, the life-lie of the petit bourgeois who, in a bout of hypocritical righteousness, blows up not only the playfulness of the family atmosphere but its harmony as well. This, in turn, is a consequence of the world of appearances in which the protagonists live, wherein formal honesty rather that the true import of an act is the moral yardstick. We thus perceive how a system of inner correspondences is created among the different elements: it is the fine weave or the occasional fraying of this texture of relationships that is decisive for the unity of content.

The theme is thus no more than an extraneous determinant, whereas the subject is the essence of content, or at least a component of its essence. True, theme is not indifferent, either, but its choice may be influenced by a number of subjective etc. factors. The attitude to the chosen theme, on the other hand, is already a subjective artistic act of general validity: it is precisely on the objective significance of that attitude that the impact of the work of art depends, in width as well as in depth.

Content and Method

The content-texture, the two foci of which are, as we have seen, cathartic power and an ideologically apprehended subject, does not pass directly into form. Of the elements mediating its passage, method must be granted pride of place. Doing so, however, introduces yet another factor into the process of artistic creation, one that is tied up with content as a whole by a thousand ties; the relation between the two is a dialectical one. Method (that is, the mode of approach to reality) is a direct expression of the artist's attitude to the world as it exists and as it is to be represented. The mode of approach

chosen may be any one of a great variety: satirical or ironical, dramatic or tragic, etc. The method of representation is an integral part of the content, albeit not a direct one. It gives a special emphasis to the ideological formulation of the subject, underscoring the artist's attitude to the world of phenomena depicted, concretizing the effect he wants to create by his representation of those phenomena in terms of mood motifs and reflexions at the sentimental and conceptual level.

A given theme or subject can be approached by widely different methods. Sophocles and Euripides, for instance, approached the "Electra story" in different ways. There is likewise a considerable difference of method between, say, Giotto's and Bellini's Madonnas. The difference is not simply that Bellini's Madonna pictures are most often embedded in a landscape, whereas with Giotto, the landscape, if any, receives rather less of an emphasis. What seems more significant is that Giotto represents the Madonna and the infant in a setting and mood that emphasise the agonies of motherly love, whereas Bellini depicts unclouded motherly delight in the enjoyment of beauty and the autic pleasure of maternity. That is, the different methods reflect different world images grafted onto the same theme. But even this is rather insignificant as compared, for instance, with the difference between a triumphal choir by Bach and one by Händel; the first is invariably suffused with a profound religious feeling where the other is an outburst of exultation over the most total liberation. The methods of musical formulation are diametrically different in the two cases.

Method, too, has its intrinsic structure from which it is wrong to pick out and stress individual methodological elements. In a discussion of E. T. A. Hoffmann's short stories, for example, it is rather facile to say that his method is that of fantastic fiction. This, however, would equate him in regard of method with Hauff, for instance. Both make use of the fantastic; also, both have the common tendency to expose the dehumanizing effects of money. There is, however, a marked difference between them even in this respect: the fact above all that in Hoffmann's case the fantastic is there not just to give an edge to the tale, but also as a form of expressing an ironic attitude. Hauff, on the other hand, uses the fantastic only for contrast and as an instrument of generalization. Thus the inner texture of method, the inner relationships among the various elements of method and, of course, their relation to content are all essential features in any work of art.

Nor is architecture an exception. The great classical architectural creations of Greek antiquity differ not only thematically, but in method as well. It must be emphasized that the differences are not all stylistical. The whole Acropolis, for instance, was built as a self-consistent whole, a focal point of public life. The Parthenon, the Erekhteion, etc. all stand in relation to that focus which is the Acropolis. Poseidon's temple at Sounion, on the other

hand, is an embodiment of a cult of the sea: it expresses in its isolation one of the methods by which the various cults expressed themselves architecturally in their relatively autonomous ways. This difference in method finds an expression in a variety of transpositions, as made apparent among other things by the fact that the site chosen for a building is no less important than its architectural realization.

Thus, in addition to the two foci of content, method is the third factor that determines form. Not for a single instant should method be isolated from content by whose elements it is, in the final analysis, directly determined. Yet method itself is another step forward in the concretization of a work of art: indeed, in order to understand the true role of form and its dialectic relation to content, we must first deal with some of the problems reaised by this novel step. The first thing to be pointed out is that the correspondence of content and form is the consequence of a distinctic intrinsic feature of the aesthetic sphere to which it is exclusively confined. For it is only in the aesthetic sphere (in works of art) that the subjective and the objective are so inseparably intertwined. And although catharsis is an objective intent of this sphere, the ideologically apprehended theme is, together with other momentums of content, an expression of the objective, both are, at the same time, subjective as well. This is even more evident in regard of method. The subjective disposition and personal outlook of the artist influence to a great extent his method of approaching reality. This subjectivity, however, can win through only if it appears as an objective feature of the theme or of the subject. It has been pointed out often enough that Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, Goethe's *Faust* and Hegel's *The Phenomenology of the Spirit* all express essentially the same sphere of ideas; it is nevertheless clear that, apart from this overall basic identity, they are widely different as regards both the handling of the theme and the subjective method chosen (even disregarding the fact that, in the case of the philosophical work, the subjective may be a subordinate motif at best).

The Hegelian idea by which art and artistic originality in particular essentially mean that the artist's subjective approach is translated as an objective feature into the work of art and the objective identity of the work of art appears as the subjective outlook of the artist is as right in the aesthetic sphere as it is wrong in other spheres, in science, life and philosophy. Aesthetically, however, the importance of this idea is revealed first and foremost in that the method of creation which joins the two foci of content together exhibits such subjectivity to a considerable degree. Many regard method as an issue of style. Boileau's definition, "le style c'est l'homme" relies in the final analysis upon such an interpretation of the concept of style. However, style and method should be distinguished from each other, just as the fundamental traits of method should be distinguished from the secondary ones.

The given problematic of a given age may appear in the guise of different methodological attitudes, even if the themes chosen are identical in some ways. It is interesting to recall here the conclusions which Lukács drew from the correspondence of Balzac and Stendhal. In his view authors regarded it as their main objective to represent the great types of social evolution, "choosing as their typical heroes exceptional persons who represent, at all crucial instances of life, well-defined stages and roads of evolution, definite social strata and tendencies".* Yet, he states that, where the world of Balzac basically resembled that of Hegel consisting of a multitude of circles, Stendhal preferred to write biographic novels to describe an era in which his protagonists could save their integrity in a corrupting age only by stepping out of life.

Clearly, in cases where two authors approach reality in the same age at the same level of artistic quality and with aesthetic intentions that are similar in many respects, differences of method tend to emerge in a very sharp light. The difference of method is primarily one of content in so far as Stendhal's outlook is a relatively direct continuation of the world image of Enlightenment, whereas that of Balzac, fraught as it is with illusions concerning the aristocracy, is much more complex and, to a great extent, consciously anti-capitalist. It is this difference of attitude that reacts here upon method: in Balzac's eyes society produces a succession of interleaved small tragedies, and this is how catharsis comes about. According to Stendhal, on the other hand, in the case of a person of an outstanding talent, there emerges a single great tragedy: all the other attempts of the hero to adjust to a society which he is forced, nevertheless, to reject in the end, are subordinate to that tragedy. It is made clear by this among other things that method is the artist's way of approaching reality, the direct expression of his bias in handling the problems of reality.

The Transition of Content into Form

So far, we have discussed the most general aspects of art, motives that are, so to speak, apt to launch the artistic vision. The structure of artistic vision comprises, in addition to its general determinants, which are both subjective and objective and which find an expression only when the objective and the subjective meld, elements that still have the nature of content in one aspect but already belong to form in another. Type is the feature that belongs *par excellence* to these elements halfway between content and form. Type in a general way does not appear (either in the process of artistic creation or its final product) as the characterisation of a typical figure. Type is always relative, a concept bound up with the whole structure of a work of

* György Lukács: *Balzac, Stendhal, Zola.* Budapest, pp. 106—107.

art. It can be divorced from structure only if it is of a purely subjective, expressive nature, as in the plays of Schiller, for instance. The decisive difference between these expressive types and the types encountered in great works of art is that, in the latter, any type represented by a figure will be understood in the context provided by other figures and types. This is made clear by the examination of a play such as Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Lear has, in a sense, a double in the drama. He believes Goneril and Regan and disbelieves Cordelia just as Gloster believes his illegitimate son and disbelieves his legitimate but overly philosophical son Edgar. Is this duplication necessary? I feel the answer to be yes, primarily as Shakespeare's way of convincing us that Lear's mistake is not a subjective one. What he shows us is to be construed much rather as an epochal change of tremendous import in world history, under the impact of which the young generation "polarizes" differently from the preceding one. For the generation of Lear and Gloster, the piling up of flattery, nice words and promises, etc. is nothing preposterous. The historic change is in behaviour patterns: the brave and trustworthy individuals of the new generation tend to express themselves in few words but with more feeling than was the usage in Lear's time. But for the same young generation, copying the behaviour patterns of Lear's time would be false, devoid of content and hypocritical. The reader is thus presented with a complete paradigm of types, fathers and sons, and there are two types of fate weaving through the play: Lear's and Gloster's. And this, as we have seen, is entirely necessary.

Since any artistic creation of types can be realized through sets of types mutually structuring one another, type creation is a contentwise issue and an ideologically determined one at that. In the interrelationships of types the writer's system of values finds an indirect, and occasionally even a direct, expression. The method used by the artist to approach the phenomena of reality is another determinant of the system of types. Satire, for instance, creates in a work of art a typological system different from one where occasional satire is interlarded with tragedy. In Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, for example, Leporello is characterized by obvious satirical means from his entry through his beating, up to his behaviour in face of the statue, as one factor of his presentation. Zerlina, on the other hand, or Ottavio are endowed with their character in a typically sentimentalistic way, Don Giovanni by a fervour wound up to an extreme as a means of implying a serious critical attitude. Here, then, the different modes of presentation and the unity of the different approaches both contribute to the creation of a typology and of a typological structure.

Type creation, however, is not simply a matter of content at large, but a specific element of content that directly determines inner form (composition). From our assertion that, in a work of art, there can be no creation of

isolated types because type creation invariably is a structural problem as well, it follows evidently that type creation is an immediate basis of inner form. This inner form expresses motives of content and method with comparative immediacy. This is apparent e.g. in paintings whose external formal framework of composition is made up of a set of concentric circles, so to say. On examining Giotto's famous Arena Chapel one perceives, on the one hand, entirely self-contained part-compositions, each of which is a perfectly closed pictorial creation in itself. One should not forget, however, that these part-compositions in their closed individuality also serve the coherent totality of the Chapel. For example, when Giotto guides us along the Christ legend, what he does in essence is to present the various stages of Christ's evolution. The central idea of the whole composition is the transformation of Christ, whose world was confined to his family at first, into a figure of increasingly general and all-embracing significance. This is how the disciples, and human community in general, come increasingly to the fore in the process, expanding in the Last Judgement into a fate that matters to all mankind.

This reveals how a compositional conception can reflect an entire central idea, how it controls the introduction into the picture of types at large and the increasing heterogeneity of those types as the creation advances. Type must accordingly not be regarded solely from the side of content; it is necessary to perceive in it also the fundamental role it plays in the shaping of the composition, because the manner in which a type is presented and integrated into the work of art already is an issue of inner form. The self-evident way in which Giotto, for example, introduces new types in his illustrations of an historical process is a not less self-evident feature of all real art. However, in the case of isolated pictures, as opposed to a series of frescoes or the like (such isolation being the rule rather than the exception in plastic art), the formal background to and context of the introduction of this or that type will not, as a rule, be the historical exposition of a process. In Tintoretto's *Cup of Bitterness*, e.g., the form of the angel extending the cup is projected into the picture by an effect of light. This dynamism of light in itself suggests the mission of the divine messenger. Yet one should not, on the other hand, forget that every device of real art has several functions. In Tintoretto's case, light also serves to illuminate the picture in addition to its function as a vehicle of meaning. This purely formal problem — that of illumination — is thus solved here in combination with the contentwise and expressionwise presentation of type.

It is thus essential, when speaking of aesthetic categories, to survey the full range of functions each of those tends to have, and to emphasise that every basic category can fulfil functions of both content and form. Thus even if it were possible to devise a scheme presenting the two foci of content, succeeded by method and type, and dealing with the formal element last,

such a scheme would nevertheless be misleading, because the cathartic effect — tied up as it is with the means which realize it — greatly depends for its quality on the method or, rather, on the dialectic unity of method and of the theme's ideological apprehension; in the final reckoning, this is the striving that informs typological structure as well.

The Representation of Action as Related to Composition

Even though, for the purpose of analysis, the characterisation of type can be separated from the action (plot) of a work of art (or, in the case of instrumental music, from the unfolding of the musical material), these factors are inseparable in reality. Action, whether in plastic art or literature is, in the final analysis, the types' sphere of expression. Seen from this aspect, a sequence of actions merely serves to present and evolve the characters and their relations between them; that is, seen thus, action is more external to content than type creation, for instance. It is, however, easy to perceive just how one-sided this explanation really is: one-sided notably in the sense that action has its proper meaning also, besides being a vehicle for the drawing of the types' psychological and intellectual portraits. This fact is at the root of a peculiar duality often encountered in digests. Even for some truly great works of art, a digest may give some idea of the sphere of ideas in which the author or artist moves. This does not, of course, refer to the short synopses so rightly ridiculed by Frigyes Karinthy; nor does it pretend that a work of art might be assessed on the basis of a synopsis or even a somewhat more copious digest. Yet, the summaries in a collection like "One Hundred Famous Novels" do disclose some of the fundamental traits of the original works. What goes by the board in the process, however, in terms of perception and especially of experience, is the fullness of the intellectual or psychological portraits of the types presented. In this respect, an outline of the action can provide a foothold at best, but may never give satisfaction. One infers therefrom that action is just as divergent as any other modes of artistic device: it has a formal and formulating function on the one hand, and an expressive, contentwise function on the other. The thing to be kept in mind is that content should not be identified with action, just as its identification with abstract theme had to be rejected. Action brings into more or less of a relief some of the content, but content in its totality will not find an expression except through all the artistic devices discussed above. A plot is eminently unsuitable for expressing artistic subjectivity or the artist's reflexions on the events described.

By now, we have collected all the elements that determine the inner form (the composition) of a work of art. The above-mentioned motifs (the foci of content and the motion between them, method, type and action) inform the

composition in its entirety. Temporal and spatial arrangement, on the other hand, already are quite formal issues, determined as they are by the content. The problems raised by composition include the unfolding of the plot, the order of appearence of the protagonists or the succession of the events, the share-out of the relation between the author's narrative, inserted dialogue or inner monologue, etc. All this arises because action is not identical with composition. The description of action tends to follow the chronological order, unless the plot is too complicated. Composition, on the other hand, should not necessarily adhere to that order. Even if it does so by and large, episodes of the past are bound to turn up in the present as the plot unfolds. Consider Greek drama; the past of a character — let us recall the figure of Oedipus — has a decisive influence on the action as a whole. This analytical approach to structure carries forward the exploration of the past in step with the progress of action: as the past is disclosed, so does the action advance; conversely, as the action proceeds, so does an exploration of the past become inevitable. The compositional device found in Molière's *Tartuffe* is no less characteristic. The title hero of this familiar five-act play does not come on stage over several long acts; he is only being talked about. The way he is talked about, however, provides an outline of his character and of the conflicts surrounding it. When he does in fact appear, he resolves the conflict by permitting the audience to judge for themselves who is right.

Composition, that is, the structure of a work of art as an intrinsic element of form is important for more than just that reason. As mentioned above, polyvalence of motive is one of the characteristic features of art. Composition makes the reader, the listener or the audience aware of the polyvalence of the words spoken, of the emotions or moods projected. One of the most evident manifestations of this polyvalence is the meeting of the prince regent Bánk and the serve Tiborc in the play *Bánk bán* by Hungarian playwright József Katona: Bánk takes all Tiborc's words upon him, and Tiborc also relates Bánk's words to his own fate. It is the interweaving of these polyvalent elements and of the different strands of meaning expressed thereby that lead up to the cathartic effect in the enjoyment of a work of art. It suffices for Van Gogh to show a pair of clogs to make this polyvalence and the intertwining of polyvalent meanings perfectly clear and evident. The clogs embody, as it were, the totality of peasant life and its hardships, but they also embody the wear and tear of human existence and the struggle against it which made up the life of the clogs' owner. This fatality manifests itself in Van Gogh's composition in the way the shoes are placed in a focal position, in the play of light and shadow, etc. The role of composition is thus invariably to recall, as it were, all the elements out of which it has grown, and upon which it relies, that is, to cast light upon the dynamic process of motion between motifs of content and the motifs occupying peripheral positions.

Nor is it otherwise with the lyrical genres. The composition of a lyrical work, its self-contained structure again recall the elements of content which gave birth to the composition. Great lyrical pieces, e.g. Attila József's *Levegőt! (Air!)*, embody in their composition the same tendency to reveal backward and forward linkages of the sort mentioned above in connection with dramatic and epic compositions. The image of a dreary proletarian suburb which starts off the poem and the atmosphere of solitude projected into it create a dialectic relationship between environment and psychography: it is from this dialectic that the poem as a whole unfolds. All the subsequent motifs which include the national predicament just as much as the remarkably plastic outline of the poet's own life story carry us with a great deal of inner consistency forward to a development of the introductory image's most profound meaning and to a wish to shatter the entire setting. This leads to the inference that the function of inner form is to point forward as well as back. It is this that endows the artistic material with mobility and creates, in a manner become visible, the dynamism of all the motifs, summarizing, as it were, the contentwise ones and launching them towards their expression by form—of which expression we shall henceforth concentrate on the exteriorized aspect.

Outer Form

The familiar and oft-repeated thesis that content determines form and not the other way round refers, of course, to external form also. The first thing to be pointed out in this context is that inner form is itself segmented. Where is narrative succeeded by dialogue; in what way are the inner monologues disposed; how much of the past and the present are to be related—all these are issues of inner form. On the other hand, the composition itself is decidedly stratified, and its parts or larger segments have, in turn, an inner composition in their own right. An analysis of the symmetrical arrangement in Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* and of the disciples' disposition in their groups of three may be used to demonstrate how this segmentation reflects Christ's view of the world, a view vastly different from the way that the various groups see it; yet, even taking all that for granted, we are left with the task of describing the inner composition of each group. That is, external form includes also the inner segmentation of large compositional entities. Understandably enough, such an inner structuration will heighten the artistic effect only if it stands in the service of the composition as a whole; if it enhances inner form instead of breaking it up.

It is usual to class with outer form all those elements that are of a decidedly semantic nature, that is, the entire arsenal of the language of forms. That language is no matter of indifference in any genre of art. First of all,

it is closely adapted to the type in that it permits linguistic individualisation. This applies even to lyrical pieces which speak in the voice of diverse social strata rather than of individual types, cf. Attila József's *Áradat (Flood)*. Devices of linguistic individualisation and the correspondences and contrast between them (that is, their dialectic) are an element of external form that flows directly from the relationship between type and plot. Composition as inner form will of course affect these also, in that is is the composition that shares out the chances and options of self-expression among the types. Yet the relationship between type and language is a more straightforward and strict one than that between composition and language. It would seem that the relation of these elements of external form to the types can be illustrated best in literature and, within it, in epic and dramatic art. In reality, however, these relations are much more general: they apply just as well to the lyrical genres, where rhythm and melody adjust to the visions of lyric content in much the same way as language adjusts to type. This adjustment, of course, takes place here predominantly on the emotional level. With reference to Attila József's poem *Levegőt!* referred to above, the poet's subjective reflexion is seen to be fragmented throughout: this is, however, a lucid fragmentation dictated by the oppressive atmosphere of the basic situation.

The relation of outer form to inner form and to type is much the same also in a sphere of art quite remote from literature, notably in architecture. The shaping of outer and inner space has a direct bearing upon ornament. The interplay of black and white in that great creation of Tuscan Gothic, the *San Miniato al Monte* in Florence, concentrates outer space, the plateau rising above the Arno, in a self-consistent yet diversified way, focusing onto the church the viewer's attention which would otherwise encompass the entire panorama as it comes into sight. Every visitor, the moment he catches sight of the church, is thus drawn into the sphere of its fascination. This function of ornament (which follows, of course, its own immanent evolution—let it suffice to recall the Dome of Battistero) clearly shows that although external form will not be anything but external form, in one aspect at least it is functionally as important as the content on which it concentrates all the attention, just as the content suffuses the external form with the glow of its radiation.

It would therefore be wrong not to appreciate external form according to its merit, regardless of whether it appears as the rhythm or melody of a poem or in any other guise. The melodic solution in Attila József's poem entitled *A város peremén (A City's Outskirts)* where he speaks of the proletariat in the terms: "...minden emberi mű értelme ezért búg mibennünk, mint a mélyhegedű ..." ("...'tis why the sense of mankind's every act is thrumming its viola song in us ...") matures an idea to perfection in a given context, exposing its polyvalence. Those who belittle form, external form above all,

understand nothing of the dialectic of form and content. A disintegrated external form invariably indicates an insecurity pervading inner form and content, whereas the unity and harmony of external form reflects the self-confidence of a well-found content. It is never possible to foretell *a priori* the sphere of aesthetic motifs and types in which, in the course of artistic evolution, a comparatively immanent new step of progress will take place. This is why certain innovations relating to external form (as for example the explosion of closed poetic structures in Romanticism) may well represent progress even though, in the given case, they may endanger the internal unity of certain works of art. The formal innovation is bound, in another context and relation, to become a useful vehicle for a profound content of great aesthetic merit. Thus the disintegration of content and form as a purely formal innovation may well create the preconditions for new progress in evolution as a whole, deleterious as they might be for the concrete work of art in which they first appear. Suffice it to recall the relationship between the world of forms developed by Futurism and the poetry of Mayakovsky.

The final conclusion that imposes itself is thus that the dialectic of content and form gives rise to an exceedingly complex dynamic and, although in great works of art the content invariably is a decisive force, even this determinism will assert itself only as a device of last resort. For art history, however, the recognition that aesthetic categories evolve in a relatively immanent way through a web of contradictions is crucial. This applies to the full range of formal elements as well as to content and inner form.

Essence and Phenomenon

To understand the interrelationship of essence and phenomenon in a general way, one must start out from two seemingly contradictory statements. One occurs in the chapter entitled *Theory of the Essence* of Hegel's *Logic* which begings with the statement that the essence must reveal itself. Marx, on the other hand, says at one point that if essence and phenomenon coincided, there would be no need for art, nor for scientific research. Accepting both statements as correct, one finds that the phenomenon always contains something of the essence, whereas an essential process may express itself in several phenomenologically different forms.

Essence and phenomenon may be regarded as ontic categories, that is, categories of reality, only within a dialectic context where the relationship of essence and phenomenon will change not only as a result of their interaction, but also all over the process of evolution. For instance, moments that are essential both in apparence and reality may become inessential in a different context, at a different instant of time. Conversely, moments that are seemingly

irrelevant may become essential elsewhere. Consider an example. Galvani in one of his famous experiments made the observation that frogs' legs were convulsed by an as yet unknown force. Galvani, who probably expected of this experiment some other important discovery, realized instead the presence of a force of whose existence he had not been aware before. According to received tradition this is how he discovered electricity. In many an experiment, what was considered a by-product at first sight becomes the essence and what seemed to be essential according to the research program in fact becomes a by-product. The examples could be multiplied.

What is important in all this is that not only do essence and phenomenon mutually presuppose each other, not only are they inseparable in their interaction, but the processes of the real world ceaselessly reshuffle the factors that shape reality; what was purely phenomenal in one phase may well become the essence in another, and conversely: the essence may be reduced to the phenomenal level elsewhere.

Beyond all this, it is important to notice the inner stratification of reality also. It follows from that stratification that, behind every essential moment, another essential relation can be discovered, compared to which the moment originally viewed as essential slips back to the level of the phenomenal. The whole history of scientific research and the evolution of the sciences both reveal that not only do the phenomenon and the essence trade places but, by a simultaneous process, essential moments and motives are found to be stacked in well-nigh infinite depth, with new motives surfacing behind every layer of essence.

Complexity is thus the result of the fact that the stratified structure of both history and reality change ceaselessly the distinction between essence and phenomenon, as a result of which both concepts are highly flexible. Yet, the more flexible they are and the more diversified our approach to them, the more useful may become in the philosophical sense. That is why it would be wrong to describe the essence as a sphere that is invariably static, in relation to which the phenomena should also be seen as static. The statement for example that economic changes and factors fulfil the most essential function in the life of society is true only in certain respects and, to quote Engels, only in the final reckoning. The situation as seen in closeup is quite different, because legal or even religious barriers may play highly efficacious direct roles in guiding the motions of a given society at a given instant. The fact that the essential and decisive importance of the economy as related to the other factors of societal life can, in general, be demonstrated over periods of several centuries also in European development does not mean that shorter-term processes lasting for decades or years only should be traced back to the economic factor essentially and exclusively.

The Role of the Phenomenon in Art

Faced with such a manifold system of correspondences, one must raise the question whether such a system, where delving down to the essence may take the efforts of several generations, can enable art to disclose that essence. For art deals primarily with the sphere of phenomena, and that for two good reasons.

The first reason is that it is the world of phenomena that presents itself to the artist in its complexity and diversity, uniting moments revealing the essence and moments reflecting appearences. In fact, the latter tend to outweigh the former in a statistical average. Art in this first sense treats the world of phenomena as its material. The world of phenomena is the essential world of art also in that art must produce its own creations also as phenomena. Thus it is in the sphere of phenomena that a work of art must present all that which the artist has perceived and wanted to express. Its motion must remain within that sphere, in the sense that it must present its subject in ways accessible to sensual perception. That is, since art is not founded upon the method of conceptual abstraction, it presents its creations in the sensual sphere, using devices perceptible to sight and hearing, and to the other senses at large. That is why Lukács could say that science basically disanthropomorphises (meaning that it is the more valuable the more it abstracts from man with his perceptive faculties), whereas art anthropomorphises by its communications through the senses some messages that should be accessible only to the rational faculty.

It is in this double sense that art must deal with the phenomenon, the pole from which it starts and to which it returns, going its own way in between the two; it is by such a process that the new phenomenon, that is, the new artistic creation, becomes more than just a phenomenon. Thus if we analyse the relationship of essence and phenomenon from the aesthetic aspect, we actually have to consider two phenomena, one which is the point of departure and the other which is the objective; this latter must invariably contain a moment of the essence as well.

What, then, is the first problem raised by the world of phenomena? The fact above all that the artist must perform a selection. This selection is present in every branch of art, because no man and no branch of art can conceivably embrace every phenomenon and moment of reality. Music would try in vain to represent spatial relationships in a realistic way; conversely, the representation of temporal continuity is always a problem for plastic art. Accordingly, the first criterion of selection is that the artist must make his choice in keeping with his branch or genre,* encompassing only those phe-

* This is one of the processes specified by Lukács where he speaks of the homogeneity of the medium of artistic creation. — I. H.

nomena and moments which the means at his disposal can objectively handle. Picasso's painting *Music*, striving as it does to represent the *impact* of music is not *about* music, just as Giorgione's *Concert* presents the setting of music only; Moussorgsky's *Pictures of an Exhibition*, on the other hand, gives musical character sketches only, which may at best exhibit an analogy with the pictorial, but can by no means be identified with it.

The other criterion of selection is the subjectivity of the artist. We have already considered the problem of how the identity of the subjective and the objective is realized in art. Selection is the first step towards the process of the artist's self-identification with his object. Even artists of the broadest possible scope cannot embark upon all possible themes. The nature of a branch of art and the subjective inclinations of the artist both forbid the world of phenomena as it is to be implanted directly in a work of art: it is a well-sifted world of phenomena (what we referred to as a *theme* earlier on) that is called upon to become the starting point of artistic reaction; and it is starting from this well-sifted phenomena-world that the relation of art and the artist to the essence can be understood. This sifted world also contains something of the essence. Selection, however, is only a first step in an approach to the essence. The artist is confined to the sphere of primary phenomena however much he may have sifted it—as long as he makes no effort to penetrate a sphere of new, more essential moments.

The other moment, striking out for essence, is already related to the artist's world image and his conceptual treatment of phenomena. True, selection itself is determined by the artist's world of ideas, primarily by his range of interests and the given stage of his development. Selection, however, is already, in part at least, a means of artistic formulation. As a result, the phenomenal moment which the artist has sifted out from the whole of reality acquires a new inner structuring principle. The artist will reject some of the linkages by which the various phenomena have been interconnected before their exposure to the artistic process, and will create a new system of correspondences. This system of correspondences is dictated partly by the specific features of his branch of art and partly by those of his genre, but it also is a law unto itself. What a homogeneous sphere informed by a branch of art means in this context is made very evident when a play is turned into an opera. On comparing, for instance, Verdi's *Don Carlos* with Schiller's play, it is perceived quite clearly that the love element in Schiller is greatly intensified in Verdi's music. The erotic sphere of the music is much stronger than that of the play. But the play is all about is simply the legitimacy or otherwise of certain sentiments; Verdi, on the other hand, is preoccupied with a battle of those sentiments. Verdi's Philip II is as much in love as Don Carlos; musically, he is driven by the love motif just as his son is. Schiller's Philip is at most a wronged husband and feudal overlord—Verdi's Philip is a man who

has been denied love. The difference partly results from the fact that music is much more expressive of this aspect of the plot than of the longing for liberty of the Marques Posa, or the political situation preoccupying his thoughts and his social awareness.

All this becomes even more clear on comparing an artist's œuvre as a publicist with his artistic creations. Endre Ady's journalism, for example, is revolutionary beyond doubt. However, if we compare his article *A történelmi pellagra (A Pellagra of History)* with his poem *A Hadak Útja (The Battle Road)*, the difference at once becomes conspicuous. The first states facts and describes a trend; the second is a structurally self-contained perfect masterpiece. For, at the artistic level, the significance of a few succinct words can be so profound in a given context as to penetrate all the way to the essence. Let us consider a single moment, the use of the word "Hunnia". In the line "Hunniában valami készül" ("Something is stirring in Hunnia"), Ady makes a highly polyvalent use of the word. "Hunnia" as a symbolic term for Hungary recalls the legend of the Milky Way as the Battle Road of immortal warriors: however, it signifies also Hungarian backwardness, an oafish rudeness, whereas, at the opposite pole, the vision of a liberated people apears. In its context the word also refers to a bankrupt world arrested in its development and incapable of further progress — a world waiting for an act of salvation.

It is here that the issue of depth and of approaching the essence arises. The artist's attitude vis-à-vis the world of phenomena is such that he can incorporate in his creation only phenomena which can turn polyvalent in his hands. He uses the phenomena; those are his material, but the way in which he uses them is no longer at the phenomenal level. Several of the dimensions, values and references of the phenomenon in hand are exposed and elucidated. In art, therefore, the sphere of phenomena in itself can never be the essence. A phenomenon in itself is nothing but a phenomenon. It is incorporated as such into artistic creation, but as soon as it gets embedded into the hermetic world of the creation, it will at once turn polyvalent. Consider a familiar effect of stage psychology for an example. If a certain object (a revolver, say) is in evidence in the first act of play, it is expected to have some function later on. This function may be embedded in the action, or it may be symbolic, etc. Let us deliberately quote two examples from drama. In one, Desdemona accidentally loses her handkerchief. At the phenomenal level, a handkerchief is nothing but a handkerchief; losing something is losing something; that is all there is to it. Shakespeare, however, unfolds the episode of the lost handkerchief as follows. First of all, Emilia finds it and Iago wheedles it out of her. In Iago's hands, then, it becomes an instrument of vengeance againts Othello. Meanwhile, Desdemona looks for her lost handkerchief, and failing to find it, is compelled to lie about it to Othello. Emilia also is frightened when she realizes the importance attributed to the handkerchief by her mistress:

lying to Desdemona, she unintentionally becomes Iago's accomplice. Othello, in turn, loses the last shreds of his faith because of the handkerchief; both its loss and the subsequent loss of Desdemona's composure seem to indict her.

A similar phenomenon is encountered in Ibsen's *The Wild-Duck*. It is related how Ekdal's little daughter, Hedvig, raises a wild-duck in the attic which rather seems to like it there. But, it is added, if only it saw sunlight just once, it would at once start feeling terribly. Later on in the play, the wild-duck symbol becomes expressive of the relationship between truth and a world of lies. This reveals how something that functions as a mere phenomenon in reality is enriched by non-phenomenal qualities in artistic creation It remains a phenomenon but becomes at the same time more than that; appearing totally extraneous, it is felt nevertheless to be part of the essence. Some artistic trends operate, for this very reason, with a heavily restricted, strongly selected sphere of phenomena. Such reduction is one of the prime traits of Classicism as a whole. It creates a world closed in upon itself by presenting very closely a coherent sphere of phenomena whose intrinsic laws can create fulness out of a comparatively small number of correspondences. Other trends, in contrast, embrace the widest possible sphere of phenomena, but manage to create a sealed space of a world nevertheless.

The aesthetic analysis of the phenomenon is thus seen to reveal as a fundamental feature of art a striving for a presentation of the sphere of phenomena which is selected and, by the same token, also polyvalent. The final result itself belongs to the category of phenomena. Art thus progresses from the phenomenal to the phenomenal: however, in the initial sphere of phenomena, which is the world of reality, the essence seems to be purely accidental, where as the terminal sphere is created by art which lets the essence be glimpsed through a world of evocation by endowing a confined set of phenomena with polyvalence.

Multiplicity of the Roads to the Essence

One fundamental property of art is that its quest for and exposure of the essence can choose among an extremely wide range of ways and means. The ways to the essence are numbered in thousands; they differ in and are specified by a multitude of objective and subjective factors. Yet every branch of art does have certain common traits characterising its specific mode of approach to the essense. One of these is the selection is the so-called fertile instant in plastic art. The fertile instant (Lessing's term) is a node that joins previous events to subsequent ones. In Michelangelo's famous statue of *Moses*, for example, the fertile instant is the moment when Moses' fury is suddenly aroused by the treason of his people. This one instant condenses every antecedent, the giving of the laws, the full pathos of what happened on Mount

Sinai and his breach, his momentary breach with the masses, who were to have been the sole beneficiaries of all that had gone before. That is what gives the statue its grandeur, the fury its majesty, but also its tragic, self-destructive aspect. The external tension is expressive of a state of inner collapse. Michelangelo thus managed to present a paradigm of *all* the instants when tremendous human effort is wrecked by those whom it is intended to serve. Another fertile instant, no longer for an individual but for a whole group ensues when Christ at the Last Supper announces his betrayal by one of his. The turbulence of the whole picture—and not only Leonardo's, but others as well, e.g. Ghirlandaio's—hinges on the condensation of both Christ's whole previous relationship with the disciples and his tragic end foreshadowed by the betrayal into this one instant.

This is the reason why, in the plastic arts, the identification of the fertile instant is tantamount to an apperception of the essence; all the moments represented in space are endowed thereby with a temporal dimension (more correctly speaking, with two temporal levels — one pointing forward, the other backward). This in itself generates a polyvalence of scenes; thanks to it, the creation which has seized such a dramatic instant acquires a depth that penetrates to the essence. For the two pictures just mentioned both relate to the same essence: a man in conflict with other men is actually in conflict with himself. Buried under well-nigh every instance of opposition there lies an antagonism with oneself; the tenor of all social struggle and social chasm is inescapably an internal conflict of the individual, a conflict which can and should be surmounted by a great and healthy personality. In this sense, too, art is governed by the dialectic of the subjective and the objective: the artist's criticism of his age obliges him to turn, in a sense, against his own self.

This, however, leads to an issue related to the quest for the essence that transcends all branches of art. In plastic art, the general method serving that end is the search for the fertile instant. But all art which represents conflicts as purely external is condemned to stay bound to the phenomenological level or plane. There is no external conflict that is no inner conflict as well.

In the branches of art operating in the temporal dimensional, it is even more evident that the essence is never in the phenomenon, but invariably in the process. Musical character sketches such as the presentation of Papageno, of the Queen of Night and of Sarastro in Mozart's *The Magic Flute* are important in themselves; yet they acquire their real meaning only in context. The coloratura aria sung by the Queen of Night as a ravishing sorceress contrasts with the calm and transparent aria radiating the assurance of the intellect sung by Sarastro. And that, in turn, contrast with Papageno's musical tone, the sound of a life that is cloudless for its lack of perspective, irresponsibility and the day-to-day enjoyment of immediate delights. The three explain and interpret one another: it is in their relation to one another that their

nature and hierarchy stand revealed. The essence thus can, quite apart from the Masonic mysticism of the plot, be experienced, even in the musical sense, only by an insight into the process and into the correspondences that it sets up, whereas each of the motives in isolation remains on the phenomenal level. The inner wholeness of art, however, is revealed most clearly by this interrelation of the various elements by and in a process. Without that wholeness, in fragmentation, artistic creation is condemned to bog down at the phenomenal level.

Clearly, then, in a work of art the phenomenon functions primarily as a motif; the essence is illuminated only by the internal relations of the motifs. That is why the practice (especially frequent in lyrical poems) of striving to present the essence by putting into relief a simile or an image is so wrong. The essence is expressed by correspondences and hierarchy rather than by isolated images. It is approached primarily by letting the essential in the phenomena be embraced ever more closely by a succession of images overlaid on one another. Consider as an illustration Attila József's poem *Nyár (Summer)* where the poet approaches the summer scape pregnant with storm step by step in his progress towards the final image:

> Ily gyorsan betelik nyaram !
> Ördögszekéren jár a szél —
> csattan a menny, és megvillan,
> elvtársaim: a kaszaél.
>
> (So soon my summer is fulfill'd !
> The winds rides on a tumbleweed;
> The heavens crack; the flesh reveals,
> Comrades, the keen edge of the scythe.*)

The expressive force of this last image, however, does not mean that all of its functions would stand revealed, the artistic creation would be just as complete without the superposition of the preceding images.

Thus, in lyrical art, the essence is expressed primarily by a system of images and by the rhythm and melody connected therewith. In isolation, however, every image and rhythmical device would be stranded at the phenomenal level. Any analysis of Sándor Petőfi's *Egy gondolat bánt engemet (One thought only keeps me wan)* that concentrates on how the poet inserts anapests into a poem of an overall iambic rhythm, in keeping with the excited, rhapsodic quality of the instant mood, will make us realize that the conceptual and visual devices of the poem must not be lost from sight, either, because the abrupt change from iamb to anapest may not, in itself, be ranked above the phenomenal.

The vehicle of the essence of essences in epic and dramatic art is the interrelationships of the portrayed personalities, just as it is the system of images in lyrical art and the recognition and apprehension of the fertile

* Translated by Bálint Balkay.

instant in plastic art. Their portraying requires the deployment of the widest possible range of formal instruments within the piece as a whole; content and form once again prove inseparable. Doubtless, however, it is these intellectual profiles, whether expressed or latent in the artist's mind, that constitute in these genres the essential moment upon which the entire edifice is built. It is not fortuitous that one can identify this method in Mozart's *The Magic Flute*, for instance, which puts to good use some of the devices of dramatic art. A similar situation is created in Wagner's representation of Hans Sachs and Beckmesser in *The Meistersinger*. Elsewhere, the problem of the autonomous dynamic of music on the one hand and of dramatic characterization on the other is confined to the pre-Mozartian opera, Gluck, for example. It is the conflict of the two that subtends Gluck's operas. Even in later times, though, it is found that the musical devices of the opera are suited for the representation of emotional profiles above all, as we have seen in the case of *Don Carlos*, whereas the objective of drama and epics in literature is to elaborate portraits of the intellect and of its ideas.

In presenting an intellectual profile, the prime question at issue is the sets of ideas for which the characters stand. It is not accidental that, in *King Lear*, e.g., Shakespeare should portray Edgar as the only truly learned person who is shown reading or even deeply engrossed in a book, Edgar who is later on to show his mettle by starting a new life from the scratch and by hewing to his humanistic ideas even under the most primitive of conditions. Shakespeare realized full well that the torpor of mind exuded both by old-fashioned Lear, a conservative and patriarchal sovereign, and by Regan and Goneril as the two representatives of feudal anarchy would in itself be intolerable both dramatically and dramaturgically. He therefore put Cordelia on stage only very early and very late in the play, for it is only her sheer emotions that are any use dramaturgically. Also, Shakespeare lets Lear be accompanied by the Fool all the way until he meets Edgar. Even though the Fool plays no active role in the proceedings, his musings are indispensable for the dramatic construction.

From the Shakespeare of *Romeo and Juliet* or *Hamlet* this device is somewhat unexpected. The Fool, however, fulfils the same role in *Lear* as the protagonists and other main characters who speak their own mind in the other play. Reflexion is thus seen to be one of the most important spheres of expression of the essence in both dramatic and epic genres. In epic art, it often takes the form of meditative or esseyistic inserts by which the intellectual portraits are drawn. It is one of the favourite devices of modern epics, that of Thomas Mann or William Styron, for example and, with a different sign, of the French nouveau roman as well. It does not necessarily transform the straight novel into an essay-novel: the tale told may retain its leading role; the epic surge does not have to be interrupted; ton the contrary, the epic stream is greatly deepened by the drawing of those intellectual portraits.

These drawings do not have to carry a direct ideological message at all costs. Balzac, for instance, in characterizing his female figures (e.g. the Marquise Maufrigneuse) most often describes their consciousness of the paraphernalia of coquetry; what posture they assume when expecting their swains; how they choose the light that is most advantageous, or the gesture that will attract a man. Intelligent discourse between D'Arthez and the lady is woven, as it were, into the texture of conquest; but this is exactly what reveals the woman's outlook, and its deliberateness, her appraisal of the effects of the chance gesture, phrase or glance, etc. Polyvalence thus comes to the fore again. Intelligent dialogue in itself cannot work in an epic creation. Over and above its significance as such it carries another, unspoken meaning, whose importance emerges in a sphere of communication of a different nature. And this is the case with any intellectual portrait anywhere: its unfolding is invariably charged with such polyvalence, whether in dramatic or epic art.

Let it suffice to recall Hamlet's famous monologue. It is spoken at a moment when Hamlet, knowing that he will meet Ophelia, is invaded by the foreboding that she will betray him. Expressing as it does the extreme dubieties of Hamlet's world image, the great monologue bears, deep down beneath this general concern, also a persistent strand of personal preoccupations. Thus the intellectual profile carries a personal content also, one which changes according to momentary mood. Being bound as it is to the instant, it cannot in itself be a vehicle of the essence; yet it is one of the most important elements in the process of delving towards the essence and its enunciation. Accordingly, the main instruments of unfolding the essence in artistic creation vary from branch to branch and from genre to genre; yet all have in common a fundamental method that, together with and in the context of other instruments, provides the means of stating the essence.

Polyvalence and Essence

As revealed by the above considerations, the essence invariably manifests itself in a process. The process, that is, the temporal continuity or spatial unity of artistic creation is decisive of the essence, but the vehicle of the most important elements of the process differs from one genre to the next. Yet each genre has one moment that is, as it were, the carrier of its striving towards the essence; it is its specific function to organize that process. In the case of the fertile instant, for example, this organizing principle is perfectly evident, and it is just as clear in the case of a structured system of images or of intellectual portraits. However, by organizing the process, these principles acquire an evident polyvalence. Now polyvalence may be allegoric or—in a majority of cases—symbolic. The category of symbol in itself implies polyvalence.

It is not by chance that polyvalence, or polyfunctionality,becomes expressive of the essence. What is most often seen as a mere phenomenon or incident in fact creates, in its context of actual circumstances, a system of correspondences which is already essential and determinative. In this sense, art's search for the essence emulates the actual structure of existence, of reality, in which entirely random and accidental motifs (that is, elements belonging to the sphere of phenomena) may assume configurations which turn them into a significant motivating force. An illness or physical handicap is, in most cases, a straightforward everyday fact which—if the illness is a passing one or the handicap is slight enough—has practically no essential bearing on the patient's life. Yet even a small disability may transform the whole of the human organism and so entail serious physical consequences, thereby becoming a powerful determinant of human fate. Thomas Mann's short story *Deceived* is based on the idea that the heroine regards her illness in the given situation as the rejuvenation of her body. Accidental and phenomenal elements of this sort acquire an independent dynamism, gaining a significance informing a whole series of events or sequence of processes. In this respect, then, the exposure of essence by art highlights one feature of the human personality, notably that the way in which a person attributes to the phenomena their relative importance is rather poorly understood; what he regards as insignificant at one moment may well become essential the next. What was superfical at one time may in another context motivate correspondences pregnant with significance. In this respect, art reinforces the everyday experience that, although a distinction between phenomenon and essence is necessary, it is wrong to take for granted that whatever was considered a phenomenon once will remain a phenomenon for all time. The psychological process that one might call fleeting or partial recall, an important device in art, may reveal, after the event, the true significance of an episode that used to be considered insignificant and worthy of little or no attention at all at the time. Bringing out and enhancing such fleeting memories is one of the objectives and also of the starting points of the artistic search for the essence.

Mystification of the Phenomenal Sphere

One of the greatest problems of modern art is its depreciation of the dialectics of essence vs. phenomenon. Such abstract art as strives for an immediate essence without any intermediaries will, curiously enough, get stuck at the phenomenal level. Why is it so? Just because it would represent the essence and nothing but the essence, pretending to grasp it in a single artistic vision. In this, however, abstract art is doomed to failure. Nor could it be otherwise, precisely because of its contempt for the factors discussed above. Its contempt,

first and foremost, for the fact that, in objective reality, the essence invariably appears through the phenomenal. Its neglect, furthermore, of the necessity, derived from the specificity of art, of reality by which the phenomena, rather than being confined to a single plane, tend to evince dimensions inaccessible to direct insight. And finally, its contempt for the fleeting memory, based on the belief that the essence is not in the phenomena but exists entirely apart from them.

Thus the whole process of abstraction in abstract art and even in avant-gardism, despite all merit of detail, sidesteps the real challenge. And even if abstract art does manage to introduce important structural innovations, which in plastic art may represent an important progress in colour or structure, it is bound to fail precisely in its selfset objective of exposing the essence of reality. That is why it remains stranded on the level of the phenomenal, incapable of breakthrough to a profound representation compatible with the human view. The apparent neglect of the phenomenal and reliance on an intuitive apprehension of the essence distorts the process itself out of perspective, achieving a representation that is no better than static.

Thus, however much abstract art strives for objectivity, in the final reckoning it can reach a subjective result only. Its scope and achievements are relevant to evolution in its entirety only to the extent that they remain within the purely aesthetic sphere (that is, as far as their discoveries of new forms, lines or colours go). Thus confined, however, the abstract artist has little to say of any relevance of life and reality. All this holds also for many a representative of modern music and, of course, of the avantgarde in literature. Much the same phenomenon is observed whenever the absurd itself (rather than its stratification, its system of correspondences or its apparition in a seemingly rational world) is made the subject. True as it is that the modern manipulated bourgeois world is absurd in the final analysis, the phenomenal sphere of that world is made up, nevertheless, of a series of rational processes, and it is in the context of this series that the absurd world of phenomena is embedded. What is therefore essential for art today is the relationship of the rational processes to the irrational ones, the transcension of the superficially rational and the critique of the irrational. If art confines itself to highlighting the irrational, all critical distancing gets lost; what is left behind, is the absurd as a general mode rather han a concrete feature of human existence.

This device, however, results in an autonomous representation of a mere phenomenon that is styled as general and essential without any justification. The prime cause therefore is that the polyvalence of the phenomena, the multitude of their relations among them will go by the board in the process. This constriction of relations, identified in life by Marcuse where he speaks of the unidimension man, makes it impossible to create true works of art. In the sphere of phenomena, fragments can only be created. What can be

represented by static means are details at best, but no processes. And this is so precisely because the dynamism and polyvalence of essence as a moment manifested in a process is due not least to the fact that, by exposing the essence, art will always objectively transcend the world that it represents. This transcension should be seen as one of the relations of the essence rather than necessarily as a perspective that is to be represented, put on stage or embodied by some other art form. Life as represented in the phenomena selected by the artist does not yet possess this transcensive quality. It is only when the phenomena create a new and special world among them, a condensed image of the relationship of reality and the artistic subjective that it becomes necessary for this system of correspondences to transcend itself. A single example will suffice. Antigone in Sophocles is well-known to be a representative of morality, the embodiment of the morals of a patriarchal society. Her counterpart, Creon, claims to represent a new political and legal order in evolution. Their duel and its tragic outcome are also familiar enough. But anyone assuming that the struggle between Creon and Antigone would tie the balance definitely in favour of the one *or* the other, in the sense of our coming down on the side of either Antigone or Creon would be deeply mistaken. Their conflict transcends by far that which either Creon or Antigone stands for. Its immanent implication might be formulated as follows; the legal order to be striven for should retain the moral values created by patriarchal society also. Whether Sophocles' claim that the city state of Athens did represent such an order was justified or not is another matter. The new perspective of the essence that ensues from the conflict is not in doubt, and it is precisely the process that deflects our attention in that direction.

On comparing a work of art of this kind with art stranded at the level of the purely phenomenal, the difference becomes clear at once. To pursue the same example, in Anouilh's conception of Antigone's and Creon's conflict, truth is basically on the side of power, that is, of Creon. Polyvalence is, as it were, that feature of the essence the most important property of which is to transcend the represented world. This transcension unites all the devices by which we have been characterizing art's progress from the phenomenon to the essence. All this is connected to a substantial extent with either the seizing of the fertile instant or the description of emotional relations or the outfolding of a totality of intellectual portraits. It follows that a phenomenon cannot progress towards essence unless the inner correspondences of the phenomena transcend (conceptually or emotionally, or at the level of taste and outlook) the sphere of phenomena and the reality which it has been derived from. It is this that endows art with its ceaseless motion, dynamism and change and enhances by its impact on people the significance of the fleeting memory. This is how the dialectic of the phenomenon and the essence in art promotes the realization of the true dialectic of essence and phenomenon.

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Two Contending Conceptions in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*

An excerpt from *A művészi visszatükrözés szerkezete: A művészet ismeretelméleti kérdései Christopher Caudwell és Lukács György esztétikájában.* (The Structure of Artistic Reflection: Epistemological Problems of Art in the Aesthetics of C. Caudwell and G. Lukács), Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1981.

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Cognition as such, at the most abstract level of philosophy, involves general theses concerning the primacy of matter and the cognizability of reality. Any actual case of cognition is based on it, reducible to but not identical with it. Their identity appears in the form of distinctions whenever cognition takes place in an actual and factual way, as a specific mode of cognition, as quotidian cognition, as science, as art. Therefore the epistemological concept, the subject-object relation defined by most general epistemological categories, does not contain, without further definitions, restrictions and amendments, the particularity of real, practical forms of cognition. In this regard Caudwell's conception was of special significance as a dialectical materialist interpretation of the subject-object relation. It was decisive that he posed his questions about the nature of science and art within the framework of historical materialism, i.e. not at the abstract universal level of the epistemological situation but at concrete levels related to the social and historical practice of humanity. *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* also starts off with a proposition that artistic reflection is not strictly identical with cognition proper, but it is rather a special mode or subtype of it; it is not an anthropological or ontological characteristic of man, but the product of a long socio-historical evolution, "ein Produkt des gesellschaftlichen Seins, der auf seinem Boden enstandenen Bedürfnisse, der Anpassung des Menschen an seine Umwelt, des Wachstums seiner Fähigkeiten in Wechselwirkung mit dem Zwang, ganz neuartigen Aufgaben gewachsen zu sein".[1] *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* makes a rich and varied use of its basic principle, social practice. Yet in an important aspect it seems to deal with a certain vagueness with the status of science and art as concrete forms of cognition. We get an impression that the problems of practical cognition are not distinguished at all from those of cognition as such. It is not easy to make this matter sufficiently clear and unambiguous for *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* does not make its point clear and unambiguous in every respect. Obviously its argumentation is based on the practical character of the specific modes of reflection when it limits the range of the problematic relating to the validity of aesthetic judgement, or when we are told that

we should not identify authentic reflection with any one type of reflection (e.g. with mechanical, photographic reflection) because it would mean that all the other types were its distorted forms only: "Wäre eine solche die Grundlage, aus welcher die Differenzen herauswachsen, so müßten alle spezifischen Formen subjektive Entstellungen dieser allein »authentischen« Reproduktion der Wirklichkeit sein, oder die Differenzierung müßte einen rein nachträglichen, völlig unspontanen, nur bewußt-gedanklichen Character haben".[2] "Authentic" reproduction is available, however, in other than "photographic" forms as well, and they, too, may serve as a base for generalization. Lukács does his best to prove that artistic reflection is capable of some kind of objectivity, i.e. adequacy or authenticity. Within the sphere of this problem he discusses the various functions of art in such organic unity and complexity that no doubts remain: here all preconditions, elements and phases of art as reflection have been taken into consideration and made to appear as constituents of an integrate system. The more remarkable it is, then, that at each stage scientific reflection is referred to as "cognition proper". This means that for all the reservations Lukács makes as regards the range of scientific abstraction, ultimately he resorts to the identification of cognition as such with scientific cognition. This is, in all probability, a consequence of the problematic distinction he made between the "plain" thing in itself *(das einfache Ansich*[3]*)* and its other, derivative types, and also a consequence of his hypothesis that reality is "one and the same", regardless of the different facets it offers to science and art.[4] According to *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* the reality art is concerned with is, however, not independent of the human race, untouched by the "externalization" of subjectivity, but reality "internalized" to some extent — parallel or analogous with what is, in Caudwell's term, "inner reality". Although it is pointed out by Lukács too that art reproduces this aspect of reality in a more profound, integrated, sensuous, effective etc. way than science does, theoretical complications arise because in a definite sense this reality is not "one and the same". It is certainly not identical with the *Ansich* of nature, nor with the *Ansich* of social objectivity in a form accessible to science.

It leads to further complications that scientific reflection seems to be describable simply in terms of the subject-object relation characterizing cognition as such. It is a common illusion that the basic epistemological situation coincides fully with the subject-object relation of the scientific mode of concrete, practical cognition. In a study of ontological problems Lukács emphasizes that it would be undialectical "to recognize the world of things only as matter or as objective existence and to discern a supposedly independent, active functioning of consciousness in all other forms of objectivity (relations, connections etc.) and in such reflections of reality as appear to be directly the products of thought".[5] The statement is aimed at nominalism but it also hits

at positions which "arise from an abstract and antinomic contraposition of material and spiritual, or natural and social existence".[6] The Introduction to *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* points out that in materialism the priority of Being over Consciousness has no hierarchical character: "Es ist ein weit verbreitetes Mißverständnis, wenn man glaubt, daß das Weltbild des Materialismus — Priorität des Seins dem Bewußtsein, des gesellschaftlichen Seins dem gesellschaftlichen Bewußtsein gegenüber — ebenfalls hierarchischen Characters wäre".[7] Nevertheless there are passages in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* which are not exempt from the consequences of that hierarchy. (There is of course a hierarchy to be seen, not as a gradation of reality, but as a variety of the foundation and the mediatory system of different forms of motion.) Thus for instance when Lukács defines the subject-object relation in art stating that—in contrast with the "plainly" and "purely" *ansich-seiendes Objekt* of scientific reflection—the object of aesthetic reflection is pervaded by subjectivity, he seems to be worrying about an eventual conflict with the hierarchical concept and carefully, in the spirit of the recognition of hierarchy, he proceeds to justify the realness of this type of reality, its *ansich* character and its objectivity. Albeit, the "subjectivity" integrated in the object cannot be the same as the subjectivity of the cognitive subject in the act of cognition; that "subjectivization" takes place at a wholly different level: in the material exchange between nature and society, in the cultural adaptation of the instincts etc. All this is clear in the text of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen:* "Die Entwicklung der Menschheit ist ein objektiver Prozeß (. . .) hat also in dieser Hinsicht unzweifelhaft den Character eines Ansich (. . .) die so entstandene und sich entfaltende Wirklichkeit eine selbstgemachte im weitesten Sinne des Wortes ist (. . .) Dieser Prozeß hat deshalb einen doppelten Aspekt: den objektiven, in welchem alles, was das Bewußtsein der beteiligten Individuen betrifft, bloß Motor oder Material ist (. . .) daneben aber auch den subjektiven, den des am Prozeß beteiligten Individuums, das diesen Prozeß—bewußt oder unbewußt—als seinen eigenen mitmacht, dessen eigenste Existenz, vom kleinsten bis zum größten, nur im Zusammenhang mit ihm als dem Selbst zugehörig begriffen werden kann. Ein solches Begreifen muß aber die Züge des Selbstbewußtseins an sich tragen".[8] We cannot but agree with this analysis and realize that the subjective point of view of the individual participating in that process is a real existence and as such, and as a component of an objective process, it is objective. It may achieve objectivity in the epistemological sense of the term too, as adequate reflection of the objective process. Moreover, that "subjective aspect" may appear as objective in still another aspect: in the very aspect which makes it conceivable as an object of artistic reflection. In that case that "subjective aspect" is no longer (in the sense of adequate or inadequate reflection) an "objective" or a "subjective" view or attitude, but a "legitimate" aspect of an objective process. It is different

from the objectivity inherent in plain identity with the objective process ("bloß Motor oder Material") and different from an objective mental reflection (objective in the sense of the adequacy of scientific reflection) of an objective process. (Both aspects may be conceived as synthetized in it by "Aufhebung" but then the latter aspect will be transformed so greatly that hardly any ground will remain to raise the question of objectivity in that sense.) In plain words, a "humanly legitimate" aspect of the objective process of human evolution is involved here, but, to put it more accurately, following the formulations of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, we should say that this aspect is "legitimate" because in a special way it is identical with "the self-consciousness of the evolution of humanity". And what is true of "consciousness" is also true of "self-consciousness": it is to be conceived as objective existence, except when defined as an antipode to "existence". Thus its "legitimacy" or special identity (also describable with the category of "inherence") is nothing but *objectivity* because "the self-consciousness of the evolution of humanity" is an objective existent and as such it is made an object to aesthetic reflection. If this object is characterized as "subjectivity" or as something "pervaded by subjectivity" etc. we may suspect that the terms "objectivity" and "subjectivity" are not used in a strict sense, as well defined terms in well defined relations, but at different levels of abstraction, in different theoretical (ontological, epistemological, socio-historical etc.) dimensions, and without the necessary distinctions.

Eventually in certain passages of the book these terminological liberties do not lead to confusion for, within a limited context, there is some chance to get through an unequivocal meaning. Nevertheless, confusion is inevitable when the task is to elucidate the function of basic categories in the context of a comprehensive system. For instance Lukács underlined and, with his propositions that there are two kinds of *Ansich* and objectivity, reinforced the view that the object of artistic reflection, an object "pervaded by subjectivity", should be seen as having an objective character. Yet due to a confusion of the terms "subjectivity" and "objectivity" and a lack of distinction between different levels of abstraction, his terminology became so inconsistent that the object of artistic reflection might be described as objectivity "pervaded by subjectivity" (i.e. subjective in some way) or as subjectivity well grounded in objective reality, enjoying objective existence and validity. Lukács did not feel convinced all the time that his concept of the objectivity of "subjectivity" was well grounded. This explains his efforts to amend or substantiate the objectivity of the object of artistic reflection with the requirement of the "truest possible" reflection (in effect, representation) of *ansich-seiende* things. The outcome involved (aside from consequences responsible for his ungenerously narrow conception of art) a patent concession to the hierarchization of objectivity and reality.

Further complications arise from the fact that there are actually *two totally divergent conceptions contending* in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*. Within the work the two conceptions are of course not seperated distinctly; now this comes out on top, now that, and on such occasions the outlines of one of the two conceptions are fairly well discernible. But generally they mix, they "pervade" one another. Incidentally so much so that they, jointly, give an impression of a unified conception. That impression dissolves as soon as the apparently unified conception is submitted to analysis as a logical system. Anyway, it is more practical to refer to two tendencies than to two conceptions, for they exhibit genuine propensity to unity and their interpenetration is quite considerable.

One tendency implies that the objectivity of the object of aesthetic reflection is identical with the objectivity of objects existing in their "plain *Ansichkeit*", "independent of consciousness". A contextual reading usually reveals that this type of objectivity is based on that hiearchical concept of objectivity which forbids consciousness, or anything belonging to or created by it, to be considered as veritably *Ansich* or objectivity, supposing that they are, as it were by definition, dependent on consciousness and always and in all ways (or at least in some way) identical with the subject and with subjectivity.

The other tendency bases the adequacy of aesthetic reflection on the objective character of aesthetic subjectivity and on the concept of "adequate subject", leaving no doubt that, in the final analysis, the object of reflection is an "adequate" subjectivity well grounded in the objective world. Defined more closely this is the self-consciousness of the evolution of humanity, that aspect of the evolutionary process of the human race which is described by Lukács as a "subjective aspect" in contrast with the objective character of the process. Of this, however, it is ascertainable that, due to its foundation and validity in the objective world, it is wholly objective, especially so in the framework of a non-hierarchic order of objectivity. Theoretically it is no simple problem that this objective self-consciousness participates in the structure of aesthetic reflection not only as the object of reflection but also as its subject: as the subject which alone is qualified to act as subject in this kind of reflection. This quality, a readiness or a capacity to become one with the evolution of the self-consciousness of humanity, characterizes the "adequate subject" and "adequate" aesthetic subjectivity.

This dichotomy and internal quarrel in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* is discernible in several relations.

In the first of the two tendencies, comparison with the basic epistemological situation and its use as a point of departure lead to its identification with scientific cognition and its distinction from aesthetic reflection. It is distinguished from the latter in the same way as that is from scientific reflection,

proving again that in such passages of Lukács's work cognition as such (cognition proper) is taken to be identical with scientific cognition. In these analyses the truth of aesthetic reflection is explained by its analogies with cognition proper, i.e., in this conception, with scientific cognition. And though there are hints of analogies between them—from an identity of the categories of abstraction to the requirement that, to some extent, the "tendency of desanthropomorphization" should be retained in aesthetic reflection too—, it remains doubtful if, compared with scientific knowledge, it is knowledge what art is able to offer. Certain passages in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* make it clear that "das vom Kunstwerk Gebotene kann zugleich mehr und weniger sein als Erkenntnis".[9] It is conceded that art has a certain preparatory function and therefore the use of the word "cognition" is permissible: "Sicher kann die Erkenntnis nur in der Wissenschaft ihre ganz angemessene Methode finden. Sie erscheint aber auch dort, wo vorbereitend Probleme oder Forderungen aufgeworfen werden".[10] A quasi cognitive effect is also attributed to the "defetishizatory mission" of art.[11]

This tendency is also revealed in passages which accentuate the requirement of the representation of objective factuality. It is true, however, that occasionally this requirement is amended with a reference to definitions which are basic for the other main tendency of the work. Accordingly, on such occasions "the truest possible reflection of objectivity" needs reinterpretation: instead of the reflection of external reality it should refer to the reflection of the *Ansich* of human essence. While this second tendency seems suitable to substantiate the universality of a comprehensive aesthetic system, the first is the equivalent of a more or less "spacious" realism-centred aesthetic conception: its propositions aim at an extension of the requirements of realistic representation to universal validity and restrict aesthetic reflection to a limited sphere both with stylistic and with generic criteria. According to the first tendency the reflection of the *Ansich*, the thing-in-itself, means, if not the reflection of physical objects only, at least the reflection of facts, relations and contexts also accessible to science. This "external world" will, of course, include human, social, psychical facts and relations as well, if the *Ansich* pursued by science is, indeed, different from what art is dealing with. Namely, if it is not that aspect of reality which constitutes the object of aesthetic reflection in the context of what is, in Lukács's phrase, a "subjective aspect", i.e. the self-consciousness of humanity. Nevertheless, in the first tendency the reflection of the "external world" is the main issue and the prevailing demand. In this context the literary examples referred to testify only truthfulness to social history, proving that "die künstlerische Gestaltung, die ihr zugrunde liegende, die in ihr verkörperte, sowie die von ihr ausgelöste Subjektivität diese Struktur der objektiveng esellschaftlich-geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit, ihre wahren Proportionen bewahrend, jedoch mit gesteigerter Intensität,

wiedergibt".[12] It is important to see that even in passages where this tendency prevails, it never descends to vulgarization and simplification. What is more, such procedures are attacked severely by Lukács. For instance he remarks that "natürlich hat eine historische Einzelforschung als solche methodologisch durchaus das Recht, etwa Kunstwerke auf ihre Treue der Geschichte gegenüber zu untersuchen, und solche Forschungen können mitunter sogar zur Erkenntnis künstlerischer Probleme beitragen. Der Forscher ist jedoch aus der ästhetischen Sphäre herausgetreten, er schaut die Kunst von außen, nicht von innen an . . ."[13] Yet, in these contexts truth means the true depiction of the external world to whatever socio-historical depth. Time and again Lukács resorts to the use of "cancel signs", but they cannot point directly and positively to what seems to be the fundamental and ultimate object of aesthetic reflection according to the other basic tendency of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen.* He emphasizes that "die Gegenstände in der Literatur nicht in ihrem einfachen Ansich vorkommen dürfen, sondern als gegenständliche Vermittlungen der menschlichen Beziehungen, der sie verwirklichenden Handlungen".[14] Phrased more accurately, as a universal proposition, as a requirement encompassing the total sphere of the aesthetic quality, this means that "Die ästhetische Mimesis strebt jedoch, obwohl sie die Objektivität möglichst treu zu reflektieren verpflichtet ist, einem anderen Ziel zu: solche Zusammenhänge als Taten und Leiden, als Erfolge und Niederlagen, als Aufschwünge und Verzerrungen der Menschen (des Menschengeschlechts) erlebbar zu machen".[15] It is remarkable that here, as an object of reflection, "Objektivität" is contrasted with *another* aim which seems to be situated outside the sphere of objectivity; but not even that *other* aim is necessarily identical with what is postulated as the ultimate object of aesthetic reflection by the other basic tendency of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen.* Although the accurate meaning of such terms as "Mimesis", "reflektieren", "erlebbar machen" is not clear in this respect, nor is the fine distinction between the *object* and the *aim* of mimesis, I have an impression that not even that "other aim" would transcend the *Ansich* of the socio-historical sphere. Other formulations also reveal that in this work there is a tendency making an immediate faithfulness to reality in the sense of the objective truth of science appear as a basic requirement which is exposed to a mere modification, as it were, under the pressure of a special aesthetic requirement, different from the demand of objectivity. That is how aesthetic reflection operates for example in this description: "die Objektwelt nicht nur in ihrem Wesen, sondern auch in ihrer unmittelbaren Erscheinungsform fixiert und sinnfällig gemacht wird, daß die Dialektik von Erscheinung und Wesen nicht nur in ihrer allgemeinen Gesetzmäßigkeit zur Geltung gelangt, sondern gerade in ihrer Unmittelbarkeit, so wie sie sich dem Menschen im Leben darbietet".[16] And had we doubts, thinking that the "essence" here referred to is "human essence" and that art is not obliged to

explore those features of objective necessity or its essence which belong to the competence of science, certain formulations would convince us that we are in error and Lukács truly means that it is art's duty to take upon itself the tasks of science too. For, in the world created by works of art, "*nicht nur die objektive, gesellschaftlich-geschichtliche Notwendigkeit wird aufgedeckt* — das vermag die Wissenschaft oft noch besser zu bewerkstelligen . . ."[17] (The italics are ours.) Consequently, in these formulations the word "objective" suggests that the ontological structure of reality is strictly hierarchical. This tendency of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* makes the "objective world" appear nor merely *ansich* and objective in a more definite way than "human essence" (which is, however, established as *ansich* and objective by the other tendency of the book) but uniquely *ansich* and objective. Which is to say that this alone is objective and the sole representative of objectivity; accordingly, in such contexts "human essence" and "the self-consciousness of humanity" appear as subjectivity only. And indeed, from Lukács's words that the aim of mimesis is *other* than the truest possible reflection of *objectivity* it follows that what is conceived outside the sphere of objectivity must be conceived as subjectivity, if the distinction with the term "objectivity" makes any sense at all. This means that what appears to be problematic in this tendency is not the assumption that two kinds of "objectivity" exist: apparently there is no awareness of such assumption in the exposition of this conception. That disregarded, there is a chance to see those two tendencies or conceptions as two phases in the development of a single theoretical system.

In the first tendency the orientation of the theoretical system seems to be subordinate to the task of proving that a comprehensive theory of art can be based on a suitable systematization of the requirements of realistic representation. Confronted with that task, a realism-centred preconception strives to answer the ultimate philosophical questions of aesthetics; among them the question, is the object of aesthetic reflection objective? We have seen that the answer is positive but it restricts the sphere of objectivity to the "external world". That a restriction was made comes clear also from the fact that these theses cease functioning as soon as, in order to prove how comprehensive this aesthetic conception is, they are applied to "grotesque" and "phantastic" representations and the "utopian attitudes" in some works of art. In those aspects the object of artistic reflection could be conceived as "objectivity" only if that term were not confined to the "external world" alone. But it is precisely this what is meant by the words "Sein und Wesen des Objekts" when Lukács refers to truth to the being and essence of the object and its sensible representation as two poles of the universality of realism in the cosmos of art: "einerseits die Treue zum Sein und Wesen des Objekts, seinem jeweiligen Zusammenhang, seiner jeweiligen Totalität, anderseits die Rückkehr zur Unmittelbarkeit des Lebens, insofern als jeder Gegenstand

untrennbar von seiner unmittelbar-sinnlichen Erscheinungsweise zur Gestaltung gelangt".[18] These are the bonds of realistic representation. They will remain unchanged even though this type of objectivity is, in some way, transformed into "inner objectivity" ("eine innerlich gesteigerte Objektivität"): "Diese ist aber — und das ist der Sinn der Rücknahme ins Subjekt — in allen Poren ihrer Gegenständlichkeit von Subjektivität, und zwar von einer bestimmten konkreten Subjektivität durchdrungen".[19] The rub is that the question is straight and demands a straight answer, "Is the object of aesthetic reflection objective?" And it is due only to a narrow conception of objectivity if one who answers "yes" is obliged to prove, by all means, that this restricted type of objectivity is present and active in reflection, although what is veritably functioning as object is not that but something else, namely the subjectivity which is latent in it and which pervades all its pores. That being the case, the object of aesthetic reflection is subjective rather than objective, and no ground is left to raise the question concerning the adequacy of reflection. (We may have realized, of course, that in Lukács's work terms like "subjective" and "objective" have alterable meanings, and, ultimately, the subjectivity which pervades the objects is also conceivable as objective or as objectivity.)

Otherwise it is no conjecture that in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, with formulas suggesting the retention of objectivity, Lukács refers to an objectivity identical with the object of scientific reflection. Ha makes a special effort to motivate why mimesis necessitates representational truth concerning this type of objectivity. In his opinion the necessity arises from the fact that man is obliged to act correctly in real life too, and "so muß er trachten, die objektiven Tatsachen so unverfälscht wie möglich in sich aufzunehmen, ihre Widerspiegelungen, so wie sie objektiv sind, möglichst treu zu apperzipieren".[20] With similar argumentation Lukács justifies a "fruitful contradiction" of the desanthropomorphic and anthropomorphic tendencies in literature and poetry, and he proceeds to prove that this contradiction is inherent in all arts capable of producing an independent universe of their own. Inevitable exceptions are phantastic and grotesque representations and utopian artistic attitudes. We are told that in such cases the "adequate subject", with its objective socio-historical foundation, acts as the sole determinant of "similitude" in the "dissimilitude" of the representation of objects. This is a rather feeble realization of the desanthropomorphic aspect of the "fruitful contradiction" just mentioned but it lets us suppose that, in any case, the "adequate subject" is able to determine the measure of "similitude". Or else, what will be enabled to determine the truest possible (desanthropomorphic) reflection of objects or the condition of representational faithfulness? It comes clear that if the realism-centred tendency is forced to appear as a universally valid aesthetic conception, virtually all categories whose function is to guarantee the objectivity of "reflection" will turn into their opposite. Then the narrow conception

of objectivity will be substituted by a broad concept of "objectivity pervaded by subjectivity", and, instead of similitude and desanthropomorphization, dissimilitude and anthropomorphization will be emphasized. So much so that, ultimately, the objectivity of the object of aesthetic reflection may become, as a whole, dependent on aesthetic subjectivity.

The other basic tendency present in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* asserts fully Lukács's criticism of conceptions which mix up scientific reflection with its "objektives Ansich": "Zumeist verwechselt man einfach die wissenschaftliche Widerspiegelung durch die Kategorien mit ihrem objektiven Ansich . . ."[21] He quotes Aristotle to demonstrate how well he approached the problem observing the difference between "pure knowledge" and the categories of the aesthetic quality. Consequently this tendency of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* is more comprehensive and less dependent on analogies with scientific reflection and the demands of realistic representation than the one I dealt with earlier, from which it also differs in its contention that both types of reflection are equally true to reality ("beide Widerspiegelungsarten [sind] gleich wahrheitgetreu"[22]). The problem of the adequacy of reflection is solved unambiguously: "Die gediegene Wahrheit der ästhetischen Widerspiegelung in den einzelnen Kunstwerken entspricht also genau der Substanz jener ansichseienden Wirklichkeit, die von ihnen abgebildet wird".[23] Here we have contextual evidence that the gist of the matter is the relation of works of art to their ultimate object, the evolution of the human race ("zu ihren letzhinnigen Gegenstand, die Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts"[24]) or a fusion uniting the self-consciousness of the human race with that of the individual in a dialectical contradiction.

This conception is veritably based on the special character of aesthetic reflection. It implies that aesthetic reflection has a specific object different from what science has, and that works of art are capable of reflecting it faithfully, in a way adequate to its essence. We should concentrate our attention on this aesthetic conception if we wished to see Lukács's aesthetic theories in the light of his final and finest achievement. It deserves all attention because in it, in its structure, the fundamental philosophical principles of a comprehensive Marxist aesthetics are given.

We have seen that the problems are rooted in a dual, contradictory conception of basic ontological and epistemological principles. This finds a straight expression in the idea, inconsistent from the point of view of philosophy and terminology alike, that two kinds of objectivity and *Ansich* exist. Complications increase with Lukács's renewed efforts to universalize a realism-centred conception, dating in fact from his earlier period, to an all-comprising conception. This proved to be a preposterous enterprise but it was closely related to the question: is aesthetic reflection capable of grasping objective truth? The answers he gave were various in the various phases of the enter-

prise. At the early stages of his career as a Marxist theoretician his answer was an unequivocal "yes". At that time he verified his position only with artistic features characterizing works of art of a certain class: for the most part with such features (the "prophetic figures" of Balzac, the socio-historical grounding of the novel of manners, of historical novels and dramas) as, according to the more universal propositions of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, fall, wholly or partly, outside the real province of the aesthetic quality.[25] The next phase was when — already, as it was explained above, in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* — the claim of realistic representations to objective truth and the desanthropomorphic tendency thus implied could no longer be equalized with the consistent desanthropomorphic tendency of science. In that phase the proposition that art was a kind of "cognition" appeared at best as paradoxical: "Das vom Kunstwerk Gebotene kann zugleich mehr und weniger sein als Erkenntnis".[26] And finally, as we have seen, the claim of aesthetic reflection to truth is entirely justified, a truth art is entitled to by providing knowledge about its proper object. But that means an end to the prerogatives of realistic representations and realism-centred aesthetics; perhaps such bonds happen to be forced on this conception, too, but they are not attached to it organically nor do they follow from it.

An extreme variety of the aesthetic conceptions of art as cognition would place artistic cognition above all other possible forms of knowledge, first and foremost above scientific cognition. Examples may be found in the works of the American New Critics, most characteristically in J. C. Ransom's ideas. In *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* Lukács rejected categorically the exaggerated claim of aesthetic cognition to objectivity or its absolutist version which makes art the only "proper" form of cognition.[27] Notwithstanding, the formerly described realism-centred conception of Lukács implied (and this view also received expressed formulation in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*) that cognition would attain its proper method only in scientific reflection. Similar conclusions have been offered by various other "epistemological" aesthetic conceptions with a realism-centred bias and of Marxist pretensions, more or less independently from Lukács's work in theory. (Most of them implies the priority of scientific cognition as an axiomatic principle, conceiving works of art as illustrative of socio-historical tendencies explored by the social sciences.) When the fiasco of these so called "epistemological" aesthetic conceptions (they are "epistemological" in a narrow-minded, one-sided and philosophically unsatisfactory way only) was realized, any claim art would have to cognition became suspect. Even when art was acknowledged to be a kind of knowledge, it was believed to be something else too. At a later date a detailed and convincing criticism of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* concluded in proposing that the function of art should be conceived in a fusion of "cognition, perception and action".[28] Conjectures like that were partly due

to the re-discovery of Marxian ontology. Yet such solutions of the problem as well as those which instead of "cognition" assign art the task of an "aesthetic acquisition" of reality, will at one stage or another be confronted with the problem of the adequacy of reflection. Even if art were conceived as having a complex function, that complexity would appear as an organic whole. And if it were seen in an organic unity, e.g. art defined as a dialectical contradiction of *creation* and *cognition*,[29] examinations of the epistemological context still could not be dispensed with, because the ultimate philosophical issues and the concrete axiological problems of art cannot be explained otherwise.

The conception which, in my view, represents the main trend of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* offers, on the whole, a satisfactory solution to these problems and also reckons with such aspects of art as are explained by other aesthetes as mere components of a complex function. Lukács points out conclusively how a series of intricate mediations (which, according to his accute observation, assume in art the form of direct immediacy) make aesthetic reflection an approximately *adequate* reflection of its proper object. As to the structure of this mode of reflection: the veritable *ansich* object of reflection is human essence, the reality of human existence and evolution; all shapes of extra-human reality play in it a role only so far as they are integrated in the human condition. The representation of the object of the external world, the similitude or dissimilitude of representation are entirely dependent on what is required, what kind of faithfulness or distance is needed by "das ästhetische Vordringen zum Wesen, zu den Gesetzen des menschlichen Lebens, zur Substanz des Menschseins".[30] Human essence, though an abstraction, represents no abstract essentiality in Lukács's conception. Nor is it simply what is common or "typical" in people. It is a potentiality rather, or still more, a necessity conditioned by the socio-historical and natural circumstances of human existence in the actual fates, vital problems, sensual and spiritual build-ups of the individuals, the sole participants and makers of this type of existence. Art's *freedom* lies in the *recognition* of that necessity in the particular media and according to the laws of *creation*. In aesthetic reflection — Lukács lay small stress upon this idea but it is present in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* and follows logically from its principal conception — cognition and creation form one unity and it is a supreme quality of the "adequate subject" to be enabled to bring about that unity.[31]

In this mode of reflection the subject, the cognitive subject, is not simply consciousness as such in its abstract universality, nor any concrete consciousness. There exists a faculty of sensibility (it comes into being and undergoes evolutionary changes in the concrete and objective historical process of the evolution of mankind) which is capable of reflecting the totality of that process from an aspect excluded from the province of scientific reflection. This faculty of perception belongs to humans as individuals, as sensually

conscious and active beings, as discrete existences in nature and society, and, as one of their qualities, capacities or concerns, it represents an actual reality of the continuity between nature and society. Therefore this faculty of perception is not simply a subjective aspect of the historical process but a capacity for objectivity appropriate to a particular sphere of objective reality. Nor is it merely a perceptual or intellectual faculty. Although in its immediate form it appears as a faculty of the individual concentrated in a "homogeneous medium" of perception and awareness, it is, in fact, a capacity enabling one to focus, from an aspect of one's participation in the evolutionary process of humanity, *one's whole being* on a communicative and cognitive medium involving the actual conditions of creation by its homogeneity which, though unifacial, is suggestive of variety and even totality.

In all this, "imagination", "fiction", "semblance" or, in Lukács's inaccurate wording, "the suspension of practice" has a role, not only so far as concrete "depiction" is concerned but also in every other respect. There is a trait of the imaginary in the way one's "whole being" is focused on something and also in the way "variety" and "totality" are understood. But this is not the only component of human existence that attains objective validity through a manipulation of semblances. Logical thinking is, for instance, an operation of the imagination which attains its own kind of objectivity by obeying laws of objective validity. Similar laws of objective validity are activated in the course of artistic creation, and thus its homogeneity, sensuous in its genesis (even though its sensuous quality is mediated e.g. by conventional signalling systems), also involves abstraction from the immediacy of sensory perception. It is so not only because it appears as a vivid, profoundly conscious and spiritualized mode of perception, but also because it frees immediate sensuous perception from practical orientation (directed by the relatively immediate needs of subsistence) and the diverse eventualities of plain, ordinary sensation. The senses are confronted with specific tasks, adequate to their qualities and potentials, and in such a manner that an infinite continuity is set up between sensuous perception and the so-called spiritual senses, an endless series of interactions which transforms the matter-of-course unity that actually exists between them to a live fusion, a unity moving, unfolding and enriching itself through setting up and solving a series of contradictions. By means of the properties of a special object, the work of art, it cultivates a whole universe of inward sense and emotion, e.g. musical emotions through the cultivation of the musical ear. The "other nature" thus created is not alien from nature proper, nor from the nature of man, that specially actualized part of nature which was not created by him: he is, indeed, one of its creations, even though he is also enabled to participate in the continued creation of himself freely, through the recognition of the laws of necessity. Nevertheless, this "other nature" is alien too, by the necessity which sustains it, by its *nature-like*

quality, although the works we create appear to indulge in greater compassion and pity for our worries and ourselves than that perennial one which, had it ever had worries about us or itself, could never have sensed or expressed it without us.

All these points are implied in the problem of the "subjective aspect" which, according to *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, is active in the objective process of the evolution of humanity. This problem is one of the most important and most basic discoveries of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*. This is to be made unmistakably clear even if, because of the indefinite use of the terms "subjective" and "objective", the ontological and epistemological qualification of the *actual situation* is far from being unequivocal. If, however, we see it clearly that this is not an epistemological description of subject-object relations but a system of relations which belongs, as a whole, to an objective sphere (including, due to its objective ontological foundation and validity, the individual's personal point of view as well), this state of affairs may be conceived as an explication of the fundamental aesthetic situation which justifies the objectivity of all its components and contexts. This means that the type of subjectivity which alone may be taken into consideration here (e.g. what appears *as creation)* is, in fact, not subjectivity but objectivity. In the final analysis this is stated also by Lukács when he elucidates that a reflection of the external world by means of similitude or dissimilitude is only a means of reflecting "the ultimate, decisive object". Based on what has been discussed so far, we may conclude that *the veritable object of aesthetic reflection is this ultimate, decisive object*, and the fact that in course of its reflection reflective activity also takes place on all other necessary levels of mediation does not imply that the objects of those intermediary, particular, subordinate reflections are comparable to that ultimate, decisive object. Complete with a "subjective aspect" as its constituent, the ultimate, decisive object behaves as an objective existence, a thing in itself, and the various aspects of its essence are revealed by various individual works of art, as if it were we who create, by means of a work of art, an essential aspect of that ultimate object for ourselves.

This idea is latent in Lukács's argumentation even when he makes it clear (or, at least, likely) that he assigns the rank of reality proper to objects of the external world, as if the *Ansich* of such objects were the object of aesthetic reflection, and as if that "ultimate, decisive object" of aesthetic reflection had not the same rank of reality or *Ansichkeit* as the object of scientific cognition. We may, of course, cling to the possibly vulgar conception of artistic reflection according to which faithfulness to reality means that one may proceed through objects depicted to what is, in a scientific or sociological sense, their "pure" essence, or, in Lukács's phrase, their *Ansich*; nevertheless, I am convinced the non-realism-centred tendency of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* implies that the depicted object too has an essence or *Ansich*

which expresses the bearing of the evolutionary process of humanity on the single individual. From this it follows that the truth of depicted objects is to be measured by the adequacy of the reflection of that essence. In other words, the tendency of "desanthropomorphisation" is not pertaining to that essence; instead, *a special kind of "anthropomorphisation" has to be conceived and theoretically codified which, unlike what is meant in the usual sense of the word, is wholly identical with an objective reflection of reality, in a way which makes it equivalent with the "desanthropomorphic" mode of cognition without resorting to support from it.* This means that the mimesis of external objects has no import on the adequacy of aesthetic reflection unless its faithfulness to reality coincides with an adequate reflection of the "ultimate object". This ultimate, decisive object is reflectable in an adequate way also by a coherent system of objects, related to the former as appearance to essence, an appearance which, while it represents a specific essence realized fully only in the self-creative activity of the human race, has been set up by the creative act of a human being.

NOTES

[1] Lukács, G.: *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen.* Luchterhand, Neuwied am Rhein Berlin—Spandau 1963. Vol. I, p. 23.
[2] Ibid., pp. 22—23.
[3] Ibid., p. 723.
[4] Cf. ibid., p. 22.
[5] "Magyar Filozófiai Szemle", 1973, No. 304, p. 264.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Lukács, *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, Vol. I, p. 21.
[8] Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 303—304.
[9] Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 512.
[10] Ibid., p. 513.
[11] Ibid., p. 514. — "Die defetischisierende Mission der Kunst". Ibid., pp. 696—777.
[12] Ibid., p. 606.
[13] Ibid., p. 608.
[14] Ibid., p. 723.
[15] Ibid., p. 604.
[16] Ibid., p. 565.
[17] Ibid., p. 527.
[18] Ibid., p. 566.
[19] Ibid., p. 565.
[20] Ibid., p. 428.
[21] Ibid., p. 687.
[22] Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 302.
[23] Ibid., p. 311.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 612, Vol. II, p. 315.
[26] Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 512.
[27] "Die emphatisch-evokative Wesensart der künstlerischen Wirkung, die in den Werken erreichbare Höhe der Abbildung der Wirklichkeit, ihre Steigerung zu einem Vollkommensein, zu einer Komplettheit, zu einer unmittelbaren Evidenz des Existierens, können leicht die unkritische Verallgemeinerung hervorbringen: hier äußere sich — wahrer und gleichzeitig unmittelbarer als auf irgendeinem anderen Gebiet des menschlichen Dasiens — das Wesen der Welt . . ." Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 322.
[28] Cf. Gyertyán, E.: *Párbeszéd sokszemközt* (Magvető, Budapest 1973), p. 267.

[29] I suggested this approach in an article in "Kritika", 1963, No. 4, pp. 5—15. Reprinted in *A szocializmus irodalma*. Gondolat, Budapest 1966. pp. 237—260.

[30] Lukács, *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, Vol. I, p. 788.

[31] "Wir haben es hier mit der ästhetischen Widerspiegelung der Wirklichkeit zu tun"... "Hier ist sowohl das Was wie das Wie des Wahrgenommenen und erst recht des Gestalteten unlösbar mit dem hervorbringenden Subjekt verbunden. Die Echtheit der ästhetischen Objektivität ist eine direkte Funktion seiner Breite und Tiefe". (Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 658).

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The Epic Genres in the Aesthetics of the young Lukács

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Right at the beginning—as we have seen[1]—we find that certain organic, happy age. It is the age when the world is still being a whole and clearly arranged. A whole one, as the unity of subject and object is complete. It has not been formed, and has not stopped being. Namely, there is still no object and subject. These two hold together, embedded in one another, lying dormant in a happy, golden age. A person is identical with oneself, equal to the others, to the world, to God. And the world is easy to survey as being small, arranged in a narrow and organic, that is to say, cosmic, order. It is the age when substance is still inherent in the world. Namely, world and life are equally important. The genre of this age is epos. Not only from the aspect of contents but of methodology also, we can find the same train of thoughts in Hegel. From the former point of view, the happy, organic age of Lukács is identical with the Hegelian heroic-poetic state of the world. And the epos of Lukács's happy, organic age is identical with the epos of the Hegelian heroic-poetic world condition. These two systems are equal from the aspect of methodology also, since epos and world condition are connected with both Lukács and Hegel. Namely, the criteria of epos originate from a specific conditions of the world. A specific world condition produces the epos and the epos' characteristics indicate a certain condition of the world.

Substantial Life: Epos

Lukács actually never gives an analysis on epos, nor in his theory of novel. He merely contrasts it with the novel. Namely, the epos as the authentic genre of an authentic world serves only as a contrast to the inauthentic genre of an inauthentic world, the novel. The epos' characteristics can be defined only through an analysis of the novel, through a specific logical reduction. Quite odd a situation. Since the former is the real—organic and harmonic—epopee. The latter is inorganic and disharmonious, being not a true epopee. Yet it is the world and genre of the novel that is given to the author. The

world and genre of the epos is unreal constructed only by Lukács. The world and genre given are at the same time those being opposed. The world and genre constructed are at the same time those being yearned for. Thus, quite obviously, those that are conceived and yearned for, can be derived—as a positive antithesis—from those what are given and opposed.

What are the attributes of what is conceived and yearned for? These attributes give the confined totality of world and life, being confined itself. In addition to that the verse-form lends it a special stylized atmosphere, adding a more poetic quality to what has been poetic in itself. The analysis on the functioning of verse-form is one of the most lucid, elaborately lucid one in young Lukács's œuvre. We have to see that the verse-form is itself non-trivial and it is inconsistent with the actual or potential triviality of the life depicted in the epos. The function of the verse-form is different in the drama and in the epic. In the drama, the poetic quality of the form sheds light on the potential triviality of material. In the epos, it keeps aloof from the potentially trivial material. Thus in epic genre, it is the verse-form that follows from the nature of material in an organic, non-trivial existence. But in an inorganic, trivial world, this form is inadequate and false. Hence the inorganic, trivial epic genre of an inorganic, trivial existence—that is to say, the novel—quite naturally changes the verse-form for prose. For the very same reason, as idyll in striving to forcefully eliminate triviality in a trivial existence, obviously adopts the verse-form being non-trivial and stylized. This analysis is, in fact, rather subtle. It refers—in a question of seemingly not primary importance but in a fundamental way—to the symbiosis of epic poetry and nonpoetic, prosaic novel integrating the contradictory elements.

The epic hero is not an individual. He is a person not in conflict but in harmony with the world. Yet he could reflect on himself and on the world, on the world in himself, and on himself in the world only through opposition. But this reflection is the very essence of individual existence; being separate and the reciprocal reflection in separation. It is the destiny of a people not of individuals that is reflected in the adventure series of epos. In fact, there is no destiny. For destiny is nothing but a level of existence achieved by individuals only. It is the inevitable outcome of the necessary conflict between unsubstantial individual life and substantial world. In epos, it is providence that prevails. It is God, at home in the world who guides, holding by his hands, the still not grown-up hero of the people, predestined to emerge triumphant in his series of adventures. This chain of adventures—in accordance with a confined and proportioned world—is closed and proportioned itself. It renders the structure of epos organically proportioned—not architectonically as in the case of novel (!). Its disinterrupted continuity, according to the organically proportioned composition, is a simple and organic one, by lacking time as an organizing principle and substantial dimension of existence. In this

timeless, immobile chain of adventures, beginning and end of the work are not innate, distinct dividing lines; they are marked out only artificially. Actually, beginning is nothing else but the point where the series of adventures gain importance. Namely, this organic-continuous form, actually to be started and stopped anywhere, is not that of biography. It is the literary form of adolescence of human kind, integral and continuous, integral in continuity and continuous in integrity.[2]

Thus epos is the genre of a world condition but at the same time it is the world condition of a genre. However, for the very reason, a crucial problem obviously arises, one and the same one, as in Hegel. That is to say, it is not epos under discussion, only Homeric epopee, or, in the strict sense of the word *Iliad*. For it is only *Iliad* that is adequate to that kind of historical situation deduced from the philosophy of history, which is a crucial element in Lukács's theoretical system, and in Hegel's, too. To put it more precisely, it is the *Iliad* from which that hypothetic historical situation is inferred with both Lukács and Hegel. This vicious circle implies that an analysis of epos is nothing but that of *Iliad*, and the thousand years old history of the genre is identical with the first work of Homer, disregarding even the second Homeric epic, the *Odyssey*, since the latter does not reflect the above state of the world but rather its decline. It is the epos of the opening up of a closed world, when organic state of beings becomes inorganic and persons become individuals. If it can be taken for an epos at all, not a novel. But now this is not the point. Our mere problem is that Lukács's analysis may not be applied to the *Odyssey*. The same may be said of the medieval heroic epic and Baroque epos as well. They came into being on the basis of another world condition and historic period, and also differ in their world views and structure. What is more, their heroes are different too, since the individual, or at least semi-individual, had been born. Anyway by then the one-time overwhelming homogeneity has fractured into pieces. Therefore, the hero opposes the world as against himself, and himself as against the world. His place can be fixed in the feudal system, and, as a consequence, his views on the world also. But a hero of the *Iliad* is bound more profoundly to his people's community, with a strong sense of identity with his tribe and clan. The main difference lies in that the medieval hero has true or nearly true alternatives in contrast to the lack of alternatives or pseudo-alternatives of Homeric heroes. As the heroes of the *Nibelungenlied*, the *chanson de Roland* and the *lay of Igor's army*, in the late Middle Ages or those of Tasso's and Zrínyi's in the Baroque epopee. Only this historic background, with its more developed individuality, can give rise to the drama of modern self-consciousness — that of crime and punishment — that can be found in the Burgundian king brothers and in Hagen, and to the undertaking on a heroic way of life, to the heroism of facing destiny personified by these endeavours, as Zrínyi did in Szigetvár. But no need to continue. All this is

obvious. Lukács's views on the epos in his novel theory are not abstractions of a theoretical approach of literary genres inferred from the history of these genres, but are mere abstractions—as postulated by the philosophy of history of some peculiarities of the *Iliad* reflecting a given state of the world.

Irrelevant Life: Novel

The classical epopee, of primery importance, is the epos, the non-classical one, ad of secondary importance, is the novel. Namely, novel, with all the attributes of the genre, can be derived from the changed world condition just the same way as epos, with all the attributes of the genre, can be inferred from the primordial state of the world. In fact, this method is even more complicated or easier. Since not only the two genres can be derived from the two different conditions of the world, and vice versa but—owing to the logic of the doctrine—the two world conditions and consequently, the two genres can also be derived from one another. One can be obtained as the opposite of the other. The substantial, organic and symbolic world is diametrically opposed to a world being unsubstantial, inorganic and devoid of symbols. What is more, these two can be obtained from one another; one as the opposite of the other.

As epos is the genre of a coherent world, so novel—and drama—are the genres of a world in its decline. The former—novel—only demonstrates the disintegration of the world, while the latter—drama—revolts against it. While epos is the genre of an immanent intimacy, novel is that of a transcendental homelessness. For this reason, the epic hero is a firm, strong-willed character, aware of his possessions, while the protagonist of the novel is haunted by nostalgia and homesickness. The epic hero lacks any problems, the protagonist of the novel is a problematic individual. Problematic, as being an individual, detached from the nourishing umbilical cord of the world and the community. His existence has become reflected upon himself, his fellow-men and the world, and for this reason, a problematic one, problematic, as being an individual. Owing to this, he has to face destiny. Hence he is yearning for everything that has been lost. Intimacy in place of homolessness, a non-problematic, primaeval existence, instead of being a problematic individual, providence instead of destiny, and so on. He was born into a homeless, alienated world. That is why, his life is nothing but restlessness and quest; a restless quest. The direction of this quest is both definite and indefinite. It is definite since the protagonist is in search for his own substantiality. Finding his substance has become an object for himself. This search is also indefinite since he himself is not aware of what actually he is, i.e., what is his substantiality. His own substantiality has become an object for himself. Yet, one thing is obvious,

the world has become deprived of its substantiality. It is the protagonist who must become substantial for himself. This is the very essence of his psychology, the psychology of his quest; his endeavours are directed toward becoming substantial.

As the epic hero is the psychological representation of a coherent, epic world, and the integrity of this world is reflected in—as an artistic form—the structure of epos, so is the protagonist of the novel nothing else but the psychological representation of a disintegrated, novel-like world, while this world is reflected in—as an artistic form—the structure of novel. In the structure of novel everything follows from the position of the problematic individual in the philosophy of history and from his consequent psychological traits. And as his position is diametrically opposed to that of the non-problematic, epic hero, so constitutes the structure of novel a striking contrast to that of epos. One can find a perfect symmetry in this correlation also. Epos is an evident and confined totality. Novel is a concealed one, widened and searched for. The epic composition, organic in itself, naturally represents the intertwining elements of an organic world. The composition of the novel is architectonic, fastening together the disintegrating elements of a world having fallen into pieces. The world of epos is a constant, timeless, confined continuity. Hence its structure is a proportioned, whole organism. The world of novel is an infinite continuity to be taken shape in the process of time. Hence its structure is a contingent, endless discontinuity having having been formed from discrete parts. In fact, this discreteness and architectonics are not but beside each other in the composition of the novel, they exist through one another, embedded in one another. Both are the structural aftermaths of the collapse of a one-time coherent world. The disintegration of the world is reflected in the discretness of novel structure. However, the world of the novel emerges continuously. Hence its disintegrated elements are at the same time to be continuously formed and shaped in a process. And the architectonics in the novel is nothing else but the artistic projection of all this. Namely, it is architectonics that organizes the disintegrated parts of a broken world into a virtual totality in place of the one-time real integrity of the world, together with its illusoric projection in the novel. And the archs and units of architectonics are defined by the archs and structural units of the protagonist's life and fate. The attributes of the protagonist and of structure are the consequences of, and reflect, the changes of the world. But they are the consequences of, and reflect even one another. Such a protagonist can come to life only within such a structure and vice versa. The attributes of the protagonist, namely, his problematic individuality, his nostalgia, his quest and the properties of the structure, that is, the infinity of disintegrated elements, architectonics, continuity; both are constructed upon the changes of one another and of the world. All these converge into a crucial phenomenon,

namely, the biographical nature of the novel. Thus the inherent scope of the novel is the life course of a problematic individual; it begins with the protagonist's birth and ends with his death. The elements of this manifolded complex of phenomena, organically intervowen and derived from one another, focus on a poetic idea, which has deserved its fame. God has deserted the world. This is the "historical moment" of the novel. Novel—as opposed to the Homeric epos, the epopee of a world dwelled upon by Gods—is the epopee of a world that God has deserted.

Nevertheless, this eloquent and lucid philosophical analysis of the protagonist and of the novel structure raises some issues, those of literary history and theory. Here we give only a brief survey of them. Presenting the protagonist as an individual, searching for totality, and in totality for his own self-realization is, by all means, not only a major discovery of philosophy but that of the history of literature and the theory of genres also. Naturally, we must take into consideration that all the components of the above statement —from self-realization, through the quest of the protagonist, up to his problematic existence—have different meaning varying according to historic periods and novel types. Nevertheless, the point—the problematic existence of the protagonist—is so obvious that it hardly needs further proof. Correlating the protagonist with novel structure, or, more generally, the world of the novel, inferring them from one another, is also a brilliant insight in Lukács's theory. It could also be the starting-point of further analyses. Thereby the main lines of the novel structure could be drawn up; the wavering tensions as they run high and calm down giving a different curve in each novel. In fact, this idea, still in the bud, is blossoming out in the late œuvre of Lukács, the supremely fruitful category of poetization is elaborated then. Furthermore, so is the thesis on the symbiosis of the epic hero and the epic world. Namely, it is the epic world that determines the fate of the epic hero, reflects his physiognomy in its feautures; while the epic hero is the imprint of the epic world, he is bearing in his fate the nature of the world. The architectonic structure and biographical form of the novel are much more disputable. The former category is deduced from the philosophy of history. Architectonics came into being following the —so-called—great changes of the world. At that time the world was coherent, this coherence is reflected by the epic structure. Then the world collapsed, falling into pieces, all this is reflected by the structure of the novel. Yet, the novel virtually reestablishes the lost totality. It combines the different parts into an architectonic whole. The logic of this reasoning allows no contradiction. Moreover, it is true even from the aspect of literary theory. But only on such a high level of abstraction that can be concretized on a much lower level. It is a characteristic concept of philosophical aesthetics, which can be used for the interpretation of individual works only by elaborating the way as it manifests itself in various historical periods. That is to say, the task

to be performed is to point out how this architectonics presents itself in the varying types of works in the history of literary genres. For the time being it is nothing but an abstract formula on the structure of novel, or, more generally,—apart from the *Iliad*—the abstract epic structure itself. It does not offer a historically always concrete analysis on the variety of individual works, resistent to be modellized anyway. For we may call the structure of the romance architectonic, and the same holds true of picaresque, *Bildungsroman*, the English prose of the 18th century, the analytic, psychological French novel, or the novel form of German romanticism; if they are architectonic, then this quality differs from type to type. In other words, the discovery of the architectonic structure of the novel is a major discovery, however, it is valid only on the abstract level of philosophical aesthetics. Without examples, and their concrete historical analysis, it has not been substantiated. It holds —and at the same time does not hold—true of any novel in any period. The question of biographical form is even less clarified. For it is not an abstract, non-concrete truth but a concrete, non-abstract one. Since it can be sound in a special type of the novel but does not hold true of many other novel types. It applies to the *Bildungsroman*, if we think in terms of poles asunder; like Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* and Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich*. Or let us think of the plotted novels, or career histories of the 19th century akin to the *Bildungsroman*. And again, in terms of poles asunder; let us think of *Le Rouge et le Noir* by Stendhal and *Bel-ami* by Maupassant. Yet, all this does not hold true of the earlier pieces of the English and French classical novel, say, those of Swift and Diderot, as they are series of disparate life-pieces still ignorant of a comprehensive biographical form. And this is not valid in the novel cycles of Zola or Balzac, or, say, in case of the English, German, or French sagas, as their portraits of an age have exceeded biography. It is easy to follow the intellectual process in the novel theory in which biographical form is elevated from a specific type of novel up to the paradigmatic form of the whole genre. Here we can find one of the basic paradigms of the whole theory, *Wilhelm Meister*, as the starting-point of further abstractions. Lukács infers the attributes of the novel form from this piece of work just the same way as he derived the characteristics of epic form from *the Iliad*. And this constitutes one of the basis methodological problems of the *Theorie des Romans* as a whole, the method itself—in all probability—being unconsciously chosen. But before going into details, let us sum up now two other attributes of the novel form; its ironic and demonic qualities.

Both follow from the transcendental homelessness of the protagonist and his consequent psychic compensations. The analysis of them is supremely subtle and sensitive. Accordingly, irony is nothing else but the awareness of the protagonist, cast out into an infinite universe, of his own—and of the world's—limitations. He is pervaded with the—distressing—feeling of being

finite in contrast to infinity, and being separated instead of living in accordance with the world. Namely, all this is quite the reverse of mysticism. In the eloquent phrase of Lukács, it is the negative mysticism of such ages that have been deserted by God. And the demon is a God still lacking or deprived of his mastery. This demon is not familiar with the world of epopee, intimately connected with its Gods, nor with the worldliness of tragedy. All the more with the world of the novel, for it is a genre that has lost a cosmos and has gained transcendence instead. It emerges just when God is being deprived of his mastery and is deserting the world. Yet, this—negative—divine element is left behind in the protagonist of the novel as his demonic quality. The demonic haunts the psyche of the problematic individual. From all this follows the two—equally wrong—alternatives of the protagonist, who is constantly searching for something but never finds it, namely, the alternatives of crime or madness.

Here the following two remarks seem indispensable. One is that both ironic and demonic are qualities obtained through philosophical deduction. It is the position of the novel in the philosophy of history, its so-called "historical moment" that has found shape in these phenomena. Since novel is nothing but the epopee of ages deserted by God, and is nothing but the genre reflecting the transformation of a finite cosmos into an endless chaos. Thus it is irony whereby the protagonist of the novel reflects on his own limitations as opposed to the infinity of the niverse, feeling a nostalgia for the finite but cosmic world as a contrast to the actual, infinite, chaotic world condition. Furthermore, novel is the genre of the loss of substantiality and the simultaneous search for it. In his search, the protagonist, facing a world deprived of its substantiality, declares himself as being substantial. He proclaims himself a God deprived of his mastery, that is, a demon, as against a God who has really governed the world. The other remark to be made here is that both qualities—demonic and ironic—have a real basis from where they have been abstracted, although its scope being quite narrow. Just the same way as in case of biographical form. There—as we have seen—it was *Wilhelm Meister.* and *Bildungsroman* that served as a starting point for further abstraction. Here this point is *L'éducation sentimentale,* with regard to irony, while with regard to demonic, the starting point of abstraction is *Don Quixote.* But there are no other examples to confirm Lukács's reasoning. In the paradigmatic masterpiece of Flaubert, what is endless and amorphous around the protagonist, and his incapability to communicate with such a reality, is actually tempered with—in the process of artistic projection—lyricism and irony. In the paradigmatic masterpiece of Cervantes, what is a heroic revolt against a reality, devoid of God, is actually transformed into a demonic obsession. By now—in our analysis—the methodological deficiency of Lukács's theory has completely unfolded. The basic features of novel and of its protagonist

have been outlined in this novel theory on the ground of three masterpieces; *Wilhelm Meister*, *L'éducation sentimentale* and *Don Quixote*. Yet, these three works later serve as the basic representations of the three main types of the genre as postulated by Lukács. Cervantes' work is that of abstract idealism. It serves as the thesis, the starting-point in Lukács's system. Flaubert's work is the representative type of disillusioned romanticism. It is the antithesis. Goethe's novel is the representative of synthesis, and of *Bildungsroman* also. Namely, Lukács's working method is as follows. He chooses three masterpieces, inferring from them the general, philosophical and aesthetical, traits of the novel. Then from teese general, philosophical and aesthetical qualities, he deduces the three main particular, philosophical and aesthetical, types of the genre, giving as examples the same three masterpieces that have served as the starting point of his system. Now the vicious circle is complete. Lukács's argument—taken from the philosophy of history—seems watertight. Yet, its applicability to the concrete cases of history of literature, or its plausability from the point of view of the theory of literature, is more than problematic. All the more so, as the whole theory is supported by but a few examples, again from the aspects of literary history and the theory of literary genres.

According to the implications of Lukács's theory, it is Dante's *Commedia* that occupies an intermediate position between epos and novel. It is *Commedia* where the basic motive of novel—wandering—has first presented itself. It is the first piece of work where architectonics gets the upper hand over the organic nature of epic works. We can still find here the confined totality of epopee but the individuality of its figures has become preponderant. And this still-existing totality very fruitfully combines the coherence of cosmos with the disruptedness of earthly life. The same way as *Nibelungenlied* stands on the borderline with its proportionate structure and ballad-like, dramatic atmosphere. As many statements, as many questions. For example, the motive of wandering has already presented itself much earlier, that is, in the *Odyssey*, and in another fundamental, Latin epos in the wake of its Homeric predecessors, the *Aeneid*. Hence if the motive of wandering marks a borderline in the history of epic genre, then this can be drawn not in Dante but much earlier, in the above-mentioned ancient epics. Lukács's comments on the architectonic structure of the *Commedia* seem plausible. It is the structure of the *Commedia* that is the most architectonically arranged, in being the *par excellence* architectonic structure. It is not its novel-like nature but much more its so-called epic qualities that can be disputed. Since in the *Commedia*, beside the basic motive of wandering, the architectonics of composition and the individuality of its figures, as the main traits of novel form, the confinement of world picture has still been maintained as an attribute of epos. Yet, at this point, there arises another problem. If the finite world picture is indeed a criterion of epos, then there can actually be found some elements of epopee

in Dante's work, while the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, with their widening world picture, cannot be taken for epics, or can be called semi-epics only. If the finite nature of the world picture is not a criterion of epos, then the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* can be designated as epics but there remains nothing of the so-called epic qualities in the *Commedia*. But no need to continue our reasoning. The point is that Dante's work is but a dubious stage of transition. In all probability, it has very little in common with the so-called classical epopee —like the *Iliad*—as outlined by Lukács and Hegel. However, in the architectonics of Lukács's novel theory, the transitory position of the *Commedia* seems, by all means, from both the aspects of the philosophy of history and of logic, indispensable.

Contrasting epos with novel is justified by the changes of the condition of the world. Since one genre is based on one kind of world condition, while the other genre has its roots in the other, adequate state of the world. It is the world of novel and of drama that is one and the same. Nevertheless, putting them into a contrast can be confirmed by their different relations to the very same world, or, by the different aesthetic qualities arising from the same world condition. For novel conforms to the changed condition of the world, its aesthetic qualities originate in the world as it is. Drama rejects the changed state of the world. Its aesthetic qualities come into being in opposition to the actual world condition. All in Lukács's further reasoning springs from this argument, with a penetrating way of abstraction but a faint characterization, thus, with a strong pretension to theoretical abstraction and a more feeble aspiration for a subtle, complex analysis of concrete historical situations. For example, it follows from his above argument that after the momentous break in the history of the world, epic genre, by being empirical, undergoes a transformation. Drama, that is, tragedy, does not alter, by being alien to real life. It is a substantial and intensive genre, while epic, or more precisely, novel, is an empirical and extensive one. The dramatic personae is nothing but the intelligible hero, expected to be born, while the protagonist of the novel is an actually existing, empirical person. Drama —following from its very essence—gives a preordained totality, by being concentrated. Epic—following from its very nature—has to construct this totality, in being extended. Up to this point, Lukács's generalization seems correct, yet historically not concrete enough. For drama also has more empirical, say, more epic variants, for example, the English Elizabethan drama is contrast to the classical Greek tragedies. Just the same way as novel has more condensed, say, dramatic variants, for example, the classical French short novel as contrasted with the classical English novels. Therefore, any generalization seems disputable. It can also be asked how novel can form a non-empirical but substantial totality akin to drama. The answer is that it constructs a protagonist with one essential life problem only, just like drama, albeit thereby

the protagonist becomes an allegorical figure. The other way is that novel, detached from the empirical world, is soaring into the world of Utopia, which results in a lyrical or dramatic novel structure. For the former way, Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* serves as an example. It is the most dramatic novel written by Goethe, by being focussed on one problem only, with its not fully-shaped figures. The latter novel type, that of Utopia, with its lyrical and dramatical qualities, remains without illustrations. Both agruments are good examples for Lukács's method, namely, they are mere theoretical generalizations without any historical background. As a matter of fact, Goethe's work, in his œuvre, and in general, in the history of novel also, is the most concentrated, that is, the most dramatic variant, constructed upon, above all, a dramatic inevitability. However, it does not reduce the complexity of this piece of work but merely elevates the level of its abstractness. It does not deadens it into an allegory, but adds a more intensely symbolic character to it, thereby enriching the polysemy of the figures and events. However, it does not call for a dramatic form but for one kind of a modern short novel, by being more condensed, concise, in the manner of short stories, and more parabolical. The same way as in the other type of the novel. The novel structure, now and then, absorbs lyrical and dramatic elements. At first, let us consider lyricism. And let us take representative examples, that is, *Werther*, *L'éducation sentimentale*, or the masterpiece of Alain-Fournier, *Le grand Meaulnes*. These three examples indicate the same phenomenon. Namely, the novel structure will be filled, as a compensation, with lyrical elements just when the most constitutional element of epic—the plot of the narrative—has lost its significance in close correlation with the newly-born obstacles to the actual or illusory, self-realization of the protagonist. In other words, lyricism, emerging in the composition of the novel, does not serve as a compensation for becoming utopic or allegorical, but for the danger of becoming static and incapable of actions. As a matter of fact, allegory, Utopia, the direct phantastic quality of events, time and again, manifest themselves in the novel. These phenomena, in fact, disagree with the empirical nature of the novel, with its low level of stylization. Yet, this collision does not result in a dramatic or lyrical form. Something more interesting and typical ensues. What is not novel-like, while being absorbed into the novel, is transformed into an actually novel-like quality. For example, what is fantastic, will be embedded in an everyday or pseudo-conventional medium by the low level of stylization in the novel. Eben the most fantastic phenomena will be treated as the most banal events of everyday life. We find one and the same in classical authors, say, in Gogol, or in modern ones, say, in Kafka. All this, by no means, alters the epic quality of the novel. It merely produces a very fruitful tension between life material and the way of actually putting this material into a literary form.[3]

The method of comparing novel with epos, epic with drama, and novel with tragedy, gives rise to an extremely manifold problem. Lukács, in his novel theory, emphasizes that genres are rested upon their self-contained principles. They cannot be interpreted by the trinity of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The principle of aesthetic plurality, that is, insisting on the independence of aesthetic qualities, becomes a crucial point in his late aesthetics. Yet, in his early novel theory, we come across quite the opposite idea. That is, the attributes of epos, novel and drama, by being intricately intervowen, can be inferred from one another. Thus the traits of novel can be obtained from epos, and the characteristics of epos from novel. What is more, even drama can be derived from epos, and Lukács opposes drama as against novel and vice versa. All this implies that genres are not different, independent aesthetic formulations of different life phenomena but form a separate system, consequent in itself. In this system, their positions are not defined by their relations to various life phenomena having taken shape in literary works but are specified by their relations to other literary formations, in other words, to other genres. Thus theory gains an autonomous existence. All this is a typical example of establishing an autochtonous, doctrinaire theory. And even typical of the illustration of how one theory gives rise to the other. As the theory of genres, separated from the facts of history, and consequent in itself, is based on a theory of the philosophy of history, also separated from historical facts and consequent in itself. Namely, the theory of genres does not follow from a direct analysis of the facts, but is derived from their indirect analysis by the philosophy of history. This is the explanation for the duplicated gravitational energy of this theory, drifted more and more apart from real historical processes in its self-governed movement.

Thus the reasonably often-quoted novel typology of Lukács is based on his novel theory, rightly cited and noted, as outlined before. In fact, all this is much more complicated. For it is not simply the general theory of novel, and the attributes of the genre as a whole, implied in it, that are subdivided into subtypes, prevalent only in a limited scope in the history of the genre, with their more specified peculiarities. On the contrary, as we have seen, it is the range of types and subtypes that sum up the whole genre, while the types and subtypes are derived from the genre as a whole. Up to this point, there is nothing wrong in this method. Since it means nothing else but that the theory has been created by induction. As the *Heidelberger Philosophie der Kunst* implies, and Lukács's late aesthetics has laid down as a basic principle; individual works comprise generalizations, thus, the abstractions of the genres also. Namely, it is individual works that the attributes of the genre can be abstracted from and not vice versa. Yet, it is not this inductive method that has been chosen by Lukács in his novel theory but its much more restricted application, which thus has turned into quite the opposite. That is, there are

but three works, representative ones indeed, from which the whole genre is inferred with all its properties. Then the three, and only three, types of Lukács's novel typology, with all its characteristics, illustrated by one and the same three novels, are deduced from the thus abstracted genre and its characteristics. What is more, all this is based on the—once denied—trinity of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The three types of novel are at the same time three examples for the lack of communication between the self and the world. They reflect the three types of problematic individual existence and their three kinds of endeavours to call into being substantiality in themselves and from themselves. The first type of novel is that of abstract idealism. It is the thesis. Here the soul is narrower than the outside world. It is its restricted nature from which this discrepancy follows. The other novel type is that of disillusioned romanticism. It is the antithesis. Here the soul is wider than the outside world. It is its comprehensive nature from which discrepancy follows. The third type of novel is that of *Bildungsroman*. It is the synthesis. Here, and only here, the soul reestablishes its unity with the world. In this unity, and in this case only, discrepancy disappears. It is worth considering the above types one by one, thus following the archs of the architectonics of Lukács's theory.

The phenomenology of the first type, that is, the novel of abstract idealism, being the genre of restrictedness, is based on the analysis of *Don Quixote*. The term, applied here, and its definition is rather poetic. This is the "historical moment" when romance losts its substantiality, just when the God of Christianity leaves the world. Everything what follows, springs from this. First of all, human beings search for a new substantiality in place of what has been lost within their own souls, in being homeless everywhere themselves. The second consequence is that the foundations of belief have been lost. Yet belief itself has not stopped functioning. And unfounded belief turns into nothing but mania. Thus one of the extreme perspectives for the problematic individual unfolds, that is, madness. The third consequence is that God, deprived of his mastery, is metamorphozed into a demon. And belief in a demonic God acquires obsessional, demonic character itself. All this leads to the narrowing down of the soul. Thus soul, having shrunk into its obsessions, stands against a conventional, stagnant world. The soul of the individual and his deeds springing from his soul are no more in accordance with one another. This discrepancy is compensated by feverish actions. The demonic activity of the soul, haunted by its obsessions, presents itself in inadequate chain of adventures.

Cervantes' masterpiece offers an appropriate example for this type of novel and world condition. There the intimacy of a soul that has lost its fundaments, on the verge of madness, revolts against the hopeless, prosaic banality of the world. Nevertheless, there is something half-comprehended, or, half-

analyzed in the above reasoning. That is, when interpreting the knight of doctrinaire idealism, who bares his sword against the inevitable changes of the world in the name of his noble obsessions, Lukács points out mainly the tragic elements, without laying enough emphasis on the comic qualities. For the very reason, as the interpreter himself is involved in a lyrical way in his theme. Since in all his philosophy of history, promoted by ethical motives, or in all his ethics supported by the philosophy of history, there emerges —as an extreme conclusion—the possibility of a quixotic attitude. To put it more clearly, to avoid misunderstanding, Lukács, concluding on this—actual or illusory—type of novel, stresses the comic element but without analyzing it in its genesis. Thus the demonic and tragic motives gain added emphasis, while the *malgré lui* comic elements become incidental. Albeit the dignity of the noble knight rests upon on the unity of both. Namely, he struggles in a comic situation with a tragic pathos. While in tragic situations, he reacts in a comic way. For he is aware of his, both tragic and comic, nature. He has consciously chosen tragic struggle, what is more, his obsessions also. And, consciously too, rejects and ignores what is comic. Thus a kind of vibration arises between the two in the novel, namely, between tragic as contrasted to comic, and comic as opposed to tragic qualities. It results in the tragi-comical character of the novel. Nevertheless, Lukács regards it as a destructive category that degrades tragic as the purest way of an ethical existence. It is highly instructive to compare his novel theory with his book on drama. There he also puts the figure of a doctrinaire idealist who calls for a dramatic form. No epic medium can be suitable enought to construct upon him a novel composition. In the life of marquis Posa or that of Gregers Werlee, Reverend Brand, ideology, sterile in itself, breaks under the power of obstinate facts. The purely ethical motives call forth pure immorality. In Lukács's book on drama, by being less abstract, more factual, from the aspect of literary history also, the basic tragi-comical character of the figure becomes obvious. His tragic incapability to communicate with the world also comes to light, the same way as the comic quality of his inadequate actions.

Beside the paradigmatic masterpiece of this type of novel—*Don Quixote*—a few examples are quoted; a highly problematic list of examples, that is, Kleist, Dickens, Balzac, Gogol and Pontoppidan. None of them is pertinent. None of them can be derived from the fundamental piece of work, if not by a kind of intellectual agression.

The works, enlisted here, are one by one masterpieces. Yet, differing in their nature from the ideal pattern. It is Kleist's protagonist, Michael Kohlhaas who resembles to the geatest extent the noble knight. He is haunted by obsessions just like the Don. In fact, by other obsessions, with other kind of motivation. Cervantes' work is a metaphysical masterpiece, that of the philosophy of history. Kleist's work is a masterpiece of psychology, more

precisely, pathology. The knight *a priori* rejects the world. That renders his belief an obsession. His series of adventures offer an ontology of mania. The horse-dealer has never worried about the world. A piece of impudence turns his whole being inside out and converts him into a maniac. His story offers the clinical diagnostics of mania. He has deeply been offended in his absolute benevolence that renders him absolutely inhuman. Thus he does not resemble the Don who *a priori* rejects the world with his consequent obsessions, but is much more akin to Othello, whose whole being has also been turned inside out by his abrupt madness.

Dickens can be ranked here but with difficulty, namely, along with the demonic heroes who have lost their substantiality. Nothing is further from his figures than this noble madness rooted in metaphysics. They are familiar but with petty freaks. All this does not follow from the artist's views on the world, it is a mere technique of characterization. Dickens's method is that of a realistic portrait-painter who deals with the oddities of gestures and has nothing to do with the basic principles of the world, nor with a cosmic revolt against them. He does not even reject the world as it is, only wishes to improve it here and there. It is not the danger of becoming humorous against what he sets bourgeois trustworthiness, but because it is precisely his ideal. He does not fear and shun humour, on the contrary, it is one of his most characteristic artistic means. He does not undertake on a demonic revolt, he is but a resigned moralist, and so on.

Chichikov is also far from the intellectual sterility of abstract idealism haunted by obsessions. He is not a maniac but a swindler. He has no freakish ideas but brilliant—grotesque—flashes. He does not reject the dead world around him but only wants to turn it to his own advantage. He does not intend to achieve moral respectability, he strives only to gain a credit, in the very strict sense of the word. In fact, demonic qualities are at home in Gogol's œuvre also. Nevertheless, it is only the milieu around the protagonist that is demonic, not himself. They are not the metaphysical demons of a metamorphozed God, deprived of his mastery, but rather the phantoms of Russia blocked in its development, the phantoms that really exist but have also lost their credibility. As a matter of fact, *Mertvuiye Dushi* could not be continued, not because of the aesthetical dilemma—that of the philosophy of history—of this novel type, but because of the radical changes in the writer's views on the world.

No need to continue this reasoning for a long while, we mention only, however, that the protagonists and the novel structure of Balzac are again something quite different. Now it is not the inadequate activity of a restricted individual against a conventional, stagnant reality. The essence of this novel type is rather a reasonable actioning of an individual who strives for self-realization, parallel with the historical processes, and has gained the self-

consciousness of a bourgeoisie. The world of Balzac's novels is chaotic also. It is chaotic, but not a world in stagnation, rather in a dynamic development. If there arises a conflict between some changes of the world and the actions of the protagonist, then it calls forth a tragic quality. It is not the predestined, cosmic tragedy of doctrinaire idealism but a unique and earthly career-tragedy, the failure of a person's self-realization. For this type of novel starts with the self-realizing endeavours of its protagonist and ends with the story of a career.

The same way as Pontoppidan's masterpiece did—*Lykke Per*—a late example of this novel type, more behind in time than the novels of Balzac. It is not a mania of historical importance that this novel is focussed on, but a large-scale project. Its protagonist is not a grotesque idealist but a self-made man, a conscious careerist, who has failed in his undertaking. He does not want to destroy the world around him, he only wishes to win in it. Thus he cannot really fail, yet, his life in the end becomes void of any changes or perspectives. He is not a romantic hero who is always dissatisfied with his achievements, and is always restless, but someone who cannot break with his traditional environment and mentality. Thus he is not overcome by a merciless, outer destiny, but by his inner stubborn Protestant pietism. Lykke Per is not the man of intellect who has been ruined by his inner struggle—as Lukács puts it—but is a sluggish son of a vicar who cannot step over his own shadow. He cannot get over from the vicarage to the palace and get back from the palace to the vicar's house. In the vicarage, he is longing for the palace, while in the palace, he is yearning for the vicarage. It is not a holy madness, but a petty, double homelessness. And the story of the protagonist is not a late paraphrase of the noble knight's grotesque apotheosis but only a faint, northern reflection of the dynamic career of Balzac's vigorous protagonists.

The novel of abstract idealism, that is, the thesis, has actually an antithesis, the novel of disillusioned romanticism. Thus *Don Quixote* can be set against *L'éducation sentimentale*. The latter is the novel of the 19th century. Cervantes' work is characterized by the pure activity of a soul that has narrowed down. Flaubert's novel illustrates the pure passivity of a superabundant soul. In the former novel, intimacy has narrowed down to one obsession only, while in the latter one, this intimacy is broadened into a dimmed lyricism. In abstract idealism, idea and poetry could not penetrate life. In disillusioned romanticism, life could not soar up to the world of ideas and poetry. Here and there soul fails to succeed. Yet, a different soul, with a different milieu that has caused this failure. In Cervantes, this milieu is a stagnant and prosaic world of conventions. In Flaubert, it is an amorphous, decomposed irrationality that presses back the burst of a superabundant intimacy. And this discrepancy gives rise to the contemplation of the protagonist just the same way as discrepancy in *Don Quixote* has led to madness. The protagonist who turns inside, becomes a lyrical individual, not only subjective but someone who is con-

templating and reflecting on himself. It is worth noticing that exactly in such a novel where the contemplative, disillusioned protagonist indirectly reflects on himself, still within the sphere of aesthetics, there appears the figure of an essayist, a platonist, who, always indirectly, reflects upon himself also, but is getting to exceed the confines of aesthetics, or is at least on the verge of it.

The protagonist's turning to the past does not solve the newly-born conflict between himself and the outside world, as the works of Scott and Meyer or Flaubert's semi-masterpiece, the *Salammbô*, testify to it. Nor does a seemingly opposite way of solution, as represented by the figure of the clever and pragmatist Stolz in *Oblomov*.

Now it is worth casting a closer look at these new types of novel. As both of them are enlightening. The example of historical novel is instructive for one reason only. It clearly illustrates the case when the whole genre, and the individual works also, serve for nothing but a possible solution of a concrete problem, that of the philosophy of history, and are formed as autonomous, although ideologically given, aesthetical products. The example of *Oblomov* is more complicated. As one can actually point out some similarities between Frédéric Moreau, the protagonist of Flaubert, and Oblomov, that of Goncharov. That is, they are similar according to the phenomenology of a historical stagnation, but not according to the ontology of it. Namely, symptoms and effects can be compared but causes and the inner nature of the syndrome are essentially different. In fact, we can observe the same—symptomatic—decay here and there. Yet, a different one. Oblomov's native village is very far from Paris, not only in space but in time, too. In Goncharov's masterpiece, it is the useless, "futile man" from the patriarchal past of Russian nobility who is lolling through all his historical agony on his so much symbolic sofa. In Flaubert's masterpiece, a non-patriarchal, bourgeois Frenchman, who has just cast ashore from the flood of the recent past, is loitering about all his historical decay in the so much symbolic streets of Paris. The difference is a complete time-lag between the two historical phases. In Goncharov's work, we can witness the decay of nobility that precedes the spreading of bourgeois mentality. In Flaubert's work, we can witness the decay of bourgeoisie following bourgeois development. Oblomov is the bourgeois individual incapable of being born. Frédéric is the bourgeois, incapable of keeping going on with his life. In Goncharov, the great Russian realistic novel is being to be born. In Flaubert, the great French realistic novel is getting to decline.

In sum, the accessory examples, enlisted above are not relevant, or are half-relevant only. Yet, the analysis of the paradigmatic *L'éducation sentimentale* is undoubtedly brilliant, even the most brilliant flash in the young Lukács's œuvre, where he realizes that time is the constitutive element of the novel form and points out that time is nothing but an undermining principle

in modern novel. Namely, in the modern world, where reasonable actioning has stopped adding sense to time, time presents itself as a fatal, irrational power that works against man, incapable of any action. Thus the experience of time for modern man is at the same time a remembrance of the past. It is nothing else but the *durée* of Bergson that has manifested itself much earlier in art. As a consequence, *L'éducation sentimentale* is, by all means, the purest realization of novel form. It does not point back to the arcetypic epopee just because it is still ignorant of time. It does not possibly bring the genre to an end but much more constitutes the novel form as it is.

Lukács's analysis is brilliant not only in itself but in its perspectives also. For he draws the lines towards the still non-existing modern novel. From the actual historical constellation—a great moment in his theory—he concludes the historical constellation to come. According to him, modern novel will be subjectivist and plotless, with time as its constituting or undermining principle. All this also implies, as a matter of course, the lyrical and contemplative nature of modern novel, and, as a consequence, the dilemma of the distintegration of the classical novel composition. Namely, Lukács's reasoning implies everything, albeit in the bud, from what the epic of the 20th century springs forth.[5]

From the thesis—the novel of abstract idealism—and from antithesis —that of disillusioned romanticism—consequently follows the synthesis, that is, *Bildungsroman; Wilhelm Meister* following *Don Quixote* and *L'éducation sentimentale.* In fact, this reasoning is absolutely sterile. It is the abstract logic of logic itself, and not the concrete logic of the history of the genre or of literature as such. What is called synthesis remains within the bounds of the genre, and is merely an aesthetical, artistical achievement, in which problematic individual becomes reconciled with the world. It is an illusory, not a real solution, for what can be called a real one, exceeds the bounds of art. It can be found in the sphere of philosophy, that of ethics and the philosophy of history.

For Goethe's paradigm is nothing but the reconciliation of the problematic individual with the world around him. It establishes a palmful cosmic peace in a spaceless, chaotic turbulence. Here the totality of the world can be viewed with the eyes of the protagonist himself. His position is exceptional but representative, setting the synthesis of humanism as against the thesis of mere activity and the antithesis of mere contemplation. The essence of humanism is consideration. It is not so much surpassing discrepancy, as a quiet resignation felt over the acceptance of this discrepancy. It is not an extreme attitude but a settled one. It is not the fever of madness, the lyricism of tonality but the wisdom (and platonism?) of resignation. Its main category is not a revolt against the given circumstances, nor is a compensating irony, but education aiming at the acceptance, and at the same time improvement,

of what is given. The reconciliation of the protagonist with the world is a process, that of education, in which the protagonist complies with the world and vice versa. It may lead to the very danger of the genre, a romanticized world view, devoid of any problems. Lukács, beside the paradigmatic work, *Wilhelm Meister*, also gives an accessory example, that is, *Der grüne Heinrich*, yet without drawing the line that arcs over between these two works. Since it would be the descending line of arch of a decaying form. And what is set as an example of synthesis—even within the sphere of art—cannot curve down. The analysis of the novel itself, this novel only, is subtle and sensitive. It is only its synthetic character that can be disputed. However, Lukács's system needs this point of his argument which inevitably distorts the very nature of historical processes, or that of literary history. For there is nothing to prove that *Wilhelm Meister* would actually be a synthesis. On the contrary, everything confirms that *Bildungsroman*—thus *Wilhelm Meister* also—is nothing but a type of novel among the others. It is quite troublesome to call attention to the fact that the synthetic quality of this novel is a nonsense even from a historical point of view. For the first, more important part of the novel, precedes with, say, 70 years—while its complete form with 40 years—*L'éducation sentimentale*. The same way as all the examples of the other two types of novel—except Cervantes—not precede but follow this piece of work. Only a reasoning based on an extremely ideological-philosophical logic, can set a work, however, great masterpiece it would be, as the synthesis of those that succeed in time. In fact, *Bildungsroman* exists as a type of novel enduring for quite a long time but not as a synthesis. Its duration—roughly speaking—can be taken for nearly 150 years. It begins with, say, *Tom Jones*, and spontaneously ends with, say, *Der grüne Heinrich*, or consciously, with *Bouvard et Pécuchet*. For Flaubert retracts the principle of education of *Bildungsroman*, and exactly in *Bouvard et Pécuchet*. Just the same way as he recanted the classic romantic novel in *Madame Bovary*, or the classic, realistic novel in *L'éducation sentimentale*. Nevertheless, not only the issue of synthesis that is highly disputable but also Lukács's reasoning on the creation of a romanticized form lacking any problems. Since *Wildelm Meister* does not eliminate problems but rather matures them. It achieves harmony not by avoiding disharmony but surpassing it. It is exactly a life material or life possibilites having exceeded or the be exceeded that are the directly romantic elements of the novel, for example Mignon and the Harper or actor's life as such. The education of the protagonist and his humanism, constituted by the unity of an active life and contemplation, also comprises getting through this life material and thereby exceeding it.[6]

When analyzing the above three types of novel, or in other words, the two novel types and their synthesis, two points of Lukács's theory especially become disputable. One of them is that his whole conception originates

in and finds its solutions by means of philosophy, the philosophy of history, and not the theory of genres or the history of literature. The other point is that the whole conception originates in and finds its solutions by means of the Hegelian philosophy. Let us have a brief survey of both.

It is not only the conception and the main outlines of the theory but its components also that rest on the philosophy of history. That is, the general traits of the genre, the moment of its genesis, the nature of its protagonist and composition, are all based on this kind of approach, the same way as the historical variants of the genre, their peculiar traits, their moments of genesis, the nature of their protagonists and compositions. Lukács applies three paradigmatic examples and some accessory ones. The way as he treats these examples—Cervantes, Flaubert and Goethe—offers a typical illustration —from methodological aspect—how theory can give rise to another one. Lukács infers the general traits of the genre from three examples, then from the general traits he deduces the peculiar types of the genre. Thus, these three works serve as the basis for abstracting the general traits of the genre. And the very same three works are called the basic types of the genre obtained from the general traits. The accessory examples; Kleist, Balzac, Dickens, Gogol, Pontoppidan, Goncharov are—as we have seen—also misinterpreted or half-understood. And what does not fall within the sphere of the philosophy of history, that is, does not fit in with a theory of genres based on the philosophy of history, is ignored by the theoretist. For it is not the individual processes of the history of novel that are left out from this theory but the most important ones together with the most important novel types. No need to enlist them. Yet, for example, the late antique novel of adventures that intertwines the profaned motives of the *Odyssey* with the vulgarized elements of religious mysteries, but has nothing to do with the metaphysical motives of the genre, is also overlooked. Picaresque is also missing. Neverteless, not so much its aesthetical value as its position in the history of novel that is rather significant. No mention is made of the English novel of the 18th century, the genre of, say, Swift, Sterne, Defoe and Fielding. This is true also of the 17—18th century, the genre of, say, Madame de Lafayette, Lesage, Diderot, Rousseau. Albeit the realist novel of the 19th century, which is the main source of, if not the analyses, then the references of the theory, has its roots exactly in these two eras. Yet, all this is quite obvious. For Lukács's theory is nothing but a kind of philosophy of history based on the arguments of the history of genres and the theory of novel. It is not a history of genres and theory of novel based on the philosophy of history. It is not the historical philosophy of a novel theory but is the novel theory of a historical philosophy.

Hegel's views on epos and novel and the relationship between the two genres, manifest themselves in Lukács's novel theory as its constitutive elements. That is, Lukács's reasoning follows from point to point that of Hegel.

Not only the Hegelian heroic-poetic epoch and the organic, happy age of Lukács can be well parallelled with each other but the genre of these two epochs; epos is one and the same. The attributes of this form also overlap, just like the unique example of both authors, the *Iliad*. Both here and there, it is the changes of the state of the world that transform the original heroic epopee into a secondary, bourgeois one, that turn epos into novel. Moreover, what is called novel by Lukács, originates not only in the same time and same manner, as the novel of Hegel but resembles even in its nature the Hegelian novel form. With Hegel, novel is an attempt to revive the poetic qualities of a prosaic world. In Lukács, the protagonist reestablishes the integrity of the world in his own dreams, while the structure of the novel virtually reconstructs the once lost totality. That is, in both theoretical system, the starting point, the epic origin, the genesis of novel and functioning of the philosophy of history in the whole system, they all precisely coincide. The same way as do the phenomenology of both systems, and their typology also. For in the German master, the basic attributes of the novel arise from the conflict between the poetry of the heart and the prosaic nature of the outside world. His Hungarian disciple varies this idea in his novel theory accordingly. That is the very conflict in the novels of abstract idealism and of disillusioned romanticism also. In fact, with but a slight difference. For in case of both types of novel, the actual, given poetry of the heart and the actual, given circumstances are different. Yet, the basic conflict—from the aspect of structure and function also—is one and the same. Moreover, even the point of synthesis is marked out by Hegel. He gives three solutions to the basic conflict, namely, a tragic, a comic way, and one, counterbalancing between them. The latter is the most significant where conflicts are smoothed away. The protagonist conforms himself to the prose of the outside world. He changes himself in the world, and converts the world in himself. All this obviously equals to Lukács's concept on synthesis and on the *Bildungsroman*, as represented by *Wilhelm Meister*. Furthermore, it can be parallelled with the illusory-utopic solution of art within the bounds of aesthetics as postulated by Lukács. In summary, Lukács's novel theory does nothing else but unfolds and applies to the concrete and changed situations Hegel's miniature analysis on novel. Yet, in a way that strictly follows the master's basic method, when building his construction on the philosophy of history, not on the history of literature.[7]

It is interesting to notice how the position of poetry, with the definition of its qualities, is marked out within the whole complex of the philosophy of history and of the theory of genres, and indeed in a highly consequent manner. Actually, there is no theory of poetry here. We find it only in traces, namely, those elements of it that can be derived from the philosophy of history, or, rather, can be adapted to it. Otherwise, the analysis of poetry remains incidental in the whole of Lukács's œuvre. All the lyricism that springs forth

from his own temper, and there is a great deal in him, is transformed into metaphysics. It has penetrated the whole œuvre as the self-justification of the theory. Lukács, even in his novel theory, does nothing else but marks out the position of poetry in his system. More precisely, he gives the "historical moment" when poetry appeared. Thus he defines only the position of the genre within the architectonics of the philosophy of history, but does not offer its phenomenology. The moment of genesis is when being disrupted from an organic cosmos, that is, the genesis of individuality, actually a problematic one, as individual existence is *a priori* problematic. Thus the lyrical self is the twin brother of the protagonist of the novel. They are born together, from the same world condition, and react the same way to the world. Yet, the protagonist of the novel has its subtypes that run their—historical—course determined by the rules of the philosophy of history. While the lyrical self—at least in this theory—does not undergo any further changes but maintains the artistic perspectives of his genesis. The historical development of poetry, by being based on the philosophy of history as it functions in Lukács's novel theory, was outlined by Béla Balázs, who stood so close to Lukács at that time.

Thus the lyrical self is being born at the moment when cosmos is being disrupted. Lukács deals with this topic parallel with his comments on the psychology of the protagonist. From this disruption follows the reflective character of the protagonist. That is, he begins to reflect on nature, of what he has been born, and to reflect on himself as someone who has been disrupted from nature. The profound unity or difference between nature and soul becomes problematic. From all this follows not only the isolation of the soul but that the separated soul becomes substantial for himself. And nature set against an isolated and substantial soul vains symbolic connotations. That is the very essence how and when the remote, yet lyrical, relationship between a symbolic soul and a symbolic nature reflecting on one another, comes into being and defines the attributes of poetry as against epic or drama.

Thus lyrical self is in search for nature, feeling a nostalgia for the one-time existing unity between him and nature. This is the starting point of Béla Balázs, who has established the twin of Lukács's novel theory in his theory on poetry. In his system also, the essence of a lyrical attitude is a reflected relation of the self to oneself and to nature. From all this arises—just like in Lukács—separation and solitude. Nevertheless, the point is the basic position of the philosophy of history in his system. For in the primordial unity of soul and nature, still there exists no poetry. It springs forth from the moment of disruption, and is, from now on, reflected on, it exists exactly through reflection. It stops being in a new unity to be established. In his theory on poetry, with but a slight modification, Béla Balázs reproduces the fundamental pattern of Lukács's novel theory, that of the philosophy of history. At the

time of the primaeval unity, beside epos, there exists no poetry. The disintegration of unity gives rise, on the one hand, to novel, and on the other, to poetry. While the reestablished harmony—together with many other formations of art—brings them to an end.[9]

NOTES

[1] This paper is part of a greater study that deals with the theory of genres in Hegel and in the young Lukács.

[2] The attributes of epos are given in the first chapters of the novel theory. In: *Regényelmélet* (Novel Theory), Magvető 1975, pp. 491—545.

[3] On the comparison of epos with novel and novel with drama, see, *Regényelmélet*, pp. 502—545.

[4] See the analysis of abstract idealism in *Regényelmélet* on pp. 547—560.

[5] See in *Regényelmélet* on pp. 560—576.

[6] On synthesis, see, *Regényelmélet*, pp. 576—586.

[7] Cf. Hegel: *Esztétikai előadások* (Aesthetical lectures), III, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1956, pp. 302—303.

[8] See note 35.

[9] Balázs theory on poetry is analyzed in detail by Gergely Angyalosi in his paper entitled: A lélek kálváriája és diadala (A fiatal Lukács György és Balázs Béla elképzelései a "belső élet" és a líra összefüggéseiről) (The calvary of soul and its triumph (The views of the young Lukács and Béla Balázs on the correlation between "inner life" and lyricism)), In: *A fiatal Lukács dráma- és művészetelmélete.* (The drama and novel theory of the young Lukács), Magyar Színházi Intézet (Hungarian Theatrical Institute), 1979, pp. 251—272.

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The Semantics of Rhythm in Verse

(ON THE PROBLEMS OF CONTENT IN ABSTRACT FORMS)

István Szerdahelyi

I

Addressing certain problems stated by George Lukács, the present paper is an attempt to resolve the following contradiction. It is one of Lukács's fundamental theorems that "it is impossible to apply a definite artistic technique universally, or even to take it over a single time as it is, completely unaltered. The reason for that evidently lies in that artistic form is the form of a definite content and, therefore, allows no generalisation reaching further than the specificity that is always stated in it. Specificity as the central category of aesthetics determines, on the one hand, the generalisations of the mere and direct individuality of the phenomena of life and, on the other, it terminates all universality in its own field. Unterminated generality surpassing it would burst open exactly the artistic unity of the work."[1]

Lukács restricts somewhat the range of validity of this principle[2] which he insists on with some emphasis elsewhere also by adding: "The question should, however, be asked whether artistic technique may not conceal tendencies toward the general surpassing this specificity. This question is well-justified. No doubt, the techniques of all the arts do contain elements (metrics, treatment of the marble or the bronze) that not only can be learned, but can only be acquired by the difficult task of learning and the experiences related to it can be communicated by one man to another." He finds, in the final analysis that, even besides these tendencies towards the general, "artistic technique is but a means of the best possible expression of the creative rendering of reality that we have summed up in the principle that form is the form of a definite content and it endows all works of art with a specific level of specificity."[3] That is, even though artistic technique does not include elements, devices or process of a broad applicability, these elements, endowed as they are with the mark of the universal, are embedded into a formal structure that, seen as a whole, is unique.

In a later, more detailed analysis, Lukács concretises this idea by stating that the so-called abstract forms — rhythm, symmetry, proportions, etc. —

are not confined to being the forms of a specific content; taken in themselves, these forms are "worldless" (weltlos), "contentless" (inhaltlos) and "subjectless" (subjektlos). "Weltlosigkeit", Lukács writes, "bedeutet, mit diesen Einschränkungen, also so viel, dass der Rhythmus, als Wiederspiegelung eines formalen Moments der Welt, diese inhaltlich nicht in sich begreifen kann. Er ist in einem gewissen Sinne inhaltlos, d. h. — abstrakt angesehen — auf beliebige Inhalte formal beziehbar. Jedoch erstens ist diese Möglichkeit der Beziehung zu einem Inhalt zugleich ein Imperativ; ohne eine solche Beziehung ist der Rhythmus asthetisch nicht vorhanden. Zweitens muss die abstrakte Bestimmung der Beziehbarkeit auf beliebige Inhalte dahin konkretisiert werden, dass zwar aus der Analyse eines Rhythmus für sich niemals herausgebracht werden kann, auf welche Inhalte er andwendbar ist; dass aber in jedem einzelnen konkreten Fall der Inhalt eine deutliche und eindeutige Affinität zu einem bestimmten Rhythmus hat. Weltlosigkeit bedeutet also Inhaltlosigkeit im hier dargelegten Sinn, gepaart mit einer bestimmten unaufhebbaren, wenn auch a priori nicht bestimmbaren, passiven, vom Inhalt ausgehenden Intention zu je einem ganz konkret bestimmten Rhythmus.

Sehr ähnlich ist es um die Subjektlosigkeit des Rhytmus bestellt. Auch hier ist diese Art der Wiederspiegelung einer Form an sich unabhängig von schaffenden und rezeptiven Subjekt. Aber auch hier ist diese Unabhängigkeit nicht erkenntnistheoretischer Art wie in der Wissenschaft, sondern involviert ebenfalls eine gewisse Intention auf die Subjektivität: auf die Evokation bestimmter konkreter Gefühle, Empfindungen etc., und zwar sowohl für das schöpferische, wie für das rezeptive Subjekt. Die Intention ist jedoch keine direkte, sondern wird durch die zu formenden Inhalte vermittelt, aber so, dass die Form nicht in dem Sinne restlos mit dem von ihr geformten Inhalt verschmilzt, wie in den eigentlichen, mimetischen Formen, sondern bei der Notwendigkeit einer konkreten und organischen Einheit, bei dem Erlebniszwang einer aus dem Gehalt herauswachsenden Form, doch eine gewisse — evokativ wirkende — Selbständigkeit als Moment bewahrt. Die für die Ästhetik ausschlaggebende Einheit von Form und Inhalt erscheint mithin in einer modifizierten, beschränkteren Weise. Das ist ein wesentliches Kennzeichen aller abstrakten Formen, als Wiederspiegelungen bestimmter, isolierbarer, formaler Momente der Wirklichkeit."[4]

Since progress in functional poetics[5] has by now provided a fairly solide fundation for testing the general principles of an artistic theory of abstract forms against a concrete material, I shall in the following confront Lukács's statements with the contentwise and formal characteristics of rhythm in verse. The procedure is greatly facilitated by the fact that (as indicated by the above quotation), Lukács himself demonstrated his ideas concerning abstract forms mostly on the example of rhythm.

II

Let us point out by way of an introduction that parallels to Lukács's dilemma are found elsewhere, too, in literature on poetics. At the one extreme, the authors consider rhythm in verse to be a purely formal element which is explored in vain for any contentwise motive, including emotions. Those representing the other extreme attach to each and every metre a well-defined content, stating e.g. the iamb to be always and *ab ovo* vehement, aggressive, the troches smooth and lacking vigour, the spondee and the molossus calm and sublime etc.

The debate has been on the agenda since the metricians of antiquity up to the present day.[6] Recently, an information theoretical approach has come into fashion, but it, too, tends to engender views just as extreme. The information content of a meassage is known to be the greater, the less predictable the text; every repetition is counted as redundant, i.e. not indispensable for the understanding of the message. In the light of these investigations, verse with its periodic repetitions is "indubitably a redundant and diffuse form of poetic language, even in the veryday sense of the term".[7] In contrast, others feel that the intuitive-subjective statements concerning pre-determined emotional content of the various forms of metre are verifiable in terms of objective criteria based on information theory, by grouping them according to their information energy content. The probability of occurrence of stressed and unstressed syllables in the different metres can be expressed mathematically, and the information energy of a given metre can be calculated therefrom using a certain formula: it gives 1/2 for the iamb, the trochee, the Ionic and the antispast, 5/9 for the dactyl, the anapest and the amphibrach, 1 for the spondee, the pyrrhic, the molossus and the tribrach, etc.[8]

Without wanting to deny the applicability of information theory to aesthetics and the theory of art at large, I feel this approach an unlikely one for solving the problem in question, since information content can only define the quantity of information in the statistical sense, the degree to which the combinations of signs are predictable, forecastable, surprising or novel. In this sense, the rhythm of a purely iambic text totally devoid of intercalar feet simply carries no information at all, what with the stressed and unstressed syllables following one another with perfect regularity. Quite a different situation arises, on the other hand, if the quantity of semantic information is considered: verse practically doubles the semantic content of the text (as I shall discuss it in detail later on): besides the prosaic meaning of the words, the rhythmic acoustic form also carries a special — musical — meaning. To remain with the iamb: "in Goethe's *Mignon*, the soft calm of the southern landscape is exuded by an even throb of iambs" expressing that which the text does not communicative in so many words, notably that "nothing dis-

turbs the rhythmic trembling of the orange trees' foliage in the gentle breeze".[9]

As regards now the "objective" verification in terms of information energy of the emotional content attached to metre *ab ovo* and once for all, this is in fact no better than an intellectual joke; every intuitive conception contrasts the "rising" with the "falling" feet, whereas information energy would place the iamb into the same category with the trochee, the anapest with the dactyl, etc., and so it would also the proceleusmatic and the dispondee, the feet with the widest conceivable difference between them. Thus the calculations of information theory could at best serve to refute the "intuitive" approach, and even that only by a "mathematical" approach that would put the peeping of a chick and Achilles' battle-cry into the same category on the basis that both were uttered by dipedal beings. (Efforts towards such a reputation would at least be a step in the right direction, it being a familiar fact that poems widely different as to emotional content are often expressed in the same metre; the relationship of rhythm to meaning is far more complex than the theoreticians who assume a given and generally valid relationship between the two care to admit.)

III

It is, then, advisable to consider facts that are less easy to formalize in mathematical terms but more exact all the same. The first question to be faced is the following: Is it true (as stated by Lukács) that rhythm is the reflection of a formal moment of the world and, as such, incapable of embracing the world contentwise?

In order to forestall any misunderstandings, it is worth pointing out that, of course, Lukács himself was well aware of the fact that rhythmic processes are no mere reflection of the mind, but objective facts of reality as well.[10] What we are concerned with here, however, is "rhythm" as a generalised sensual reflection of human consciousness divorced from any concrete process.[11] In a certain sense, one may in fact say that rhythm, being formal, cannot embrace the world contentwise — for rhythm, a regular (serial) repetition, is in itself no more than a formal framework permitting the recurrence of the most varied temporal and spatial process. It orders the phenomena of a process into a definite succession; even or irregular, slow or rapid, monotonous or diversified, simple or complex, etc. is the nature of the repetition, but the process itself, the phenomena that are to repeat themselves remain undefined.

It is clearly unnecessary to expound here the dialectic of content and form and, its nature of a relative concept in any detail in order to make it clear that this formal nature of rhythm appears from one specific aspect only,

whereas from another aspect (when the emphasis is on the form of motion and the substance for which the form is the vehicle is irrelevant) rhythm, too, does comprise certain contentwise moments of the "world" (of reality) albeit, as compared with other reflections, in a way that abstracts sensual totality to a very considerable degree.

Clearly, nothing in reality is exclusively form or exclusively content (pure form or pure content); just as clearly, the same thing placed in different contexts acquires various contents. Examining as we are here the aesthetic problems of rhythm — which are anthropocentric to start with — we are in the fortunate position of being able to confine our inquiry to the single question: Does rhythm in itself have some sort of human content?

The answer to that question has been a commonplace in the literature on poetics since K. Büchner's famous argument[12] (of which G. Lukács himself made considerable use[13]); ancient work songs probably had an important function in organising and integrating group activity. Their rhythms could facilitate the purposeful activity of man and enlarge his freedom (although it should be rather hard to trace back all rhythmic art forms directly to the performance of some concrete task of work).[14] Having stated this, the authors of theories of rhythm tend to regard the subject of human content in rhythmic forms as exhausted, although, clearly, this is only one side of the coin.

Indeed, it is not only the rhythm of one's actions that makes a task easier to fulfil, but so does the rhythm in the task to be fulfilled as well. Regularly recurrent phenomena are, on the other hand, easier to explore and to overview, they can be memorized with less of an effort; on the other, their observation, exploration (or overcoming) is also greatly facilitated by the predictability with which their rhythmic repetition endows them.

As regards verse rhythm, it is its mnemotechnic function (its role making memorizing easier) that is paramount. A conspicuous feature of the early phases of culture, those before the advent of writing, was that practically every text intended for preservation and transmission was put into verse including even calendars and laws, most probably because verse is so much easier to recall.[15] This practical role, however, automatically lent — as we shall see further on — an aesthetic quality (although not necessarily an artistic one) to the said texts and fulfilled a semantic function of sorts as well by indicating the "speech situation", the "frame of reference", the "scope" of the text, meaning in the case under scrutiny that it was not just any common everyday utterance, but something of a more lasting nature, intended for a broader audience.

A fact that theories of rhythm tend to realise even less is that rhythmic processes may fulfil a negative as well as positive role in the human world. V. Levi, for instance, considers that a high degree of rhythmic organization

invariably evokes positive emotions and an anticipation of the further repetition of the stimulus, whereas rhythmic disorganisation tends to be a source of negative emotions and attitudes of flight.[16] In reality, however, the mechanical monotony of over-punctual repetition is alien to man if it appears as a force regulating life on the pattern of prison discipline or barracks routine. This is true not only of the life rhythm regulating our whole mode of existence: a source of delight as long as it remains on a human scale, rhythmic activity turns into a tiresome nuisance, an irksome irritant the moment it forces us to move like automata or fills our ears with a mechanical beat, etc.

Thus rhythm, however "formal" a moment of the world it may be, always has a human content: in social life, it may be a factor promoting the extension and growth of human liberty or, on the contrary, hindering it by increasing subordination and confinement. It is at this point that it is attached *ab ovo* to the aesthetic sphere of reality, for if human essences, liberty or subordination are expressed in terms of a sensual phenomenon, then that phenomenon — by the well-known definition of the "social school" — acquires an aesthetic quality as well.[17] Theories of rhythm, textbooks of aesthetics and poetics tend to enlarge only upon the beauties of rhythm, whereas the spatial and temporal configurations of regular repetition may be the vehicles of any aesthetic quality, the splendid and the comic, the charming and the tragic, etc.[18]

IV

As regards now, of all the different types of rhythm, the rhythm in verse, this often assumes beyond any doubt the traits of sheer unadulterated beauty (of all the different aesthetic qualities), undertaking, in Hegel's words, in contrast to the informality of prose, "the tracing of a bolder outline and a tinkling frame for the ideas (of the poet), for their structure and sensual beauty".[19] This function is most conspicuous in that "artistic" version of literature[20] which, similarly to decorative art, uses the instruments of language to create works that conform to the value-criterion of beauty. I would ascribe to this category such poetic ornaments as characterize e.g. the formal artistry of Sándor Weöres;

— ∪ ∪ — || — ∪ ∪ —

Égi csikón léptet a nyár,
tarka idő ünnepe jár,
táncra való, fürdeni jó,
nagy hegy alatt hűsül a tó.

Hogyha kijössz, messzire mégy,
hogyha maradsz, csípdes a légy.
Habzik az ég, mint tele tál,
tarka idő szőttese száll.

(*Magyar etűdök*, 54.)

A choriambic form segmented by diereses is a rare, virtuoso performance, a spectacular expression of the freedom of the poetic talent's mastery over the language; here, the beauty of the rythm is one of the fundamental factors of the opus. But does it have a meaning?

It depends on what one means by meaning. If we take the position that a thing is that which is referred to by a sign, an information is that which is carried by it and content is that which is represented or evoked, etc. by it, then these choriambi have no meaning, but are simply beautiful, just as the poem as a whole does not reflect social reality in the sense that so-called "autonomous works of art" do. This piece of linguistic ornaments does not lay down the law; it does not make us realise that our outlook is in need of revision — is is "only" beautiful; taking it in "only" makes our life more joyful — and that, of course, is no less important to us.[21] The only way of talking a meaning into Weöres's choriambi is to identify meaning (as many a definition does) with its impact on the receiver, for such a rhythm is doubtless an impact-factor. In my view, however, this possibility should also be rejected, since these choriambi are not symbols of some Platonic idea of beauty; nor do they substitute it, refer to it, evoke it, etc. — rather, they are infused with the quality of beauty, a relationship that differs definitely from the semiotic relations.

This sort of "beautiful-only" verse form does, however, turn into a vehicle of meaning in the poetry of "autonomous art" where, as indicated above, it may mark out, in a transposed fashion, the frame of reference of the statement; one agrees in fact with the authors who hold that "verse in itself warns us that we are about to enter a reservation, a world of fairy tales, a world of letters, that we are about to see the "celestial double" of reality"[22] — by which I would be inclined to understand a fictitious poetic world endowed with the features of artistic reflection of the realistic kind, while pointing out that the warning may refer to something else in the case of a code of law or of a calendar text. Yet even if the beauty of rhythm is found in this case to have an unmistakeable semantic function, that does not, of course, prove the point of hedonist aesthetics (professed in Hungary by the poetics of László Négyesy), which stated verse rhythm to be "artistic when it is felt to be beautiful" for "causing delight is the purpose of art".[23]

V

All the less so since rhythm may be related to the artistic sphere of the aesthetical at another level also, through its "metametric function",[24] its evocative quality, its capacity of reflecting reality, albeit in a very abstract way. It has two possibilities of achieving this. One was referred to above

where I pointed out that rhythm is formal only in the sense that it leaves the nature of the concrete repetitive process undefined while it does state the order of repetition. Accordingly, rhythm is obviously capable of evoking the forms of motion of various processes of external or internal psychic reality.

In the case of verse rhythm this may, among others, assume an appearance where the forms of motion of the phenomena concretised by the meaning of the words remain linguistically unspecified, being given their specificity only by the rhythm of the text; in that case, verse form acquires a contentwise, meaning-specifying function to such a extent that, without it, the text would have a totally different meaning. This fact is illustrated best by those procedures which transform verse into prose with a minimum of alterations, revealing, for instance, that Goethe's *Wanderers Nachtlied* in such a form says no more than a commonplace statement by a forest warden in Thuringia, or the text of a picture postcard sent home from an excursion,[25] while the tensely warlike images of the muster of the warriors in the *Itiad* degenerate into caricatures.[26]

The evocative means of poetry include certain variants of *change and break of rhythm* also. Before presenting these, however, I would point out a highly significant difference, namely the duality of versification in the great epic forms (which had retreated to the periphery of contemporary literature) on the one hand, and the small forms of the lyrical genres on the other.

The metres of the great epic forms are multiform as a rule — that is, they admit of several widely different rhythmic realisations as equivalent solutions of one and the same formula. One of these is, for instance, the shloka, the basic formula of the famous Indian "epics", the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, in which the stress of only six of the 16 syllables is fixed; the other slots may be filled by either short or long syllables:

$$\bar{\upsilon}\ \bar{\upsilon}\ \bar{\upsilon}\ \bar{\upsilon}\ \upsilon\ —\ —\ \bar{\upsilon}\,|\,|\,\bar{\upsilon}\ \bar{\upsilon}\ \bar{\upsilon}\ \bar{\upsilon}\ \upsilon\ —\ \upsilon\ \underline{\upsilon}$$

Although to a lesser degree than this, the traditional European epic formula, the hexameter is also fairly variable:

$$—\ \bar{\upsilon}\bar{\upsilon}\,|\,—\ \bar{\upsilon}\bar{\upsilon}\,|\,—\ \bar{\upsilon}\bar{\upsilon}\,|\,—\ \bar{\upsilon}\bar{\upsilon}\,|\,—\ \upsilon\upsilon\,|\,—\ \bar{\upsilon}$$

The formula of this line provides equal opportunity for rhythmic realisations of starkly contrasting nature. As opposed to both the holodactylic hexameter (composed of dactyls (— υ υ) everywhere except for the last foot of the line, giving an excited, hectic or enthousiastically animated impression), and the line based on spondees (— —) and especially its irregular variant, the so-called holospondaeic hexameter (where every foot, even the penultimate one, is a spondee) is slow, stately, dragging or hieratically balanced. Thus the metre would allow the rhythm to adapt its expressive instruments to the

meaning and mood of the text. Moreover, scholars who have made a profound study of the epics have produced serious evidence as to the existence of such a striving. Consider, e.g. the famous line in the Sysyphos-episode of the *Odyssey* (Chant XI., 1. 598.):

$$— \upsilon\upsilon \mid — \upsilon\upsilon \mid — \upsilon\upsilon \mid — \upsilon\upsilon \mid — \upsilon\upsilon \mid — —$$

s ásva a völgybe gurul le rohanva a szikla az átkos

which clearly suggests that "Homer's verse-music not only describes the rolling rock but also represents its gathering speed by making the relevant line purely dactylic, in contrast to the lines predecing and following it".[27]

The problem (which tends to be neglected) is the much greater abundance of counter-examples. In the same *Odyssey*, the average number of spondees is 1.8 in the lines describing Hermes gliding like a gull (Chant V., ll. 49—54.), whereas in a text of a similar lentgh (chant XXII., ll. 15—20.) describing Antonious somersaulting with his throat transpierced the average number of spondees is 1.1; in other words: the images of smooth gliding and thrashing agony combine with practically identical rhythms (in the Greek original, that is). I would, therefore, be much more inclined to regard the correspondences of text and rhythm in heroic epic poems as mere coincidences. This, however, is not the main point. Even supposing that Homer and the other epic poets did shape verse form with deliberate intent and that there arose experts who could read a meaning into these forms, a socially objective existence of that meaning does not follow. Objectivity of that kind requires, as László Garai put it, the meaning to "have a real existence in the structure of supraindividual organisations";[28] that is, the sign must function within an activity of social dimension. The practice of communication of the great epic forms did, on the other hand, certainly not permit the audience to follow the rhythmic realisation of each and every line with such a concentrated attention as would turn a proportion of dactyls and spondees into a personal experience: the aidoses could hardly have recited the heroic poems at a pace that would have made possible such an identification which would require of the recipient a qualitatively different approach (slow reading with free associations[29]).

Clearly, the verse forms that used to be associated with the great dramatic forms reflect much the same situation. Yet this does not imply that the prosody of these great forms lacked every semantic function and indicated only the general "frame of reference" of the communication. The hexameter, and the other forms of heroic verse, too (the French *alexandrin*, the Italian *endecasillabo)* suggest not just "the celestial copy of reality", but a "*heroic* reality" as well, whereas blank verse and other dramatic forms are supposed to indicate "*dramatic* reality". By that, they not only fulfilled the role of a convention specifying a genre, but also guaranteed the charge of emotion and

mood associated with the genre; this is the fact that accounts for the above-mentioned transformation of the muster of the warriors in the *Iliad.*

The short forms of lyrical or epico-lyrical poetry are not, on the other hand, refractory to a reception of a more intense type, especially in modern times when sung and recited verse were relegated into the background by poetry on the printed page. Fourteen-line sonnets and other forms of a similar extent give ample opportunity for the reader to perceive whether the rhythm is sounded by pure or mixed feet and to appreciate the resulting acoustic character, especially where the regular lilt is broken by an unexpected jolt in the rhythm, as in the first strophe of *V. László (László V.)* by János Arany:

— — | ∪ — | ∪ —
Sűrű setét az éj,
∪ — | ∪ — | ∪ —
Dühöng a déli szél,
— ∪́ | ∪ — | ∪ —
Jó Budavár magas
— — | ∪ — | ∪ —
Tornyán az érckakas
∪ ∪ | ∪ — | ∪ —
Csikorog élesen.

(Dense and dark is the night
A South wind is a-rage
On good Buda Forst's tall
Spire the weather cock
Utters its piercy creak.*)

Expressive changes of rhythm are even less characteristic of epic poetry. The traditional formula of classical European epics was the hexametric line; the Indic epic is more diversified as to prosody, using besides the shloka inserts written in tristubh and, more seldom, other lines as well (vanashastha, ruchira). These changes of rhythm do not, however, have any evocative quality either; the change from shloka to tristubh and back is purely accidental, and so is in the dialogues the heroes' choice of this or that metre. In quite a few cases unmotivated changes occur within one and the sma monologue of a dialogue, as for instance in the rhythm of the Snake Sacrifice in the first book of *Mahābhārata:* (The Book of the Beginning. Translated and edited by J. A. B. van Buitenen. The Chicago University Press. 1973. Chicago—London. p. 120.) The priest said:

> Taksaka is coming soon now, O king, and he will be in your power.
> Already we hear his mighty roar as he hisses from fear !
> The Thunderbolt-Wielder has let him go,
> He falls from his lap; his body limp
> From our spells, he comes writhing in the sky,
> Witless, hissing his harsch sighs.
> Thy sacrifice, lord among kings is working toward its proper end.
> Now thou mayest grant a boon to the worthy brahmin.

* All the poems are translated by Bálint Balkay.

The first two lines of the priests offering the sacrifice addressing King Dzhanamédzhaya are in shlokas followed by four tritubhs; the address ends in shlokas again (Dzhanamédzhaya replies in tristubhs and the narrative is resumed in shlokas).

Changes in rhythm following changes of content, as in János Arany's poem *A fülemüle (The Nightingale)*, are of a different nature. The poem beings with double quartets:

Hajdanában, amikor még	4 + 4
Így beszélt a magyar ember:	4 + 4
Ha per, úgymond, hadd legyen per !	4 + 4

(Way back in the olden days when
Also spake the Magyar men:
Let a lawsuit be a lawsuit . . .)

but in describing the song of the nightingale, the poet changes to the more melodious septets:

Megköszönve a napot,	4 + 3
Melyre, ím felvirradott.	4 + 3
A sugárt és harmatot,	4 + 3
A szellőt és illatot;	4 + 3

(Singing graces for the day
Which for her had dawn'd today.
And the sun rays and the dew,
And the fragrance and the breeze,)

imitating the trills of the bird by shorter and shorter couplets:

Azt a pompát, fényt és színt,	4 + 3
Mely dicsőség	4
— Semmi kétség —	4
Ő érte	3
Jött létre	3
Csupán őérte, mind !	4 + 3

(All the pomp, the glow and sheen,
All the glory
Which — beyond doubt —
Was all made
Just for her,
Only for her, all of it!)

After the song of the nightingale, the poem reverts to the original double quartets.

If these possibilities offered by rhythm in verse as a vehicle and modifier of meaning are considered from the aspect of semiotic typology, it becomes fairly obvious that, to use the categories of Ch. Pierce, the poem functions as an iconic sign: the melodious septets evoke the notes of bird song by actual resemblence; the tercets' "triplets" do likewise for the trills, etc. It is to be noted, however, that this entity of semiotic typology comprises two types of

semantic functions. Iván Fónagy states an important fact when he points out that "poetic sign-transfer", a characteristic feature of verse form also, can be a vehicle of meaning not only in that, in the text, "the sound is doubly; related to the same object" (that is, the poem itself creaks with the weather cock or sings with the nightingale), but also by "suggesting things that have not been expressed verbally".[30] Fónagy himself illustrates this situation by examples that are non-rhythmic (and, as such, do not belong to the sphere of verse in the strict sense); but consider the iambs in József Kiss's poem *Tüzek (Fires)* instead;

— ∪ | ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ | — — | ∪ — | ∪
Ismeritek a vidám rőzselángot
∪ ∪ | — — | ∪ — | — — | ∪ —
S ropogását a vályogtűzhelyen?
∪ — | — ∪ | ∪ ∪ | — — | ∪ — | ∪
A nyílt arcokat, a nyájas világot,
— — | ∪ — | ∪ — | — — | ∪ —
Hol tréfa és dal önként megterem?

(Have ye all known the merry flame of faggots,
Its crackling in the fireplace of clay?

Frank faces looking in a jovial world,
Where song and jokes so effortlessly thrive?)

The words paint an idyllically harmonic and peaceful world, but the pyrrhics and spondees break the rhythm up to the point almost of arrhythmia, foreshadowing, as a musical "device" something that the poet will only reveal later on, notably that this world had already broken up, shattered and dissolved in nothingness.

VI

Verse forms may, however, function in another way also (to resort again to the Piercean semiotic typology) as symbolic rather than iconic signs, where the signifier and the signified are related only by social convention. Rhythm in this case does not "resemble" the thing it evokes; the two are linked in an associative way by a social consensus, to which the reader can only become party by learning it.

That which is being meant here is, as it were, the "luminous halo" of a specific from of historical association: verse form will often evoke in us the atmosphere, feelings and ideals of the world in which it had originated and flourished. This is so because the practice of versification (and, of course, its theory as well) changes and develops in step with the evolution of literature, with the change of the literary eras and trends. It would be easy to prove by a comprehensive analysis of poetic history that the stages of development of the method of representation resulting in what we call Antique, Medieval,

Renaissance, Baroque and Romantic eras of literature — or, more broadly speaking, of art — can be characterised, besides their place in the history of ideas, themes or style, in terms of their place in poetic history as well. Just as all the elements making up the structure of a work of art constitute a single integrated entity, (from the ideas that it projects to linguistic form and, within it, to rhythmic form) so do the themes (traits of world view and life feeling) characteristic of an era in literary-social-artistic awareness interweave with the proper verse forms. The hexameter or the Sapphic stanza have become as symbolic of ancient Greek and Latin culture as the Corinthian order of architecture or the tympanum; the sonnet and the *terza rima* are associated with Renaissance Italy the same as the motet and the madrigal, whereas the characteristic forms of stress-timed prosody lend a poem as Hungarian a "flavour" as the image of a balance well in the Puszta or a stylized tulip.

Artists often make use of the instruments of expression inherent therein; the tradition drawn upon when devising the form of a poem may, therefore, be highly characteristic either of the literary epoch, or of a given stage in the evolution of an artist. When Miklós Radnóti wrote his *Hetedik ecloga (Seventh Eclogue)* thus,

> Fekszem a deszkán, férgek közt fogoly állat, a bolhák
> ostroma meg-megújul, de a légysereg elnyugodott már.
> Este van, egy nappal rövidebb, lásd újra a fogság
> és egy nappal az élet is. Alszik a tábor. A tájra
> rásüt a hold s fényben a drótok újra feszülnek,
> s látni az ablakon át, hogy a fegyveres őrszemek árnya
> lépdel a falra vetődve az éjszaka hangjai közben
>
> (Prone on the boards I lie as a trappèdebeast among vermin,
> the fleas attack anew and anew but the army of flies has a-settled.
> Evening again, do you see, captivity's grown a day shorter,
> shorter a day too is life. Asleep is the lager. The moon is
> shedding its light on the scape: its sheen makes the wires re-tense:
> seen through the window, the shadows of arms — la.)

it was unnecessary for him to state in so many words the ideals in the name of which he faced the horrors of lager-life: everything is explained in his stead by the antique hexameter recalling the birthplace of European culture. It should be emphasised that such procedure is frequent not only in poetry, but in all branches of art. Thus, for example, when E. de Chirico in his painting *Italian place* juxtaposes the motives of the locomotive and an ancient marble statue, he also confronts the 20th century with Antiquity. Even within literature, it is not only verse form that is suited for such an associative-symbolic function of expressing content but — to remain within the sphere of abstract forms — so also is style, for example. Just as the representative forms of stress-timed rhythm may — as referred to above — project a specific "Hungarian flavour", a pattern of folk motifs, so did "Whitman, for instance, manage to

create the popular tone *sui generis* of his poetry not least by drawing on the Bible and on contemporary American big-city slang. In the case of both Becher and Aragon, it was the vanished golden age of a national literature so close to the heart of all (German and French classicism, respectively), that served above all as a basis for popularization. Brecht revived the tradition of ancient oppidan lore, medieval goliardic poetry and the heritage of Villon in his search for his own great-public voice. Mayakovsky in his turn relied primarily on the language of the street of the revolutionary times surrounding him and laying down the new order: it was so that he intended to let the people aknowledge as its own not only the content of his art, but also the music of his language."[31] This language-music and style is, of course, a "form" only in its relation to the meaning of the words; examined in itself — as I pointed it out in the introduction — it embodies a unity of content and form just as any other component of a work of art.

As the clearest example of the extent to which the evocative scope of verse form is based on mere conventions, let us recall Hungarian stress-timed rhythm. In Hungarian public awareness — both naive and scientific — there persists a belief that this type of versification is, to quote János Arany, something of a specifically "Hungarian national verse mold" whose "rights, alienable only to the detriment of the nation",[32] must accordingly be asserted. This view had for long been combined with then idea that metric poetry — especially the iambic verse — is, in fact, alien to the Hungarian language, to the Hungarian sense of rhythm,[33] and it was admitted only in the 1970s that stress-timed rhythm and metric poetry in Hungarian are forms "produced with the same ease and equal in aesthetic value".[34] However, owing to the backwardness of our research in comparative versification, we still possess no comprehensive overview of the various systems of stress-timed metre; this prevents us from recognising that the Czechs, Slovaks, Finns and Esthonians all use the same "national verse mold"; as also the fact that a number of its variants exist all over the world, from the French to the Armenian, differing only in the location of word stress.[35]

These facts, however, do not, in themselves, refute by any means János Horváth's statement by which the stress-timed rhythm which "we feel to be ours, we know and profess to be Hungarian, in contrast to every imported system of verse" occupies a special position in our literature — even if it does not coincide with the patterns of versification of other nations — simply because "all Magyardom claims this verse mold for its own".[36] The specificities of poetry in verse are objective in the social sense rather than in themselves. In the present case, this law applies in the sense that the traditional and familiar stress-timed forms will evoke a "Hungarian flavour", communicate to a Hungarian audience the contents of emotion and mood associated with this specifically national form, even though the same forms do occur in other

literatures all over the world. So long as Hungarian public awareness considers stress-timed rhythm a distinctive national specific, the content of emotion and mood does objectively exist in these forms sanctioned by social usage, and this is not changed in the least by the scientific fact that this item of public awareness happens to be an illusion based upon incorrect information. This situation also is analogous with the rule pointed out already by Lifshits that "aesthetic significance is not a natural property of the object. Its materiality contains not a whit of what is called beauty",[37] a rule which, in the wake of the arguments of the Soviet "social school" (especially of L. M. Stolovich) is being used as an axiom by most of Marxist aesthetics.

VII

The above parallel is valid also in the sense that, just as this social objectivity of aesthetic qualities must invariably be interpreted in a historically and situatively concrete fashion, by which one and the same phenomenon may acquire objectively different aesthetic qualities in a different historical context or situation,[38] the significative content of a verse form may also change as a function of the age and the textual context. For example, iambic verse first arose in the 7th century B. C. as the form of Greek sarcastic poetry suffusing the text with a suitable emotional colour. As time passed, however, it spread so wide in other genres also that its comic nature (emphasised by a "limping" rhythm) was preserved in one type of iambic lines only, the choliamb, whereas its three-and-a-half-stress variant entrenched itself as the form of songs associated with the extasy of love and wine, a far cry from the satiric tone. Thanks to the neo-classic strivings in poetry, these abstract forms retained their emotional colour and abstract content up to modern times, whereas another tradition linked alternating unrhymed four- and four-and-a-half-stress iambic lines — blank verse — with the dramatic forms of several centuries. The onset of a flood of iambs in the 19th century then devalued this metre to where it lost all its evocative charge.

The same formula may thus carry a variety of meanings. In a poem dating from Hungarian enlightenment, the age of Kazinczy and Csokonai, the four- and four-and-a-half-stress iambic lines clearly recall "Anacreontic verse" even if the text is not in that tradition. In the case of a contemporary poet, no such "metric allusion" is likely and, even if it were so intended, his public will certainly not perceive it; the consensus of public awareness that used to warrant that perception is no longer there.

Broken rhythm is another case in point. The conventions regulating the degree of coincidence of metre and rhythmic realisation also are historically changeable. Whether a given handling of rhythm, tight or loose, is an evocative

moment carrying some meaning or just an indifferent average and, as such, devoid of any particular meaning can only be decided in function of the consensus of the age. With József Kiss the fragmented iamb is a conspicuous innovation and hence, an expressive form marking the content with a strong colour, while since Lőrinc Szabó it has been the standard form of iambic metre: if the poet intends to be avocative today, he must follow the basic formula of the classical iamb. But here, even more concrete interrelationships may take a hand, namely the handling of rhythm as an individual characteristic of the poet — related dialectically to the conventions of his age — and above all, its rhythmic totality in the poem as a whole. In a poem of a loose rhythm overall, that looseness may have an evocative function, but the same could hardly be said of a break of rhythm which would not deviate sufficiently from the cadence of the rhythmic totality. Such a break may, on the other hand, acquire a striking, strongly evocative character in a poem of strict metre. In József Kiss's poem *Fires* there is a line where rhythm is broken up by three pyrrhics:

— — | ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ | ∪ — | ∪
Mint macska teszi a madarat űzve.
(Like as a cat chasing a bird would do.)

In another poem, whose rhythmic realisation would remain within the usual limits of poetic licence, functional analysis could point out convincingly that these pyrrhics in the image described by the words

Hideg van . . . Fázom . . . Friss szenet a tűzre !
Gyilkos melegét hadd fújja reám,
Mint macska teszi a madarat űzve,
Akit felvert gyanútlan éjszakán

('Tis cold . . . I tremble . . . Fresh coals on the fire !
Let it blow its murd'rous heat on me
Like as a cat chasing a bird would do
Which it had rous'd an unsuspecting night.)

Contribute the impression of a cat streaking lightning-quick after the bird. Considering the poem as a whole, however, this statement is, in my opinion, open to challenge: its rhythmic totality is so fragmented that this one line can hardly have an evocative power of its own.

Last but not least, the meaning of rhythm in verse is decisively influenced by the meaning of the verse. This does not just mean that the highly indeterminate implications conveyed by the rhythm are concretised by the text — as was the case in the above-cited example of Arany's *László V.*, where the iambic cadence broken by a pyrrhic might in itself indicate any arrythmic-disharmonic occurrence (a stumble, confusion, a burst of joy or pain, a scare, etc.): it is the words that specify within a very broad range of possible meanings, the concrete one, the creaking of the weather cock. Clearly, apart from excep-

tional cases, whenever there is a contradiction between the meaning of the words and their rhythm, the concrete content of the former overrides the abstract content of the latter. In *László V.*, e.g. if "utters its piercy creak" would be replaced by "mutters its throaty croak", the pyrrhic at the head of the line would carry no "message", no meaning at all, since a throaty mutter is clearly out of step with an arrythmic-disharmonic break; that pyrrhic would thus be nothing more nor less than an accidental and irrelevant bit of poetic licence.

The above-mentioned exceptions arise when the meaning and the rhythm of the words are not just incongruent, but in an obvious, vigorous contrast. Such is the case in Radnóti's above-quoted *Seventh Eclogue*, where the contrast between the image of the Lager and the form of the classical hexameter is so accute as to make their clash shred a flashlight upon the evocative intention. Instaces of this type, however, are relatively rare; much more often, the incongruence of words and rhythm deprives the verse form of its evocative potential, relegating it to the function of "tinkling frame" as e.g. a romantic motivation combined with the hexametric form in Mihály Vörösmarty's *Zalán futása (The Rout of Zalán)*;[39] and may even produce a definitely artless effect as in Sándor Petőfi's poem *Bánk bán*, where, as pointed out by Iván Fónagy,[40] the tragic theme coupled with the dance rhythm suggests a naive self-parody.

Even though in this sense I do regard the function of the words in shaping the meaning of rhythm as fundamentally important, I have the gravest misgivings concerning those views of poetics which tend to absolutise the relationship between rhythm and words. Their paradigm is a functional theory, probably derived from a 19th-century English poet, Gerard Manley Hopkins,[41] and very widespread in contemporary literary scholarship;[42] the essence of this concept is that rhyme (and, in the view of certain authors, even all identically structured parts of a text) do not only fulfil a rhythmic function, but are also "vertical metaphors"; they relate the meanings of the words (or identically structured entities) connected by the rhymes "mirroring them in each other". László Gáldi attempts to prove this thesis (which is, in fact, more of a declaration really) in the following way: "On reading Arany's four lines

Ott kéken a Zeusz-lakta *domb;*
Itt zölden a nyájas *sziget:*
Fölötte *lomb*, alatta *lomb*,
Árnyas berek, zengő *liget*, —

(There, bluely, the hill, Zeus' abode,
Here, greenly, a jovial isle,
A frond beneath, a frond above,
A shady glade, a singing grove . . .)

(Ősszel — Autumn)

an almost visual association is set up in the reader's mind — not least under the influence of the rhymes — between the terms *frond (lomb)* and *hill (domb)* on the one hand, and *isle (sziget)* and *grove (liget)* on the other, resulting in a complex impression of sorts, with these intertwining rhymes importing the plastic image of a hilly and verdant, serene Greek isle with its groves. The poem itself is magic indeed, but so is especially its sonorous rhyming; the chime closing the rhythmic unit gives a new radiance to the dry, that is, purely abstract, logical meaning of the verse."[43]

In order to refute this idea, it suffices to continue the poem:

Hullám-mosott *gazdag virány* —
Fehér juhak s *tulkok sereggel* —
Minő kép ez ! . . . *Jer Osszián,*
Ködös, homályos *énekeddel.*

(Rich flowe'd meadows lapped by waves —
White ewes and steers in mighty droves —
What an image ! . . . Come Ossian,
Sing us thy cloudy, misty strophes !)

If the "magic of rhyme" did really set up an associative relationship between the rhyming words, then Ossian, too, should constitute a "complex image" with the flowery meadows, which would not be objectionable in itself, but if his strophes were to be associated with the mighty droves of steers and ewes, that would degenerate the stately voice of this great poem into a lampoon. This, of course, is not the case at all because the whole concept is unjustified.

VIII

In summary, it can be stated that even in itself, in its quality of an abstract form, rhythm in verse does have a content. This content, however,

1. is extremely abstract, and reflects the sensual totality of reality boiled down into the most general abstraction of the forms of motion;

2. this endows it with the function of an iconic sign; in addition thereto, however, it also possesses the potential of

3. enrichting the meaning by its function as a symbolic sign with historical associations.

4. Rather than being inherent once and for all in any given form of rhythm, this meaning undergoes changes in the course of history and probably also under the impact of the poet's personality;

5. it is decisively influenced by the rhythmic totality of the whole poem and especially by the words that serve as its vehicle. The relationship between rhythm and words may be one of three types: the rhythm may underscore, emphasise certain motives of the text; it may create complementary impres-

sions not stated in the words, or may enrich the poem by a significance contrasting with that of the text.

6. In certain cases, however — especially in the forms of great drama and epics — the function of rhythm is just to provide a decorative frame for the text and to indicate, in addition, its genre, artistic intentions or the fact that the text is intended for permanent recording thanks to itr relevance to the broader public and to its general interest.

Lack of space prevents us from extending our examination on these statements to other formal structures such as conventions of genre, modes of composition, the various devices for projecting proportion, harmony vs. disharmony, symmetry vs. asymmetry, stylistic and rhetoric figures, etc. It is fairly evident, however, that the relations of proportion, harmony and symmetry, so important in rhythm, are of a similar nature also in non-rhythmic forms — or even non-literary ones, belonging to other spheres of art; in the above discussion of symbolic signs setting up historical associations, I have in fact striven to illustrate by non-literary examples the extent to which the laws operative here are general, encompassing all abstract form. Many moments pointing that way are presented in István Hermann's analysis of the elements of inner and outer form.[44] It can thus presumably be accepted as a work hypothesis that — *mutatis mutandis* — other abstract forms also enrich and qualify the meaning of the works of art by similar abstract contents.

NOTES

[1] Lukács, Gy.: *A különösség mint esztétikai kategória* (Specificity as an aesthetic category). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1957, 156.

[2] Cf. esp. Lukács, Gy.: *Adalékok az esztétika történetéhez* (To the history of aesthetics). Budapest, 1953, 474; id. *Az esztétikum sajátossága* (Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen); Hungarian edition: Budapest 1965; Vol. 1. 359—360 and 736—744.

[3] Lukács, Gy.: *A különösség* . . . op. cit. 156—157.

[4] Lukács, G.: *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*. Luchterhand. 283—284; for the earlier concepts of Lukács on abstract forms, see Szerdahelyi, I.: *A magyar esztétika története 1945—1975* (The history of Hungarian aesthetics 1945—1975). Budapest 1976, 56—57 and 104—105.

[5] For a survey of Hungarian literature on the topic, see Péczely, L.: *Tartalom és versforma* (Content and verse form). Budapest, 1965, 10—12; id. *Bevezetés a műelemzésbe* (An introduction into analysis of works of art). Budapest 1973, 247—250. For additional sources see Faludi, Gy.: A versformák pszichológiájához (Psychology of verse forms). "Szép Szó", 1937; Devecseri, G.: Jegyzet a versformák kérdéséhez (Note to the question of verse forms). "Szép Szó", 1937; Elek, I.: Adalékok egy verseszététikához (Contributions to an aesthetic of verse). "Esztétikai Szemle", 1938; Szerdahelyi, I.: *Költészeteszététika* (Aesthetics of poetry). Budapest 1972; Egri, P.: *A költészet valósága* (The reality of poetry). Budapest 1975. For a summary of foreign results see Levý, J.: Preliminaries to an Analysis of the Semantic Functions of Verse. *Theory of Verse I.* Sborník Brněnské versologické konference 13—16. Května 1964. Ed. Levý, J. Brno 1966. See also Zareckij, V. A.: *Ritmus és értelem a szépirodalmi szövegekben* (Rhythm and meaning in fiction). "Helikon Világirodalmi Figyelő", 1967.

[6] For a review of the main standpoints see Fónagy, I.: *A költői nyelv hangtanából* (Phonetics of poetic language). Budapest 1959, 123—135; Péczely, L.: op. cit. 26—46; Szerdahelyi, I.: *Költészeteszététika*. op. cit. 321—346. Besides the conceptions indicated

there A. G. Huber's argument *(Ethos und Mythos der Rhythmen*, Strassburg—Zürich 1974) on the definite meaning of antique metric feet; Kecskés, A.: A komplex ritmuselemzés elvi kérdései (Theoretical questions of complex rhythm analysis). "Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények", 1966/1—2, 133—134 (a classification of rhythm-factors into four — imitative, expressive, structural, indifferent — functional categories).

[7] Fónagy, I.: A hang és a szó hírértéke a költői nyelvben (Information value of speech sound and word in poetic language). "Nyelvtudományi Közlemények", 1960/1, 98.

[8] Cf. Marcus, S.: *A nyelvi szépség matematikája* (Mathematics of linguistic beauty). Budapest 1977, 233—238.

[9] Fónagy, I.: *A költői nyelv hangtanából.* op. cit. 140.

[10] Cf. Lukács, Gy.: *Az esztétikum i i .* op. cit. Vol. 1. 230—241.

[11] Ibid., 242.

[12] Bücher, K.: *Arbeit und Rhythmus.* Leipzig—Berlin 1909. On the role of work songs see also Tamás, A.: *A költői műalkotás fő sajátosságai* (The main characteristics of poetic works of art). Budapest 1972, 36—41; Zhirmunsky, V.: *T'eoriya st'ikha.* Leningrad, 1975. 15—16.

[13] Lukács, Gy.: *Az esztétikum . . .* op. cit., Vol. 1, 234—242.

[14] Cf. Újfalussy, J.: *A valóság zenei képe* (Musical image of reality). Budapest 1962, 19; Lukács, Gy.: *Az esztétikum . . .* op. cit. Vol. 1, 241; Voigt, V.: *A folklór esztétikájához* (Folklore aesthetics). Budapest 1972, 94—105; Tőkei, F.: *Sinológiai műhely* (Sinology workshop). Budapest 1974, 156.

[15] Cf. Ritoók, Zs.: *A görög énekmondók* (Greek aoidoses). Budapest 1973, 9—29.

[16] Levi, V.: Voprosi psikhobiologii muziki. "Sov'etskaya Muzika", 196/68, 40.

[17] Szerdahelyi, I.: *A magyar esztétika . . .* op. cit. 506—512.

[18] Garai, L.—Szerdahelyi, I.: Az ismétlődés és az esztétikai minőségek. Repetition and the artistic qualities) In: *Ismétlődés a művészetben* (Repetition in art). Ed. by Horváth, I.—Veres, A. Budapest 1980.

[19] Hegel, G. W. F.: *Esztétikai előadások* (Lectures on aesthetics). Vol. 3, Budapest 1956, 225.

[20] On the interpretation of the category see Szerdahelyi, I.: Realizmus, pártosság, népiség (Realism, engagement, popularism). In: *A realizmus az irodalomban* (Realism in literature). Ed. by Szerdahelyi, I. Budapest 1979, 8—11.

[21] Szerdahelyi, I.: Realizmus és szépség a vizuális kultúrában (Realism and beauty in visual culture). In: *A realizmus a képzőművészetekben* (Realism in plastic arts). Ed. by Szerdahelyi, I. Budapest 1979, 18—27.

[22] Fónagy, I.: Viccel a bácsi (It is a joke only). "Magyar Nyelvőr", 1970/1, 37.

[23] Négyesy, L.: *Magyar verstan* (Hungarian metrics). Budapest 1886, 9.

[24] Petrović, S.: The Metametrical Function of Verse Forms. In: *Theory of Verse II.* Sborník druhé Brněnské versologické konference. Ed. by Levý, J.—Palas, K. Brno 1968.

[25] Cf. Fónagy, I.: *A költői nyelv . . .* op. cit. 260.

[26] Szerdahelyi, I.: *Költészetesztétika.* op. cit. 324—326.

[27] Devecseri, G.: *Műhely és varázs* (Workshop and magic). Budapest 1959, 144.

[28] Garai, L.: Tézisek az agyról, a jelentésről és a dualizmusról (Theses on the brain, on meaning and dualism). "Magyar Tudomány", 1979/8—9, 626.

[29] Munro, Th.: Irodalom, próza, vers, költészet (Literature, Prose, Verse, Poetry). "Helikon", 1968/3—4, 381.

[30] Fónagy, I.: *A költői nyelv . . .* op. cit. 261.

[31] Király, I.: *Ady Endre.* Budapest 1970, Vol. 2, 341—342.

[32] Arany, J.: *A nemzeti versidomról és az asszonáncról* (The national verse mold and assonance). Budapest 1905, 7 and 63.

[33] For a survey of these discussions see Kardos, L.: *Író, írás, irodalom* (Writer, writing, literature). Budapest 1973, 179—188.

[34] Kecskés, A.: Verselméletünk néhány vitás kérdése (Current issues of our verse theory). "Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények", 1972/4, 521.

[35] Szerdahelyi, I.: Hogyan fordítsuk Majakovszkijt? (How to translate Mayakovsky?). "Szovjet irodalom", 1980/2.

[36] Horváth, J.: *Vitás verstani kérdések* (Debated issues of poetics). Budapest 1955, 4.

[37] Lifshits, M.: *Marx és az esztétika* (Marx and aesthetics). Budapest 1966, 146.

[38] Szerdahelyi, I.: *A mindennapi élet esztétikája* (Aesthetics of everyday life). Budapest 1974, 202—220.

[39] Szerdahelyi, I.: *Költészetesztétika.* op. cit. 338—339.

[40] Fónagy, I.: *A költői nyelv . . .* op. cit. 258—259.

[41] Hopkins, G. M.: *The Journals and Papers.* London 1959.

[42] Cf. Turčány, V.: Zamechan'iya k voprosu vzaimovs'azey razlichnikh elementov poet'icheskogo proizved'en'iya. In: *Theory of Verse I.* op. cit.; Hausenblas, K.: Sémantické kontexty v básnickém díle. In: *Theory of Verse II.* op. cit.; Jakobson, R.: *Hang—jel—vers* (Sound, sign, verse). Budapest 1969, 239—241; Lotman, J. M.: *Vorlesungen zu einer strukturalen Poetik.* München 1972, 74—86; Egri, P.: *A költészet . . .* op. cit. 232—233; Hankiss, E.: *Érték és társadalom* (Value and society). Budapest 1977, 97—101.

[43] Gáldi, L.: *Ismerjük meg a versformákat* (A guide to verse forms). Budapest 1961, 121.

[44] Cf. Hermann, I.: *A szfinx rejtvénye* (The riddle of the Sphinx). Budapest 1973, 382—388.

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An Examination of Syntactic Foregrounding as an Approach to Poetry

HELEN THOMAS

There has been a long, ongoing debate about the relationship between a linguistic analysis of literature and literary criticism, and the literary critics have often levelled the criticism of over-objectivisation of the text and thus the destruction of its literary merits at the linguists. It is my firm belief, however, that linguistics can contribute very positively to the understanding of literature, in particular to the understanding of a text as far as its structure and hierarchy are concerned, both of which are of immediate importance in discussing the possible interpretations of a text. Moreover, by an examination of the structure of a work the linguist is in the position of being able to highlight the process by which the raw material is structured, and it is this, above all, which creates a work of art. Not all literary historians reject the role of linguistics but it is usually considered secondary; Wellek and Warren in their 'Theory of Literature' viewing stylistics as a linguistic discipline say: "There are two possible methods of approaching such a stylistic analysis: the first is to proceed by a systematic analysis of its linguistic system and to interpret its features, in terms of the aesthetic purpose of the work, as 'total meaning'. (. . .) A second, not contradictory, approach is to study the sum of individual traits by which this system differs from comparable systems. The method here is that of contrast; we observe the deviations from normal usage, and try to discover their aesthetic purpose."[1] In using the phrase 'we observe the deviations from normal usage' the authors are indicating precisely the type of features which would be classed as foregrounding. It is not simply deviations from normal usage that are called into question when considering the significance of a piece of literature, but rather which of these are to be considered important or significant to the interpretation of the text. On this issue Leech concludes that it is what the reader (or a concensus of readers) deems significant that counts, this somewhat anticlimatic solution having at least the advantage of being able to teach us "the difference between the objectivity (at least in spirit) of linguistic analysis, and the subjectivity (in the last resort) of critical interpretation. It should also teach us that linguistics and literary criticism, in so far as they both deal with poetic language, are

complementary not competing activities. Where the two meet is above all in the study of foregrounding.''[2]

The term 'foregrounding' is the translation of the Czech term 'aktualisace', used by members of the Prague School structuralists, and stands in opposition to the term 'automatization'. By the former they understood, "the use of the devices of the language in such a way that this use itself attracts attention and is perceived as uncommon, as deprived of automatization, as deautomatized, such as a live poetic metaphor (as opposed to a lexicalised one, which is automatized)".[3] Thus we can understand automatized elements of a text as those which are predictable within the context and, therefore, to a certain extent redundant. Foregrounded elements, on the other hand, deviate from the norm and are unexpected and unpredictable in the context in which they occur. For Mukařovský the principal means to foreground elements of the text is through deviations, violations, and he defends such deviations on the grounds that they are indispensable for poetry: "To criticize the deviations from the norm of the standard as faults, especially in a period which, like the present, tends towards a powerful foregrounding of linguistic components, means to reject poetry."[4] In contrast, Jakobson sees the main technique of foregrounding in the use of highly patterned language, particularly in the use of parallelisms, which he considers examples of syntagmatic foregrounding, whereas Mukařovský's deviations are more likely to be examples of paradigmatic foregrounding as, for example, the following deviant collocation; glossy dark wind (Laurence). Since both deviant and parallel structures, including repetitions, can be the means to call the attention of the reader/listener to a particular element or unit, to highlight it as significant, it would be reasonable to suppose that both are means for foregrounding. It also follows that foregrounding may be either syntagmatic or paradigmatic in origin; the former being characterised by the same selection being made in the chain of language where another choice would be more expected, and the latter by a choice of item which is in contrast to the normal range of choices for that position in the chain.

The phenomenon of foregrounding may be found in various types of language: journalese, essays, jokes, especially children's word jokes and puns, and even in everyday conversation where it adds colour, but nowhere is it to be found as much as in the language of literature and above all in poetry, which is characterised by 'the consistency and systematic character of foregrounding'.[5] What is more Mukařovský claims that: "The function of poetic language consists in the maximum foregrounding of the utterance." and, in addition, "In poetic language foregrounding achieves maximum intensity to the extent of pushing communication into the background as the objective of expression and of being used for its own sake; it is not used in the service of communication, but in order to place in the foreground the act of expression,

the act of speech itself."[6] Here I should part company with Mukařovský, maintaining that foregrounding draws attention to the language not as an end in itself but so that the reader/listener will review his understanding of the unit in question or, in other words, he will be thus forced to reconsider how he is to interpret a piece of language. Thus foregrounding serves to highlight the message of the work of art in question and can, in my opinion, serve the purpose of creating new means of communicating i.e. of using language creatively.

It has been said that in poetry there is maximum foregrounding of the language but it must be remembered that foregrounding was considered as one part of an opposition, thus something can only be foregrounded against the background of automatized language; one foregrounded element is necessarily accompanied by the automatization of other elements of the text. Mukařovský's logic is indeed faultless when he writes that: "In addition to the practical impossibility of the foregrounding of all the components, it can also be pointed out that simultaneous foregrounding of all the components of a work of poetry is unthinkable. This is because the foregrounding of a component implies precisely its being placed in the foreground; the unit in the foreground, however, occupies this position by comparison with another unit or units that remain in the background. A simultaneous general foregrounding would thus bring all the components into the same plane and so become a new automatization."[7] but despite the apparent logicality of his argument I think he is mistaken, having failed to take two points into consideration. The first of these is that while a foregrounded element does indeed imply an automatized element, within the framework of the poem this automatized element does not necessarily have to appear. Thus we can recognize a deviant word order in a poem because it does not accord with the norms of the standard language which acts as a background to the poem. At the same time it must not be forgotten that it is not simply that a poem is set up against the scheme of the standard language but also up against the system of the poetic language so that what may appear as a deviant word order for the standard language may not be deviant for the norms of poetic language. Innovations within the terms of the poetic system will at the same time be innovations within the terms of the standard language and will, in all probability, be perceived by the reader as deviant against the standard rather than against poetic language. According to Leech, "The unique creative innovations of poetry, not the routine deviations, are what we must chiefly have in mind in this discussion of foregrounding".[8] The second point Mukařovský overlooked is that there are several different linguistic means to foreground elements: phonological, semantic, syntactic etc. and different elements of a poem may be foregrounded in different ways so that one unit may be syntactically foregrounded, the following one phonologically, for instance, and

this irregularity in the means prevents everything being brought into the same plane and thus forming a new automatization. With these factors in mind it is not impossible to envisage a poem in which all the components have been foregrounded and the very economic nature of poetic expression demands that the language be infused with as much significance as possible.

Poetry, then, offers an ideal environment for a study of foregrounding providing, as it does, the potential of maximum foregrounding. There are, however, two aspects to the foregrounded language of poetry which need to be raised. Poetic language is foregrounded simply by its being poetry and not any other kind of language, being distinguished from other forms of literary language as prose in novels and short stories, and drama. As such, it is subject to certain schemes and forms. Within the sonnet, for example, particular rhyming patterns are expected, a set number of lines, and fulfilling these criteria *cannot* be considered as foregrounding in itself. This is what Leech calls the 'phenomenon of defeated expectancy in verse' that is verse prosody does not act as foregrounding within the poem, but "a failure of the predicted prosodic foregrounding to materialize constitutes a deviation from the secondary, or textual norm".[9] Our concern here is with what Leech calls the deviation from the secondary norm. The other point, closely related to the first, concerns the motivation of apparently foregrounded elements and particularly affects syntactic foregrounding. Within a poem a metre or rhyming pattern may have been set up which the poet sees fit to maintain throughout the poem and this might motivate say, a change in word order that would then be considered as deviant, and, as a result, foregrounded. This would not in fact constitute true foregrounding. Obviously this notion of motivation is going to present difficulties since it will not always be easy to judge whether a deviant element is motivated by formal considerations or whether it is a genuine example of foregrounding. Furthermore it is not inconceivable that an example of deviation be both motivated and a true example of foregrounding. In the final analysis the decision will be a subjective one, based perhaps on some notion such as the Hallidayan 'scale of delicacy'.

The types of foregrounding, deviations and parallelisms associated with the paradigmatic and syntagmatic planes of language, respectively, may be effected by different linguistic means: each of the different linguistic levels provides potential for foregrounding and each level forms a subtype of foregrounding. At the phonological level alliteration, syntagmatic foregrounding, is a device which serves to foreground elements in the text. In Coleridge's "the furrow followed free" the choice of the initial (f) phoneme on three consecutive stressed syllables demonstrates repetition in a situation where variation would be more predictable. It has already been pointed out that rhyme in itself does not constitute foregrounding unless the rhyming scheme is unexpectedly broken. In the English sonnet the final couplet could, however be

considered a case of foregrounding since the ABABCDCDEFEF rhyming pattern is broken by the final GG rhyme.

Logically the next level would be the morphological but this seems to offer the least potential for foregrounding, apart perhaps from poetic morphemes such as 'dost' which is hardly primary foregrounding since it belongs to poetic language.

A much richer source of foregrounding, both paradigmatic and syntagmatic, is the semantic level, and not only is it more fruitful but more accessible since semantic elements are those most easily perceived by the non-specialist reader. Many of the traditional figures of speech for example: metonymy, simile, oxymoron and zeugma belong to this level. An instance of oxymoron would be:

> Fair Greece ! sad relic of departed Worth !
> Immortal, though no more, though fallen, great (Byron)

where 'immortal' is set up against an antonymic expression 'no more' thus calling attention to itself, or in other words being foregrounded and causing the reader to reexamine the notion of immortality. There are, in addition, at the semantic level a whole series of deviant collocations which can be loosely called metaphor and which can be analysed as violations of the Chomskian selection restriction and sub-categorization rules. Examples of the latter abound in e.e. cummings, for instance, 'he danced his did' or 'me up at does'; examples of the former; 'terrified vague fingers' (Yeats), 'the dreamcrossed twilight' (Eliot).

To turn now to the final type of foregrounding: syntactic. In any discussion of syntax the concern is with the relationship between the units of a stretch of language, this stretch of language usually being the sentence. In poetry, however, particularly in the twentieth century, it is questionable whether there are any sentences; like spoken language the units of poetry are not so easily defined. It seems to me that there are two non-syntactic devices which enable us to recognize the units of a poem, both of which may, in their turn, be used for foregrounding: punctuation and typography. Of these two devices punctuation is the more obvious since one of the means by which a sentence is recognized is by the capital letter with which it begins and the full stop which marks its end. Simple though this may seem it is surprising how often punctuation is neglected in a discussion of the units and structure of a text. When we come to examine the poem chosen for exemplification we shall see that punctuation is used in quite a different way to how it is used in non-poetic writing. Punctuation in itself, is not enough to allow us to recognize the units of a poem and so typography must also be taken into account. Typography is simply to be understood as the way in which the poem is printed on the page.[10] Typography may be used to highlight the units of the poem; traditionally regular verse structure would also be marked by

typography as well as by other means — punctuation and syntax. Thus typography foregrounds by marking a unit off as such, to be set against other units of the text. Typography may then be used to mark visually a unit that is already apparent from a simple reading of the text or it may be used to distinguish the units which are otherwise not clear.

Once the units have been established the relationship between these units can be examined with reference to foregrounding. Syntactic foregrounding may be achieved by parallelisms or by deviations; into the second category fall deviations through word order, inversions etc. and ellipsis or deletion. Word orders which deviate from the standard are a common feature of poetic language but such deviations do not always represent a foregrounding since they are often motivated by considerations of metre and rhyme, a fact which complicates somewhat the discussion of foregrounding on the basis of word order. Dillon[11] lists the following kinds of deviant word order: NP fronting, which he equates with topicalization; left dislocation; PP fronting, which is similar to NP fronting and Adjective Phrase Preposing.[12] Although common deviations in poetry these would mostly appear to serve to foreground the fronted elements in the deviant word order. In the case of ellipsis/deletion the whole phrase is brought into the fore for reexamination.[13]

As for parallelisms these may be the repetition of the structure using different lexical items, e.g.

> The seeds ye sow — another reaps,
> The robes ye weave — another wears,
> The arms ye forgo — another bears. (Shelley)

In this way the lexical items which might otherwise be divergent become convergent by being set within the same syntactic environment. A second type of parallel structure is the literary figure of 'chiasmus' in which the structure is reversed as in,

> Down dropped the breeze,
> The sails dropped down. (Coleridge)

Again through the parallel setting the reader is forced to interpret the elements together and to relate them when he might not otherwise have done so. This survey of syntactic methods of foregrounding is not complete but merely gives an indication of the type of structures that enter into the discussion.

In attempting any syntactic analysis it is necessary, first of all, to isolate the units which function as some kind of syntactic whole — this unit usually being the sentence. In T. S. Eliot's poem *Marina*[14] it is possible to look at the notion of unit at two levels either at the level of the poem as a whole i.e. the unit of examination will be the whole rather than the whole divided into smaller units which is the second level of unit. I propose to deal with both

these levels starting with the smaller unit which requires some delineation. From a typographical perspective the poem appears to consist of five units which might be considered as verses although they are irregular in length. Typography in itself, however, does not appear to provide an adequate criterion for establishing units on its own since units thus established do not all seem to have a unifying element; this is apparent in the case of the fourth 'typographic' unit. It was noted earlier that punctuation often plays a role in defining units, in particular, the full stop. Full stops coincide with the end of the first, fourth and fifth units that could be distinguished on typological grounds, but, in addition, there are another six full stops, all of which occur in the long fourth unit. If the fullstop alone were used as the criteria for establishing the unit there would be a total of nine, but when trying, for example to define the sentence one of the aspects that is often considered is whether it constitutes some kind of whole as far as its meaning is concerned. However difficult this is to define in any adequate sense it is, nonetheless, a widely felt intuition and not to be completely ignored; language, after all, is more than the sum of its formal aspects. Thus by recognizing the meaning and by considering the formal aspects *Marina* can be thought of in six units (see poem). The internal unity which seems to mark off the fourth paragraph will become clear later. The relationship between the units at the second level, and the unit of the whole poem can perhaps be considered something like the relationship between the sentences of a paragraph and the paragraph as a whole in prose writing with the major difference that the paragraph is a unit which is difficult to define whereas the unit of the poem as a whole is complete in itself.

One of the devices that secures the unity of these elements is parallelism, which Jakobson considers one of the main methods of syntagmatic foregrounding. Parallelism recurs throughout *Marina*, thus acting as a formal theme, and is of different kinds, a fact which prevents any kind of new automatization being set up, foregrounding being retained over the whole poem. In the first and sixth units parallelism is to be found in the repetition of 'what' + NP where the 'what' could be interpreted either as exclamatory or as an interrogative pronoun the lack of punctuation marks — an exclamation mark or a question mark, respectively — leaving the interpretation open. The whole of the first and also the sixth unit demonstrate a further parallelism in that the sixth unit is a modified version of the first and together they form a frame to the poem in both form and content. The second unit consists of the repetition of the same structure, namely Those + defining relative clause + Appositive Nominal-ing Clause.[15] The typography emphasises the parallel structures and the whole unit is reminiscent of the language of the psalms. The third unit shows the least parallelism having only a partial chiasmus: V + prep. phrase — prep. phrase + V i. e. reduced by a wind —

by this grace dissolved. The parallelism of the fourth unit is characterized by a duality which, in the first three lines, is based on comparison and in the first two lines this comparison is antithetical — 'less clear and clearer' 'less strong and stronger'. The antithesis which would be expected in the third line on the pattern of the first two is lacking and the comparison is thus 'further' foregrounded. In the fourth line the duality takes — the following pattern:

NP — and — NP — prep. — NP — and — NP.

Duality again plays a role in the parallelism of the fifth unit, which focusses on the first, fourth, seventh and tenth lines all of which are made up of two parallel structures. Line 1 of the unit consists of two subject complements which are both current attributes; line four also consists of two subject complements but here they are both resulting attributes. In line seven there are two NP + VP'-s and the parallelism of the tenth line is formed by NP = prep. phrase both of which are the object of the verb 'resign'. The increased complexity of these dual structures is accompanied by an increase in the number of elements in the following lines which increases from two to four main elements, e.g. 'I made this, I have forgotten' = 2 elements vs. 'This form, this face, this life' = 3 elements. The structural parallelism and duality is reinforced by the semantic aspect. Lines one, four and seven each describe some part of a ship — bowsprit, rigging, canvas, garboard strake, seams/caulking — and as line 10 is also part of the parallel structure of this unit then some semantic link would be expected between this line and the other three. In the tenth line the poet talks of his life, and on the basis of the structural foregrounding the ship can be interpreted as the poet's life and the whole poem is about the journey through life seen in terms of a voyage in a ship. The duality of the structure effects a rhythm which may be felt as the ebb and flow of waves.

It is not only parallelism that is important in this discussion of syntactic foregrounding in *Marina*, but there are also examples of what might be considered paradigmatic foregrounding which depend rather on some kind of deviation than on similarity. A noticeable aspect of 'Marina' is the verbs which are relatively few in number — 28 in all — and of these only 15 can be considered full finite verbs. The time specification of these finite verbs is not given in a single case. According to Crystal[16] there is a 70% co-occurrence between adverbs and verbs where the adverbs serve to specify the time perspective of finite verbs whose tenses are ambiguous in that they can be used of more than one time. This lack of specification makes the whole poem indefinite in time and only the three time spheres can be recognized: the past, 4 occurrences; future, 1 occurrence; and present/stative, 10 occurrences. The almost equal number of non-finite verb forms (participles and infinitives) reinforce the timelessness of the structure which provides formal backing to:

"Living to live in a world of time beyond me"; and thus the deviant structure leads into the interpretation of the poem. An important device that can contribute to the ordering of a syntactic unit is the conjunction since it relates one part of the unit to other parts. It is significant that in 'Marina' the only conjunction to be used is 'and'; moreover its use may be described as 'pure' since there are no qualifying adverbials to specify its interpretation.[17] This results in the different parts of the unit being piled up on each other without any hierarchy. The various images are thus felt as hanging without order in the poet's mind, simply rolling over him as waves.

To the use of conjunctions in building up a coherent hierarchy can also be added the use of relatives which are again few in *Marina*, being restricted to 'who' in the four parallel structures of unit two and 'where' in the fourth unit. The lack of relatives means that there are no coherent relationships between the elements of the poem indicating the nebulous nature of the world the poet is voyaging through with its lack of fixed points that he can relate to. Here it is the lack of certain devices that serves to foreground and force the reader to review his interpretation of the language rather than the repetition encouraging this reviewing.

Within the framework of ordinary language deixis has the function of relating the language to the external reality and making the stretch of language meaningful in the fullest sense of the word. Deixis in a poem is not so easily understood, since they relate rather infrequently to specific places, time and events. In *Marina* the demonstratives, this, that and those appear as deictics as well as the personal pronouns I, me and my. The personal pronouns, those and that do not cause any problem as far as interpretation is concerned but 'this' is foregrounded, occurring 8 times in all without any specific referent. It has already been mentioned that the poem presents a world in which only the broadest parameters function as points that can be related to, and the use of 'this' would reinforce these broad categories as there is only a distinction of what is near and immediate to the poet and that which is not; there is no scale of delicacy here. It is also significant that the use of 'this' occurs in the later units: once in unit 3, once in unit 4 and five times in unit five which appears to represent the movement of the poet towards finding his own self.

Above the units were considered as structural wholes without reference to their interpretation. They were said to be related to each other rather like the sentences of a paragraph. Just as the sentences of a paragraph cannot be considered without reference to their interpretation so must the units of the poem be considered with reference to their interpretation. The first and sixth units of the poem provide a frame in which the poet is faced by images that seem to belong both to the past, 'what images return', and to the future 'towards my timbers'. They are timeless as the use of the verbs suggests. The second unit represents the images of the past which the timeless images

have 'dissolved' in the third unit. (The relationship between the first and third units is semantic: 'scent of pine' becomes 'breath of pine' and repetition of 'fog'.) In the fourth unit the poet is faced by what is present to him yet seems, at the same time, to elude him — hence the antithesis — and in the fifth unit he appears to be trying to come to terms with his life in the concrete image of the ship which is then to be projected towards the future into which he awakens with new hopes.

The interpretation which is suggested on the basis of this analysis of syntactic foregrounding is by no means exhaustive nor is it thought of as the only possible interpretation of the poem *Marina*. To examine merely the structure would be a mistaken approach to poetry for the structure is often reinforced by other elements — metre, semantics — and it may also be the case that one type of foregrounding plays a greater role in some poetry than in others. Nevertheless, poetry is highly structured language and it seems beyond doubt that an examination of this structure can at least offer one way into the understanding and interpretation of that language.

Marina

What seas what shores what grey rocks and what islands
What water lapping the bow
And scent of pine and the woodthrush singing through the fog
What images return
O my daughter.

Those who sharpen the tooth of the dog, meaning
Death
Those who glitter with the glory of the hummingbird, meaning
Death
Those who sit in the eye of contentment, meaning
Death
Those who suffer the ecstasy of the animals, meaning
Death

Are become unsubstantial, reduced by a wind,
A breath of pine, and the woodsong fog
By this grace dissolved in place

What is this face, less clear and clearer
The pulse in the arm, less strong and stronger —
Given or lent? more distant than stars and nearer than the eye
Whispers and small laughter between leaves and hurrying feet
Under sleep, where all the waters meet.

Bowsprit cracked with ice and paint cracked with heat.
I made this, I have forgotten
And remember.
The rigging weak and the canvas rotten
Between one June and another September.
Made this unknowing, half conscious, unknown, my own.
The garboard strake leaks, the seams need caulking.
This form, this face, this life

Living to live in a world of time beyond me; let me
Resign my life for this life, my speech for that unspoken,
The awakened, lips parted, the hope, the new ships.

What seas what shores what granite islands towards my timbers
And woodthrush calling through the fog
My daughter.

NOTES

[1] Wellek, R.—Warren, A.: *The Theory of Literature.* 1949, p. 180.
[2] Leech, G. N.: *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry.* Longman 1969, p. 60.
[3] Havrbnek, B. in Garvin, P. L.: *A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure and Style.* Washington 1958, p. 19.
[4] Mukařovský in Garvin, op. cit. p. 22.
[5] Leech, G. N. in Fowler, R.: *Essays on Style and Language.* London 1966, p. 144.
[6] Mukařovský in op. cit. p. 19.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Leech, G. N.: *A Linguistic Guide . . .* op. cit. p. 57.
[9] Leech, G. N. in Fowler. op. cit. p. 145.
[10] Cf. the exaggerated use of this in Apollinaire who writes poems in, say, spiral form, or C. F. Meyer's *Der Römische Brunnen* which some critics claim is printed in the shape of a fountain.
[11] Dillon, G. L. in Ching, Haley and Lunsford *Linguistic Perspectives on Literature.* Ed. by 1980. p. 213—233.
[12] e.g. And over all a blacke stole shee did throw, PP; Vain is her wish, Adj. Phr. prep.; As being the contrary to his high will/Whom we resist, Left disloc.
[13] Omission of the copula is, however, to be excluded here since it is such a common phenomenon that it can no longer be considered a means of foregrounding; eg. "there (Lies my Amy dead in childbirth, dead the mother) dead the child." Tennyson.
[14] Eliot's T. S. *Marina* was chosen for a number of reasons: it is a twentieth century poem and thus there are no problems of comparing the language of the poem to a different standard as would be the case with an eighteenth or nineteenth century poem; the problem of motivation from a rhyming scheme does not need to be tackled either; the poem is not too short for the units to be too short to compare, neither is it too long which might make it unmanageable. A widely studied poet also seems more appropriate than a lesser known one.
[15] Quirk, R., Greenbaam, S.: *A University Grammar of English.* 1973. All terms are from Quirk.
[16] Crystal, D.: Specifications and English Tenses. "Journal of Linguistics" 2/1, 1966.
[17] Quirk, R.: op. cit.

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On the Ontological Aspects of the Genre of the Drama

TAMÁS BÉCSY

In his work entitled *On the Ontology of Social Existence (Zur Ontologie gesellschaftlichen Seins)* George Lukács insists that all that exists can only exist *as* and *in* a complex totality.

This basically ontological fact has also been referred to by the epistemological investigation of the works of art.

Epistemologically, all works are reflections in the naturally rich sense of the word. Epistemological aesthetics has also defined what exactly a work of art reflects: an object delimited from the totality of objective reality *and* the artist's attitude — not at all abritrary or purely subjective — to it, and in this relationship the generic consciousness also manifests itself. The subjectivity of the artist — developed within the totality of his human personality — transforms the objects and objectivities of objective reality, together with the essential social trends, etc. *and* his attitude to them (and the human essence and degree of consciousness manifested in it) into an object; this is the fundamental condition for the artistic creation to appear as a unity of subject and object.

The objects, objectivities, trends, etc. of objective reality constitute and exist in a constantly changing process; from the point-like series of works of art there emerges the continuous development of reflected reality and of the human consciousness. In this sense, literary history examines how the works of art reflect the changing socio-historical objectivities, trends, etc., and what are the adequate means of expression. Thus the analysis of literary history also indicates the complex totality *in* which works of art exist and the way they do so.

Works of art are not autotelic; they strive to produce a certain impact in the receiver. Epistemological aesthetics has examined this question fairly thoroughly.

That which in the epistemological sense are reflection and reflected image is ontologically a specific being whose existence differs both from that of the subject and that of the addressee of the reflection. General aesthetics and its branches together with the theory of literature and various concrete analyses

have all contributed to the understanding of this type of existence, i.e. the existence of the work of art *as* a complex totality.

The most important result of these investigations in this respect is the fact that literary creations are all stratified. Among other things these strata might be the factors that make it possible for a work of art to exist *as* a complex totality.

The beings evolve in the process of ontological genesis and this gives rise to the strata. Thus the strata not only construct the existence of a given being, but also determine its qualities and nature. The existence of a being is to be understood from the nature of the strata constituting it. A being developed in the course of ontological genesis exists in a further process: history. (Of course, ontological genesis itself is also embedded in historical processes, and takes place within them.) Ontological genesis makes the being exist *as* a complex totality; its existence in history, on the other hand, means existence *in* complex totality.

An investigation of the ontological genesis of works of art will focus on the objects, and especially the objectivities, of the fundamental stratum, i.e. social existence — on their qualities which determine the conditions and potentialities of the formation of a work of art and its strata, and on the new laws and relations that create and determine the existence of the work of art.

The ontological genesis of works of art starts from, and proceeds in, the unified Object-Subject relation. Here we should point out that ontological genesis does not coincide with the writer's psychological or creative processes and especially not with the "time-table" or the successive stages of these.

The contents of the Object may be the most various phenomena of life whose interrelationships are the vehicles of the trends of the socio-historical age, its human essence, its relation to generic forces, etc. (We shall return to this point later.) The other side, that of the Subject, comprises of the human existence of the artist all that is required or necessary for the creation of his work.[1] Of course the contents of the Subject include not only individual, but general features and momentums as well, such as the attitude to the object in question which determines to a great extent the branch of art in which the work will be realized.

According to Lukács, the ontological genesis of labour provides a good model for ontological genesis in general as related to the forms of the activities of social existence. And that model necessarily includes human teleology. The target-image is, in this case, a special individual creation whose realization requires that the artist make alternative choices of material and means. Therefore, two complex units must be taken into account. The one is the Object-Subject relation, its complete and always concrete content; the other is the would-be artistic creation, the outcome of a practical activity putting to use

various materials and means. The first exists in the inner psychological world of the artist (determined by objective social forces and his own subjective totality), i.e. in primary social reality. The special formation in the inner world of the artist — a unity of Object and Subject imbued with artistic teleology — is a construction that provides a concrete and direct foundation for the work of art. All the laws at work in ontological genesis eventually serve a sole aim: namely that the entirety of this special formation be transformed into a work of art in which it may exist in the dialectical process of elimination-preservation.

In his above-mentioned work Lukács insists that "there is no being that is not rooted existentially, in one way or another, in inorganic nature".[2] Even if works of art as such are not essentially and directly rooted in inorganic Nature, inorganic matter is indispensable for their existence. Without inorganic matter there can be no works of art only formations confined to the inner world of the artist. Inorganic matter should be distinguished from the materials of the homogeneous medium; the former are called concrete materials. Such conrete materials are the canvas and paint in painting, the human vocal cords or the musical instruments in music, paper and printing ink in literature or the human body in theatrical art. These are the materials that grant the works of art belonging to the various branches their *objective existence* and (literature apart) they also influence their existence as works of art to a considerable extent. Before discussing this problem, however, let us have a look at the other type of matter, the homogeneous medium.

As is well-known, Lukács discusses in detail the concept of the homogeneous medium in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*. The homogeneous media are abstract levels where both artistic and scientific reflection is realized. The homogeneous artistic media are clear visibility and clear audibility. The heterogeneous objects, objectivities, processes, relations, etc. of reality can only be reflected through clear visibility or clear audibility. This also means that nothing can be perceived of a painting, for instance, (as a work of art) — be it motion, object, mood, grotesqueness, etc. — that is not visible or has no visible sign; similarly, in the case of music, nothing can be perceived that is not audible. In literature, it is inner visibility and audibility that count.

In our opinion, both clear visibility and clear audibility (together with inner sight and hearing) are realized through specific materials in the various branches of art, namely the materials of the homogeneous medium. These are: line, colour and shape in plastic arts, musical sound in music, word in literature, situations created by the human body in the bodyly arts. This also means that only that can be presented in a painting which is translated into lines, colours and forms (or into musical sound if it is music, words if it is literature, situations created through the human body in theatrical art, etc.). Of course, the materials of the homogeneous media cannot function in works of art

unless organized into systems. Thus, in the final reckoning, it is not the materials themselves, but their organized systems that provide the homogeneous-medium materials of artistic works. These materials and systems participate in the "life" of works as works of art as their indispensable, essential and fundamental constituents.

With the exception of literature, a special relationship exists between the concrete material and the materials and systems of the homogeneous media. In fact, these latter are created by the concrete materials. Line, colour and form manifest themselves in and through concrete materials such as graphite, oil-paint, water-colour, etc. The concrete materials of the musical sound are the human vocal cords or the artificial musical instruments (violin, piano, horn, etc.). For the situations created by the human body the material is the human body itself, male or female, tall, fat, thin-voiced, antipathetic, etc. It is evident that the concrete material determines to a great extent — although not at all solely — the work-of-art quality of the products of the various artistic branches. Owing to them a work whose lines, colours and forms are realized in water-colour will be a different work of art than that which is in oil-paint; similarly, musical pieces are different if their homogeneous media are realized through different concrete materials — human voice, piano, violin, etc. The human body, i.e. the body of the artist affects the artistic product in a slightly different way: a short and stumpy Don Quijote is as inconceivable as a similar Hamlet or Antigone would be. (We cannot, at present, discuss the reasons why theatrical art differs in this respect from the other branches.)

The concrete material of a literary work does not affect its work-of-art quality; it is perfectly irrelevant whether the words (or their system, the language) are printed, typed or handwritten in ink.

The content of the unity of the objective and the subjective cannot be constructed from, or communicated through *any* of the possible materials or *any* of the homogeneous media of the branches of art. This content (its structure, character, nature, objects and objectivities together with the artistic teleology built upon them) restricts very strictly the range of possible and adequate homogeneous media (and the materials or systems of materials) that allow that very content to come through as a work of art. Thus the alternative decisions of the artist concerning his means refer, in the final analysis, to the materials of the homogeneous medium necessary or adequate for the construction of a given work of art.

The object of the writer is called into existence by the word and the language. The first step for the above-mentioned formation to be expressed as a work of art is the establishment of a reflexive relation between the Object-Subject content and the language of art of the given age. By that the formation is transformed into content existing in the system of the artistic language.

This also means that the heterogeneous processes, objects, objectivities, etc. of the phenomena of primary reality are homogenized if and when they enter into a reflexive relation with and in the system of language. It is essential that the fundamental stratum (an ontological stratum independent of the genre) is homogeneous from the very beginning, since it is created only *after* the reflexive relation of the object and an attitude to it on the one hand, and the language of art on the other, had been established. Thus the founding stratum of the work of art is that formation which results from the Object-Subject unity, an attitude to it and a reflexive relation established between these two factors and the language of art. Being homogenized, this formation is actually a specific content created and formulated in the inner world of the artist and thus it is also part of primary reality.

All reflexive relation contains a preponderant element which triggers off the dialectic of the formation; in its absence the formation would remain static, it could neither develop nor evolve. It is in the subsequent phase of ontological genesis that one of the writer's three possible attitudes — lyrical, dramatic or epic — becomes dominant. The formation of the work of art begins with the process in which the laws of one of the three possible attitudes develop and bring to light (out of the complex content mentioned above) the possibilities inherent in it. In other words: the relevant laws exist in the formation as conditions and possibilities.

The unfolding of the conditions and possibilities on the one hand, and the laws on the other, creates the world of the *natura naturans* in lyrical poetry and that of the *natura naturata* in the drama.

As is well-known, the two *(natura naturans* and *natura naturata)* are distinguished primarily by the "position" of their respective objects: *natura naturans* requires that the object be in the inner world of the artist, whereas that of *natura naturata* is in objective reality.

The differences between the epic and the dramatic world (or, to put it in another way: of the epic and dramatic quality) are to be deduced from the differences of the characteristics of their respective objects on the one hand, and those of the artist's possible attitudes on the other. If the object comprises a series of personal actions and happenings representative of human fate and, moreover, if the artist's attitude is that of a narrator telling these, the genre will be *epic.* If, however, the object comprises a system of mutual relations between human beings and that, in turn, comprises all the steps, causes, motifs, etc. of the series of actions that may arise from this system (the situation) and, moreover, if the artist's attitude is that of an outsider who "withdraws" and makes his characters speak instead, *drama* cames about. Of course, not a single dramatic or epic work could be constructed from the above factors alone, nevertheless they are indispensable constituents. For an individual work of art to be born, other characters, characteristics and laws

also are necessary. In the final analysis, however, these, too, evolve from the elements listed above.

The constituents or "elements" of a situation (as object) are persons. By situation is meant a novel system of relations (created out of some former state), a result of the necessary change of the relations and references of the participating persons. An interpersonal dramatic situation comprises potentially all the causes, motifs, contents, etc. that are necessary for the manifestation of the changed circumstances and are reflected by the actions (their series, content, etc.) of the participants.

The system of interpersonal relations — i.e. of the situation — embodies the essential socio-historical trends of the age. Thus the primary ontological criterion of a situation (that a playwright will use as his object) is that it comprises each of the essential social trends of the age once only. It is common knowledge that both Hegel and Lukács indicated this as the primary distinctive feature of the genre of the drama. A situation constructed that way will differ ontologically from real-life situations, since these latter do not necessarily contain all the essential trends of the age: numerous real-life situations are particular, but they are still situations all the same since they potentially comprise the series of interpersonal actions that will unfold later on. Another difference is that real-life situations do not necessarily reflect *all* the trends, neither are the represented trends to be objectivized in *one* character only.

Lukács discusses in detail (in *The Historical Novel)* the events of life that may provide a basis for a dramatic work (the problems of "the crossroad", "the presentation of the bill", "the missing link" and "identification with one's work"). Deep down these are all situations in the sense discussed above; such events of life are the best guarantees for the essential social-historical trends to be presented. Lukács also analyzed false dramatic reflection — resulting from the lack of an essential trend, i.e. the fact that it is not objectivized in one of the characters —, and dramatic tautology — resulting from the fact that a single trend is represented by more than one characters.

Dramatic situation is thus a system of interpersonal relations whose primary ontological feature is that it embodies the totality of the necessarily unfolding action manifesting itself in the course of the drama; moreover, it contains all the essential social-historical trends of the age, each of which is represented by a single character.

Owing to these ontological features of the dramatic situation the outcome is always a series of actions of a similar length. It is common experience that dramatic works are much more even, similar in "size" than either epic or lyrical works. Since their situations comprise simultaneously the whole action, every one of its constituents, they necessarily lead to actions of a similar complexity and length. The dialectic of primary reality is to be observed in the drama also. A series of actions whose every constituent and phase

exist potentially at a given instant cannot be infinite in real life either, since after a while the complexity and dialectic of reality necessarily bring about elements that had not been embedded in the original situation, since their coming into existence required circumstances other than those implied by the situation. It is also impossible for a dramatic situation to contain elements that could not possibly have existed in it as such, but were called into existence under conditions created by the unfolding action. The relative similarity of size is thus to be explained by an essential feature of the genre, and not by one that is totally independent of it, namely the limits of the attentive capacity of the audience.

Another ontological criterion of the dramatic situation is that it is much more tense than any real-life situation and necessity is much stronger in it. The prime reason for that is that all human beings have a natural dimension (i. e. natural stratum of life) which is not true for the characters of the drama; only their dialogues are constructed by the playwright as if they did have one. (It is one of the ontological features of dramatic characters that they have only social stratum of life). The laws of the natural and social strata of life may intersect at any moment; for example, in the course of a series of actions rooted in a real-life situation, somebody may die or fall ill at any moment — a dramatic character cannot do so, not unless the playwright's intentions make him do so. Theoretically, participants of a real-life situation and action may take flight in mid-course, which is inconceivable in the case of a dramatic character since in that case there would be no drama.

Yet another criterion of the dramatic situation is that all of its elements serve the expression, representation or registration of the writer's message, outlook, utterance, etc. No real-life situation expresses the message of a single person: it is life, reality that "happens" in it. The other side of the coin is that the content of the Subject-Object unity cannot exist in drama unless it was part of the original situation as well. All other characters, causes of action, motifs or events are alien to the work. Even those elements which were not in the original object are to be built into the dramatic situation if their presence is required by artistic teleology; the same is true for those content elements which in real life do not, in general, manifest themselves in interpersonal relations, but are necessary for the communication of the playwright's message, world view, etc.

The ontological determinants of the dramatic situation homogenize completely the totality of the objective-subjective unity; they achieve this by the fact that all that is in the action is also in the situation on the one hand, and on the other that all exists and takes on relevance within the system of interpersonal relations. Furthermore, this homogenization comes about because all that manifests itself does so through the dialogues and even the

minutest detail must serve the communication, expression and/or representation of the writer's message, world view and intentions. Thus the already homogenized formation undergoes yet another homogenization.

Ontologically, the founding stratum of a literary work of art is the content not yet manifest which is created by setting the contents appearing in the unity of Subject and Object, *plus* the relation to these, *plus* artistic language in correlation. Out of this content the lyrical, dramatic or epic attitude develops the subsequent stratum, which is the first concrete stratum of the work of art, by applying the laws of the respective genres. This stratum is, therefore, different in the cases of epic, dramatic and lyrical works.

The dramatic attitude manifests itself first of all in that its object is a situation — and not any other object — and secondly in the withdrawal of the artist from the world to be represented — he communicates his message, world view, etc. through the characters and the dialogues only. Therefore, every dramatic text is the communication of the writer *and* his characters. In this phase of ontological genesis the dialogues are not yet concrete. The attitude organizes the content (i.e. homogenizes it further) by transforming it into a formation that is presented in and represented by dialogues alone. As we have seen in the above, other laws of the dramatic genre also exert a homogenizing influence in this phase. Those, however, spring from the peculiarities of the object (its being a situation), whereas this is a result of the dramatic attitude of the artist. Thus what is regarded ontologically as a homogenized stratum undergoes further (multiple) homogenization: the content inherent in the founding stratum can be reflected and brought to life only through the ontological features of the situation *and* only as a world represented in dialogues. These two additional homogenizations are governed by the laws of the dramatic genres or, rather, these *are* the most essential laws of the genre of drama.

The laws of the literary *forms* evolve in a subsequent phase of ontological genesis — which we cannot discuss here — producing a stratum that subcategorizes the genre and distinguishes among the various dramas.

Together with these strata, intertwined with them, as it were, other strata also are called into existence: the strata of reflected reality.

Clearly, these strata too must be represented, since they are present in that segment of reality which was turned into an object. The reflection of reality, of the object, can be carried out together with the reflection of the strata of reality. The strata of reality appear in the dramatis personae, in their actions, in the dimensions of space and time of the figures and their actions. The most conspicuous feature of the characters is their lack of a natural stratum (this applies even to a theatrical play where it is only the actors that have one). However, the playwright must formulate his characters as if their existence had a natural dimension as well. By this effort — whose result is

known to be an illusion — a reflected or fictitious world, one of reflected or fictitious reality is created.

The strata of the work as work of art *and* those of reflected, fictitious reality meet and fuse in a single formation: the dialogue (the communication of the writer and the characters). For this very reason, many (N. Hartmann among others) regard the linguistic level as the first ontological stratum — it is the most conspicuous stratum through which all the others gain expression and it is easiest to perceive (for the receiver). However, the above brief analysis suggests that it can only be the final stratum which, however, unites and merges all the rest — it represents and expresses the other strata which, however, do not exist *in* it.

As we saw above in connection with the ontological strata of the dramatic work, the strata of reflected and fictitious reality may be separated from those of the work as a work of art. This problem conceals a basis feature of ontology.

As indicated, the existence of a formation qualified epistemologically as reflection differs both from the existence of its subject and that of its addressee. It is common knowledge that a dramatic work of art exists, it is real somehow, although its "realness" is not the same as that of organic, inorganic or other — e.g. social — formations of primary reality. The reading of a drama makes it evident that the reflected, fictitious characters, ideas, actions, etc. evoked for the reader exist in a similar way.

Thus from the fundamental ontological stratum of the drama, from the formation conceived by the playwright, there evolves an object — a drama — that exists, on the one hand, in primary reality as a work of art and incorporates, on the other, a fictitious, i.e. reflected, evoked reality. All the characters, their actions, the plot, the dialogues, etc. may be qualified as fictitious, whereas the drama as a whole is a real being on the level of social existence, i.e. in primary reality.

The laws of the genre and those of its forms are inherent in the formation conceived by the artist and provide the work of art with its foundation. It is a fundamental tendency of these laws to homogenize and unite. Nor is it a mere tendency: homogenization actually occurs in the course of creation. Do these laws then belong to the sphere of the reflected, the fictitious, the evoked?

The laws in question are all, no doubt, based upon the real facts of life from which they evolve. Systems of interpersonal relations exist in primary reality, too (together with their specific variations), and so do dialogues. However, none of these are homogeneous in primary reality, nor do they homogenize, themselves. (Language does homogenize the dialogues, but then it is the expressive means and the vehicle of the whole world.) In real-life situations, as was mentioned above, the trends do not necessarily occur just once and the participants of real-life situations are bound to make references

to "external" things also. In such cases the situation obliterates nothing, nor does it exclude references or homogenize the constituents to become homogeneous from all possible aspects, since it does not usually permeate the totality of human existence with all its natural and social strata. The dramatic situation, on the other hand, does penetrate the whole drama, even its "make-belief" natural stratum. Since this is true for all the characters and, furthermore, the content of the situation is the sum of the contents of the characters, and the whole dramatic world exists in dialogues only, the various laws (both of the genre and the forms) homogenize the dramatic situation totally. Consequently, the laws of the genre as such reflect nothing, nor do they create the fiction. They would be able to reflect or render fictitious that homogeneousness only which does not exist in reality but is produced by them within the framework of the works of art. Their function is, therefore, to assure the realness of the works of art, the realness of their reflected and evoked content (the contents of the characters, actions, etc.) as fiction.

If dramatic works exist in primary reality — which is common experience — they must necessarily contain laws that endow them with this reality — however special it may be. This is true even if the laws in question have no autonomous existence. Clearly, they can only exist in the secondary reality of the reflected, fictitious world; out of it they simply are not, do not exist. It is also evident that they exist *for* the realness of the works of art reflecting reality, i.e. it is these laws that permit that dramatic (or literary) works be real as works of art. They are not alone in that, but they are, nevertheless, the basic determinants of the realness assured by other laws also which evolve, although in a later phase of ontological genesis, from them.

Thus the genres and the forms are strata of the dramatic (and probably the literary) works, in and through which the content of the reflected world (characters, actions, etc.) acquire real existence in primary reality as formations, as works of art. Although their laws evolve, in the final analysis, from the various facts of life, the writer turns them, in the course of the artistic creation, into laws that will not be found in primary reality, neither in social life, nor in that of the individual. It is an ontological necessity of the real existence of reflected, fictitious reality (and its strata) that the formations have laws that assure the real, primary existence of fiction and the fictitious world as a work of art.

The above-outlined phase of ontological genesis is not identical with the creative-psychological process traced by the artist, its various phases and steps, and, therefore, it cannot be valid for practical creative work. The writer in fact, always creates the last of the strata, the linguistic one. This, however, does not refute what was said above. In practice, a single, concrete work is created, and the whole process of ontological genesis is realized at once by the writing of the dialogue, the one stratum that unites and comprehends

all the rest. The ontological succession of the creation of the various strata cannot serve as a "time-table" for the writer. The exploration of its successive phases, however, together with the exploration of the laws (of the genres and forms) determining the drama and making its existence possible is useful for scientific purposes, since the new points of view help us understand and evaluate more objectively the dramatic works.

Today the existence and/or significance of genres and forms is very often neglected or relegated to the status of a useful means of classification in the theory of literature. Ontologically, however, both types of laws function as the strata that determine, create and qualify the realness of the results of artistic reflection. Thus these laws regarded heretofore as mere categories of classification are much more than that: they allow and determine the existences of drama as a work of art — without them it could not exist or the qualities of its existence would be totally different: it would not be a dramatic work of art at all.

NOTES

[1] For analyses on the problem of Object-Subject see Volczer, Á.: Az objektum és a szubjektum kérdéséhez. I—II. "Magyar Filozófiai Szemle". 1974/4—5 and 1975/1—2

[2] Lukács, Gy.: A társadalmi lét ontológiájáról. I—III. Magvető Kiadó. 1976. I/19

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Meditationen über Béla Bartók

ZUM HUNDERTSTEN JAHRESTAG SEINER GEBURT*

DÉNES ZOLTAI

Ich muß Sie schon inständig ersuchen, meine verehrten Hörer, die folgenden Meditationen nicht etwa als feierliche Gedenkrede auffassen zu wollen. Das Jubiläum könnte allerdings dazu verleiten. Insbesondere in unserem Zeitalter, in diesem — wie man es zu bezeichnen pflegt — Zeitalter ohne Leitbilder, wo selbst die Skeptiker, die Resignierten nach dem Licht von Pharussen Umschau halten (wie nebenbei selbst ein Dichter an der Schwelle der Modernität es tat, Charles Baudelaire, mit *Les phares*, dem bekannten Stück seiner 'Les fleurs du mal'). Und es gibt auch Verlockungen, welchen man ohne Scham nachgeben könnte. Letzten Endes suchen wir allesamt Orientierungswerte, völlig abgesehen davon, welcher Generation wir angehören, wie unser Charakter, unser Weltbild beschaffen ist, mit welchem Kollektiv wir uns — ideell oder reell — identifizieren wollten; also völlig abgesehen davon, woher wir kommen und wohin wir streben. Ein Jubiläum vermag auch eine verlockende Gelegenheit im besten Sinne des Wortes zu sein, um im Lichte der heraufbeschworenen Gestalten oder Ereignisse der Vergangenheit unsere Wertwahlen von neuem durchzudenken. Im Falle kleinerer Völker kommt besonders häufig solcherlei Wunsch des Suchens nach Kontinuität, nach Identität vor. Ich selbst habe daheim in Ungarn jedenfalls oft die Erfahrung gemacht, daß das Erinnern an einen bedeutenden Repräsentanten unserer geistigen Kultur, gelegentlich dieser oder jener Jahreswende, weitaus mehr sein kann als formeller Pietätsakt. Vergangenes Jahr gedachte man bei uns beispielsweise des Proletarierlyrikers Attila József, in wissenschaftlichen Tagungen und auch in Veranstaltungen der Volksschulen. Im kommenden Jahr wird das Lebenswerk von Zoltán Kodály, des Komponisten und Musikpädagogen in den Vordergrund allgemeiner Aufmerksamkeit gelangen — und ich bin überzeugt, daß jene Gedenkfeiern wertvolle Erkenntnisse auch für die Jetztzeit erbrachten und erbringen werden. Im laufenden Jahr feiert die ungarische Kultur Béla Bartók. Und wir können von Woche zu Woche, Tag um Tag die Erfahrung machen, daß es überall auf dem Erdball unzählig viele Leute

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gibt, die den Schöpfer des 'König Blaubart', des 'Mandarin', des 'Concerto' mit uns zusammen feiern wollen. Bei solcher Gelegenheit gerät aber selbst der etwas nüchternere Fachman in Versuchung, sich in Heldenhaltung zu werfen, um den Wert und die Größe etwas dröhnender zu deklarieren, vielleicht auch das Paradigmatische. Den nationalen Charakter und die Universalität.

Ich habe jedoch zu wiederholen: es liegt keineswegs in meiner Absicht, einige meiner Béla Bartók betreffenden ästhetischen Überlegungen in jener Jubiläumstonart hier vorzulegen. Vielleicht auch darum nicht, weil ich ja der Ansicht bin, daß es nicht vonnöten sei in einem wissenschaftlich-kollegialen Kreis Evidenzen vorzuzählen und zu betonen. Man sollte in diesem Zirkel Bartóks Botschaft wahrhaftig nicht in der Tongebung irgendwelcher romantischen Rhetorik deuten.

Da haben wir gleich das erste zu denken gebende Bartók-Problem. Die Frage seiner Beziehung zur Romantik.

Es gibt keine fachliche Analyse, welche nicht betonen würde: zu Beginn seiner Laufbahn ging Bartók — wie beispielsweise auch Schönberg — aus der Spätromantik des Jahrhundertendes, der Jahrhundertwende hervor. Werfen wir einen Blick auf Béla Bartóks Lehrjahre. Schauplatz: Preßburg — so nahe zu Wien, und die Musikhochschule in Budapest mit ihren vorwiegend deutschen Lehrern. Denke man nur an einige vor kurzem bekannt gewordene Kompositionen. Das 'Andante' aus dem Jahre 1902 deutet unleugbar auf Brahms hin, die großangelegte, nach Kossuth benannte Programmsymphonie — 1903 — entstand eingestandenermaßen nach dem Modell der symphonischen Dichtungen von Richard Strauss; selbst sein Frühwerk, das — später noch genauer in Augenschein zu nehmende — Violinkonzert (1907—8) greift noch auf Wagner'sche Technik zurück: eine Liebeserklärung in »Tristan«-s Manier, mit einem Leitmotiv der Liebe, das in einer ganzen Reihe von Jugendwerken anzutreffen ist. Es läßt sich jedoch in den Lehrjahren auch ein tiefer sitzendes romantisches Wurzelwerk entdecken: der durch die gesamte Subjektivität der Selbstausdrückung dringende Wunsch nach Identifizierung mit irgendeiner wahrhaftig progressiven Gemeinschaft. Bartóks Laufbahn beginnt in der Glanzepoche der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie; beschwört er in seiner Musik dessenungeachtet Kossuth und den Freiheitskampf 1848—49 herauf, und zwar mit ostentativ übernommenen Kennzeichen des Stils, wie es etwa der *Verbunkos*, Werbungstanz des XIX. Jahrhunderts oder das volkstümliche Kunstlied sind, alsdann hat man in dieser Geste, nicht anders, wie im verschnürten Dolman des jungen Mannes, das Verlangen nach einer Ausdrückung des nationalen Bewußtseins zu beachten. Dieses Bewußtsein wird durch die Krise des dualistischen Regierungssystems, durch den ungarischen Nationalismus, genauer gesagt: durch das Emporlodern der Unabhängigkeitsidee nur noch verstärkt. Man kann aber auch ohne tiefreichende

psychologische Analyse die persönliche Hintergrundschicht dieses nationalen Bewußtseins freilegen. Die Stimme des Einsamen steckt hinter diesem kecken, selbstsicheren Glaubensbekenntnis. Es erübrigt sich nicht vom jungen Komponisten, der sich bemüht, eine spezifisch ungarische Intonation zu finden, zu erfahren, daß er seine Kindheit, zufolge Kränkelei, vollkommen einsam verlebte, hing allein an seiner Mutter, die ihn erzogen hat; daher haben wir das Motiv des musikalischen Trostes, zugleich das des Verlangens nach einer gehaltigen Gemeinschaft. Endergebnis: zweifelsohne eine Art nationaler Romantik. Allerdings mit der spezifischen-lokalen Färbung des Wortes, welche um die Jahrhundertwende die mittel-osteuropäische gesellschaftliche Situation auf der Malerscheibe hervorgebracht hat. Auch ist es nicht belanglos, daß jener junge Komponist zu Beginn seiner Laufbahn höcht erfolgreich im offiziellen Musikleben Ungarns erschien. Die Kritik bestätigte sozusagen euphorisch den Fakt, daß der junge Komponist fest bei den romantischen Traditionen des XIX. Jahrhunderts — bezeichnet durch Namen, wie etwa Liszt und Erkel — beharrt. Darüber hinaus schien jener ungarische Charakter des Provinzialismus jeder Art zu entbehren, merkte doch auf die Kossuth-Symphonie einer der hervorragenden Kapellmeister der Epoche, Hans Richter auf; und führte sie nicht ohne Erfolg in Manchester auf! Wie erging es in bezug auf günstige Aufnahme in ihrem dreiundzwanzigsten Lebensjahr solchen nationalen Größen, wie etwa Schönberg, oder Stravinsky? Es schien, als ob dem jungen Mann die Suche nach Identität bereits geglückt wäre, als beherrschte er mit dreiundzwanzig Jahren fließend jene musikalische Gemeinsprache, welche just zur Zeit der Jahrhundertwende fast überall in Europa problematisch zu werden beginnt, und die bis zur Stunde das meist umstrittene Diskussionsthema aller musiksoziologischen Betrachtungen ist, die auf die Beziehung der Neuen Musik und des Publikums reflektieren.

Herakles steht dessenungeachtet am Scheidewege. Er könnte fortsetzen, was er lorbeerbekränzt begonnen hat. Dennoch machte Bartók an diesem Punkt Halt und nahm eine Richtungkorrektion vor, welche für seine gesamte Laufbahn bezeichnend ist. Er hatte urplötzlich das Gefühl, daß er mit seinen romantischen Illusionen abbrechen muß, überhaupt: mit einer ganzen Reihe ideologischer Verblendungen. Er hatte das Gefühl, daß er in eine Krise geriet. In jener Krise glich jedoch sein Verhalten keineswegs der üblichen Flucht, vielmehr — mit Bence Szabolcsis Dante-Reminiszenzen erweckenden, berühmt gewordenen Ausdruck — einer Höllenfahrt. Zufolge inneren Drangs wollte Bartók 1905 mit der musikalischen Gemeinsprache brechen, etwas roher formuliert: mit der berüchtigten musikalischen Gemeinsprache des Ungarns der Gentry, mit dem 'zigeunerhaften Schlendrian'. Er bereiste die untersten Höllenkreise jener Krise, machte jedoch zugleich Halt am Rande der Schlucht völligen Selbstverlustes, fand seinen 'Retour à la vie', welchen sein großer Vorfahr Berlioz in seinem 'Lelio' — etwa einer Fortsetzung der 'Symphonie

fantastique' — konzipiert hat. Das I. Streichquartett (1908—9) ist das große Dokument seiner Rückkehr ins Leben.

Wir wollen nun jene Krise und jenen Aufstieg unter die Lupe nehmen. Es gibt Werke umgeben von Geheimnissen. In Bartóks Lebenswerk galt als solches über ein halbes Jahrhundert eine 1907 entstandene Komposition. Bei Lebzeiten seines Schöpfers ertönte sie niemals öffentlich vom Konzertpodium; die Violinkünstlerin Stefi Geyer, 19 Jahre alt, der der sechsundzwanzig Jahre zählende Komponist das Werk in schöpferischem Liebesfieber gewidmet hatte, bewahrte das Manuskript bis zu ihrem Tode. Infolgedessen vermochten Zuhörer und Forscher erst fünfzig Jahre nach seiner Entstehung jenes in dem Nachlaß aufgefundene Opus posthumum, das geheimnisvolle Violinkonzert kennenzulernen.

Es ist eine Liebeserklärung, eindeutig und eingestandenermaßen. Auf dem Titelblatt der Partitur steht die Widmung (»An Stefi, aus der noch glücklichen Zeit. Obwohl es bloß ein halbes Glück war.«), und auf dem letzten Notenblatt ist ein umfangreiches Gedicht von Béla Balázs zu lesen (»Sterne sind nicht soweit weg voneinander, wie zwei Menschenseelen«), kopiert vom Komponisten. Ein Geständnis im engsten Sinne des Wortes. In dieser seiner Beschaffenheit bei Bartók erstes und gewiß letztes. Es gibt kein weiteres Opus, in welchem Bartók — sich soweit zu erkennen gebend — ein Bekenntnis zu einer romantischen *ars poetica* ablegt: zum Programm der hemmungslosen Aufdeckung höchstpersönlicher Gefühle.

Ein großes Geständnis läßt sich auch aus der Musik herauslesen. Zwei, hinsichtlich auf Stimmung und Charakter miteinander kontrastierende Sätze. In der Manier von Beethovens Op. 111, Liszts h-moll Sonate und Faust, von Berlioz' Symphonie fantastique. Aus dem absonderlich nur aus zwei Sätzen bestehenden Konzert sproß hervor des jungen Bartóks meist typische, die Prägung der doppelten Einheit von Romantik des XIX. und Modernität des XX. Jahrhunderts tragende, in ihrer Variante für Orchester bekannte Komposition: *Zwei Porträts* (Op. 5.), ein sich in Musik wandelnder Januskopf: »ein idealer« — »ein verzerrter«. Es gibt keinen dritten Satz — »zwei Menschenseelen«, sie sind faktisch so weit entfernt voneinander wie Sterne. Noch unmittelbarer ist die romantische Zerrisenheit des musikalischen Materials. Die Wagner'sche Inspiration des ersten Satzes unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Das von einer Sologeige intonierte Leitmotive – der Komponist nannte es selbst als Leitmotiv des geliebten Wesens, schrieb eigenhändig über seine drei Varianten: 'Liebe'; ein sich zum aufgelösten Vierklang erschließender Terzturm (cis-e-gis-his) — verdiente, daß man es einer gleich gründlichen Analyse unterwerfe als den seit Ernst Kurth legendär gewordenen Tristan-Akkord. Es wird zufolge seiner den ganzen Satz bestimmenden, just vermöge seiner Terz-Struktur die Vorstellung eines atonalen Schwebens assoziierenden, unausgesetzt anschwellenden-abfallenden Wallungen zu einer 'unendlichen Melodie'.

Noch dazu stellenweise in einem überaus verklärten Tristan-Stil, vereinend und forthuschend wie etwa das letzte der Wesendonck-Lieder, *Träume*, im Geiste jenes Regers, der den linearen Kontrapunkt Bachs zu erneuen trachtete, und auch Debussys impressionistische Technik heraufbeschwörend. Man sollte des weiteren auch den symmetrischen Aufbau untersuchen, welcher eines der wichtigsten Konstruktionsprinzipien des Bartók-Lebenswerkes, die in der Brückenform befindliche Kompositionsdenkart antizipiert. Denn diesen Melodiestrom voller Geständnissen zwängt offenbar eine Meisterhand zwischen feste Ufer. Als in dem Schlußsatz die Violine 'transzendental pianissimo' mit Harfenbegleitung ihr immer einsamer, sich entfernend dünkendes Einsamkeitslied singt, dann erinnert nicht allein die vielerprobte, verwaiste Melodie an Beethoven, an den über Abgrund führenden Bogen des Arietta-Themas in seinem Op. 111, sondern auch der hinter dem Nebelschleier befindliche, härtere Wille zur Form.

Und es verlangt noch weitaus mehr nach Erforschung der bis zur Stunde so sehr rätselhafte zweite Satz. Stefi Geyer äußerte sich darüber zutreffend: »Die beiden Sätze — sind je ein Porträt; das erste ist das jenes jungen Mädchens, das er (Bartók) liebte; das andere ist das des Violinkünstlers, den er bewundert hat.« Tatsächlich: die Musik wurde zur Verfügung des Meisters der virtuosen Bogentechnik komponiert; ist dessenugeachtet kein bloßer Rahmen, der die Möglichkeit zur technischen Bravour, zum Glänzen bietet. Die Eröffnungsphrase, jene zur Metamorphose so sehr geeignete, Tanzrhythmik heraufbeschwörende, durch ihre Intervallsprünge so spielerisch-charakteristische Intonation, kann in ihrer Gesamtheit freilich nur bedingt mit der Vortragsvorschrift 'dick, brummend' — verzeichnet über der Fagottpartie des Themas als sie erstmals erscheint — gekennzeichnet werden. Es steckt eine Reihe von Variationen hinter dem häufig noch zu enträtselnden, persönlich dünkenden, an Erinnerungen, bunten Einfällen so reichen musikalischen Material. Diese locker konstruierte Variationsreihe ist gewissermaßen eine Werkstattstudie, eine Vorausnahme zum ersten Lento-Satz des I. Streichquartetts, zu jener konzentrierten Summation, die man in Bartóks Entwicklung als einen Markstein zu erfassen hat. Auch sie ist freilich ein romantischen Geständnis. Nicht allein ob seinem verhohlenem Programm, seinen ergiebigen Anspielungen auf die Stationen der Geschichte einer Liebe, und nicht allein durch die Objektivität des Erlebnisses der inneren Zerrissenheit; es macht sie die grundlegende Intonation selbst, die Wagnersche Grundschicht zu einem romantischen Geständnis.

Es scheint dennoch, als verkröche sich in jener romantischen 'Offenheit' auch etwas anderes: Desillusion, mit dem Beweinen vermengte Abrechnung. Das zweite, das 'verzerrte' Porträt ist in seiner fürs Klavier gesetzten Variante (als letztes Stück der *14. Bagatellen*, Op. 6) allerdings über die Welt des Violinkonzerts hinaus: darin verkehrte sich bereits das überirdische 'Ideale' restlos,

das 'musikalisch Schöne' schlug in das 'musikalisch Verzerrte' über. Dazu hatte Bartók in einer Liebeserklärung keine Worte, vermochte keine zu haben. Kaum anderthalb Monate nach Beenden der Instrumentierung des Violinkonzerts fand er schon (am 5. Februar 1908) das Wort, ja, selbst das harte Wort zum kategorischen Abschlag der Romantik, das Wort der radikalen Desillusion. Der zweite Satz des Konzerts stöberte bloß nach Lauten zu jenem Wort herum. Es scheint jedoch, als ließe die eröffnende Intonation — mit ihren Intervallsprüngen, mit ihren nicht gerade salonfähigen Charakteren — jenseits der Romantik das Neue vermuten.

Wir befinden uns dabei am Tiefpunkt der Krise Bartóks. Und der Augenblich ist gleichzeitig auch der Moment der Schicksalswende, des Sichfindens. Die wahre Auflösung des als posthumes Werk kennengelernten Violinkonzerts, das I. Streichquartett, ist uns seit langem wohlbekannt. Die ersten Skizzen dazu entstanden 1907. Im Laufe des Jahres 1908 schritt die Arbeit — beweisbar — tüchtig fort, und im Januar 1909 stand das Werk bereits fertig da.

Wie war denn die Rückkehr Bartóks, des Menschen und des Komponisten, ins Leben? Auch diesmal hat die Musik darauf zu antworten. Der dritte Satz des 1908—09 komponierten *Streichquartetts*, das Allegro vivace, erneut letzten Endes den bevorzugten Satz-Typus des jungen Bartóks, das Scherzo, im Geiste des mit ihm gleichaltrigen *Bärentanz*, und läßt — wenn auch bloß in wenigen Takten — eine neue Musikwelt im Adagio aufleuchten: die ersten Töne des alten ungarischen Volksliedes: *Der Pfau ließ sich nieder.* Die Katharsis verdankt Bartók letzten Endes der Volksmusik. Wohlgemerkt: nicht etwa einer Volksmusik, welche ihn seiner Persönlichkeit beraubte. Diejenigen, die bei Béla Bartók nur den 'Folklorismus' wahrnehmen, begreifen gerade *das* nicht; den Aufstieg, der allein demjenigen zuteil werden kann, der die Hölle bereits durchwandert hat.

'Folklorismus' — das klingt in so manchen Fachkreisen, als handelte es sich dabei um eine Art der Brandmarkung. Wohlan, wenn man darunter nur irgendeine Randerscheinung versteht. Schlimmer ist es, wenn man es wahllos als Schandmal einem jeden aufdrückt, der nach Ausbruch aus der Isoliertheit trachtet. Das Ärgste aber ist, wenn statt Musik ideologische Vorurteile zum Ausgangspunkt ästhetischen Werturteils dienen.

Was die erstgenannte Variante betrifft — es genügt auf H. H. Stuckenschmidts nach dem Krieg erschienenes Standardwerk *(Neue Musik*, 1951) hinzudeuten. Darin ist die theoretische Prätention noch gedämpft; Bartók wird als ungarischer Repräsentant der Neofolklorismus genannten Richtung erwähnt; als hervorragend bezeichneter Meister, aber bloß solcher eines Partikularismus, dessen Authentizität auf ein begrenztes geographisches Gebiet — auf Ost-Europa — eingeschränkt ist. Man kann ihn in den Kreis der 'Universalität' europäischer Musik nicht so richtiggehend einbeziehen, wie auch

Janaček, de Falla oder Casella nicht. Jaroslaw Volek hat diese Konzeption 1971 in Budapest, gelegentlich des internationalen Bartók-Kongresses, überzeugend widerlegt: »Es gelangt die aktiv, 'universell europäische Musik' in den Mittelpunkt dieser Betrachtung — in geographischem Sinne hat man darunter an erster Stelle das musikalische Denken des Westens, die seit dem Mittelalter schriftlich fixierte, rationale Kunstmusik zu verstehen. Diese Art des Denkens erschafft unausgesetzt neue Formen, Methoden, Stile und Klänge. Im Sinne dieser Auffassung sind für die Musikkulturen der nicht zentral liegenden Teile von Süd-, Südost- und Nord-Europa exotische, ekzentrische Züge und eine jener der zentralen Gebiete entgegengesetzte Entwicklung bezeichnend: das Bewahren von längst verschollenen Formen, Authentizität der alten und ältesten Schichten der Volksmusik, primitive Spontaneität; kurz gesagt: trot jederlei Anerkennung eine gewisse Art des Konservativismus.

Mit Stuckenschmidts den Folklorismus betreffenden Satz kann man freilich auf Grund des romantischen Antikapitalismus keineswegs überzeugend debattieren. Auch soll man sich gegen die militanteren Varianten des Antifolklorismus in keine Auseinandersetzung auf Grund romantischer Prämissen einlassen. Schönbergs berühmte Artikel (*Folkloristic Symphonies:* in *Style and Idea*, New York 1951) z. B. enthält auch einen Wahrheitskern; das Vereinen von Volkslied und hochentwickelter europäischer Kunstmusik bleibt tatsächlich eine Illusion, falls die Folklore nur eine exotische Verzierung ist, falls sie ihre wahre gemeinschaftliche Funktion eingebüßt hat, ihren gemeinsprachlichen Charakter, in welchem sich auch originelle formbildende Energien straffen. Nebenbei kann die Liquidierung der ängstlich gehüteten Autonomie des spätbürgerlichen Privatindividuums auch die mehrfach problematische Ideologie des 'Untertauchens in der Gemeinschaft' motivieren, das rohe oder 'raffinierte' Manipulieren mit beiden Begriffen: 'völkisch' und 'kollektiv'. Es gibt unter Schönbergs gehörig eingeschränkten Formulierungen schon einige, die zu denken geben. 1948 versuchte er gegenüber einen Anhänger die siebente Symphonie Mahlers zu verteidigen. Der Gesprächsgegner meinte, die Anwendung des Volksliedes in der Komposition sei ein Gewinn. Dahingegen erklärte Schönberg, es deutet vielmehr auf eine Schwäche hin; deutet an, daß der Autor selbst nichts zu geben vermag, also fühlt er sich genötigt, aus dem Gut anderer zu leihen. So Schönberg. Was dieses 'Leihen' betrifft; heutzutage könnte wahrhaftig eine Hausarbeit für Konservatoristen sein, den Nachweis für die 'Leihen', für die 'Entleihungen' der Allergrößten — J. S. Bach, Haydn, Beethoven usw. — zu erbringen — von Shakespeare und Goethe gar nicht zu reden. Es ist keineswegs die Privatmeinung Béla Bartóks, daß auch die absolute Originalität des 'Themenerfindens' bloß eine romantische Phantasmagorie des 19. Jahrhunderts war, denn »es ist das Recht einer jeden Kunst, in einer anderen, vorangehenden Kunst zu wurzeln, ist sogar nicht nur ihr Recht, sie *hat darin zu wurzeln* [. . .] Es ist eine speziell romantische Auf-

fassung, daß man in allem dem Individuellen nachzujagen hat . . .« — Schönberg versah zwar die Möglichkeit einer modernen Anwendung der Volkslied-Thematik mit einem Fragezeichen, bestritt aber das Absolutisieren des Themas selbst nicht anders wie auch Bartók. Im Zusammenhang mit der Grundreihe seines *III. Streichquartetts* (1932) stellte Schönberg selbst fest, daß die Anwendung des Dodekaphon-Reihenprinzips an sich keineswegs die ästhetische Qualität garantiere: » . . .kann nicht stark genug betonen: '— lautete annähernd seine Feststellung —' meine Werke sind zwölftönige *Kompositionen*, keine *zwölftönige* Kompositionen . . .« Eigentümlicherweise betonte Bartók am Anfang der Dreißigerjahre dasselbe — und zwar in bezug auf die Anwendbarkeit der Folklorethematik: »Viele sind des Glaubens, es sei zum Aufblühen irgendeiner nationalen Tonkunst nichts mehr notwendig, als sich mit der Volksmusik zu befassen, und die Formeln der Formen der Volksmusik in die westlichen musikalischen Formeln einzupflanzen.« Das ist genauso falsch, wie das ästhetische Disqualifizieren der Volksmusik. »Desselben Verkünder stellen ebenfalls die Wichtigkeit der Thematik in den Vordergrund: an die Wichtigkeit der Formgebung — *des eigentlichen Schöpfens* — denken sie gar nicht . . . *Die Volksmusik erhält erst dann ihre künstlerische Bedeutung, wenn sie dank der Hand eines bedeutenden formgebenden Talents imstande ist, in eine höhere Kunst durchzudringen und darauf einzuwirken.*« So Bartók.

Wir wollten uns jedoch nicht mit dem Problematischen in Schönbergs Diktum befassen, bloß die Unmöglichkeiten der die Inschrift 'Folklorismus' tragenden begrifflichen Schublade wahrnehmbar machen.

Was eben Bartók betrifft: die Originalität seines 'Folklorismus' läßt sich kaum bezweifeln. Hinter seinem Volkslied-Erlebnis befindet sich vor allen Dingen die tiefe menschlich-künstlerische Krise, deren eine Projektion wir soeben im Zusammenhang mit dem Violinkonzert untersucht hatten.

Das tiefer liegende Wurzelwerk jener Krise ist hinreichend bekannt. Der junge Bartók — Sproß einer zum sogenannten 'Mittelstand' gehörenden Lehrerfamilie in der ungarischen Provinz — trägt in seinem Innern nahezu Zeit seines Lebens das Trauma der kränkelnd, ohne Gefährten verbrachten Kinderjahre, andererseits das Verlangen nach Identifikation, nach einem gehaltvollen Kollektiv. Auch dieses letztere hat sein patriotisches Auflodern in jungen Jahren motiviert. Er aber könnte getrost die Worte von Attila József auf sich selbst beziehen: *'vermengte mich und schied auch aus'*. In seiner patriotischen Begeisterung für 1848 steckte jederzeit auch die Reaktion persönlichen Trotzes, gegenüber dem Gleichmut der die Ideen Kossuths imstichlassenden, pseudopatriotische Umwelt; zugleich der Wunsch, sich an einer nationalen Vergangenheit und Gefühlswelt festzuklammern, deren Gemeinschaftsinhalt nicht fiktiv ist. In seiner berühmten autobiographischen Schrift — erschien 1921 in der Zeitschrift der musikalischen Avantgarde in Wien, *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, schreibt Bartók über die Atmosphäre, in welcher

das Komponieren der *Kossuth Symphonie* vonstatten ging, die folgenden Worte: » . . .dazumal lebte in Ungarn jene bekannte nationale Strömung auf, die auch in das Gebiet der Kunst eindrang. Es war davon die Rede, daß man auch in der Musik etwas spezifisch Ungarisches zu schaffen hätte. Diese Strömung erreichte auch mich, und lenkte meine Aufmerksamkeit auf das Studium der Volksmusik, genauer gesagt darauf, was man dazumal für ungarische Volksmusik erachtet hatte.«

Es ist weniger bekannt daß die heimische Musikkritik der *Kossuth Symphonie* eine fast ungeteilte Ovation bereitet hat. Pongrác Kacsóh nannte den Dreiundzwanzigjährigen den direkten Erben von Liszt und Erkel, erklärte ihn für den Ersten in der Reihe der lebenden ungarischen Tondichter. Unterlag bis dahin das Talent des Klavierkünstlers Bartók keinem Zweifel, dasselbe konnte nunmehr noch eindeutiger auf den Komponisten bezogen werden. Er wurde als Schöpfer der seit langem erwarteten ungarischen-symphonischen Sprache gefeiert. Wie bezeichnend ist jedoch, daß der nach dem Sonnenlicht des Erfolgs lechzende junge Mann schon bald der ihm aufgenötigten Rolle überdrüssig wird, und sie verschmäht. Kaum anderthalb Jahre nach der Aufführung der *Kossuth Symphonie* in England hat er in Paris, wo er mit seiner als Op. 1. bezeichneten *Rhapsodie* an dem Rubinstein Musikwettbewerk teilnimmt, das Gefühl, er sei innerlich vereinsamt. Machte ihn das persönliche Versagen dort so verzweifelt? Keineswegs. Paris hat bloß eine seit langem verborgene weltanschauliche Krise verstärkt. »Ich wußte es von vornherein, daß mein Geschick diese seelische Vereinsamung sein wird.« Er liest Nietzsche; vielleicht auch, um das frühere, sich als ein Blitzschlag auf ihn auswirkende Erlebnis von Richard Strauss-sche *Zarathustra* zu kontrollieren. Und schreibt aus der mondänen Großstadt in einer Tonart, als predigte der Eremit von Sils Maria: »Ich empfehle einem jeden zum Trost: sich in indifferente seelische Höhen emporzuheben.« In seinen an eine Bekannte geschriebenen Briefen denkt er es unmißverständlich aus. Nicht anders wie Endre Ady — auch er entdeckt das ungarische Brachland aus Paris, und gleich darauf die moderne Entfremdung. Unsere Intelligenz sei fremd. Unser Herrenstand sei unkultiviert. Es gebe keine neue ungarische Musik, wenn sie über kein wahres Publikum verfügt. Das Leben sei sinnlos. Die religiöse Ideologie sei voller Widersprüche genauso wie die nationale. (Die indirekten Zitate rühren von Bartóks Briefen an Irmy Jurkovics her, geschrieben in Paris, August 1905.)

Hinter den Symptomen der Krise kommen bald auch die tiefer liegenden Ursachen zum Vorschein. Bartóks Wege führen aus Budapest, aus Paris, aus Manchester jedesmal nach rückwärts. Im Sommer des Jahres 1905 nach dem damaligen 'Wetterwinkel', dem Unruheherd auf der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene, und hauptsächlich nach Siebenbürgen. Jetzt begegnet er dem Volk und der Volkmusik des ungarischen und des nicht-ungarischen Brachlands. Diese doppelte Begegnung wird bei Bartók selbstverständlich zu musikalischen

Erlebnissen transformiert, aber niemals vom sozialen Grunderlebnis abstrahiert. Im Gegenteil: »Ich bin übrigens der Meinung, daß die Wirkung der Bauernmusik nur dann wahrhaft intensiv auf einen zu sein vermag, wenn der Betreffende dieselbe dort, am Schauplatz, in der Gemeinschaft der Bauern miterleben hat können. Mit anderen Worten; es reicht nicht, wenn wir uns nur mit der in den Museen niedergelegten Bauernmusik beschäftigen, meine ich. Denn das wesentliche ist, daß man den mit Worten unbeschreibbaren inneren Charakter der Bauernmusik in die Kunstmusik übertrage, die Atmosphäre bäuerischen Musizierens in sie überströmen lasse. Es genügte nicht, wenn man bloß Motive der Bauernmusik, oder die Nachahmungen solcher Motive in die Kunstmusik einpflanzt: so etwas führte nur zu äußerlichen Verzierungen.« Also verschmilzt 1905—1907 in Bartóks Volksmusikerlebnis neuen Typs die Entdeckung der echten Folklore mit der radikalen Kritik des 'zigeunerhaften Schlendrians', der Volkstümelei des trivial-populären Kunstliedes. Also grenzen sich voneinander die Welt der Gentry und die der Bauernschaft ab, die Welt des seitens des herrschaftlichen Publikums bevorzugten pseudoungarischen Zigeunerliedes' und die volksmusikalische Welt von Landsarbeitern, Herrschaftsknechten, Schweinehirten, Schäfern — also die der armen Leute des damaligen Ungarns.

Dieser neue gesellschaftliche und musikalische Erlebniskreis führt unerwartet dazu, daß die neoromantische Gemeinsprachlichkeit seiner bisherigen Werke, mitsamt allem, was er zu sagen hatte, illusorisch ward. Er wurde wieder einmal einer romantisierenden Illusion gegenübergestellt — hier haben wir den im weiteren Sinne gemeinten weltanschaulichen Boden, auf welchem seine Liebe zu Stefi Geyer aufloderte. Die Briefe, die das innig Problematische seiner Beziehung zu dem jungen Mädchen widerspiegeln, sind erschütternde Dokumente. Der Schreiber tut sein Inneres genauso restlos auf, wie der Komponist des Violinkonzerts; er empfindet wohlgebründeten Abscheu vor jedweder Heuchelei, vor den konventionell lugnerischen Komplimenten. Stefi Geyer ist überzeugt und dogmatisch gläubig. Umso wichtiger ist für Bartók die schonungslose Selbsterschließung. Er beginnt einen Liebesbrief, und schlägt in wenigen Augenblicken in die Tonart weltanschaulicher Debatten über. Warum er mit der Religion gebrochen hat, was für Impulse er von Nietzsches *Zarathustra* erhielt, was für welche von J. P. Jacobsen, aus dessen damals viel gelesenem und diskutiertem Werk *Niels Lyhne;* wie für ihn die Unendlichkeit zum existentialen Erlebnis wurde und wie er den von der Religion zu erhoffenden, erbärmlichen Trost ablehnt: — sein Geständnis bricht unverschönt aus dem tiefsten Inneren eines ganzen Menschen hervor. Er macht vor der sogenannten sozialen Frage nicht Halt: der junge Professor der Musikhochschule spricht offen aus, wie und warum er sich von der »aus Halbherren bestehenden Gesellschaft, die man ungarische Intelligenz nennt«, entfremdet hat.

Das gesamte Material des Briefwechsels kennen wir nicht. Können uns dennoch kaum allzusehr irren, wenn wir annehmen: Stefi Geyer schrak vor dem jungen 'Barbaren' zurück, vor dem Lehrer des Konservatoriums, der seinen Stand unverhohlen ablehnt, wie auch seinen einstigen religiösen Glauben. Das Mädchen schrak zurück vor der 'zügellosen' Persönlichkeit, die keinerlei Dogmen, keine Autorität anerkennen wollte. Sollte all das nur für das Privatleben kennzeichnend sein? Kaum zu glauben. Wir befinden uns von Angesicht zu Angesicht mit dem weltanschaulichen Rätsel der Entstehung des Bartók-Stills. Erstens: ein persönliches Privaterlebnis — die unerwiderte Liebe — verwandelt sich in einer schicksalvollen Weise in Musik. Zweitens: vor einem Komponisten erschließt sich die endgültige Entfremdung unter den Menschen. Drittens: einer, der die Höllenfahrt hinter sich weiß, den Weg bis zur turbulenten Vernichtung bereits hinterlegt hat, kehrt dann ins Leben zurück. Keine Abmachung trifft er. Wählt sich den künftigen Weg der Hirsche seiner *Cantata profana.*

Im Kleinen antizipiert schon das *I. Streichquartett* diesen Weg. Dessen Lento schließt sich noch der schmerzlich-schönen Spätromantik des Violinkonzerts an. In dem letzten Satz gibt es einen Augenblick, wo die Primgeige einen grübelnden Rückblick auf die Stimmungswelt jenes 'halben Glücks', des langsamen Eröffenungssatzes im Violinkonzert und im Streichquartett wirft. Die Geste ist die des Abschieds. Am Horizont leuchten bereits die Strahlen einer neuen Sonne auf. *Der Pfau ließ sich nieder* — aufs Dach vom Haus des Komitats, darin die Kerker — besingt das Bauernlied, und wird im Zeichen dieses Sonnenaufgangs zum Symbol. Für die armen Unfreien das ihrer Befreiung; für den Komponisten, der sich auf ihre Seite gewandt hat, zum Symbol des Aufstiegs aus der Nebelwelt des Täumens.

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LITTÉRATURE DE L'EUROPE CENTRALE ET ORIENTALE

Bálint Balassi und die polnische Literatur seiner Zeit

JAN SLASKI

Die im Titel des Vortrags angelegte Frage ist von der Wissenschaft noch nicht allseitig und gründlich untersucht worden. Eigentlich begnügt man sich seit Jahren damit, einige wenige Fakten aufzuzählen, die dazu dienen wollen (und dies mit unterschiedlicher Beweiskraft tun), die Bande zwischen Balassi und Polen, bzw. der polnischen Literatur zu illustrieren. Dabei hat es den Anscheint, daß diesen Bindungen keine besondere Bedeutung beigemessen wird. So erfolgt in den letzten, dem hervorragenden Dichter gewidmeten Aufsätzen von ungarischen Autoren kaum ein Hinweis auf die polnische Frage und vergebens suchen wir den Namen Balassis in den neuesten polnischen Arbeiten, die die Renaissance zum Thema haben. Dieser Umstand ist sowohl mit der vorrangig westeuropäischen Orientierung der vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft beider Länder als auch mit der Unkenntnis der Sprache auf beiden Seiten zu erklären. Die bisherigen Versäumnisse scheinen aber in erster Linie darin zu wurzeln, daß die grundlegendste Frage, daß nämlich zum Verständnis von Balassis Werk gerade die polnische Literatur den unentbehrlichen vergleichenden Kontext liefert, bisher nicht bewußt gemacht wurde.

Versuchen wir diesen Ausgangspunkt mit einer allgemein bekannten Tatsache zu begründen. Balassi hat sich dreimal in polnischen Landen aufgehalten, noch dazu in für seine literarische Tätigkeit wichtigen, um nicht zu sagen entscheidenden Zeitabschnitten. Der Dichter hatte in Polen weitreichende Verbindungen, deren Herausbildung durch die Kenntnis der lateinischen und italienischen Sprache sowie die Hilfe, die das Kroatische und Slowakische in Hinsicht auf das Polnische bildete, erleichtert wurden. Das trug dazu bei, daß Balassi zu Polen tiefere persönliche Beziehungen hatte, als zu irgendeinem anderen Land. Dies berechtigt vor allem zum kontextvergleich mit der polnischen Literatur. Aber warum gerade mit der polnischen Literatur? Balassi ist in der ungarischen Literatur seiner Zeit eine einmalige Erscheinung; genauer gesagt: die heimischen Traditionen, aus seine Dichtung erwachsen ist, sind versprengt worden und untergegangen und so für uns heute kaum aufspürbar. Unter diesen Voraussetzungen bilden die polnischen Werke in bezug

auf Balassis Schaffen einen besonders faßbaren Hintergrund. Nicht nur die geographische Nachbarschaft der beiden Länder und des Dichters abenteuerliches Leben schaffen diese Nähe, sondern vor allem die nicht zu verkennenden Analogien in der Entwicklung der beiden Literaturen. So betonen wir noch einmal; die polnische Literatur bedeutet für das Werk Balassis einen vergleichbaren Kontext, der interessante wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse verspricht. Setzen wir in Klammern hinzu, daß sich das Problem hinsichtlich der italienischen Literatur wahrscheinlich anders gestaltet. Balassi verdankt der italienischen Literatur zweifelsohne sehr viel, doch in dem Falle handelt es sich um Beziehungen, die nur wenige von der zeitgenössischen vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft erfaßten Bereiche ausfüllen. Zugleich aber erfordert die Erforschung des Verhältnisses Balassis zur polnischen Literatur seiner Zeit ein sehr differenziertes kontrastives Herangehen. Schließlich geht es hierbei um sowohl persönliche als auch um literarische Beziehungen; um zwei-, bzw. dreidimensionale interkontextuelle Zusammenhänge; um genetische Verbindungen und um einfache Analogien. Unternehmen wir deshalb den Versuch zusammenzufassen, was auf dem uns interessierenden Gebiet bisher erreicht worden ist und skizzieren wir die Richtung der weiteren Forschungen.

Verweilen wir zunächst einmal bei den persönlichen polnischen Beziehungen Balassis. Mit welchen, aus kultureller und literarischer Sicht aktiven Schichten, mag er in Berührung gekommen sein?

Bei seinem ersten Aufenthalt in Polen muß der junge Dichter noch den Hof Siegmund Augusts in Krakau kennengelernt haben, obwohl der König sich vor seinem 1572 eingetretenen Tode häufiger in Warschau und Litauen aufgehalten hat. Doch im hohen Renaissancezeitalter war in Krakau noch der Geist der italienischen Hofhaltung zu spüren, in dessen Zeichen sich hier hervorragende Wissenschaftler, Dichter und Künstler, Einheimische und Fremde versammelten. Die Atmosphäre war geprägt von vornehmen Zerstreuungen und wissenschaftlichen Disputen, die mit einem eigentümlichen Zauber ausgetragen wurden. Dies war der Nährboden für mehr als ein Werk Kochanowskis, hier entstand die polnische Übersetzung des Cortegiano von Baldassare Castiglione. Bei seinem zweiten Aufenthalt war Balassi mit István Báthory in Polen und verbrachte die meiste Zeit an dessen Seite. Um den König hatte sich der Kreis lateinisch-sprachiger Humanisten, der bald den Geist des Hofes kennzeichnen sollte, noch nicht herausgebildet. Dem schon reifen Dichter begegnen wir deshalb eher in den Lagern unter den Soldaten, in dem Milieu, das für Kochanowski die »Schule« bedeutete, wo die Traditionen seiner »hohen« Dichtkunst mit denen der volkstümlichen Literatur, ja sogar mit denen der Volksdichtung verschmolzen. Der dritte und letzte Aufenthalt Balassis fällt in die Jahre, als sich der Schwerpunkt des kulturellen Lebens nach Norden verschiebt (Siegmund Vasa III. hat den polnischen Thron bestiegen) und die Gegenreformation ihre ersten Erfolge erringt. Der eben zum

katholischen Glauben zurückgekehrte Dichter, der auf dem Gipfel seiner künstlerischen Schaffens angelangt ist, verdankt gerade dieser im Norden verbrachten Zeit am meisten. Dort »am Ufer des Meeres, am Ozeanum«, im Zentrum der Jesuiten von Braniewo, als auch vielleicht im Sitz des Warmiaer Bischofs Andreas Báthory sowie in Danzig hatte er Gelegenheit, sich in die Atmosphäre des »Goldenen Herbstes« der polnischen Renaissance einzufühlen, in die Suche nach einem Gleichgewicht zwischen der methaphysischen Ruhelosigkeit und dem Stoizismus. Die drei Aufenthalte Balassis in Polen bedeuten demnach drei verschiedene Abschnitte in seinem Leben, drei verschiedene Phasen und Bereiche in der polnischen Renaissance, drei verschiedene ideelle Schichten seiner Kunst. Die Rekonstruktion von Balassis kulturell-literarischer Reiseroute muß also der Ausgangspunkt für die Nachvollziehung der aktuellen Bezüge sein, die sich ihm in Polen boten. In erster Linie müssen wir also im weiteren in den Kreisen und Schichten, mit denen der Dichter in Berührung gekommen ist, Umschau halten, um den vorausgesetzten polnischen Beziehungen, den eventuellen Bekanntschaften, den Begegnungen und Beobachtungen, der wohlmöglichen Lektüre sowie den theatralischen und musikalischen Erlebnissen auf die Spur zu kommen.

Alle diese Beziehungen sind wichtig und zwar nicht nur als biographische Besonderheiten. Sie finden nämlich ihren Niederschlag in Balassis literarischem Schaffen. Die greifbarsten Auswirkungen hat die polnische Inspirierung in thematischer Hinsicht: einige Gedichte des ungarischen Poeten sind als Echo auf die Erlebnisse in Polen entstanden. Diese sind im allgemeinen leicht verständlich und bereiteten keine größeren Interpretationsschwierigkeiten.

Sehr viel interessanter und schwieriger ist die Frage der Inspiration durch polnische Lieder. Balassi hat einige seiner Gedichte auf die Melodien damals gesungener polnischer Lieder geschrieben. Leider ist dieses Material bis zum heutigen Tage nich völlig identifiziert worden. So steht es uns momentan nicht zu Gebote, festzustellen, inwieveit es einen eventuellen Zusammenhang zwischen Rhytmus und Versmaßstruktur der Gedichte und Melodienvorlagen gibt. Diese von Balassi verwendete Praxis bedeutet jedoch für den Erforscher der alten polnischen Literatur schon in sich einen Fakt großer Tragweite. Wenn auch nur mittelbar, ist dies im Falle Polens ein früher Hinweis darauf, daß die »studierte«, »hohe« Dichtkunst sich auch bei uns über das Lied verbreitet haben mag. Diese Form wird in Polen eigentlich erst seit Beginn des XVII. Jahrhunderts umfangreicher und unmittelbar belegt und dies auch in erster Linie in der Kunst des Bürgertums. Jeder Hinweis aus früherer Zeit ist deshalb umso wertvoller, da es sich diesbezüglich um einen Aspekt der Dichtkunst Kochanowskis und der Volkstümlichkeit in der Renaissance handelt.

Schließlich und endlich soll von den interkontextuellen Relationen, den genetischen Zusammenhängen, die seit Jahren den Mittelpunkt des Interesses der traditionellen verglichenden Literaturgeschichte bilden, die Rede sein.

Ein frühes Werk Balassis, *Ein polnisches Lied* ist die Bearbeitung des LXVII. Psalmes nach der polnischen Fassung von Jakub Lubelczyk (1558). Aufschlußreich und interessant zugleich ist, daß der junge Dichter nicht nur auf den lateinischen Text zurückgegriffen hat, sondern eben diese Quelle benutzte. Vielleicht wurde seine Aufmarksamkeit dadurch erregt, daß die Übersetzung in die Versform gekleidet war und außerdem eine Vertonung vorlag. Es ist anzunehmen, daß Péter Bornemisza ihm das protestantische polnische Buch in die Hand gab.

Doch vielleicht — das wäre uns das Erfreulichste — hat Balassi selbst im Werk Lubelczyks die literarischen Werte entdeckt, auf die wenig später Kochanowski, der Übersetzer des ganzen Psalmenbuches, aufmerksam wurde, wobei er manches bei seinem Vergänger entlieh. Darüber hinaus ist auch nicht auszuschließen, daß Balassi in seinen späteren Gedichten im Psalm XLII. (Gleich einem dürstenden Hirsch . . .) und Valedicit patriae (Oh mein geliebtes Vaterland . . .) Verschiedenes aus Kochanowskis Werk geschöpft hat. Die endgültige Bestätigung dieser Annahme bedarf aber noch weiter vergleichender Studien. Demnach ist es bisher nicht gelungen, umfangreiche, unmittelbare Zusammenhänge zwischen Balassis Werk und der polnischen Dichtung aufzudecken.

Da es Umstände gegeben hat, die diese genetischen Beziehungen vorbereitet haben, gilt es, mit deren Erforschung zu beginnen. Diese Arbeit müßte in verschiedene Richtungen laufen. Es steht an, Kochanowskis Werk, vor allem die Psalmen (1579) und die Lieder (1586) gründlich durchzuarbeiten, besonders deshalb, weil seiner Werke schon vor dem Druck als Manuskripte von Hand zu Hand gegangen sind.

Man müßte die neulateinische polnische Dichtung tiefgehender untersuchen, da sie hinsichtlich der Sprache für Balassi leicht zugänglich war. Einer gründlichen Analyse bedürfte die religiöse Dichtkunst, die nach 1580 in Polen eine besonders starke Verbreitung fand. Außer den »gelehrten«, »hohen« Schöpfungen verdiente die polnische Vulgärliteratur und Volksdichtung sowie anderer Folklorestoff eine gesonderte Erforschung. In der Literatur der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts ist leider in dieser Hinsicht nicht viel erhalten geblieben. In vielen Fällen lassen sich allerdings die später aufgezeichneten oder gedruckten Texte auf diese Zeit zurückzuführen. Die Forschung um die genetischen Zusammenhänge müßte den metrischen Elementen eine größere Aufmerksamkeit widmen als bisher. Und schließlich: wer weiß, ob nicht die Untersuchung der polnischen (oder vielmehr der im damaligen Polen bekannten) ästhetischen und litherarischen Theorien und der Einflüsse, die bei der Herausbildung von Balassis künstlerisch-literarischem Bewußtsein mitgespielt haben mögen, interessante Ergebnisse bringen würde. Dieser Vorschlag bedeutet allerdings schon die Überschreitung der zweiseitigen interkontextuellen Beziehungen . . .

Zugleich läßt sich ein offenkundig interkontextueller Zusammenhang, der von den bisherigen abweicht, nicht verschweigen. Wir denken dabei an die Episode, als Balassi nicht der »Empfänger«, sondern der »Gebende« ist und die polnische Seite die »empfangende«. Adam Czahrowski (ungefähr 1565— nach 1599), der acht Jahre (1588—96) in den ungarischen Grenzburgen verbracht hatte, schrieb die polnische Bearbeitung von *In landem confiniorum* (Was kann, Soldaten . . .). Die durch Balassi inspirierten Verse oder vielleicht deren, von den Soldaten der Grenzburgen, verbreitetes Original waren in Polen der erste Ausdruck der Soldaten-Lyrik, die erst im darauffolgenden Jahrhundert ihre Blüte erreichen sollte, vor allem bei Zbigniew Morsztyn (ungefähr 1628—1689). Bis es im Barock dazu kam, erfurh das Gedicht von Czahrowski ein besonderes Schicksal. Es begegnete eine anonymen Parodie, die einem bürgerlichen Milieu entstammte, während es im damaligen Polen noch keinen ausgereiften Nährboden hatte. Auf diese Weise bewirkte Balassi dreiseitige genetische Zusammenhänge.

Balassi und sein Werk stehen jedoch zu Polen und der polnischen Literatur in einer viel interessanteren und bedeutend komplizierteren, mehrseitigen Beziehung. Wir denken hierbei vor allem an die weitverzweigten Zusammenhänge und Analogien, die nicht nur ungarische und polnische Elemente aufweisen, sondern auch von anderen Kulturen und literarischen Elementen überlagert wurden. Auch in diesem Fall handelt es sich um dreiseitige Beziehungen.

Wir wollen die Vorstellung des Sachverhaltes mit der verhältnismäßig leichtesten Frage beginnen. Balassi war, wie wir wissen, in der italienischen Kultur und Literatur sehr bewandert. Sofort erhebt sich hier die Frage: wo und unter welchen Umständen hat Balassi, der vermutlich nie in Italien gewesen ist, diese Kenntnisse erworben? Darüber herrscht bisher die zu akzeptierende Ansicht, daß er sie in erster Linie seinen eigenen Studien, seiner Lektüre und seinem Aufenthalt in Siebenbürgen, diesem Zentrum italienischen Geistes verdankt hat. Doch nicht zu unterschätzen ist die Vermittlerrolle, die auch Polen in dieser Hinsicht gespielt haben mag. Umso weniger, als da wir mit Sicherheit wissen, daß der Dichter genau in Braniewo gegen Ende des Jahres 1590 Machiavelli gelesen hat, vielleicht sogar die dem Polen Jan Osmolski gewidmete Ausgabe. In Polen konnte also Balassi durch die hier in großer Zahl tätigen Italiener auch unmittelbar mit der gesprochenen Sprache in Berührung kommen. Darüber hinaus hatte er hier Gelegenheit, die von Italien übernommenen Sitten und Gepflogenheiten kennenzulernen. Und schließlich waren hier in Polen zahlreiche italienische Schriften in den Bibliotheken, polnische Übersetzungen italienischer Werke sowie die auf italienische Anregung entstandenen polnischen Werke leicht für ihn zugänglich. Wer weiß, ob ihm nicht die ausgezeichnete polnische Bearbeitung von Baldassare Castigliones Werk *Cortegiano*, daß Lukosz Górnicki (1527—1603) 1566 herausgegeben hatte, in die Hände gelangt ist.

Bedeutend vielschichtiger erscheinen die dreiseitigen interkontextuellen Relationen. Verweilen wir noch einen Augenblick bei den italienisch—ungarisch—polnischen Dreiecksbeziehungen. Wie bekannt ist, hat Balassi die Werke von der neulateinischen Dichtern — die der Italiener Hieronymus Angerianus und Michael Tarchaniota Marullus sowie die des Niederländers Janus Secundus — ins Ungarische übertragen. Auch die Übersetzung des Dramas Amarilli von Cristoforo Castelletti stammt von ihm. In der Epoche der polnischen Renaissance herrschte kein besonderes Interesse für die drei oben erwähnten Dichter und das Schäferspiel. Umso bemerkenswerter ist es, daß man in der nächsten Epoche, im Barock, sowohl auf diese drei Dichter als auch auf die Schäferspiele als Genre aufmerksam wurde.

Der hervorragendste der polnischen Barockdichter, Jan Andrzej Morsztyn (ca 1620—1693) übersetzte außer Giovan Battista Marini die Gedichte von Angerianus, Marullus und Secundus und außerdem *Aminte* von Torquato Tasso, das übrigens nicht das erste Schäferspiel in Polen war, da schon früher einige Übersetzungen das *Pastor fido* von Battista Guarini Vorlagen. Den ungarischen Renaissance — und den polnischen Barockdichter verbindet also eine diachronische Analogie, die bei beiden Dichtern völlig übereinstimmt, bzw. sich, das Genre betreffend, aus der Wahl der gleichen literarischen Muster ergibt.

Wenden wir uns jetzt anderen Übersetzungen Balassis und deren polnischem Kontext zu. 1572 wurde in Krakau a *Beteg lelkeknek való füves kertecske* (»Das Kräutergärtchen für kranke Seelen«) herausgegeben. Derzeit gibt es schon gewisse Anzeichen, die darauf hinweisen, daß die polnische Übersetzung des Werkes von Michael Bock wahrscheinlich schon früher im Druck erschienen war. Kurz vor seinem Tode, vielleicht im jesuitischen Braniewo, machte sich Balassi an die Übersetzung des *Rationes decem* von Edmund Campianus. Die überarbeitete Übersetzung dieses Werkes durch Kasper Wilkowski (der übrigens zur gleichen Zeit wie Balassi zum katholischen Glauben zurückkehrte) wurde 1584 in Wilna herausgegeben. Wie bekannt beendete Balassi im Sommer 1589 (oder beabsichtigte zu beenden) die Bearbeitung des Dramas *Jephtes* von George Buchanan. Die polnischen Version dieses biblischen Stückes stammt von Jan Zawicki und erschien 1587 in Krakau. Über den Verfasser wissen wir nicht allzuviel außer der Tatsache, daß er zu dem Mäzenenkreis um Jan Zamoyski gehörte, mit dem auch Balassi in Verbindung stand. Es ist anzunehmen, daß der ungarische Dichter um 1689 die Absicht hegte, das ganze Psalmenbuch aufgrund der Version von Theodor Beza zu übersetzen. Im Jahre 1579 und gleich danach 1583, 1585 und 1587 kam in verschiedenen Überarbeitungen Kochanowskis Psalmenbuch heraus, das an die oben erwähnten Paraphrasen Buchanans anknüpft, aber auch eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit der Version Bezas aufweist. Die *Übereinstimmung* der angeführten Fakten ist in allen vier Fällen natürlich augenfällig. Die Frage

ist nur die, wie wir das interpretieren sollen! Die zukünftigen Forschungen müßten erbringen, mit was für Erscheinungen wir es hierbei zu tun haben. Handelt es sich um einfache Analogien oder vielleicht in Hinsicht auf den Titel um eine polnische Inspiration oder aber darum, daß Balassi den polnischen Text als Hilfmittel benutzt hat. In dem letzten Falle hätten wir es mit eine polnischen Vermittlerrolle zu tun.

Schließlich müssen wir an die Analogien erinnern, die Balassis Dichtung der polnischen Dichtung näherbrachten und die nicht den Anschein erwecken, als handle es sich um genetische oder unmittelbare Zusammenhänge. Die erste Aufgabe, die sich hieraus ergibt, ist die vergleichende Untersuchung einiger Aspekte im Werk Kochanowskis und Balassis. Einige Beispiele: Interessante Ergebnisse könnten sich aus der vergleichenden Analyse von Gedichtzyklen beider Dichter ergeben. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung verdiente das beide Dichter gleichermaßen kennzeichnende Element des Autobiographischen. Lohnenswert wäre, die von beiden Dichtern akzeptierte Lebensphilosophie zu erkunden, ungeachtet dessen, daß sie in Bezug auf den Stoizismus am Ende ihres Lebens eine sehr unterschiedliche Position bezogen haben. Auch ihre ähnlichen Ansichten über die Aufgaben des Dichters, das Selbstverständnis der eigenen Bedeutung und ihrer Rolle als Bahnbrecher in der eigenen Heimat, verdienten einen umfassenden Überblick. Doch auch über Kochanowski hinausgehend fehlt es nicht an Analogien, die Aufmerksamkeit verdienten. Als Beispiel erwähnen wir die Ähnlichkeit in den Übersetzungstraditionen bei Balassi und bei denen in Polen. Die von Balassi bevorzugten Genres stehen in enger Beziehung zu den Formen und Elementen, die in der damaligen polnischen Dichtkunst auftauchen.

Wir haben den Versuch unternommen, die bisherigen Forschungsergebnisse zusammenzufassen, die sich auf die Zusammenhänge und Analogien zwischen Balassi und Polen, bzw. Balassi und der polnischen Literatur beziehen und die Perspektiven der diesbezüglichen zukünftigen Forschungen zum umreißen. Der hier angeführte Entwurf, der notwendigerweise nur einige Züge enthält, ist selbstverständlich von einer Erschöpfung des ganzen Problemkreises weit entfernt. Doch ist schon jetzt abzusehen, daß die Lösung der Probleme fruchtbringende Ergebnisse verspricht. Lassen wir momentan die Teilfragen beiseite, auch wenn sie grundlegende Lösungen erbringen können. Wenden wir uns eher einer schon jetzt auftauchenden Schlußfolgerung zu. In Balassis zahlenmäßig bescheidenden Lebenswerte verdichtet sich alt das, was in Polen die Leistung einiger Dichtergenerationen bedeutet. Der ungarische Dichter, ein Menschenalter jünger als Kochanowski, durchmaß mit seiner Kunst die aufblühende und untergehende Renaissance und trat gleichzeitig in die in Polen noch in weiter Ferne stehende Barockepoche ein. Es ist für uns nicht von Belang, welche Gründe dabei mitgespielt haben. Wichtig ist aber, daß wir aufgrund der vergleichenden Analyse zu dieser Feststellung

gelangt sind. Die Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft muß bei der Erforschung der einzelnen Zusammenhänge und Analogien zur Bestimmung der Originalität der Dichterpersönlichkeit vordringen. Erst die Bestimmung des Platzes, den Balassis Kunst vor dem Hintergrund der Mitteleuropäischen und besonders der polnischen Literatur seiner Zeit einnimmt, ermöglicht die wirklichkeitsgetreue Erfassung seiner heimischen und europäischen Eigenheit, seiner wahrhaften Größe.

Sociological Trends in Soviet Literary Scholarship (1923–1926)

Literature as Production

During the 1920's it was one of the central problems of the Marxist sociological view of literature how to define the characteristics of literature. It was an ever recurring question how it was possible to integrate the study of the genesis of the work with the analysis of its formal aspects. The clarification of these questions brought into focus the scope and confines of sociological studies.

The Marxist sociological approach to literature concentrated on the contentual elements, stressing their primacy among the components of the work. It searched for the ways and means of studying formal elements, that is, ultimately the place of the study of form in the sociology of literature. Though the need of investigating formal elements was proclaimed over and over, the exploration and scholarly analysis of the formal aspects of the work was of secondary importance in the sociological approach to literature.

Since 1916 the Russian Formalist School, the *Opojaz* had been gaining importance; their focussing on the work was radically opposed to the concept of the sociological approach to literature, the theory of contemporary Marxists. Soon it became evident that the open confrontation between the sociologists and the *Opojaz* was unavoidable. A long and unrelenting struggle was bound to develop between the formalists and the sociologists. This struggle determined and in a sense even influenced the sociologists' way of posing questions, their mode of inquiry, but it would be a mistake to ignore the influence of the sociologists on the formalists on some essential ideological and theoretical points. Since then the history of the Formalist School and the Marxist sociological approach to literature has become inseparable, and if we wish to understand either of them we have to consider it with reference to the other.

The further development of the sociological method can be traced only if we refer back to the ideas of the Formalist School that were pivotal to the discussions.

The efforts of the *Opojaz* concentrated upon discovering the specificity of the work of art. To this end they separated literature from non-literature, the artistic work from the non-artistic work. Thus they came to find those specific features that transmute a work into a work of art, namely the components of device *(priem)* and material *(materia)*. It would be an inexcusable mistake, however, to narrow down the concept of art of the *Opojaz* to a system which describes devices, even if these devices were interpreted as composites in the traditional sense. In a way the formalists succeeded in overcoming the dichotomous view of content and form. They viewed the work as a whole, even as a unified structure which in modern cybernetics corresponds to the dynamic model. Each element of the work of art as part of a dynamic system is, at the same time, an active and a passive "subject". Its inner dynamism, the intricate super- and subordination of these elements cannot be conceived without concentrating on the work of art. The formalists proclaimed the principle that problems pertaining to the writer and to the

writer's biography, on the one hand, and on the other to reading as a subjective act are irrelevant to the main characteristics of the work of art. The attacks by the advocates of the sociological method were directed especially at this concept and they blamed the *Opojaz* for their arbitrariness in separating literature from reality and from the role that it plays in reality. There is no denying that one can find some distortions in the views of the *Opojaz*. (Here we may refer to the careless and daredevil statements of Shklovsky) In essence, however, it was unfounded to state that they had separated art from reality, or that the formalists had been busy in dissecting the skeleton of the work of art. We can understand the views of the formalists concerning the relationship between art and reality if we have a clear conception of the fact that the discovery of the laws of transformation is one of the key problems of the relationship between art and reality. Furthermore, Russian Formalism can by no means be regarded a petrified formation which was unable to develop. In the late twenties Tinyanov, Eichenbaum, Tomashevsky and Jakobson departed from orthodox immanency and strived to examine the specificity of literature from the whole of society. This can be proved the most convincingly by the short draft of a system by Tinyanov and Jakobson which was published in 1928.

Our views concerning the "attacks" of the formalists against Marxism are quite different than those of the sociologists. Their criticism was really addressed to the outworn conceptions of the cultural-historical school. And we should not forget that in the early twenties Marxist literary scholarship was in the stage of experimentation. This is not to say that the formalists were beyond reproach, because in some points they were, in fact, prepared to negate Marxist views.

It is noticeable that in the early twenties there appeared some tendencies in literary scholarship that tried to reconcile formalism with Marxism; some of them even ventured to synthesize the two methods. These mediators called forth the anger and scorn of the "orthodox" advocates on both sides.

A number of Marxists who carried on open debate with the literary theory of the *Opojaz* took the view that it would be improper to condemn Formalism as a whole; on the contrary, they thought it was possible to borrow from some of its works, to use some of its results though they were the products of an idealistic trend. Such were the views of Bukharin. As it is known, Trotsky devoted a special essay to the criticism of formalist views.[1] His criticism was outright and unrelenting, yet he came to the conclusion that the examination of the formalists' results would be useful even for Marxists. Trotsky's criticism was aimed at Shklovsky's *Khod konya*. In spite of his biting criticism he recognized that it was to Shklovsky's credit that "the theory of art has risen from alchemy to the rank of chemistry". Marxists such as Piksanov, Sakulin, Keltuyala and others pronounced similar views on formal research.

Mayakovsky's connection with the formalists is well known. For a time he published the theoretical writings of the formalists in *Lef*. Mayakovsky spoke of the formalists with appreciation. He said: "The formal study is the key to the study of art. We have to count every flea of rhyme. Do not be afraid of hunting fleas in the void." Emphatically he added: "Your work will be interesting and useful through sociological inquiry."[2] Zeitlin, a regular member of *Lef* greeted the activity of *Opojaz* with enthusiasm: "Formalists are the pioneers of the Russian army of literary historians. It is the Marxists who could be the most interested in their results and successes."[3]

Mayakovsky's *Lef* became the hotbed and main center of the method that tried to reconcile, harmonize and synthesize the formal method with Marxist literary scholarship, or more properly, with sociologically-oriented research. It became known in literary history as the "for-soc" (formal-sociological) method. Its chief theoretician and organizer was Arvatov. This method was accepted by Osip Brik, Zeitlin, Vinokur and many others.

Arvatov, in consonance with his companions, set an extremely high value on the accomplishments of the formalists. He wrote that "Opojaz should be regarded as a progressive, revolutionary trend in scholarship, which replaced and surpassed a number of phenomena that had been produced before it. In this sense Opojaz has advanced further than the Marxists who are clinging to lifeless formulas".[4] And what is very important for the formal-sociological method from the theory of the *Opojaz?* Arvatov underlines that "the formal method, which was the first to study the way of producing, the way of making the works of art, represents an enormous step forward over against the theory of 'content' ".[5] The author remarks that the activity of the formalists has, of course, alienated Marxists. In his way Arvatov also criticized the formalists. Formalism "as far as its general basis is considered, is immanent: first of all it has alienated the majority of Marxists who have discovered its useful but provisory ('extremes', 'dryness', etc.) elements, and next, it has denied itself the possibility of throwing a deeper, more favourable light upon the regularities other than simple chronological and structural morphology that can be caught in the history of literature".[6] In his writings Arvatov mentions several times the difference between the formal and formal-sociological method.

At the time of the appearance of the "for-soc" theory there was a substantial difference between the advocates of the formal-sociological method and other Marxists as far as Marxist method was concerned. Those who came to Marxism from the cultural-historical school, in their understanding and scholarly analysis of literature as a form of ideology gave priority to the determining role of the productive forces among Marxist tenets, stressed the concept of economic determinism and referred it back to the genetic — causal relations of literature. Arvatov and his companions broke with this concept and opened new paths. It was not in discussing the creation of the work, that is the genesis of literature, where they employed the determining principle of production relations, but with reference to literature itself. They considered literature as production, a sort of production. This means that the formal-sociological method placed literature as a social phenomenon into the sphere of production, it looked for the creative act in the work of art. As a consequence they endowed the problems of composition with a distinct function and thought it to be a moment of production in the creation of the literary work. They stressed the activity of the creating process in literature; and in their view the literary procedures corresponded to the laws of transformation that rearranged the facts of life into subject matters.

Arvatov defined the basic task of literary scholarship in this sense when he said that "if bourgeois theory of literature studies authors, works or the general development of style, then Marxist theory of literature should inevitably deal with the organization of the literary work as the professional—social activity of men".[7] Consequently, literature becomes the result of a social division of labor as "the formal-sociological method conceives of literature as a professional—practical system which has its own techniques, economy and 'superstructure', and which functions as part of the whole of the social system".[8] He views the historical development of literature from the aspect of this tenet, he defines the development of literature from this basis when he says that "the types of organizations of literary management which determine its form of production are historically changing together with the changes in the economic structure of society".[9]

Arvatov, together with other advocates of the formal-sociological method stressed the active side of art, ascribing high importance to those processes that transform the 'material' of reality into artistic 'material'. In summing up his views Arvatov expounds this concept as follows: "To sum up: life is an endless conglomeration of objects, events, human actions, ideas and all these are not 'content' but material for the artist of literature. Our task is to study the mechanism of processing this material into a literary form as a

social and professional mechanism which is determined by the general laws of historical evolution."[10] Thus literature selects from among the facts of life and rearranges them into subject matter. It rearranges and not reflects. According to Zeitlin it is a mistake to say that "the literary work translates life into 'symbolic signs' on the contrary, the literary work does not reflect reality but transforms it in a creative synthesis".[11]

The active, productive nature of art, according to Arvatov, is practicable for the explanation of the phenomena of poetic language. He regards poetry as a certain sphere of language creation: "Poetry has never been anything else than an experimental laboratory of language creation."[12] In his view the poetic language is a spontaneous, intuitive laboratory of everyday language. The poet is not a mere compiler of words and sentences, "the poet is always an inventor, a shaper of the material of real language".[13] At the same time he tries to find the existence of these transforming methods and devices outside of art, that is, in society. He states that "as against the formal method the formal-sociological method studies the aesthetic devices in their connection with the analogous devices of non-artistic literature not in the sense of 'reflection' but in the sense of rearranging the facts of life into subject matter".[14] Thus Arvatov advocates the principle of active transformation, and stresses the positive aspects of art. This view is so consistent that for certain artistic products he does not find place within the scope of art, thus e.g. he regards panel painting as needless, and is inclined to label only the socially useful results as art. Undoubtedly, in this view of his there is gross oversimplification and a rather banal utilitarianism.

Arvatov wrote interesting analyses of the poems of Mayakovsky, Brusov and others, in which he based his conclusions on the statistics of lexical elements he had found in the poem. Besides a number of remarkable statements he established class-specifications that in the last analysis proved to be unfounded.

In spite of its exaggarations the formal-sociological method managed to create a concept which at least in some of its elements has not been superseded.

The efforts of the adherents of the formal-sociological method to synthesize formal analysis with sociological methods met the reprehension of the formalists. Elsewhere, especially among the advocates of Pereverzev's sociology of literature they met harsh rejection. Among the formalists it was Eichenbaum who did not conceal his contempt as to the activities of formal-sociologists: "Here are the '*forsoci*' — he writes in *Pechat' i Revol'uciya* — who, while not recognizing their comic role at the hands of history, are moving in the line of least resistance and insist upon the unification of the two — formal and sociological — methods."[15] The advocates of Pereverzev's sociology found it absolutely necessary to refuse every attempt that wanted to merge formal analysis with Marxism, that is with the sociological method. In 1927 Fokht published a lengthy essay in which he surveyed all trends that existed in literary scholarship. Of the activities of the formal-sociologists he had a devastating opinion. He declared that "in formal sociology the sociological approach is nothing but external, and in its principles it is only formal".[16] Another experiment in literary scholarship that declared itself Marxist or sociological was branded by Fokht as eclectic. It was the theoretical research of Sakulin, Keltuyala, Piksanov and others.

Immanence and Causality

After the revolution Sakulin, Keltuyala, Brodsky, Efimov, Piksanov and others, who had begun their careers within the cultural-historical school, used every effort in the interest of learning and disseminating Marxism. Here we have to touch upon the socio-

logical concepts of Sakulin and Keltuyala because their and especially Sakulin's methodological-theoretical essays and books were fairly often quoted in the discussions concerning the sociological method.

P. M. Sakulin, a former representative of the cultural-historical school, was mainly interested in the social aspects of literature. His writings, however, display his renewed sensitiveness to and sympathy for the questions of form. After the revolution he published several reviews, critical writings about the formalists. He was mainly interested in Zhirmunsky's theoretical works. It is known that Zhirmunsky broke off with Shklovsky's concept of immanence relatively early, because he linked the existence and development of literature with the spirit of the age. This may have been instrumental in Sakulin's receiving Zhirmunsky's works with sympathy. Sakulin like the advocates of the formal-sociological method searched for the means of accentuating and harmonizing the positive aspects of formalism and the sociological method. Unlike the representatives of formal sociology, Sakulin exerted his conciliatory efforts in other fields of literature as well.

From the middle of the twenties a group of critics gathered around Pereverzev declared an uncompromising struggle against the theoretical concepts of *Opojaz* and were inclined to call all manifestations formal-sociological method that strived at the recognition of the formal method. Thus besides the actual representatives of the formal-sociological method, Bukharin, Voznesensky, Trotsky, Piksanov, Keltuyala together with Sakulin were branded as 'for-soc'. We apply this label only to the theory of Arvatov and his companions.

Sakulin's efforts to reconcile formal analysis with the sociological method, in spite of its resemblance to formal sociology, does not mean at all that his theory was the repetition of its tenets. Unlike the adherents of the formal-sociological method he was not interested in the "mode of production" or "state of production" in art but endeavored to lay stress upon the social bonds, social genesis, historical process of literature, without impairing the innermost characteristics and conditions of literature or the literary work. In Sakulin's theoretical system it is the task of scholarship to wind up and throw light upon the threads that connect the immanence and the causal factors of literature. Literary scholarship can achieve this aim through the allying of two methods: through the assertion of the immanent (formal) and causal (sociological) method.

As a Marxist Sakulin started from the proposition that literature is an outward form of the social superstructure. As he proclaims, "all manifestations of the spiritual life of the country — literature among them — are nothing else but the 'superstructure' of the economic basis".[17] It is the economic life that determines every moment and the historical process of social life; thus "while studying our subject from the historical angle we have become convinced that the changes in socio-economic life and consequently the changes in the whole social process bring about unavoidable changes in literary life — the alternation of schools and styles. Here sociological *determinism* can be applied in full measure."[18] He conforms to Plekhanov's views when he does not evolve the social roots of literature directly from the determinants of economic life, but as an intermediary he interpolates the medium of social classes which exert influence over the transformation of literature. He warns that "after all the literary historian may not forget that in every historical period there exist several social classes side by side, consequently there are several trends in literature."[19] He does not accept it as an exhaustive or full explanation of how the structure of economic determinents influence literature. He follows Plekhanov when he declares that "in the sphere of art and literature *immediate* influence originates more often in *non-economic* factors that constitute the so called *social psychology*".[20] He disagrees with the onesided extremity which stresses the economic basis of society as a determining factor in the understanding of art, because as he asserts, literature has a relatively inde-

pendent existence in spite of its economic determination. "Literature — says Sakulin — is fighting for its independent existence, it does not submit to any kind of influence, and receives only what does not contradict its character. Because it has a character of its own."[21] Thus literature is fighting for its "independence". This principle is also an expression of Sakulin's concept of history: "Sociological determinism meets some barriers in the field of literature, the psyche of the creative personality, the laws of ideology and the existence of the evolutionary moment."[22] That is to say, the determining factors of art are not composed of social-economic phenomena only, because "art at a certain stage of its development and within certain limits is *simultaneously* living its peculiar life, and also conforms to non-economic influence".[23] How then does Sakulin imagine the development of literature?

He discerns two moments in the historical process. He postulates the existence of an inherent movement in the development of literature, because, as he declares, "every development postulates an expanding subject (as if it were a 'thing in itself') which possesses certain features, first of all the ability to develop; it depends on the nature of the subject whether and how it will develop (that is the fact and type of development). The development always begins within the boundaries of the genus and species and the type of development is determined by their peculiarities. I call this 'natural' development, ('kata phusin' in Aristotle's and Polybius' term) evolution in order to distinguish it from causal development brought by external forces."[24] The evolutionary and causal moments of the historical process, however, are not exclusively antithetical. He clearly and accurately states: "I set the evolutionary moment against the causal moment and not the historical one, and with this contraposition I assert that the evolutionary and causal moments together constitute a *single* historical phenomenon (history = evolution + causality). This means that there is no sign of dualism here as it may have appeared at first sight."[25] In order to describe historicity correctly and fully it becomes necessary to explore these two moments. What are its applicable devices and methods?

The immanent method alone is qualified for the exploration and analysis of the history and the natural facts of the phenomenon, a task that in part had been accomplished by *Opojaz*. In his essay, The Methodological Tasks of the Literary Historian, Sakulin discusses the ways and methods of approaching literarure.[26] As we have indicated above, he postulates two methods: an immanent method and a causal method. What relationship does he establish between them, and what are the procedures of research? Besides the dynamic approach can one suppose the existence of a static approach?

Sakulin's starting point is that the immanent method must come before causality. He writes that "nothing can throw obstacles in the way of the sociologically thinking scholar in his keeping the sequence of methodology, that is, he has to apprehend the phenomena first in their immanent and then in their causal aspects".[27] What does he mean by immanent analysis? He envisages the proper exploration of literary phenomena this way: "It is important to know what Evgeny Onegin constitutes in itself as a work of art, in its essence. We analyse it for this end from the aspect of *form* and poetic *content*. First we analyse the elements of poetic form immanently (concerning sound, word, image, rhythm, composition, genre, poetic subject, artistic style) with the aid of those methods that have been elaborated by theoretical poetics — relying on psychology, aesthetics and liguistics — and of those used partially by the advocates of the formal method. In essence, this is the most valuable part of our work."[28] Thus in Sakulin's opinion the examination of literary phenomena must begin with the immanent method, and if we have noticed, this inquiry is directed not only at the formal aspects but extends to the poetic subject as well. To this question Sakulin had to provide further explanation

because his above quoted essay was attacked bitterly and one of the accusations was that he neglected or disregarded the dialectics of content and form. According to others he separated content and form. In order to eliminate misunderstandings, Sakulin makes his point clearer: he states that the work of art is homogeneous, all the components of the work can be conceived of as parts of a unified, indivisible structure. As it can be seen from his writings in Sakulin's theoretical system the concept of content differs from the traditional, cultural-historical interpretation and is nearer to that of Shklovsky, Tinyanov and the *Opojaz* and to Arvatov's formal-sociological view of content as well, because "by content we mean only *material* which must be made to take shape. It is the artist and only the artist who can give it artistic, emotional-imaginal form. Only then does it become *poetic content.* In this view there is no unnecessary 'formalism'."[29] He makes this concept even more explicit: "Poetic content can be only artistically transformed reality (including the inner world of the artist). Empiric reality, the ideological content of life are nothing else but material. *Stoff* which has to be transformed artistically. Creation, in essence, is the process of shaping. It can be observed (which almost always remains unnoticed) that the one and same element may get both into form and into content."[30] And once again he emphatically adds that "the immanent examination, I repeat, is the artistic analysis of form and content".[31] It may become clear from Sakulin's argumentation that he had drawn a lot from the views of the formalists and stood near the formal-sociological theory as well. These "borrowed" ideas, however, had become integral parts of his theoretical system.

When one has finished studying the immanent phenomena, it is possible to throw light upon genetic relationships; then the causal method is put in force. In contrast to earlier concepts, Sakulin has separated genetic relations from causal relations. As a matter of fact genetic relations cover the environment of the immediate history of the work of art, while the idea of causal relations support the definition of the social fact and social function of the literary work. After the exploration of genetic relations one can begin to analyze the causal relations of literature. Sociology serves this purpose.

What are causal phenomena? In effect, Sakulin approaches literature from the whole of the social structure. By it he means all those factors that initiate literature into social fact; from another aspect, he studies those social factors that result in the movement of literature, influence its development and induce its historical changes. Social classes, social psychology, and ultimately the economic system of society belong to the causal relations that influence literature. Without their knowledge it is impossible to understand the work or the historical process of literature. In essence, Sakulin asserts some kind of dialectics between the literary work and social relations. It is true that immanent study comes before causal, but causal analysis comprehends the results of immanent study and lifts them to a new level. In his book he writes that "as soon as the sociological method appears on the scene, it acquires dominant position: it becomes aware of everything that has been reached by immanent study, and executes its own, very intricate work in order to put those results at the service of historical research".[32] From this quotation we can see that there is no super- or subordination in the relation of the immanent and the causal method. Both are important and indispensable, both have their well-definable task in the study of the phenomena, facts and functions of literature.

Sakulin's concept of literature, as can be seen, deviates from Plekhanov's theory of art on one cardinal point. We may remember Plekhanov's principle that the primary and most important task of literary scholarship is to find the "social equivalent", which is, incidentally, the first step in the examination of literary phenomena. Sakulin, as we have seen, has reversed this order. Namely, he begins with "immanent" study and then follows the analysis of the social environment of literature.

Several critics blamed Sakulin for distorting Plekhanov's intentions. To them he answered: "Plekhanov speaks 'about a critic who is occupied with valuating a given work of art'. This hypothetical 'value' gets ascertained in the view of the critic-sociologist only when he finds 'the social equivalent of the given literary phenomenon', when the 'idea' of the work has been translated from 'artistic language' into the 'language of sociology'. All this is so as long as we speak about the sociological value of the phenomenon."[33] From Sakulin's words we can perceive that in his views valuation has to be separated from description. His reasoning goes on like this: "Before we begin to speak in the 'language of sociology'we have to understand the 'language of art'. The fact that Plekhanov considers the 'valuation' of the work the other act of critical activity from the aspect of 'artistic facilities' does not change the matter a bit. We are speaking of study and not of valuation. This is a great difference. But of course, even valuation must be naturally based on the study of 'artistic language'."[34] This interpretation of Plekhanov's theory called forth repeated objections. Pereverzev, Pospelov, Medvedev, Fokht and others discovered the falsification of Plekhanov's theory in Sakulin's reasoning. And their criticism, as far as an interpretation of Plekhanov was concerned, was not quite unfounded.

Sakulin's efforts to find the specificities of literature and his concept of the process and function of literature well reflect the trends and aspirations of Marxist literary scholarship in the early twenties. He took care not to lose sight of the innermost features, the particular regularities of literature. Then again he made considerable efforts to reconcile the study of the inner world of literature with the exploration and analysis of its origin and of its social roots. And perhaps it is no small matter that he intervened against the rigid employment of economic determinism in the sphere of art.

In spite of several inaccurate formulations and arguments Sakulin's achievements deserve attention. Undoubtedly, the main trend of his argumentation was correct, and though his views were widely debated and sometimes passionately refuted, these views made no little contribution to the consolidation of Marxist literary scholarship. Lunacharsky appreciated his efforts in that "he brought academic scholarship nearer to the Marxist world-view".[35] And he wrote to Sakulin that "Marxism as a whole and literary scholarship should be glad to have several workers like You". In accordance with public opinion N. I. Efimov in his *The Sociology of Literature* (1927) called Plekhanov the founder of the sociological method. He had a high opinion of Sakulin's activity. As he has said Sakulin "is the greatest representative of Russian literary scholarship of our age" and "at the university he is the pioneer of the 'sociological method', no matter how others refer to his sociologism".[36] He attached great importance to Sakulin's *The Sociological Method in Literary Scholarship*. This book is "the first attempt at elaborating the original and comprehensive principles of this method in our (that is in Russian — L. Ny.) and Western European literary scholarship as well".[37] In his view "the originality of the book and the merits of its author are expressed by the specification of literature, by his efforts to recognize the process, inherent features and the specificity of literature".[38] Rarely did he meet such warm reviews; it was the more characteristic to condemn and occasionally to refute his sociological views. But this never discouraged Sakulin and he firmly continued his pioneering work.

Sakulin's book and his theoretical essays have became targets for attacks from several sides. The Opojazists pre-condemned every effort that strived at intertwining the two methods. Eichenbaum sarcastically remarks that "Sakulin is interested in poetics, in the study of style, composition and device with his full heart, but to all these — according to him — one must add some sociology, some aesthetics, some biography, etc. In this case everything becomes good and successful: 'the organism of the work will throb with life because the poet's word is living'. What an unusually beautiful sentence to finish

his essay."[39] The sociologists of literature were even more severe in condemning Sakulin's concept of sociology and his liability to eclecticism.

Pavel Medvedev, author of a monograph study on the formalists, calls Sakulin's theory dualistic because he is unable to synthesize the immanent and causal methods into one, monistic method. He finds Sakulin's sociological method too narrow in scope: "He should have understood the sphere of applying the sociological method in a wider sense. The 'immanent' study of a literary work should become part of it together with the positive and valuable results of other methods and the formal (morphological) method as well. And this would not be a superficial and unsatisfactory eclecticism, because the sociological method is in its essence synthetic."[40] According to Medvedev Sakulin is unable to combine different methods, they are attached to each other mechanically, therefore he thinks that "Sakulin has no methodological system of his own, his construction is very far from being Marxist, in his sociologism there is no sociology".[41]

Pospelov also condemns Sakulin's theory for his methodological mistakes. He got to the point when he blamed him for not having clarified the notion of method. Pospelov detects in Sakulin's exposition that he understands method as a technical procedure only, that is he raises the ways of approaching a literary phenomenon to the standard of method. Moreover, Sakulin in his methodological system failed to discriminate between basic and auxiliary research. Method covers the whole of research, the descriptive, valuating, analytical analysis and the synthesizing theoretical generalizations as well. In this sense "materialist method is not a device but the fundamental method of science and is so valuable and promising that the name of method is applicable only to it and to nothing else".[42] What method then is adequate to the study of literary phenomena? Pospelov anwers this, too.

The method which can approach literary phenomena from a wide variety of angles has to set out from the appropriate subject. As he expressed it: "The fundamental and determinant aspect of the literary fact can be observed in its eidōlon-like (imaginal) complexity: we understand an artistic image as a formal structure and contentual fact. The establishment of imaginal evolution demands the discovery of the imaginal similarity of a number of facts, though viewed from outside they would seem very different, which condition precipitates the displeasure of the 'specificators' who want to sprinkle blue salt on the tail of the cat they have not caught. But in every science the road leads from broad generalizations to specification, and never in the opposite direction. The method demands this."[43] Here we can see in short the methodological basis of the concept of literary scholarship of Pereverzev's school. The study of images is formulated similarly by M. R. Fokht in one of his essays in which he surveys and classifies the trends of litarary scholarship in the early twenties.

Keltuyala's book *The Historical Materialist Study of the Literary Work* (1926) displays some kinship with Sakulin's views.[44] This small booklet was written in a rather dull style, almost in headwords, in telegraphese. The author's experiment in the sociology of literature is interesting for he touches upon some aspects of the analysis of literature that have found response in the later development of the sociology of literature though without references to the author.

Keltuyala did not strive to create a monistic method; in fact, in his concept of method one can find genuine pluralism. He is convinced that one may postulate as many methods as there are aspects and factors in literature or in the literary work. From this we can see that the concept of method covers rather the ways and procedures of approaching a literary subject, that it postulates an ideological—methodological unity. This concept of Keltuyala's becomes interesting where he accentuates the

pivotal areas in the complexities of literary phenomena. Let us see what constitutes the definable units or system of literary phenomena. In the existence of the literary work three main manifestations serve as the principle of classifying literature. He says: "Every literary work appears in three moments of its existence before the researcher:

a) *first fundamental moment:* the literary work as an autonomous, closed, individual fact;

b) *second fundamental moment:* the presupposed (*'obuslovleny'*, it would rather mean that it is determined by outer factors — L. Ny.) origin of a literary work is due to the coincidence of a number of constituents; and,

c) *third fundamental moment:* the literary work as a productive agent, inducing many other facts, or to express it otherwise, the literary work as a factor."[45] Keltuyala's methodological concept rests upon these moments of existence. To the scholarly investigation of these three moments four methods are needed. The first moment, the autonomous literary work has to be analyzed by the *formal method;* the analysis of the second moment, which is the literary work as a formation due to the interplay of factors, needs two methods, namely, the *genetic method* which studies the outer factors and causal relations of the literary work and the *evolutional method* which analyzes the reciprocal relations of the literary works that emerge in the inherent development of literature; and finally, the third moment, the literary work as a factor, is covered by the *energetic method.*

To these basic methods Keltuyala adds some further sub-groups. He emphasizes one more fundamental aspect which defines all basic methods. He divides the literary work into three levels to whose analysis one may propose a distinct method. A literary work is composed of the following elements: 1. content, 2. form, and 3. word-sound formula ('slovesnoe — zvukovoe — virazhenie'). From his argumentation it becomes clear that in this context 'virazhenie' means the linguistic sign-formation of the work. This needs a three-level approach, namely the *social,* the *formal* and *philological* method. Before examining what he means by content, form and word-sound representation, let us note that it is unusual to divide a literary work in this way, or at least to distinguish a word-sound formula beside form. This is due to the fact, as we will see, that he tries to grasp the given work in its mode of existence.

According to Keltuyala the organic components of the literary work constitute a closed unity. As a matter of course he examines content in the inner sphere of the work, without making it part of outer-genetic relations as it was practiced in cultural-historical literary scholarship. "The content of the work — says Keltuyala — consist of the organic combination of subject and matter (motif), of individuated experiences that characterize a society, a class or group, etc., and of general understanding ('ideas')."[46] Among them "the central place in the content is occupied by the complex of individuated experiences that characterize the society or class. This complex when consistently unravelled with more or less plasticity which depends on the nature of the work (epic, lyric, dramatic), builds up the social structure of a given type of class before the eyes of the reader, or at least, foreshadows its outlines."[47] One can feel from Keltuyala's words that this contentual analysis is not external, it is not aimed at finding an external social equivalent, but understands content as an internal phenomenon. And from the definition of the form and of the word-sound formula one gets to know that content has a determinant role in the organization of the internal space of the work.

In Keltuyala's concept form is inseparable from content, for, as he says, "the form of a literary work is the consequence of the content; the content of the literary work is the creator of the form; content includes form as its own organizing source".[48] Further-

more, of the form he states that "the form of the literary work is social both in its origin and in its character".[49] Keltuyala's thesis as to the social quality of the form is in unanimity with Bukharin's and Hausenstein's concepts. It is not quite clear, however, what relation exists between the form and the word- sound formula. Or rather, we may conclude, in Keltuyala's mind the linguistic layer is not part of the form, but it is understood as the material appearance of the work. Let us see what he says of this component of the work: "*The word-sound formula.* The author's individuated experiences that characterize a social class, when organized into a particular image work out an adequate word-sound formula during the process of their self-organization as an outer, emotional fulfillment of their existence: the self-organizing, individuated class-experiences become literary work only when they attain adequate word-sound formulae, whose basic elements consist of the way of writing ('style' in the narrow sense), rhythm, metrics, the alteration and combination of sounds."[50] Naturally, the word is also a social phenomenon, for "in an age when social activity becomes of class character, the word also gains social and class character".[51] It is known that in the twenties the condition of language was explained directly in terms of social life and even on an economic basis. This concept has left its mark on Keltuyala's concept as well. He writes: "As regards the given word-sound formula its existence is due to that social class or subclass environment to which it is connected through the life of the author."[52] No doubt his thesis concerning word-sound representation is laden with grave mistakes, yet it is worth taking note of it because in his argumentation Keltuyala, in spite of his basically false conclusions, has introduced the linguistic layer into the sociological concept of art. Later in other systems this linguistic layer received more fortunate elucidation, and may even have given inspiration to the inducement of certain semiotic-semantic ideas.

Both the form and word-sound formula are held in subjection to the content, or more punctually, as both the form and the word-sound formula (representation) are of social origin, formal method also belongs into the sphere of sociology. "Consequently — says Keltuyala — the second group of methods, namely the formal methods are social in origin and in character, and belong to the bonds of the *sociological* method. *Formal methods are nothing else but the different types of the sociological method which aim at studying the second basic element, namely the form of the literary work in the three fundamental moments of the existence of the latter.*"[53] The philological method of studying the word-sound representation touches upon a layer of the literary work which is also of social origin, and if it is so, it is natural to regard it as a type of the sociological method. Maybe this concept is not fully convincing, but it does contain a rational core.

Another aspect of the existence of the work which was touched upon by Keltuyala is the energetics of the work. His point of departure is that the work as an existing factor influences society, that is the social, formal and philological (word-sound representation) components of the literary work.

In Keltuyala's theoretical system the complete schedule of methods necessary to the historical materialist study of literature is as follows:

I. *The literary work given in itself*

A) Immanent method

a) social-immanent
b) formal-immanent
c) philological-immanent

II. *The given literary work as a presupposed fact* (that is, a formation which is due to external conditions — L. Ny.)

B) Genetic method

a) primary social-genetic
b) biographical
c) literary-genetic
1. secondary social-genetic
2. formal-genetic
3. philological-genetic

C) Evolutional method

a) social-evolutional
b) formal-evolutional
c) philological-evolutional

III. *The given literary work as a factor*

D) Energetic method

a) psycho-energetic
b) primary social-energetic
1. class-energetic
2. social-energetic
c) literary-energetic
1. secondary social-energetic
2. formal-energetic
3. philological-energetic.[54]

Keltuyala's book as we have mentioned above, was written in a rather dull, laconic style. This is why it could not exert greater influence. Yet his contemporaries noticed it, there are several reviews and essays that analyzed Keltuyala's concepts. His theory was bitterly attacked by Bespalov, Nusinov, Grossman-Roshchin and others with a view to a more comprehensive concept of the sociological method which comprehends the study of every component of literature.

Lajos Nyírő

[1] Trotsky, L. D.: Formal'naya shkola poezii i marksizm. In: "Literature i revol' ucia." Moskva 1923.

[2] «Формальный метод — ключ к изучению искусства. Каждая блоха-рифма должна стать на учет. Не бойтесь ловли блох в безвоздушном пространстве.» „Только рядом с социологическим изучением искусства ваша работа будет не только интересной, но и нужной.» Mayakovsky, V.: "Lef." No. 1, 1923, p. 11.

[3] «Формалисты — саперные батальоны русской историко-литературной» армии. И в их достижениях, в их успехе, может быть большевсего в наше время заинтересованы марксисты.» Zeitlin, A.: Marksisti i "formal'ny metod". "Lef." 1923, No. 3, p. 131.

[4] «. . . Опояз надо считать прогрессивным, революционным течением в науке, отменившим и превзошедшим многое, сделанные до него. В этом смысле Опояз ушел гораздо дальше марксистов, по сей день цепляющихся за изжитые формулы.» Arvatov, B.: Jazyk poetichesky i jazyk prakticheskv. In: *Sociologicheskaya poetika.* Moskva 1928, p. 51.

[5] «Формальный метод, впервые взявшийся изучать способ производства, способ даления произведений искусства, был огромным научным шагом вперед по сравнению с теорией 'соержания'.» Arvatov, B.: O formal'no-sociologicheskom metode. In: *Sociologicheskaya poetika*, p. 30.

[6] «Но,будучи имманентным в своих общих построениях, он: во-первых, оттолкнул от себя большинство марксистов, лишь сейчас начинающих разглядывать в нем полезные, хотя и оговариваемые ('крайно'ти', 'сухость' и т. д.) элементы, а, во-вторых, отрицая для себя самого возможность дать, помимо простой хронологической и структурной морфологии, более глубокое исчерпывающее об'яснение закономерностям, наблюдаемым в истории литературы.» Arvatov, B.: Utilitarizm v literature. "Okt'abr." 1925, No. 12, p. 100.

[7] «Если буржуазная теория литературы исследовала или авторов или их произведение, или общее развитие, то марксистская теория литературы обязана сделать своим главным объектом организацию литературного труда, как социально практической профессиональной деятельности людей.» Ibid 101.

[8] «Формально-социологический метод рассматривает литературу, как профессионально-практическую систему литературного труда, обладающую своей техникой, экономикой и своими 'надстройками' и функционирующую как часть всей общественной системы в целом. Arvatov, B.: O formal'no-sociologicheskom metode. In: Op. cit. p. 31.

[9] «Виды организации литературного хозяйства, обусловливающие собой форму продукции, исторически менялись вместе с изменением экономической структуры общества.» Vid. Note No. 6. p. 100.

[10] «Резюмирую: жизнь есть гонгломерат бесконечного количества вешей, событий, человеческих поступков, идей; все это для художника литературы есть не 'содержание', а материал. Задача сводится к тому, чтобы изучить механизм переработки этого материала в литературную форму, как механизм социальный и профессиональный, детерминированной общими законами исторического развития.» Vid. Note No. 5., pp. 31—32.

[11] «Согласно которому литературное произведение лишь переводит жизнь на 'символические значки', в то время, как всякое литературное произведение не обображает, а преображает жизнь в творческом синтезе.» Cf. A. Zeitlin's review of V. Friche's Ocherki po istorii zapadnoy literatury. "Lef" 1923, No. 3.

[12] «Поэзия всегда была не чем иным, как экспериментальной лабораторией речеворчества.» Arvatov, B.: Rechetvorchestvo. "Lef," 1923, No. 2, p. 87.

[13] «Поэт всегда изобретатель, формовщих реального языкового материала.» Arvatov, B.: Jazyk poetichesky i jazyk praktichesky. "Pechat' i revol'uciya". 1923, No. 7, p. 59.

[14] «В отличие от формального метода — формально-социологический метод каждый эстетический прием исследует в его связи с аналогичными приемами во внехудожественной литературе и каждый факт в его связи с фактом бытовым, но не в порядке 'отражения', а в порядке специфического пересоставления бытового факта в сюжетный.» Vid. Note No. 5, p. 31.

[15] «Уже появились 'фор-соцы' которые, не понимая своей комической роли в руках Истории, идут по линии наименьшего сопротивления и предлагают соединить вместе два 'метода' — формальный и социологический.» Eichenbaum, B.: K sporam o formal'nom metode. "Pechat' i revol'uciya." 1924, No. 5, p. 2.

[16] «У форсоцов социология чисто внешняя, но в принципе изучения, лишь формальная.» Fokht, U. R.: Problematika sovremennoy marksistkoy istorii literaturi. "Pechat' i revol'uciya." 1927, No. 2, p. 84.

[17] «И все проявления духовной жизни страны, — в том числе, и литература, — не более, как 'надстройка' на экономическом фундаменте (основании).» Sakulin, P. N.: *Sociologichesky metod v literaturovedenii*. Moskva 1925, p. 38.

[18] «Изучая пердмет исторически, мы убеждаемся, что перемены в социально-экономической жизни и, следовательно, во всем социальном процессе неизбежно влекут за собой крупные перемены в литературной жизни — смену литературных школ и стилей. Тут социологический *гетерминизм* применим в полной мере.» Ibid p. 181.

[19] «Историк литературы, наконец, не должен забывать, что в каждую историческую эпоху одновременно сосуществуют несколько общественных классов и, следовательно, несколько литературных течений.» Ibid p. 68.

[20] «В области искусства и литературы *непосредственное* влияние чаше всего принадлежит фактором *неэкономического* порядка, образующим так-называемую *общественную психологию*.» Ibid p. 181.

[21] «Литература можно сказать, ведет борьбу за независимое существование, подчиняется далеко не каждому воздействию на нее, и принимает лишь то, что не противоречит ее собственной природе. Ибо у нее все-таки есть своя природа.» Ibid p. 111.

[22] «Социологический детерминизм в области литературы встречает известное ограничение в психологии творческой индивидуальности, в самих законах идеологического творчества и в наличности эволюционного момента.» Ibid p. 183.

[23] «Но на известной ступени и в известных пределах искусство живет *также* своей жизнью и подчиняется непосредственному влиянию неэкономических условий.»Ibid p. 105.

[24] «Всякое развитие предполагает субъект развития (как бы 'вещь в себе'), обладающий известными свойствами и прежде всего способностью к развитию; от природы судъекта зависит, будет ли он развиваться и как именно (значит самый факт развития и тип развития). Развитие всегда происходит в предалах рода и вида, и тип развития обусловливается их особенностьями. Это развитие 'по природе'/'Ката phusin', как выражались Аристотель и Полибий) я и называю эволюцией в отличие от развития каузального, т. е. вызванного внешними причинами.» Ibid p. 28.

[25] «Эволюционный момент, таким образом, я противопоставляю каузальному, а не историческому, и утверждаю, наоборот, что, взятые вместе, эволюционный и каузальный момента образуют *одно* историческое явление (история = эволюционность + каузальность). Значит, по существу здесь нет никакого дуализма, как это может показаться на первый взляд.» Ibid p. 28.

[26] Sakulin, P. N.: Metodologicheskie zadachi istorika literaturi. "Pechat' i revol'uciay' 1925, No. 1, pp. 96—104..

[27] «Точно так же социологически мыслящему ученому ничто не мешает соблюдать методологическую постепенность и в другом отношении: брать вещи сначала имманентно, потом каузально.»

[28] «Нам важно прежде всего узнать, что представляет собою 'Евгений Онегин', как художественное создание, в его внутренней сущиости. Для этого мы подвергаем его анализу со стороны *формы* и поэтического *содержания*. Элементы поэтической формы (звук, слово, образ, ритм, коипозиция, жанр, поэтическая тематика, художественный стиль в целом), — все это предварительно изучается имманентно, с помощью тех методов какие выработала теоретическая поэтика, опираясь на психологию, эстетику и лингвистику, и какие, в частности, практикуются ныне т. н. формальным методом. По существу — это наиболее ценная часть нашей работы.» Ibid p. 99—100.

[29] «Под содержанием разумеем только *материал* который подлежит оформлению. Художник и только художник дает ему художественное, эмоционально-образное оформление. Только после этого оно и становится *поэтическим* содержанием. В этом взгляде никакого 'излишнего формализма' нет.» Moy poyasneniya. "Pechat' i revol'uciya." 1926, No. 2, p. 93.

[30] «*Поэтическим* содержанием может быть только *художественно* претворенная действительность (включая сюда и внутренний мир художника). Эмпирическая действительность, жизнь, ее идейное содержание — все это не более, как материя Stoff, которую нужно художественно переработать. Творчество по существу своему есть процесс оформления. При этом замечательно то (чего, однако, почти никода не замечают), что один и тот же элемент может входить в состав как формы, так и содержания.» Ibid p. 94.

[31] «Имманентное изучение, повторяю, есть 'художественный анализ формы и содержания'.» Ibid p. 94.

[32] «Но, как только социологический метод выступил на сцену, он приобретает доминирующее положение: забирает в свое ведение все, что добыто имманентным изучением и проводит свою очень сложную работу, с тем, чтобы результаты отдать для целей исторического исследования.» Vid. Note No. 17, pp. 31—32.

[33] «Плеханов говорит о 'литературном критике, берущемся за оценку данного художественного произведения'. Предполгаемая 'оценку данного художественного произведения'. Предполагаемая 'оценка' в глазах критика-соцолога приобретает убедительность лишь тогда, когда будет найден 'социологический эквивалент данного литературного явления', когда 'идея' произведения 'с языка искусства' будет переведена 'на язык социологии'. Все это так, поскольку речь идет о социологической оценке явления.» Vid. Note No. 22, p. 94.

[34] «Но ведь прежде чем говорить 'языком социологии', надо понять 'язык искусства'. И то, что Плеханов вторым актом в работе критика считает 'оценку' поизведения со сороны 'художественных достоинств' — дела нисколько не меняет. Мы говорим не об оценке, а об изучении. Это — большая разница. Да и в основу оценки, конечно, следует класть изучение 'языка искусства'.» Vid. Note No. 22, p. 94.

[35] «Имел целю приблизить академическое литературоведение к марксистскому миросозерцанию» (Памяти П. Н. Сакулина) Lunacharsky, A. V. in: *Pam'ati P. N. Sakulina.* Sbornik stat'ey. 1931, pp. 128—129. «Для марксизма в целом и для литературоведения было бы счастьем иметь побольше таких работников, как Вы.»

[36] «Крупнейший в настоящее время представитель русского научного литературоведения» and «П. Н. Сакулин является пионером 'социологического метода' в изучении литературы на университетской кафедре, как бы ни относиться к его ‚социологизму'.» Efimov, N. I.: *Sociologia literaturi.* Smolensk 1927, p. 5.

[37] «Представляет первый опыт оригинально и широко разработанной теории этого метода не в одном нашем литературоведении, а и в западно-европейском.» Ibid p. 7.

[38] «Оригинальность книги и заслугу ее автора составляет спецификация литературы, попытка осознать своеобразие внутренних процессов литературной жизни, ее специфику.» Ibid p. 7.

[39] «Сакулин тоже всей душой за поэтому, за изучение стиля, композиции, приемов — надо только подбавить к этому немного социологии, немного эстетики, немного биографии и т. д. Тогда все будет необыкновенно хорошо и благополучно: 'Организм произведения будет трепетать жизнью, ибо жива душа поэта'. Такой на редкость красноречивой фразой заканчивается статья.» Eichenbaum, B.: Vokrung voprosa o "formalistah". Pechat' i revol'uciya," 1924, No. 5, p. 7.

[40] «Нужно было шире понять сферу применения социологического метода. Нужно было ввести в него и 'имманентное' изучение художественных произведений, использовав для этого и увязавши с ним все то положительное и ценное, что дали другие методы, в частности — так наз. формальный (морфологический) метод. И в этом не было бы скверного и поверхностного эклектизма, ибо по самому социологический метод есть метод синтети ческий.» Medvedev, P.: Sociologizm bez sociologii. (O metodologicheskih rabotah P. N. Sakulina.) "Zvezda", 1926, No. 2, p. 270.

[41] «Методологической системы у П. Н. Сакулина нет; его построения очень далеки от общих принципов марксизма; в его социологизме нет социологии.» Ibid p. 271.

[42] «Материалистический метод — не прием, а именно основной метод науки, и метод настолько ценный и многообещающий, что к нему, как ни к какому иному методу, приложимо это название. Материалистическим методом можно работать применяя различные приемы.» Pospelov, G.: O metodah literaturnoy nauki. "Krasnaya nov," 1925, No. 9, p. 256.

[43] «Основной и определяющей стороной художественного факта намечается его эйдологический (образный) состав; художественный образ понимается и как формальная конструкция и как факт содержания. Установление эйдологической зволюции требует наметить эйдологическое сходство ряда фактов, с внешней стороны как будто сильно различных, что вызывает сильное недовольство у 'спецификаторов', которые хотят насыпать голубю соли на хвост, не поймав его. Но всякая наука идет от широких обобщений к спецификации, а не наоборот. Этого требует метод.» Ibid p. 256.

[44] Keltuyala, V. A.: *Istoriko-materialisticheskoe izuchenie literaturnogo proizvedeniya.* Leningrad 1926.

[45] «Всякое литературное произведение выступает перед исследователем в трех основных моментах своего сушествования: а) *первый основной момент:* литературное произведение, как автономный, замкнутый и самом себе, индивидуальный факт; б) *второй основной момент:* литературное произведение, обусловленный, обязанный своим происхождением сочетанию многих фактов, и в) *третий основной момент:* литературное произведение, как факт производящий, создающий многие другие факты, или выражаясь иначе, как фактор.» Ibid p. 23.

[46] «Содержание литературного произведения состоит в органическом сочетании темы, сюжета (мотива), индивидуализированных общественно-классовых, подклассовых и т. д. переживаний и общего смысла ('идей').» Ibid p. 25.

[47] «Центральное место в содержании занимает комплекс индивидуализированных общественно-классовых переживаний.Последовательно развертываясь в литературном произведении, этот комплекс вместе с тем, с большей или меньшей рельефностью, в зависимости от рода произведения (эпос, лирика, драма), возводит перед взорами читателя социальное здание определенного классового типа, или по крайней мере, намечает его контуры.» Ibid p. 25.

[48] «Форма литературного произведения есть следствие содержания; содержание литературного произведения есть творец формы: содержание включает в себе форму, как собственное организующее начало.» Ibid pp. 25—26.

[49] «(. . .) форма литературного произведения социальна и по своему происхождению, и по характеру.» Ibid p. 55.

[50] «*Словесно-звуковое выражение.* Организуясь определенным образом, индивидуализированные общественно-классовые переживания автора-творца вместе с тем, в процессе своей самоорганизации, вырабатывают себе соответственное словесно-звуковое выражение, как внешне — ощутимое завершение своего бытия: самоорганизующиеся индивидуализированные общественно-классовые переживания тогда только превращаются в литератур-

ное произведение, когда они облекаются в соответствующее словесно-звуковое выражение, основные элементы которого состоит в слоге ('стиле' в узком смысле), ритме, метре, в том или ином чередовании и сочетании свуков.» Ibid p. 26.

[51] «В эпоху общественно-классового труда и слово приобретает общественно-классовой характер.» Ibid p. 30.

[52] «. . . Что касается словесно-звукового выражении данного произведения, то они почти всецело обязано своим происхождением той же общественно-классовой, подклассовой и т. д. среде, с которой жизненно был связан автор.» Ibid p. 30.

[53] «Следовательно, вторая группа методов, а именно методов формальных, ка социальных по своему происхождению и характеру, также должна входить в состав социологического метода. Формальные методы — не что иное, как различные виды социологического метода в его приложении к изучению второго основного элемента, а именно формы литературного произведения в трех основных моментах существования последнего.» Ibid p. 55.

I

[53] «*Данное литературное произведение в нем самом*
А. Имманентный метод
а) социально-имманентный
б) формально-имманентный
в) филолого-имманентный

II

Данное литературное произведение, как факт обусловленный
Б. Генетический метод:
а) Первичный социально-генетический
б) Биографический
в) Литературно-генетический:
а. Вторичный социально-генетический
в. формально-генетический
с. филолого-генетический

В. *Эволюционный метод*
а) социально-эволюционный
б) формально-эволюционный
в) филолого-эволюционный

III

Данное литературное произведение, как фактор
Г. *Энергетический метод*
а) Психо-энергетический
б) Первичный социально-энергетический:
а. классовой энергетический
в. общественный энергетический
в) Литературно-энергетиечский:
а. вторичный социально-энергетический
в. формально-энергетический
с. филолого-энергетический Ibid pp. 57—58.

Zu Fragen der Ethik und Revolution in der neuren ungarischen Literatur

George Lukács' Ethikvorstellungen im Jahre 1919

Wie bekannt tritt in der neueren ungarischen Literatur und besonders in den sechziger Jahren eine Darstellungsweise kritischen — oder genauer, selbstkritischen — Charakters bei der literarischen Analyse innerer Probleme der revolutionär-demokratischen

Umgestaltung. Im folgenden möchte ich eine Strömung dieser Darstellungsweise und besonders ihre Herkunft von den moralischen Ansichten Georg Lukács' des Jahres 1919 kurz skizzieren. Auch in der Entwicklung der ungarischen Gesellschaft und parallel dazu in der vordersten Linie unserer Literatur gab es eine kurze historische Periode — und zwar denke ich hier an die Periode der bürgerlich-demokratischen Revolution von 1918 und der sozialistischen Revolution von 1919 —, als die den Aufbau der gesamten Nation und Gesellschaft erneuernden neuen Ideen auch unmittelbar auf unsere Literatur einwirkten und neben der Erneuerung der Form, der Verbreitung der realistischen Darstellung der Gesellschaft und der Avantgarde auch inhaltliche Probleme aufwarfen.

Diese neuen und komplizierten Fragen, aufgeworfen im Feuer des Handelns und der Aktivität durch den Alltag der Revolution, wurden damals — auf theoretischer Ebene — von Georg Lukács am prägnantesten und tiefgründigsten formuliert — und zwar in drei Beziehungen. Der erste dieser Aspekte war der innere Kampf des Revolutionärs zwischen dem Gebot des "Töte nicht!" und dem Zwang zum bewaffneten Kampf und Selbstverteidigungskrieg. Dies war der Konflikt der unvermeidlichen Wahl zwischen zwei möglichen "Sünden": der Verpflichtung für den Klassenkampf und dem Imstichlassen der Revolution. In der damaligen Formulierung von Lukács ist es im Interesse positiver gesellschaftlicher Veränderungen notwendig die "Sünde" bewusst und individuell auf sich zu nehmen; dieser Akt wird durch die Bereitschaft zur Selbstaufopferung ausgedrückt. Ich zitiere aus seiner Schrift *Taktik und Ethik* (Taktika és etika): »Die ethische Bewusstwerdung weist darauf hin, dass es Situationen — tragische Situationen — gibt, in denen es unmöglich ist, so zu handeln, dass man dabei keine Sünde begeht; sie lehrt uns aber zugleich, dass die richtige und unrichtige Handlung selbst dann einen Masstab besitzt, wenn man zwischen zwei Sünden wählen muss. Dieser Masstab ist das Opfer.«[1]

Die zweite ethische Problemstellung lautet: Die neue Gesellschaft soll — wie es Zsigmond Móricz zu dieser Zeit formulierte — mit einer Blüte der individuellen Freiheit einhergehen. Wie ist dies mit der Notwendigkeit der kollektiven Handlung für die Gemeinschaft und vor allem mit dem Zwang zum revolutionären Terror zu vereinbaren? Lukács' Antwort lautet darauf: »Die Aufgabe des Klassenterrors ist die Zerstörung der Institutionen und Ideologien und die Schaffung der Institutionen — keiner einzelnen Klasse, sondern — der ganzen Menschheit. Dies ist kein gegen Menschen geführter Kampf. Die Menschen sind hier nur Vertreter von Institutionen. Wir wissen, dass dieser sich mittelbar doch gegen die Menschen richtende Kampf im Gegensatz zur Moral steht. Unser grossartiges Schicksal ist: Für die Möglichkeit des ethischen Lebens der Menschheit, für ihr terrorloses Leben, diesen Terror, den wir verabscheuen, auf uns zu nehmen.«[2]

Und perspektivisch formuliert er die menschlichen Möglichkeiten der zu erwartenden und zu errichtenden neuen Welt folgendermassen: »Wenn der Kommunismus endgültig gesiegt hat und wenn dadurch aus dem Leben der Gesellschaft und damit auch aus dem Bewusstsein der Menschen jedweder Klassenunterschied ausgeschaltet wird, wenn das wirtschaftliche Leben und mit ihm auch die Nahrungssorgen aufhören, im Aufbau des Lebens der Menschen eine Rolle zu spielen, dann taucht die Frage auf: Wodurch wird diese neue Gesellschaft aufrecht erhalten und zusammengehalten werden, was wird der wichtigste Lebensinhalt der in ihr Lebenden sein? Diese Frage kann nur von der Moral her beantwortet werden. Die radikale Ausrottung der Klassenunterschiede hatte nur dann einen Sinn, wenn mit ihnen alles aus dem Leben der Menschen verschwand, was sie voneinander trennte: jedweder Zorn und jedweder Hass, jedweder Neid und jedwede Hochmut. Mit einem Wort: Wenn die klassenlose Gesellschaft eine Gesellschaft der gegenseitigen Liebe und des gegenseitigen Verständnisses sein wird. Die Umwandlungen der Gesellschaft und des wirtschaftlichen Lebens können aber nur die Grundlagen dieser

Gesellschaft legen, nur ihre Möglichkeit schaffen, damit sie tatsächlich verwirklicht wird, dazu müssen auch die Menschen selbst eine Wandlung durchmachen.«[3] Diese den Menschen verwandelnde Funktion erblickte Lukács in der Erziehung, und aus diesem Grunde übernahm er auch eine bedeutende Aufgabe in der Gestaltung der Bildungspolitik von 1919.

Drittens erfasste Lukács das Problem von Bereich der Handlungen des Alltags her: Wenn die die Gesellschaft bildenden Individuen in ihrer Aufbauarbeit nicht ihren Fähigkeiten und ihrem Wissen nach das beste leisten, dann wird der Staat des Volkes gezwungen sein, Massnahmen einzuleiten und einen Staatsapparat auszubauen, der über die individuellen Interessen einzelner Menschen oder kleinerer Gruppen hinaus — manchmal sogar ihnen gegenüber — die Interessen der Gesamtheit vertritt und verkörpert, dies aber wird unumgänglich zu einer Bürokratisierung des Staatsapparats führen, deren Abbau äusserst schwer sein wird und tragische Folgen haben kann. Diesen Gedanken erörterte Lukács 1919 in seiner Studie *Die Rolle der Ethik in der kommunistischen Produktion* (Az erkölcs szerepe a kommunista termelésben).[4]

Das Schaffen von zwei bedeutenden ungarischen Schriftsellern, József Lengyel und Ervin Sinkó, die in der zweiten Hälfte der 1910er Jahre aufgetreten waren, baute sich von den zwanziger bis zu den sechziger Jahren im wesentlichen auf diesen Lukácsschen ethischen Grundfragen auf. Dies gilt sowohl für ihre Romane über die Periode der Revolutionen als auch ihre späteren, das Heute direkter ansprechenden Werke. József Lengyel stellt zum Beispiel die Erlebnisse der Entstehung der Ungarischen Räterepublik und die revolutionäre Atmosphäre der vorangehenden Jahre in seinem 1929 geschriebenen Werk *Visegráder-Strasse* (Visegrádi utca) dar. Wichtige historische Momente, interessante menschliche Gesichter und Charaktere erscheinen hier vor uns, in diesem die Epoche mit bewusster Mosaiktechnik belebenden, vielschichtigen Gesamtbild. Den Spiegel einer unruhigen, im Werden begriffenen Seele hält er dem Leser vor, die Gattungsgrenzen der Memorienliteratur dabei ausweitend und zu einer literarischen Reportage erweiterend. Diese Methode ermöglicht ihm, in seinem Werk die Dynamik der Epoche, die selbstaufopfernde Entschlossenheit der die Theorie des Marxismus noch kaum kennenden jungen Revolutionäre und das naive und zugleich rührende Alles-auf-sich-Nehmen, um »irgendetwas für die Menschheit zu tun«, widerzuspiegeln. Es ist aber kein Zufall, dass Lengyel über Ottó Korvin das gelungenste Porträt zeichnet. Seine Gestalt verkörpert das meiste davon, was man — im Lukácsschen Sinn — den Humanismus des Revolutionärs nennt. Dieser Humanismus kämpft in erster Linie *für etwas* und erst danach, als notwendige Folge davon, *gegen etwas*.

Viel später, im Jahre 1958, griff Lengyel wieder auf das Thema der erlebten Revolution zurück, und zwar in dem Roman *Das bewegte Leben von Ferenc Prenn* (Prenn Ferenc hányatott élete). Dieses Werk bietet in vieler Hinsicht die Erweiterung seiner früheren Arbeit. Der Weg seines Romanheldens ist nicht lediglich an äusseren Geschehnissen reich, in erster Linie wird hier seine innere, seelische Veränderung dargestellt. Der Schriftsteller forscht danach, wie die revolutionären Ereignisse die menschliche Seele umformen. Diese menschengestaltende Kraft ist der — wieder im Lukácsschen Sinne verstandene — Humanismus der Revolution, der im Kampf des Guten und Bösen ein gerechtes Urteil fällt. Den ganzen Roman hindurch bewahrt Lengyel die Parallelität historischer Ereignisse und individueller Schicksalswandlungen. Strukturell meisterhaft löst er diese Parallelität in den aufeinanderfolgenden, sich auf unterschiedlichen Schauplätzen abspielenden Kapiteln mit jeweils besonderer Aussage, die zugleich doch die gesamte Handlung vorwärtsbringen.

Ebenso zeigt der Roman *Optimisten* (Optimisták) von Ervin Sinkó die Gemeinsamkeit und Wechselwirkung der Folge äusserer Ereignisse und der seelischen Verwandlung

der revolutionären Figuren. Sinkós Blickwinkel, aus dem er die komplizierten Triebkräfte der Ereignisse betrachtet und das Leben seiner Figuren beobachtet, ist im wesentlichen gleichfalls ethisch begründet. Sinkó war ein aktiver Teilnehmer der revolutionären Ereignisse, und als er 1931—34 sein Buch schrieb, war seine Zielsetzung der Rückblick auf die glorreiche Vergangenheit. Es steht aber ausser Zweifel, dass seine schöpferische Phantasie daneben — und vielleicht in erster Linie — durch die ethischen Fragen der Verpflichtung für den revolutionären Weg bewegt wurde. Der heutige Leser aber, da das Buch erst 1953—55 in Jugoslawien in ungarischer Sprache erschienen ist, zieht aus ihm in erster Linie die historischen Lehren, die zur ethischen Fragestellung unserer Tage führen können: das Verhalten des an die Macht gelangenden Menschen, die eventuelle Veränderung seiner Persönlichkeit im Besitz dieser Macht, die Frage der Verantwortung und der Wahl der Mittel, mit denen er die revolutionären Ziele zu erreichen trachtet und nicht zuletzt der »Sieg über sich selbst« des revolutionären Helden, die Verdrängung seiner egoistischen Interessen den Erforderungen des Klassenkampfes gemäss. Es ist also ersichtlich, dass sich Sinkós Roman ziemlich intensiv mit den ethischen Frage auseinandersetzt, die Georg Lukács 1919 zu durchdenken versuchte.

Das Erfassen der Ereignisse aus ethischem Aspekt löst auch die Komposition, die innere Struktur des Romans einigermassen auf, indem zwischen dem ersten und zweiten Teil, genauer zwischen der Darstellung des die sozialistische Revolution vorbereitenden Kampfes und der Diktatur des Proletariats ein Unterschied entsteht. Im ersten Teil ist das zentrale Problem des Helden sein Verhältnis zur Welt, der Wunsch, sein Leben zu entfalten, ein »volles Leben« zu leben, und dazu gehören die revolutionäre Tätigkeit und gefühlsmässige Fülle seines persönlichen Lebens wie auch das gedankliche Erfassen und die Rezeption der sich in der Welt abspielenden Ereignisse und aufgrund dieser die Bestimmung der allernotwendigsten Taten. Im zweiten Teil, in der Periode der »Verwirklichung der Träume«, als es sich herausstellt, dass die Revolution eine noch vielseitiger entfalteten Menschen beansprucht als die Etappe der Vorbereitung und dass das im Zeichen des Humanismus geborene revolutionäre Engagement — gerade im Interesse des Proletariats und der ganzen Menschheit, infolge des Zwanges des Klassenkrieges — manchmal »antihumane« Taten von ihm erfordert, kehrt er diese Reihenfolge um: Die rationale Bestimmung der notwendigen Taten bleibt weg, und seine ganze Gedankenwelt wird dadurch ausgefüllt, die von den Ereignissen ihm aufgezwungenen Taten bewusst auf sich zu nehmen; im Mittelpunk steht jetzt das innere Ringen des Helden, damit er der Revolution auch um den Preis einer »Selbstaufgabe« dienen kann.

Das schwerste, was der Romanheld in der Diktatur des Proletariats erleben muss, ist die Gewissenkrise, verursacht durch die Notwendigkeit der Geltendmachung bewaffneter revolutionärer Diktatur. Dies ist das Problem des »doppelten Glaubens«, die Gespaltenheit zwischen dem scheinbar ewigen abstrakten Humanismus des Gebots »Man darf nicht töten«, und dem historischen Befehl »Man muss töten«, das Dilemma, sich gleichzeitig für beide »Glauben« zu verpflichten. Und an diesem Punkt bietet Sinkó in einer der Romangestalten fast eine Verkörperung des damaligen Lukács, der versucht, dieses Dilemma aufzulösen. Die Grossartigkeit der *Optimisten* liegt gerade darin, dass der Schriftsteller die Motivationen und Erklärungen der auf den verschiedenen Ebenen revolutionären Verhaltens möglichen und mit den Ereignissen parallel zu stellenden Handlungen in der Seele seines Helden auch als ethische Probleme miteinander konfrontiert; in seine innere Welt, in sein Ringen projiziert Sinkó die Rückwirkung, das »seelische Bild« von all den Widersprüchen und Erscheinungen, die er auch in der äusseren Handlung darstellte.

Auch in ihren späteren Werken, die Ereignisse ganz bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit verfolgend, werfen sie — manchmal mit recht kritischer Schärfe — die ethischen

Probleme beim Aufbau der neuen Gesellschaft auf. Sie stellen dabei die begangenen Fehler — und auch die unterlaufenen Gesetzwidrigkeiten — so dar, dass diese nicht nur gegen die einzelnen Menschen wirkten, sondern auch gegen das Wesen der sozialistischen Revolution, auch diese litt unter ihnen. Besonders gilt dies für József Lengyel. Ich denke hier in erster Linie an seinen Novellenband *Der Zauberer* (Igéző) und die Sammlung *Verjährte Schulden* (Elévült tartozás). Neben ihrer Tragik sind diese Schriften auch schöne Darstellungen menschlichen Standhaltens; sie eröffnen den jungen Helden der Novellen, die zwischen Vertrauen und Ungläubigkeit hin und hergeworfen mit sich selbst ringen, den Weg in eine bessere Zukunft. Den sich selbst erneuernden moralischen Mut der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung wendet der Schriftsteller in diesen künstlerischen Werken an, er richtet auf und verurteilt, und mit der Katharsis, welche die Kunst zu bieten vermag, beschliesst und zugleich überhöht er diese tragischen historischen Episoden.

In der ungarischen Prosaliteratur der sechziger Jahre — und hier denke ich vor allem an einige Werke bzw. an die den inneren Kampf mancher Roman- oder Novellenhelden darstellende Schriften von Tibor Cseres, Erzsébet Galgóczi, György Moldova und anderen — gelangte die ethische Erfassung der historischen Veränderungen in den Mittelpunkt. Diese Problematik ist auch in der Literatur der siebziger Jahre wahrzunehmen. Es reicht wohl auf zwei vor kurzem erschienene Werke hinzuweisen, auf den Roman *Der Gestütsbesitzer* (A ménesgazda) von István Gáll und auf das *Drehbuch* (Forgatókönyv) von István Örkény. Als Erscheinung knüpft sich dies offensichtlich an die wirklichkeitserschlissende Tradition der ungarischen Literatur, aber auch die auf der Lukácsschen Konzeption aufbauende ethische Fragestellung konnte eine ihrer wichtigen Triebkräfte sein.

Farkas József

[1] Lukács, Gy.: Taktika és ethika. Budapest 1919.
[2] Az első ifjúmunkás nap. Lukács György előadása. (Der erste Jungarbeitertag. Georg Lukács' Vortrag). »Ifjú Proletár«, 1919, július 13.
[3] Lukács, Gy.: A kommunizmus erkölcsi alapja. (Die ethische Grundlage des Kommunismus). »Az Ifjú Proletár«, 1919. április 13.
[4] Lukács, Gy.: Az erkölcs szerepe a kommunista termelésben. »Szociális termelés«, 1919. július 20.

Moderne Amerikanische Literaturtheorien

Der stattliche Band, der im Jahre 1980 in Frankfurt am Main beim S. Fischer Verlag erschien, entält 27 Aufsätze von bekannten Literaturkritikern aus den USA. Joseph Strelka un Walter Hinderer, die beiden Herausgeber, entnahmen die Studien teils selbständigen Werken der jeweiligen Autoren, teils anderen Essaysammlungen und gruppierten sie ihrer Thematik entsprechend in sieben Einheiten[6] Diesen sieben Abschnitten schickt Joseph Strelka eine Einleitung voraus, und als letzter, abschließender Aufsatz des Bandes versucht Walter Hinderers Essay, *Von Methoden und Sachen*, eine Zusammenfassung dessen zu geben, was die einander oft widersprechenden Autoren zur Entwicklung der amerikanischen Literaturkritik beigetragen haben.

Was in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland über den Stand und die Entwicklung der amerikanischen Literaturkritik bekannt geworden ist, sei eher durch Zufall geschehen

und stelle kein umfassendes Bild dar, meint Joseph Strelka in der Einleitung und umreißt damit auch gleich die Zielsetzung des Herausgeberpaars, mit diesem Band die Lücke zu füllen. Den Anfang der modernen amerikanischen Literaturkritik um das Jahr 1910 setzend, gibt uns Strelka einen kurzen geschichtlichen Überblick, wobei er mit Joel E. Spingarns Forderung nach einer „Neuen Kritik" beginnt und versucht, die nacheinander entstandenen sowie auch die parallel laufenden Tendenzen in der amerikanischen Literaturkritik in ihrer Entwicklung zu verfolgen. Neben den beiden Hauptlinien, dem „New Criticism", der mit dem Namen Spingarns verknüpft ist, und Irving Babbitts „Neu-Haumanismus", die Strelka einander gegenüberstellt, gliedert er in den Hauptstrom der Entwicklung auch Richtungen wie den Imagismus, die auf der Grundlage Freuds und Jungs stehende, psychologisch orientierte, die soziologisch-marxistische und die liberal-demokratishce Literaturkritik ein. Abschließend betont er, daß die moderne amerikanische Literaturkritik „durch das Fehlen allzu starrer Orthodoxie und Ideologie-Verseuchtheit ... und durch eine Vorurteilslosigkeit" (S. 17.) gekennzeichnet ist, was ihren wachsenden Erfolg und Einfluß erklärt.

Nach der Einleitung im ersten Abschnitt finden wir drei Arbeiten, je eine von Irving Babbitt, Douglas Bush und R. P. Blackmur, die sich mit ethisch-ästhetischen Kategorien beschäftigten. In seinem Essay mit dem Titel *Genie und Geschmack* nimmt Babbit zur Frage des Verhältnisses zwischen schöpferischem Akt und seiner Beurteilung, zwischen der Tätigkeit des Schriftstellers und der des Kritikers Stellung, wobei er seine Anschauungen oft jenen Spingarns polemisierend gegenüberstellt. Spingarns „primitivistische Genieauffassung" wird kritisiert, und Babbitt versucht auch aufzuzeigen, aus welchen geistigen Quellen Spingarn seine Theorien schöpfte. In seiner ziemlich allgemein gehaltenen, aber mit viel Enthusiasmus dargebotenen Arbeit, *Der humanistische Kritiker*, mein Douglas Bush, daß es die Aufgabe des heute wirkenden Literaturkritikers ist, „das ethische und kulturelle Erbe, dessen Verlust uns heute droht, aktiv zu erhalten" (S. 41.), und bringt damit eine auch schon von Babitt angedeutete Anschauung explizit zum Ausdruck. R. P. Blackmur folgt mit einer philosophisch angelegten und nicht gerade leicht verständlichen und akzeptierbaren Theorie des Romans, die aber dem Leser als interessanter Gegenpol zur Roman-Auffassung Lionel Trillings in einem der folgenden Essays dienen kann.

Im zweiten Abschnitt, der Aufsätze über historische und geistesgeschichtliche Kategorien enthält, finden wir ebenfalls namhafte Autoren. Unter den Beiträgen von George Boas, Arthur O. Lovejoy, Roy Harvey Pearce und Robert E. Spiller ist die kompakte, nach allen Seiten hin abgerundete Arbeit von Arthur O. Lovejoy besonders hervorzuheben, die den Titel *Vom Begriff der Zeit* trägt. Philosophischer und dichterischer Zeitbegriff sind das Thema, wobei Schelling und Bergson beziehungsweise Coleridge untersucht und miteinander in Verbindung gebracht werden.

Formale und formalistische Kategorien stehen im Mittelpunkt der nächsten fünf Abhandlungen, von denen zwei, die von Cleanth Brooks über *Die Irrlehre von der Paraphrase* und die von Kenneth Burke mit dem Titel *Zur Methodologie* den Schwerpunkt eher auf methodologische Fragen verlegen. Cleanth Brooks bestimmt den Unterschied zwischen logischem und poetischem Zusammenhalt eines literarischen Werkes und warnt vor der Tendenz einer Simplifikation, die im Laufe der Analyse das logische Rückgrat des Werkes seiner poetischen, artistischen Gesamtheit gleich erscheinen läßt. Weiters schließt sich hier Kenneth Burke mit seinen am Beispiel von Coleridges *The Ancient Mariner* vor Augen geführten Gedanken zur Methodologie an.

Von den von Feuds Lehren inspirierten Autoren des nächsten, sich mit psychologischen Kategorien befassenden Abschnittes sind Edmund Wilsons Arbeit unter dem Titel *Philoktet — die Wunde und der Bogen*, Lionel Trillings Abhandlung, *Sitten, Moral*

und der Roman sowie Simon O. Lessers Studie *Die Funktionen der Form* herauszugreifen, wenn auch aus verschiedenen Gründen. Simon O. Lessers traditionell- und streng-freudistische Ausführungen bilden einen starken Gegensatz zu Edmund Wilsons ebenfalls psychologisch orientierten, aber nicht „überpsychologisierender" Gedankenführung über das Philoktet-Drama von Sophokles. Lionel Trillings philosophisch-psychologisch begründete Romantheorie und seine Bemerkungen über den amerikanischen Roman bieten ebenfalls eine willkommene Abwechslung im Verleich zu den ersten beiden Aufsätzen dieses Abschnittes.

Soziologische Kategorien ist die Überschrift der nächsten Einheit, die von David Daiches mit seiner Arbeit, *Der Bereich der sozilogischen Literaturkritik*, eingeleitet wird. Fragen über das Wesen der Soziologie und über ihre Verbindung zur Literaturkritik werden erörtert, bis Daiches schließlich zum Schluß gelangt: „Nur eine richtige Einschätzung des Kompetenzbereiches der Soziologie kan uns die Gewähr dafür geben, daß sie zu einer Vertiefung des Wissens und nicht zu einer Steigerung der Verwirrung benutzt werden wird" (S. 317.).

Der nächste Abschnitt trägt den Titel *Symbolisch-archetypische Kategorien*. Leslie Fiedlers Aufsatz mit dem Titel *Archetyp und Signatur — Die Beziehung zwischen Dichter und Gedicht*, der in seinem ersten Teil eine gemäßigte Verteidigung der biographischen und einen etwas erzürnten Angriff auf die antibiographische Literaturkritik darstellt und im zweiten Teil die Literatur-Affassung des Autors darlegt, ist die umfassendste Studie dieses Abschnittes.

Den Charakter der letzten Essaygruppe, der *Tendenzen zur Synthese*, bestimmt René Welleks repräsentative Arbeit. Wellek gibt eine Übersicht über die Entwicklung und die Krise der vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft und macht seinen Vorschlag zur Überwindung dieser Krise: „Vor allem aber bedarf die Literaturwissenschaft heute der Erkenntnis, daß sie sowohl ihren Stoff wie ihr Blickrichtung definieren muß« (S. 514.).

Als Abschluß dient Walter Hinderers Arbeit *Von Methoden und Sachen*, in der die Autoren dieses Bandes teils miteinander, teils mit weiteren Literaturkritikern konfrontiert werden. Am Ende des Bandes angelangt wird es ersichtlich, daß man sich von dem Titel des Bandes nicht irreführen lassen und etwas ganz Neues, Modernes und bisher Unbekanntes erwarten darf. Was die Herausgeber dem Leser anbieten, ist nicht immer neu, ja teilweise schon überholt, gibt aber einen Überblick über die Entwicklung der amerikanischen Literaturkritik unseres Jahrhunderts, wobei als Gesichtspunkt der Auswahl nicht immer nur die Qualität der kritischen Arbeiten eine Rolle spielte, sondern auch das Bestreben Joseph Strelkas und Walter Hinderers, ein vollständiges Bild zu geben, in dem möglichst alle bedeutenden Tendenzen der amerikenischen Literaturkritik unseres Jahrhunderts vertreten sind. Die Ausgabe, die auch sehr nützliche biographische und bibliographische Angaben enthält, wird ihrer am Anfang schon erwähnten Zielsetzung gerecht und ist denen, die sich mit diesem Fachgebiet beschäftigen oder sich dafür interessieren, unbedingt zu empfehlen.

Péter Mádl

Conference on Comparative Literature

Comparative literature scholars have long felt the need of creating a forum that would provide an opportunity to discuss the actual problems of their discipline. That is why one may attach great importance to the agreement concluded by the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences that

envisaged the calling of a series of intimate conferences, "dealing, in a systematic fashion, with significant trends in Comparative Literature as perceived by an invited group of the finest scholars in the field in both countries, particular attention being given to the utilization of new methodologies in the discipline". The first binary conference of this kind was held in early December, 1981, in the Institute of Literary Scholarship, under the general title of "New Methodological Approaches in Comparative Literature".

When working out the minutiae of this conference one might agree with Henry Remak who in his plenary address to the ICLA in 1976 warned scholars of some new challanges our discipline had to face and which had "mostly originated outside of Comparative Literature as a professional group", and suggested to appropriate these new approaches in order to make our discipline "the principal laboratory for any theory of literature". Whether or how comparative literature could meet this selfassigned task, and could appropriate new principles or exploit old ones to its own advantage in order to be able to create a synthesis on a higher, that is on a multinational, or perhaps more properly on an international level, this question was the very recurring subject of the discussions.

Though the professed aim of the conference was to test the applicability of some recent theoretical-methodological principles or trends to the ongoing work in comparative literature, it was inevitable, however, to scrutinize some broader aspects of the discipline, which involved the aesthetic knowledge of literature or the meaning and validity of the idea of comparative literature itself. (Out of the ten papers prepared for the conference four were concerned with these broader aspects.)

The first paper entitled "New Methodologies and the Question of Aesthetics" was presented by Mme Anna Balakian of New York University. In her view some recent formalistic trends in criticism, structuralism, psychological and myth criticism among them appear under the guise of "scientific irreproachability" and claim to be the final word, the representation of "absolute, scientifically proven truths", are fashionably in great demand in academic circles, hence are in the long run "destructive of the substance of what we call literature". Of these formalist critics she writes: "We should be able to admire these intellects without harboring a sense of threat or fear of their infringement on our discipline. Unfortunately, their handling of literary texts to demonstrate the historical void in which they like to place Man, makes of literature an arid, overgrazed pasture, instead of one that provides the nourishment of a culture; the proponents of this dreary hypothesis come to be regarded not as the archeologists, anthropologists, linguists or philosophers that they apparently are, but as literary critics, although the methodologies they introduce into literary criticism seem to aim at conclusions alien to the teaching of the Humanities and even more to the objectives of Comparative Literature." In concluding her essay she has stressed that in the face of the efforts to the dehistorization or dismemberment of literature, comparatists have to develop methodologies "that consider of central concern the element of aesthetics".

Tamás Bécsy probed even much farther into the field of aesthetics when he tried to give a valid definition of the genre of the drama in his essay entitled "Nature or Value?". Starting out from the aesthetic concepts of György Lukács he came to the conclusion that on the one hand the organizing forces of dramatic genre are the dialogues, which carry or express the momentarily changing relations, and on the other, the situations, which constitute a system of mutual relations developing among the dramatis personae even before the start of the plot, to which one must add names and the writer's instructions as further constituent elements. In the interest of creating an authentic and independent dramatic world these elements are subject to double homogenization, what he calls "the process in which each element is becoming the true constituent part of the momentarily changing interaction among the dramatic figures". Against René

Wellek's statement that "there are no neutral facts in literature" he has tried to prove through the example of the drama that the genre is neutral "because it denotes nature and not value".

In his "National Literature — World Literature — Comparative Literature" Péter Nagy outlined the origin and change of meaning of these three notions, which he considered to be historical categories, by which he meant to say that these categories had not existed from time immemorial and their everlasting existence would be similarly doubtful. Moreover he stressed: "These categories were not only born at the same historical moment of European thinking, but their existence mutually presumed each other: world literature in its modern sense can only be understood as an abstract quality, existing through national literatures; as a new phenomenon it has its roots in national literature while outgrowing its constraint. The category of comparative literature is meaningful only if it deals with the interrelations, contacts and mutual influences of national literatures." By the 20th century, however, the content and meaning of world literature has become ambiguous. On the one hand, there is world literature in the Goethean sense, embracing the literatures of every nation of the world — at least in principle and to a somewhat lesser degree in practice — and on the other, there is an other concept that envisages only the "great books" as real components of the world literary process.

He questioned the validity of a fashionable view among comparatists, according to which national literature was a "fictive category", the result of language barriers, because there was but good or bad literature, where good literature belonged to world literature thus meriting the interest of comparative literature scholars, while bad literature might be referred to the realm of sociology. He asserted that even nowadays national literature is an existing fact and inspiring force, therefore, its study can by no means abandoned for the sake of greater units. As for comparative literature he expressed his concern, shared by a number of scholars, namely that against its spectacular expansion it had failed to clear up some basic issues, whether e.g. it is an independent discipline at all or simply a method that need not aspire to an independent status.

As if he had been pursuing the subject raised by Mme Balakian, David H. Malone of the University of South California dealt with the so called "Modernist" and "Postmodernist" trend in literature and criticism in his essay entitled "Human Values in Twentieth Century Literature". Starting out from the novels on World War II he drew a distinction between Soviet and American literature. Soviet novels on World War II, he said, tended to be epic, whith emphasis on communal feelings, positive, human values as patriotism, sense of belonging, while in contrast American novels were ironic in mode, critical of society as from one who stood apart from society, expressing a "solitary, even tragic individualism". The "ironic mode of consciousness" suggests a concept that "literature and its study are no longer a part of that larger mode of consciousness which we have for five centuries called Humanism" and/or a definition that literature is totally self-referential which means the "emergence of language as the content of literature and as the form of knowledge", as practiced "under the banners of semiotics, structuralism and deconstruction". Against the dehumanizing effects of "Postmodernist" criticism, comparative literature serves as a bridge between nations, as a discipline whose task it is to overcome national prejudices and to defend the common cultural heritage of mankind.

The other group of essays presented at the conference were distinctly devoted to the questions of methodology. In his paper entitled "On the Comparative History of Hungarian Literature" István Sőtér described the methodological problems that has emerged in connection with the writing a history of Hungarian literature in the process of world literature, a major research project of the Institute of Literary Scholarship.

The first and cardinal problem is that Hungarian literature is very little known abroad, a fact that was also mentioned by David H. Malone, which makes this task even more complicated. The application of the contrastive method, the tracing of similarities and differences, the use of analogies taken from the trends and movements of world literature will make it possible to approach an unknown phenomenon from a known one. Furthermore, our method is typological in character which means the study of such phenomena that may appear simultaneously in several national literatures independently of each other, and also comparative in the traditional sense, since it does not ignore the aspects of reception and assimilation based on the needs of the receiving literature.

The accomplishment of this project marks the emergence of a distinctly new trend in comparative literature which has absorbed the best features of the French historical school, of the various kinds of formal analysis, of the typological approach of Soviet scholars without being eclectic or disregarding the former achievements of Hungarian scholarship.

In his highly polemic essay entitled "NeoTextualism: an Anti-Humanist Threat to Comparative Literature" Michael Holquist of Indiana University criticized the extreme nihilism of Jaques Lacan's psychoanalysis, Jaques Derrida's and Michel Foucault's philosophy, Louis Althusserl's and Dominique Laporte's political science whose theories had entered the domain of literary criticism through the mediation of such scholars as Tony Bennet, Catherine Belsey and Paul de Man. He stressed that the Neotextologists' announcement of the death of Man, the purge of the text of any human intention and meaning as well, the concept of the text as a manifestation of an ideological system, was "an assault ultimately launched against Humanism" which was at the heart of the literary enterprise. To counter this attack he proposed to extend the meaning of the attribute "comparative", so as "to include literary theory as well as what we [had] always assumed to be literary practice", a theory he had found in Bakhtin's dialogism.

Though Ernst Behler of the University of Washington in his "Hermeneutics and Comparative Literature" stressed the considerable contribution of this particular form of interpretation to the development of comparative literature, after having reviewed the way of Hermeneutics from Schleiermacher to the present theories of Gadamer and Jauss, came to the conclusion that it had failed to find its place within the function of literary criticism. Nor did modern Phenomenology fare much better as one may understand from György M. Vajda's "Phenomenology and Comparative Literature", a trend that had grown out of Martin Heidegger's Existentialism, and found its best expression in Roman Ingarden's poetics and aesthetics. It seems that a number of scholars, including e.g. Joseph Margolis, Donald B. Kuspit, Robert Magnolia, Zoran Konstantinović, Eugene H. Falk among others, have tried to explain Ingarden's aesthetics, to unfold the meaning of the different "layers" as components of the structure of a given literary work of art, yet, similarly to Hermeneutics, Phenomenology has remained only "applicable" to comparative literature studies.

The two concluding papers dealt with the prospects and possibilities of comparative literature in the United States — by Henry H. H. Remak — and in Hungary — by József Kovács. Henry Remak analyzed the American contributions — some of its details are incorporated into the earlier sections of this report — and stressed the necessity of involving "comparative literary theory in the study of comparative literature" on the one hand, and of approaching it "from certain angles to yield cohesive results". József Kovács surveyed the hundred years old history of comparative literature studies in Hungary with special emphasis on Lukács's theoretical legacy as a solid foundation for the future of our discipline.

Each paper was followed by a lively discussion aiming at clarification and a deeper understanding of the basic tenets touched upon by the speakers. There was a general agreement that our discipline had to counter the challenge of the latest formalistic theories that jeopardize the humanistic traits of comparative literature and those of literary scholarship in general. In the discussion it was, however, also stressed (e.g. by Joseph Szili) that the "antihumanism" and "antihistoricism" of the Althusserian critics should not be taken at the face-value of the terms but as an antidote to the "ideological" interpretations of human destiny and history. The dialogue between American and Hungarian scholars will continue. The next conference with the provisional title of "Models of Studies in Comparative Literature (Research and Teaching)" will take place at Indiana University in Bloomington (Ind.) in the first half of 1983.

József Kovács

"Recent Trends in the Theory of Literature"—Conference at the Institute of Literary Scholarship November 23–24, 1981

The Department for the Theory of Literature of the Institute of Literary Scholarship devotes its annual autumn sessions to the methodology of the study of literature, key concepts of the theory of litarature and methods of theoretical research and systematization. Discussions at the 1981 conference took place in view of a major project of the Department, a comprehensive textbook of the theory of literature with the provisional title, "The System of Literature". Of the ten participants of the conference four were guest-lecturers: Árpád Bernáth from the Attila József University, Szeged; György C. Kálmán from the Eötvös Library, Budapest; Mihály Szegedy-Maszák and István Szerdahelyi from the Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest.

Lajos Nyirő, head of the Department, in his introductory lecture on "The Place of the Theory of Literature in Literary Scholarship", pointed out that the term "theory of literature" had not emerged until quite recently and even in our days in certain languages other terms are used to denote this area of study. He surveyed a number of definitions of the term in various standard works on the theory of literature and noticed that several theoreticians (e.g. the Polish theoreticians, Skwarczyńska, Głowiński and Sławiński) reduce its extension to poetics or the theory of the individual literary work of art and draw a line of demarcation between the theory of the literary work and the theory of the historical process of literature. Another Polish theoretician, Markiewicz, would include the theory of literature, poetics (i.e. stylistics, prosology and genology) and the "meta-science of literature (the methodology of literary history and literary scholarship) in the meaning of the term. In Nyirő's opinion the theory of literature may not be confined to abstractions or generalizations of literary phenomena. "The theoretician of literature transforms the concept of literary work as it is used by the historian of literature by the mere fact that he places it in the context of his own field of research, raises it to the level of the logic of its methodology. And at this level the phenomenon conceived as "generalized" from the point of view of empirical studies appears as a concrete individual entity, describable and analysable as such, but in a new way, by another method. This transformation enables the theoretician to explore such features of its sub-

ject as are beyond the reach of the empirical student of literature." Nyirő referred to Seebohm's reflection on hermeneutics and to Ingarden's criticism of Wellek's adaptation of his ideas as formulations which allude to such changes in the intension of terms due to changes in the context of research, i.e. to the different "spheres of logic" in which they occur. Thus the "substantial autonomy" of the literary work of art is beyond the reach of the empirical (historical or critical) study of literature due to a necessary limitation of its methods of analysis; therefore, generalizations which transcend those methods cannot be transformed into individual, analysable entities. This transformation takes place at the logical level of theoretical research only. Each methodology represents a system with definite potentialities and limitations, and, in Ricoeur's words, "awareness of the validity of a method is inseperable from awareness of its limitations". Consequently, the subject-matter of the theory of literature is not equal with general phenomena of literature. Empirical studies also deal with general phenomena, and the difference is due to the fact that theoretical studies conceive them on another logical level and in a new context of research by combining homogeneous generalizations in a consistent system and, based on the syntax of homogeneous general phenomena, create a new theoretical unity or, indeed, a new object for theoretical inspection. As a matter of fact, in actual reality works in this field rarely approach the idea of such a comprehensive system; they deal with individual phenomena (Ingarden's work with the structure and existence of the literary work; Russian Formalism with the artistic transformation of materials, the dynamics of the literary work and the immanent development of literature; Jauß with reception and with literary hermeneutics; literary semioticians with the literary work as a sign; structuralists with the linguistic factor of the structure of the literary work; etc.). There seems to be a necessary sequence in the succession of such "one-sided" approaches as structuralism, semiotics and axiology, or the substitution of immanent studies by historical understanding, or the succession of hermeneutics to synchronic theories of interpretation. The contacts of these various approaches with definite disciplines (the theory of information and communication, semiotics, lingusitics, hermeneutics, etc.) accentuate the meta-scientific function of the theory of literature, as its level of abstraction is closer to that of other disciplines than the level of abstraction in literary history, textology or literary criticism. Another important point is that the generalized phenomena of literature undergo a process of "reduction" in literary theory and they are placed in the context of non-empirical, transcendent problems, the problems of ontology, of structurization, of dynamics or of functions. The subject-matter of the theory of literature is extended thereby, new phenomena are being raised to the level of its own procedure of generalization, e.g. the problems of narration or of accoustics (the phonetic phenomena of a literary work of art). It is, therefore, important to find the reasons why tiny, negligible phenomena become decisive factors in the study of literature, in its methodology and theory. In other words, the task is to throw light on the system of the methodology of literary scholarship in order to define the range and methodology of the theory of literature.

Discussing the concept of "Literary Hermeneutics", Gábor Bonyhai arrived at the conclusion that it was highly problematic, due to the fact that it was fabricated after the fashion of the concept of philosophical hermeneutics. This means that it is not an existing discipline the scattered or faded traditions of which may be gathered, brushed up and perfected for instance in the way it is being done by Peter Szondi, but a postulate only, a claim to take for granted the possibility of a certain operation. As a matter of fact, philosophical hermeneutics as it is presented in an up-to-date basic work, *Wahrheit und Methode* by Hans Georg Gadamer, does not offer a methodology and does not intend to appear as a type of research; instead it describes "wirkungsgeschichtliche Reflexion" accompanying any encounter with tradition and explores what is actually *happening*

in any act of comprehension. What is present in all acts of comprehension is application, the application of the comprehended meaning, and in all acts of comprehension a substantial constitutive function is taken by preliminary comprehension. Comprehension is a dialogue with tradition. A most consistent attempt to adapt Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics to the history of literature and the interpretation of literary works of art has been made by Hans Robert Jauß. Peter Szondi collects those traditions of old, philological hermeneutics which take into account the aesthetic constitution of aesthetic texts. A drawback of Jauß's effort is that literary history, pervaded by historism, is hardly reconcilable with Gadamer's hermeneutics which is based on the idea of application. Szondi disregards the problem of application and, consequently, his enterprise is attached to an outworn form of hermeneutics. Neither Jauß, nor Szondi is able to do what Gadamer (and Heidegger) did in philosophy: to enter into a material dialogue with tradition. In fact, Jauß enters into discussion with *aesthetic theories* as he is not a poet but an aesthete. Jauß attempts to realize his *own* application concerning literature, e.g. by giving account of the interests of our epoch orientating the research of Mediaeval literature, i.e. he acts in a way analogous with Gadamer's approach to philosophical tradition. It is, however, obvious that he did not suceed in representing the literature of the Middle Ages as something *valid today* in the same way as Gadamer did e.g. with Plato and Aristotle. Strictly speaking, only *creative writers* are in a position to participate in a dialogue with literary tradition. Although this dialogue is describable in terms of literary history (as history of reception and effect, as dialogue in the literary process, etc.), in the description no application is involved on behalf of the *descriptor*, it is *not he* who enters into a dialogue. If we set out to write a history of applications *by others*, we shall remain within the horizon of historism in the same way as if we were occupied with the reconstruction of genetic situations. Consequently, literary hermeneutics should not be cultivated as an independent discipline but as hermeneutic reflection concomitant with all activities of literary scholarship.

G. C. Kálmán presented a report on "Speech Act Theory and the Theory of Literature". Commenting the relation between Speech Act Theory and the theory of literature he called into question the use of attempts to build too close links between them, but he acknowledged that more recently literary theory had drawn on some results and principles of Speech Act Theory. Attempts to adopt Speech Act Theory *directly* — an early example being R. Ohmann's work — are of less theoretical import. Since then the Gricean maxims, the rules of indirect Speech Act Theory, the felicity/infelicity of Speech Act Theory and the like have been used widely in literary interpretation (mainly in the interpretation of dramas, humorous works and jokes; in writings by S. E. Fish, J. A. Porter, M. M. Cooper, M. Mancher). A far more interesting and promising problem arises from the application of the theoretical consequences of Speech Act Theory (i.e. its theoretical extension) to the field of literary theory. As a consequence, some of the classic problems of hermeneutics (intention v. convention, understanding, literal v. metaphorical meaning, relevance, etc.) are reformulated in new terms. Though in Kálmán's opinion the main representatives of Speech Act Theory (Grice, Shiffer and Searle) are on the side of intentionalism, he thinks that a natural outgo of the theory would be (via a theory of meaning) a kind of contextualism, also serviceable as a suitable method of literary interpretation. This would imply a kind of aesthetics of reception with such central ideas as understanding, context and convention. A theory of literature grounded on Speech Act Theory should discard fix meanings and bring into prominence the act of reception with the recipient as a person having presuppositions of the system of conventions used by the *other* party; it is he who, on the basis of his system of conventions, does something with the text.

András Veres, dealing with "Value and the Interpretation of Literature", referred back to a conference of the Department in 1979 at which discussion centred round the uncertainty of definitions of value and the division of interpretative stratagems behind the formation of the concept. Today there is an increased consensus in the definition of value, due to the acceptance of the significance definition. Literature, or art, is valuable for its actual or potential significance. Historical approach is attended, inevitably, by a relativization of aesthetic value. In various models of evolution literature is interpreted after the fashion of the process of cultural accumulation and rationalization. As to the "historical task" of literature, History of Culture referred to artistic theme, Formalism to the language of poetry, History of Ideas to the constant renewal of the conventions of a world view, sociology to the workings of institutions. To some extent these traditions reappear in the aesthetics of reception: e.g. in Jauß's conception literary history appears as constant change of the "Erwartungshorizont" of reception, and the function of art proper is to obtain a change of horizons. Recent studies in the sociology of reading and of culture reveal that values are dependent on persons who valuate, transfer significance or actualize value. Values, like linguistic signs, presuppose a conventional mode of usage and a referential system, and they have to be reified to enable us to communicate with them. Literature as an art makes use of linguistic possibilities to accentuate value relations. Perhaps the basis of artistic effect is precisely there — in the increased and novel suggestion of values. It is, however, less simple to draft a system of value orientations on a textual base. A. Veres recalled that earlier he classified values as (a) *phenomenological* (vital, moral and political) values, (b) *modal* values (values of the aesthetic quality) and (c) the values of *representation* (constitutive of the aesthetic value). He said he changed his view about the function of the values of representation due to the fact that aesthetic value, in the case of a literary text, cannot be marked off from rhetoric and poetic values, unless in a very relative way. In conclusion A. Veres called attention to the fact that most values inherent in a literary work of art are not immediately available, a great majority of them will appear only when the stresses of modality and composition are recognized. This means that values inherent in the text are conceivable only as interpreted values. It is even more difficult to point to the aesthetic value of the work as in its realization value aspects, external to the text and quasi "appended" to the semantic gesture of the work (expectations connected with the personality or with the name of the author, functions attributed to the genre or to literature in general) also play a part. It is appropriate to start from historically established systems of literary communication; even action against institutions is understandable only from a knowledge of how they function. Apparently, in our tacking about between value apriorism and value empirism, we should not trust ourselves to the priority of a singular or a plural system of literary values.

József Szili surveyed "The Influence of Ideology Criticism on the Theory of Literature" from Lucien Goldmann to P. Macherey and the British followers of the Althusserian school of criticism. He pointed out that the Althusserian theorists were striving towards a view of history independent of messianistic orientation and of logically constructed abstractions. This program was met, by and large, by a reinterpretation of the ideas of the Frankfort School (with Marcuse as their main representative) and a somewhat hasty and sketchy adaptation of the conclusions of new and fashionable schools of criticism, Speech Act Theory, French semiology, German Rezeptionstheorie and the renewed tradition of Russian Formalism. The Althusserian critics emphasize the social function of literature including its political aspects but, as a rule, they tend to use the term "literature" in a broad sense, discarding its reduction to a limited corpus of masterpieces. They describe this reduction as a consequence of the exclusive class aspect of bourgeois ideology. They call attention to society's role in *producing* literature, i.e. the conditions

of literary communication, the historical conditions of the comprehension of literary works of art and the climate of criticism which preconditions their artistic and ideological influence. Accordingly, a task of Marxist criticism is to create a climate of literary reception, powerful enough to strip the facts of literature of their bourgeois ideological content and pave the way to new modes of literary production. The Althusserian critics discard as "ideological" any reference to such "eternal ideas" as Beauty, Art, or "human essence". Even the term "literature" is criticized for the unchanging quality attributed to it by "liberal humanism". Instead of using art as a substitute religion, attention should be focused on its practical functions and its part in general education. Ideology criticism also found a place in systematic theoretical approaches, e.g. in works by Roland Barthes or Wolfgang Iser. A lesson taught by this trend of literary theory is that in its striving for systematic research and to become a veritable *science* of literature, the Marxist study of literature should get rid of its "ideological" elements, develop an unequivocal terminology and define clearly the basic terms of its historism.

Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, dealing with "Recent Achievements in the Poetics of Genres", said that nowadays the independent status of the theory of genres is threatened by the advance of narratology, rhetorics, Speech Act Theory, textualism, Rezeptionsästhetik and sociology. In recent years there have been three ways of approach discernible in the development of genre theory. Traditionalists rely on the history of poetics, as Claudio Guillén did in his *Literature as System* (1971). Gérard Genette's essay in *Poétique* (November, 1977) and Tzvetan Todorov's book (1978) fall, for all their novelty, in the line of the Platonic-Aristotelian tradition. A second type is a narratological approach to genre theory, taking as its point of departure the simple oral forms of narration, in the tradition of Propp and André Jolles. Propp's system, based on a sequence of functions, does not involve the problem of the uniqueness of a work of art in the oral tradition, while Jolles's system includes ten genres. Most theoreticians reduce complex forms to simple oral ones, and only a few authors, like David Buchan and Ákos Kibédi Varga deal with forms of transition from simple to complex forms such as the ballad and the tale. Less ambitious attempts are, however, far more convincing than efforts extrapolating Propp's morphology to complex forms as Greimas's work on the semiotics of the text (1976) or Claude Bremond's book on the logic of narration (1973). A third approach aims at finding those strata of meaning in complex literary genres which set them apart from comparable types in folklore. To differentiate between epics and lyrics is especially difficult, but two papers promise a new start: K. Stierle *(Poétique*, November 1977) seeks the specific of lyric poetry in an unforeseeble use of time relations, D. Cohn *(Comparative Literature*, 18, 1966) thinks that "style indirect libre" occurs in epics as a constructive element. In Szegedy-Maszák's opinion the aim of studies in the problem of genres should not be classification but a theorem of the need for classification. Genre being an institutionalized system of norms or conventions facilitating communication and understanding, it is likely that a system of genres exists only in the context of a historical community. This conjecture is congruent with Susan Tripp's observation that the system of genres of classic Sanscrit literature cannot be translated into any modern European language.

Introducing his discussion of "Relations Between Poetics and Literary History in Polish Studies in the Theory of Literature", Endre Bojtár paid a tribute of recognition to Polish theorists of literature for the exceptional erudition and general high level of their work in this field. He recalled the fact that interest in literature as a system and in the parole type phenomena of literature has been great traditionally and the heritage of Polish Structuralism has added to the attraction of the morphological approach. Practically all experts of literary theory represent structuralist and semiotic approaches. There seems to be a general agreement that any fact of literature — the literary work of art,

a writer's personality, the age, style, etc. — is analysable as text. This implies the theoretical position that the task of the study of literature as a *science* of literature is not the interpretation of individual works of literature as interpretation is an art on its own. In two groups of problems Polish theorists have especially important insights: the function of the personal element in literary communication (A. Okopień-Sławińska, J. Sławiński, etc.), and the distinction of various "readers' styles" in reception (M. Głowiński). The latter problem has arisen in connection with the recent revival of discussion about the theory of literary history. A conclusion of the discussion is that studies of literature follow two distinct paths: literary history, dealing with system-like elements of literature, and the art of interpretation, dealing with individual literary works of art.

László Varga undertook to elucidate the long neglected problem of "The Place of the Study of Biography in the Theory of Literature". Discussing the reasons why the system of relations which determine the genesis of the literary work of art had been reduced to its immanent study and the study of its reception, he tried to answer the question how far the general problems of auctorial biography belong to the field of the theory of literature. He argued that an analysis of the definition of the theory of literature, the function of literature and the genesis of the literary work of art led to the conclusion that there were no theoretical reasons to leave the problem of auctorial biography out of the field of the theory of literature as any element of the literary work of art and any factor of literature might have a logical place in a conceptual system at some level of generalization. With their restricted concept of literature and the literary work of art most recent trends of criticism have, however, excluded from their field of interest that area of literature to which the genesis of literary works and the circumstances of the author's biography belong. An extreme view in this regard was presented by R. Barthes. He considered all elements outside the text as dependent exclusively on an interpretative consciousness. Consequently he judged all data, analyses, descriptions concerning the author as subjective factors and, therefore, inapplicable in scientific argument. In his view studies about the author reflect merely the preconceptions of the interpreter which are, as a matter of fact, valueless for a theory of literature. In contrast to such immanent conceptions of art, the relevance of the author for the process of interpretation is evident in any theory of literature which defines literature as expressive of intersubjective ties and instrumental of cognition. The theoretical problems of the author's biography might be conceived as an integrate part of the theory of literature only if its subject-matter were defined as the sum total of the generalizations related to literature. Such a conception of the theory of literature would envisage as a logical necessity the exploration of all conditions of the genesis of the literary work of art, among them the general problems of auctorial biography.

István Szerdahelyi read a paper on "Contemporary Trends in the International Study of Verse Theory" based on the thesis that the theory of verse forms an integral part of the theory of literature through a theoretical, or metatheoretical extension of its two branches, (a) of morphology dealing with the common and essential specifics of all systems of versification, the definition of verse, rhyme, rhythm, stanza, etc., and (b) of the study of function (the aesthetics of verse) summerizing the generalizations of the functional studies of verse. As to the former, H. Lüdtke proposed a new method based on the theory of information. Unfortunately no international comparative studies have been undertaken to provide factual data for generalization. In Szerdahelyi's view the facts unearthed by national studies in prosody should be submitted to painstaking comparative and typological control and examined thoroughly in the light of recent achievements in the general theory of rhythm. A. W. de Groot's classic work in comparative prosody (Algemene versleer, 1946), studies by J. Kuriłowicz or John Lotz, and the

studies in the anthology edited by W. K. Wimsatt (Versification Major Language Types, 1972) seem to have lacked a team-work in the synthetization of multinational studies. There has been no continuation of the promising series of conferences in Brno (1964 and 1966) since the death of J. Levý. Szerdahelyi said he was convinced that so far as the general theory of verse was concerned the contributions of R. Jakobson, A. Moles, S. Marcus and J. Lotman were not truly relevant. He added that an attempt of Halle and Keyser to adapt generative linguistics to prosody resulted in terminological changes only and in the assumption that rules of versification were deducible from the laws of language (an old fallacy disproved lately by J. Hrabak in Teorie verse, 1966, edited by J. Levy). The use of instruments is, in Szerdahelyi's opinion, limited by the fact that human organs are less sensitive than instruments and the human sense of rhythm is deeply rooted in intellectual and imaginative faculties with no accoustic consequence whatsoever. A functional theory of verse has been presented by Iván Fónagy, answering an age-old problem of the expressive power of various patterns of rhythm. He has proved that they evoke certain emotional patterns and a sense of motion and are allusive to period and style in the context of the meaning of the text. Szerdahelyi, referring to the work done by R. Gunzenhäuser, A. Kondratov, I. Fónagy, L. Doležel, J. Levý, H. Lüdtke, A. A. Moles and S. Marcus for the adaptation of information theory to the study of prosody, said he would prefer traditional methods as the problems to be resolved would be overcomplicated by a far-fetched application of refined apparatus.

Árpád Bernáth's discussion of "Recent International Achievements in Narratology" raised problems of relations between narratology and literary scholarship in general. The spectacular growth of the number of publications of narratology, he said, should not conceal the fact that efforts taken for a scientific approach have resulted in a loss of contact with the practice of literary scholarship. A paradox of literary narratology is that the better it meets the requirements of theories of scientific cognition, the less it offers to practical studies of literature. This is no fresh problem — an analogous situation was described by Wilhelm Scherer already in 1855 when he complained of the loss of links between speculative aesthetics and the practical tasks of philology and the historiography of literature. Bernáth stressed that the analytic methods devised by V. J. Propp had served the analysis of primitive texts as it is revealed by examples in an informative publication complied by István Siklaki on recent research in narratology. Siklaki follows the development of Propp's ideas in studies by C. Bremond, T. Todorov, Colby and others. Bernáth said he thought that Colby's method was an improvement on Propp's as he was able to transcribe sequences of events on various levels and to draft a general scheme of actions explained at a higher level than the mere chain of events of a simple story. His scheme refers to motivations, i.e. intentions. A protocol of motivations and a typology of their potential interrelationships throw a new light on the world of Eskimo tales, paving a way to a further study of them by different branches of the social sciences. Concerning the problem of action logic Bernáth quoted a summary of the problem by W. Stegmüller. The development of a subsumptive model (meaning that a process is explained by subsumption under a general law) may be traced through D. Hume, J. S. Mill, K. R. Popper, G. G. Hempel and it may hold good for factual situations. For actions, however, explanation lies in intentions which terminate in actions. Bernáth proposed that literary narratology should go even farther than that and supplement the ordinary logic of action with a law of "epic action" valid for the world of fiction as a law of nature is for physical events. The task of explication is, then, to define the epic law valid for the case in question. By taking this step narratology enters the field of literary diction and assumes that in a literary work of art linguistic manipulations which are outlawed in the non-literary use of language are legal and significant. E.g. in a story by Gyula Hernádi allusions made

to Greek mythology transcend the actual sequence of events, proving that actions in fiction cannot be explained at the level of intentions as their motivation is reducible to the working of epic laws only. This theorem harmonizes with the view that the possible worlds presented by literature consistently demonstrate the consequences of laws which have an absolute power in them. In conclusion Árpád Bernáth pointed to the fact that though shifting away from literature towards a kind of scientism seemed to have been a general trend in the development of narratology, the theory of literature is compelled to rely on its achievements, its feats of logical accuracy and analytical exactitude. It should improve and extend its methods through them and adapt them to the specific requirements of the study of the literary work of art, taking into consideration the "epic laws" of action in fiction.

Each paper provoked heated discussion and there was a general consensus among the participants of the conference that the outlines of a consistent system of literary theory should be dealt with at a similar meeting in 1982.

József Sziki

Les Éditions de Minuit

La maison d'édition baptisée « de Minuit » naquit dans l'illégalité, pendant l'occupation allemande de la France et ne s'adressa d'abord qu'aux Français. Mais son activité s'étendit bientôt au-delà des frontières et eut de nombreux liens, avec, entre autres, les Hongrois luttant contre le fascisme. Vercors, son fondateur, était d'origine hongroise, et il y eut aussi des Hongrois émigrés parmi ses auteurs et encore plus parmi ses lecteurs et ses diffuseurs, en France et ailleurs.

Le fondateur de la maison, Jean Bruller naquit à Paris, le 26 février 1902, d'un père hongrois, Lajos Bruller, qui avait émigré en France en 1880. Jean Bruller obtint à Paris son diplôme d'ingénieur électricien, mais se consacra, dès l'âge de vingt et un ans, au dessin. Son premier album de croquis satiriques intitulé « 21 recettes pratiques de mort violente » vit le jour en 1926. Ses dessins faits entre 1927 et 1939 furent réunis dans l'album « La danse des vivants ». « L'enfer », album publié en 1935, est une réplique à Dante: l'enfer est sur cette terre. Bruller a une vision sombre du monde qui transparaît dans ses croquis qui témoignent en autre d'une profonde connaissance de l'homme et de la société, mêlée d'humour et d'ironie amère. Il représente un monde de désespoir, un monde où l'homme est contraint de vivre, souffrir, lutter et mourir sans même savoir pourquoi.

Entre 1923 et l'été 1940 Jean Bruller exprima sa révolte par ses dessins; à partir de 1940 cette forme du combat lui paraît insuffisante. Dans Paris occupé par les Allemands, le dessinateur Bruller disparaît pour se métamorphoser en son « frère jumeau », comme il dit, en l'écrivain Vercors. Mais ses dessins et ses écrits attestent avec force que Bruller et Vercors, le dessinateur et l'écrivain sont une même personne indivisible. Une même passion bouleversante les caractérise, qu'il s'agisse d'un croquis antimilitariste ou de la première publication de Minuit, du *Silence de la mer:* c'est la même précision, la même connexité de l'ombre et de la lumière, la même délicatesse des tons. Ses dessins et ses écrits se caractérisent également par la lutte contre l'ombre, par la dénonciation de la cruauté, par l'ironie inspirées d'un sentiment d'indestructible humanité.

Dans un petit atelier d'imprimerie de Paris — pendant qu'au-dessus résonnaient sans cesse les pas des hommes de la Gestapo — Vercors fonda dans l'illégalité la maison d'édition, et publia, sous un pseudonyme, sa première œuvre littéraire, *Le silence de*

la mer. L'artiste antimilitariste fut mobilisé en 1940 et affecté au bataillon du quinze-neuf d'infanterie alpine. C'est là qu'il trouva son pseudonyme, en route vers la montagne:

« Le Vercors . . . Le Vercors . . . Je connaissais ce nom, j'en admirais la sonorité suggérant une noblesse hautaine, mais je n'avais jusqu'alors situé qu'imparfaitement ce massif puissant au contrefort des Alpes. Je gagnai le couloir, et fus surpris par l'espèce de respect, de révérence sinon de vénération que mes camarades montagnards paraissaient porter aux sévères remparts de cette forteresse naturelle. Bientôt je partageai moi-même ces sentiments, un peu par contagion peut-être; mais aussi la grandeur indomptable qu'évoquait l'immense navire surgissant de la plaine exerçait sur moi une fascination croissante. Le train roulait à ses pieds avec lenteur, comme s'il eût voulu me laisser tout le temps nécessaire à m'imbiber de cette vision que je sentais inoubliable. Pourtant comment eussé-je deviné la place que le Vercors allait tenir dans ma vie? »

— écrit-il dans ses mémoires.[1] Il y raconte aussi pourquoi il choisit pour titre « *Le silence de la mer* » à son récit:

. . . Hitler aiguisait son sabre en Espagne, et ce serait bientôt notre tour. Je dessinais comme on écrit son testament. Et bien que je n'y eusse mis aucune intention consciente, ce ne fut pas peut-être un pur hasard si mon dernier album, avant que la guerre n'éclatât, s'appelait *Silences*, si peu après je choisis d'illustrer une oeuvre d'Edgar Poe qui s'appelait *Silence*, et si ce fut encore le mot *Silence* qui se trouva en tête de mon premier récit clandestin. Comme si avec ce mot j'avais voulu frapper les trois coups, au lever du rideau, sur la longue tragédie que la France baillonnée allait vivre, en effet, dans le silence . . .[2]

Les petits livres des Éditions de Minuit entrèrent en lutte contre la tragédie et passèrent bientôt les frontières de la France. La littérature progressiste fut contrainte, dès l'été 1933 en Europe — en Hongrie bien plus tôt, dès 1919 — à l'émigration, à l'exil ou à la clandestinité. La censure allemande mit à l'index 5580 œuvres en 1939. La fameuse « liste Otto », dans laquelle étaient énumérés les livres à mettre au pilon, fut publiée à Paris, sur l'ordre des Allemands, par le Syndicat des éditeurs. Tous les grand éditeurs y participèrent, au nombre de cent quarante, à la seule exception des frères Émile-Paul. L'avertissement qui accompagnait la liste note que « les autorités occupantes ont enregistré avec satisfaction l'initiative des éditeurs français ». Ne citons que quelques noms parmi ceux figurant sur la liste: Aragon, Julien Benda, Jean-Richard Bloch, Claudel, Dorgelès, Giraudoux, Malraux, Maurois pour la littérature française. Ils voisinent avec les écrivains allemands émigrés, avec Thomas Mann, B. Brecht, Remarque, Ludwig Renn, Wassermann, S. Zweig et avec les éminents représentants de la littérature anglaise classique et moderne, de Shakespeare à Virginia Woolf. Il fut interdit de publier les biographies, même rédigées par des auteurs aryens, consacrées aux musiciens, peintres ou poètes juifs, Offenbach, Henri Heine, Chagall . . . Le ministre de l'éducation exigea que les œuvres de Descartes fussent « jetées par la fenêtre », que Rousseau et d'autres écrivains pareillement « pernicieux » disparussent des programmes. Les conférences de l'académicien Paul Langevin, inventeur de la biréfringence électrique et magnétique, furent suspendues. Sur la liste des livres interdits figurent aussi des œuvres d'auteurs hongrois, ceux de Victor Basch, professur à la Sorbonne, qui était d'origine hongroise, ceux du philosophe Georges Politzer, émigré très jeune de Hongrie, et le « Livre gris » d'Iván Lajos sur les chances militaires de l'Allemagne, paru en 1939.

La Sorbonne, le Louvre et la Bibliothèque Nationale devinrent des centres de la résistance. Au Louvre furent organisées des réunions clandestines, dans les couloires de la Sorbonne Pierre Daix et ses amis distribuèrent les tracts de la résistance, et à la Bibliothèque Nationale l'administrateur Julien Cain — qui sera, jusqu'à sa mort con-

servateur en chef de la bibliothèque de l'Unesco — travailla à l'évacuation des archives de PEN, qui furent transportées dans un petit port breton. Un conservateur hongrois de la Bibliotrhèque, Théodore Beregi relate la période où les occupants s'étant installés à la Bibliothéque Nationale, déportèrent Julien Cain, « l'âme » de la bibliothèque, à Buchenwald, mais les journaux clandestins n'en continuèrent pas moins à surgir dans les salles de lecture, témoignant de l'impuissance du Wehrmacht face au mouvement de la Résistance.[3]

A partir de l'été 1940, les affiches, les tracts et les journaux clandestins se propagèrent en France. Parmi leurs auteurs ou illustrateurs, nous trouvons aussi des Hongrois émigrés: Marcell Vértes, Zoltán Váli, József Strémi, Beöthy.

Mais Vercors et ses amis virent bien que cela ne pouvait suffir, qu'il fallait réunir les forces pour une initiative plus importante. Par l'intermédiaire de Jean Richard Bloch, Vercors fit la connaissance du professeur Wallon, de Jean Cassou, Francis Jourdain, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Georges Bruhat et de Jean Lurçat, qui tous étaient alors communistes ou sympathisants. Et, en feuilletant le petit journal clandestin intitulé Pantagruel, Vercors eut l'idée — alors que toute vente de papier, de stencil et d'encre de typographie était interdite — qu'avec un peu de courage on pouvait tenter d'imprimer, de diffuser et même peut-être faire parvenir à l'étranger des textes d'un format plus important.

L'ami de Vercors, Jacques Debû-Bridel publia le 24 avril 1945 un historique des Éditions de Minuit avec la bibliographie des œuvres parues, annoncées et en préparation.[4] Les Allemands, écrit-il, se sont installés en France non pas en occupants provisoires, mais comme dans une colonie. Le gouverneur de leur choix, le « vieux pacha de Vichy » a tout fait pour mériter sa solde. Il eut des partisans aussi parmi les écrivains. Mais qu'importaient quelques valets de plume, si l'œuvre du conquérant ne s'étendait aussi au plus précieux des biens de la nation, à la force morale, à l'esprit. La guerre que les Éditions de Minuit entreprirent était plus qu'une guerre nationale: elle était une guerre de principes, d'idées. Les meilleurs des écrivains français choisirent d'abord le silence, mais ils furent nombreux à sentir que c'était insuffisant, qu'il fallait répliquer d'une façon plus efficace. La situation exigeait une réponse à la question: où exprimer la pensée française? en exil, en émigration, ou dans le pays occupé? Bernanos, Jules Romains, Julien Green, Maritain, pour demeurer fidèles à la France, avaient accepté l'exil. Mais l'exil lui-même était encore un aveu de faiblesse. Il fallait agir, à l'intérieur même du pays, mais les intellectuels prêts à passer à l'action étaient dispersés et isolés.

A la fin de septembre 1941, Jean Paulhan demanda à Debû-Bridel s'il voulait entrer en rapport avec Jacques Decour, membre du Parti Communiste Français. Celui-là saisit l'occasion avec joie, et ils organisèrent ensemble un comité de front national parmi les écrivains. Une tentative avait déjà été faite pour « opposer au hurlement des loups la voix clandestine des écrivains »: *La Pensée Libre* à laquelle Decour, Guéhenno, Paulhan et le hongrois Georges Politzer avaient collaboré; malheureusement, l'imprimerie était tombée aux mains de la Gestapo. C'est alors qu'on décida la création des *Lettres Françaises* qui continuèrent à paraître après la guerre et auxquelles Vercors collabora jusqu'à la fin. Ce fut Pierre de Lescure, ami de Vercors et de Debû-Bridel, qui proposa de fonder des éditions clandestines, baptisées Éditions de Minuit. Les fondateurs définirent leur but dans un Manifeste:

> . . . Il existe encore en France des écrivains qui ne connaissent pas les antichambres et refusent les mots d'ordre. Ils sentent profondément que la pensée doit s'exprimer. Pour agir sur d'autres pensées, sans doute, mais surtout parce que, s'il ne s'exprime pas, l'esprit meurt . . .
>
> Peu importe les noms. Il ne s'agit plus de petites renommées personnelles. Peu importe une voie difficile. Il s'agit de la pureté spirituelle de l'homme.

« Peu importe les noms . . . » Ce qui importait, c'était la cause — les grands noms connus disparurent donc pour céder la place, sur la jaquette des petits livres, à des noms inconnus et mystérieux.

Au mois d'octobre 1941, Vercors remit à Lescure le premier manuscrit — son propre récit signé d'un pseudonyme — sans lui révéler l'identité de l'auteur. Le papier fut fourni gratuitement par l'imprimeur Aulard, et les 5.000 francs indispensables pour la mise en route par le professeur Debré, membre de l'Académie de Médecine et qui, plus tard, fit partie du Comité Directeur du Front National. En été 1943 le nom de Vercors parcourut, pratiquement, le monde entier. La petite imprimerie d'Aulard fabriqua 350 exemplaires de son livre, et ce chef-d'œuvre de la littérature antifasciste se propageait, pendant les années-mêmes de la guerre, en plusieurs langues. Ainsi, par exemple, la bibliographie de la littérature clandestine hollandaise, publiée en 1967 par la Bibliothèque d'Amsterdam, enregistre par exemple l'édition d'Utrecht de 1944 du *Stilte der see.*

Ses amis, ses confrères, même sa femme et ses fils ignoraient qui se cachait sous le nom de Vercors. Une conspiration totale était nécessaire. Selon l'historique de Debû-Bridel, *Le Silence de la mer* fut achevé d'imprimer le 20 février 1942, et aurait pu être distribué dès le début mars; il fut pourtant bloqué pendant plus de six mois, à la demande de Pierre de Lescure, par une mesure de précaution qui, vu le nombre d'amis fusillés et déportés, ne paraissait pas excessive. L'un des premiers exemplaires fut remis au professeur Debré qui en fut si enchanté qu'il fit aussitôt dactylographier l'œuvre en plusieurs exemplaires. Le petit jeu de la recherche de l'auteur commença. Les uns parlaient de Duhamel, d'autres d'André Gide et de Roger Martin du Gard. Debû-Bridel soupçonnait Schlumberger et Marcel Arland, Jean Paulhan pensait à Maurice Bedel.

L'écrivain évoque dans ses mémoires ce que la radio dit en 1943 de la première publication de Minuit:

> Pour que vive la France, les tracts, les pamphlets ne suffisent pas. Il faut des oeuvres, il faut des livres. Et je m'adresse à vous, Vercors, encore inconnu et déjà célèbre. . . J'entendis mal la suite. Mes oreilles bourdonnaient. Ainsi, *Le silence de la mer* était sorti de France, avait franchi la Manche . . . Je ne savais pas encore que Claude Bellanger avait remis un exemplaire à Yvon Morandat, qui l'avait transporté, au clair de lune, dans l'avion sans lumière venu d'Angleterre le chercher, ni que celui qui en avait ordonné à Londres l'impression, c'était le chef de la France libre. Je ne savais pas non plus que mon récit était déjà réédité en Algérie, au Sénégal (par Théodore Monod, directeur de l'Institut d'Afrique Noire, un vieux copain d'école, qui n'en savait de moi pas davantage . . .), en Australie, en Suisse, au Québec, à Beyrouth . . . Un autre jour, sortant dans le jardin de bon matin, en pyjama, je trouvai sur le pré une minuscule brochure en papier-bible, tout humide de rosée, une de celles que la R. A. F. répandait certaines nuits sur la France par millions, et c'était mon récit. Avec une coquille: on l'avait baptisé *les Silences* au pluriel, coquille que devait répéter à New York, ne pouvant consulter l'original ni l'auteur, mon ami l'éditeur Jacques Schiffrin, qui ne se pardonna jamais son erreur. A Tunis, l'écrivain Pierre Moinot n'ayant pu se procurer que la version anglaise de Cyril Connolly, la retraduisait en français pour la répandre autour de lui . . .[5]

On ignora donc jusqu'à la fin de la guerre qui se cachait sous le nom de la majestueuse montagne alpine, tout comme on ignora que l'auteur du « Silence » était la même personne que Louis Bourbon, Roland Dolée, Drieu, Desvignes, Santerre. Vercors prit tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre de ses pseudonymes pour paraître à l'imprimerie, aux points de diffusion, aux rendez-vous clandestins. Les autres auteurs de Minuit publièrent également sous des pseudonymes: Georges Adam sous celui de Hainaut, Edith Thomas sous celui d'Anne ou d'Auxois, Debû-Bridel sous le nom d'Argonne. Des noms inconnus surgirent aussi dans *Les Lettres Françaises*, dirigées, depuis la mort tragique de Jacques Decour, par Claude Morgan, qui se chargea aussi de la diffusion des éditions de Minuit.

Les « nouveaux » auteurs furent Jean du Haut (Paul Éluard), Jacques Destaing et François la Colère (Aragon), Forez (François Mauriac), Jean Noir (Jean Cassou), Laurent Daniel (Elsa Triolet, épouse d'Aragon).

Un des premiers numéros des *Lettres Françaises* publie en première page un poème d'Éluard, sous le nom de Jean du Haut:

Ce petit monde meurtrier
Est orienté vers l'innocent
Lui ôte le pain de la bouche
Et donne sa maison au feu . . .

Dans *Le Musée Grévin*, édité par Minuit, nous lisons, sous le pseudonyme de François la Colère, les vers initiaux d'Aragon:

J'écris dans ce pays où l'on parque les hommes
Dans l'ordure et la soif, le silence et la faim . . .

Dans une interview donnée après la guerre, Aragon évoque avec une grande authenticité cette atmosphère d'alors:

. . . Je faisais ma propre éducation dans le domaine de la contrebande, c'est-à-dire dans le domaine du *sens*, une contrebande très simple qui utilisait Roland pour parler des résistants, ou n'importe quel héros de la tradition, française ou autre, grecque tant qu'à faire . . . Par la suite, nous avons, Elsa et moi, quitté la vie légale — que nous avions menée incroyablement longtemps — jusqu'au 11 novembre 1942: après le débarquement allié en Afrique du Nord, Nice occupé, nous sommes passés dans la clandestinité, et je n'étais plus atteignable. La question n'était plus de signer ou pas: j'ai écrit des poèmes, profitant de l'expérience de la première période où je passais de la contrebande à une expression directe des faits. Le premier de ce genre qu'on ait publié fut *La Ballade de celui qui chanta dans les supplices*, répondant à l'exécution de Gabriel Péri . . . On ne pouvait pas savoir si le poème était de moi. La publication était clandestine.[6]

La Ballade d'Aragon, signée Destaing, parut aussi en hongrois en 1944, dans la *Revue Hongroise*, publication clandestine du Mouvement pour l'Indépendance Hongroise de Paris. Non seulement l'auteur portait un pseudonyme, mais également le traducteur, László Gereblyés qui prit le nom de Sándor Vidéky.

Les œuvres d'Aragon, d'Éluard et d'autres auteurs français, écrites et diffusées dans l'illégalité, se propagèrent rapidement en Europe et dans les pays d'outre-mer: plusieurs revues de l'émigration hongroise ont à leur tour reproduit les chefs-d'œuvre de la littérature de la résistance. Ainsi par exemple le Bulletin — dirigé par le groupe communiste de Tibor Szőnyi, de András Kálmán et de Ferenc Vági — du Front de l'Indépendance Nationale Hongrois de Suisse fut le premier à publier en hongrois, dans son numéro de décembre 1944, le grand poème d'Aragon écrit en l'honneur du peuple français libéré, *Le Musée Grévin*. Il fut traduit par un jeune communiste, János Dobó, et, le mouvement antifasciste ayant aussi été réduit à l'illégalité pendant plusieurs années en Suisse aussi, Dobó signa d'un pseudonyme, celui de Pogány (ses autres écrits parurent sous le nom d'Istenes). Le texte du poème arriva en Suisse dans l'édition de Minuit. Citons-en quelques strophes:

Un pays pantelant sous le pied des fantoches,
Labouré jusqu'au cœur par l'ornière des roues,
Mis en coupe réglée au nom du roi Pétoche . . .
Un pays de frayeur en proie aux loups-garous.

J'écris dans ce pays qui souffre mille morts,
Qui montre à tous les yeux ses blessures pourprées,
Et la meute sur lui grouillante qui le mord,
Et les valets sonnant dans le cor la curée !

Je vous salue, ma France, où le peuple est habile
A ces travaux qui font les jours émerveillés
Et que l'on vient de loin saluer dans sa ville
Paris, mon cœur, trois ans vainement fusillé !

Heureuse et forte enfin qui portez pour écharpe
Cet arc-en-ciel témoin qu'il ne tonnera plus,
Liberté dont frémit le silence des harpes,
Ma France d'au delà le déluge, salut !

Un autre collaborateur des Éditions de Minuit, Paul Éluard évoque, lors de sa visite en Hongrie après la guerre, le rôle des poètes dans la Résistance par ces mots:

La conscience des poètes se révéla, avec le temps, une arme redoutable. Le but que la poésie s'assigna pendant l'occupation ne pouvait faire aucun doute . . . nous voulions la victoire des vivants, nous voulions supprimer les humiliations. Chanter, lutter, crier, nous battre et nous sauver à la fin. C'est ainsi que la poésie entra dans le maquis. Car nous ne pouvions jouer sans danger avec les mots. C'est pourquoi nous préférâmes laisser tout perdre, pour ne pas laisser perdre le but éternel, la vérité nue et pauvre, mais toujours belle, car elle a été de tous temps le support de toutes les beautés dans le cœur humain, la seule vertu, la seule valeur. Et cette valeur ne se mesure pas . . .[7]

Le poème d'Éluard intitulé *Couvre-feu* fut écrit à Paris en 1942; et paraissait en hongrois des novembre 1943, publié par la revue mexicaine Hongrie Libre, dirigée par Aladár Tamás, dans la traduction du poète communiste Endre Havas, secrétaire de Mihály Károlyi et un des principaux organisateurs du Club Hongrois de Londres. Cette traduction ne vit le jour en Hongrie qu'en 1960, dans le volume posthume du poète, intitulé Fidélité.

Éluard composa pour les Éditions de Minuit une anthologie intitulée *L'Honneur des poètes*. Le petit volume parut bientôt en Suisse aussi, accompagné d'autres publications de Minuit, chez l'éditeur des Trois Collines qui, malgré les interdictions et les dangers, commença à publier une série intitulée Porte d'ivoire et diffusée elle aussi dans la clandestinité. A Londres, toujours sur l'exemple de Minuit, on édita une série des Cahiers du Silence. Éluard composa aussi une seconde anthologie de *L'Honneur des poètes*, dans laquelle il donna place aux poètes des nations ayant succombées à l'Allemagne hitlérienne, aux Yougoslaves, aux Bulgares, aux Belges, aux Norvégiens, aux Russes, aux Hollandais, aux Tchèques.

La voix de la « grande Europe » dépassa donc les frontières nationales. Voici, pour n'en mentionner que quelques unes, certaines éditions étrangères du *Silence de la mer* parues en 1944: *Put out the Light* (Londres), *The Silence of the Sea* (New York), *El silencie de Francia* (Buenos Aires), *Deftercehai hamusi* (Téhéran).

L'œuvre de Vercors parut en langue hongroise mais d'abord à l'étranger, au Mexique, dans le numéro d'août de 1945 de la Hongrie Libre. Elle était traduite par une jeune émigrée hongroise, Lili Berger (qui signa par ses initiales), sous le titre de *Silence*, et introduite par ces lignes:

« Le récit ci-dessous fut publié pour la première fois à Paris, en novembre 1942, pendant l'occupation allemande, aux Éditions de Minuit. En avril 1943 la Revue du Monde Libre le réédita à Londres et ses exemplaires furent répandus sur la France par

les avions de la R. A. F. En juin 1943, il parut aux Cahiers du Silence, toujours à Londres. Enfin, en décembre 1943, l'éditeur Schiffrin de New York l'édita en un volume. Vercors est le pseudonyme d'un des écrivains français de la Résistance; son récit intitulé *Silence*, l'a rendit célèbre en France d'un jour à l'autre.»

Outre Vercors, Aragon, Éluard, il y eut d'autres écrivains aussi à porter leur manuscrit à la petite imprimerie clandestine. En 1943 parut *Le Cahier noir* de Mauriac qui l'écrivit sous le pseudonyme de Forez; il exerça une influence considérable en France et à l'étranger, non seulement par le rayonnement de son esprit et la beauté de son style, non seulement par son contenu et par la renommée de l'auteur, mais aussi parce que ce cri de douleur venait justement de la grande bourgeoisie française, si étrangère à toute forme de résistance. « C'est en tout cas pour cette déchirante fermeté du cœur que je l'ai toujours considéré, aux Éditions de Minuit, comme un des plus beaux fleurons de notre couronne et que, près de trente ans plus tard, la peine que j'éprouve de sa mort est moins peut-être celle de la perte d'un écrivain célèbre que de la disparition d'un grand mais humble témoin prêt à se faire égorger pour la justice . . . » — écrit Vercors en 1970, dans un article nécrologique consacré à l'auteur de *Cahier noir*.[8]

Les Éditions de Minuit ont fait paraître, entre 1942 et 1944, *quarante* petits volumes. En dehors de ceux déjà mentionnés, il y eut entre autres, parmi les auteurs Français, des œuvres d'Elsa Triolet, d'Yves Farges, de Jean Guéhenno, de Claude Morgan mais la collection compte aussi quelques œuvres étrangères. *L'Ode à la France* de Charles Morgan parut dans une traduction de Vercors. Steinbeck y figure avec son roman intitulé *Nuits noires*. La bibliographie des Éditions de Minuit mentionne aussi le nom de László Dormándi, écrivain hongrois ayant émigré à Paris en 1939. Le manuscrit de son récit intitulé *La mort de César* ne parvint à l'éditeur qu'en avril 1944 et ne put donc être imprimé. Mais le souvenir de Dormándi est gardé par ses amis qui ont fondé à Paris, en 1968, la Société des Amis de Dormándi, présidée par Vercors, et qui publie ses œuvres posthumes.

Plusieurs Hongrois participèrent à la rédaction et à la diffusion des éditions de Minuit et d'autres imprimés de la Résistance, tout comme ils participèrent, plus tard, à la lutte armée sur les barricades de Paris. *Fényszóró* (Le Projecteur), hebdomadaire artistique dirigé par Béla Balázs publia, sous le titre de *La Littérature de la nuit*, les souvenirs de Tibor Tardos concernant la diffusion de la littérature française clandestine.[9]

Les mémoires de Vercors, le roman du *Silence de la mer*, relate l'histoire des Éditions de Minuit, le destin des petits chefs-d'œuvre et de leurs auteurs, le dévouement et l'incroyable courage et l'habileté de l'imprimeur (il lui arriva d'imprimer tout seul, un volume en deux jours), l'audace des diffuseurs et de leurs agents de liaison. Ces mémoires laissent deviner, derrière le destin de Minuit, celui d'un pays et de l'humanité entière. L'activité liée aux petits volumes devint un acte de résistance. La pensée ne se laisse pas opprimer par la violence — c'est ce qu'illustre l'histoire des Éditions de Minuit et un de ses épisodes, qui peut paraître insignifiant: le tract publicitaire des Éditions de Minuit fut repris par hasard par le dernier numéro de la Bibliographie de la France, organe officiel qui recommande les livres enregistrés à tous les libraires du pays.

Les petits volumes s'épuisèrent rapidement et accomplirent leur mission qui fut de semer la doute et d'inviter à la réflexion. La maison fit même des bénéfices qui furent versés, après la guerre, au Comîté National des Écrivains pour être distribués aux familles des imprimeurs fusillés ou déportés.

Le silence de la mer se fit connaître en Hongrie peu après la guerre, dans la traduction de László Dormándi d'abord, ensuite dans celle de Péter Rubin.

Le fondateur des Éditions de Minuit garda son pseudonyme après la guerre, et publie jusqu'aujourd'hui sous ce nom.

En 1971, l'Institut des Relations Culturelles organisa à Budapest une exposition de ses dessins; bien qu'il eût abandonné les beaux-arts pour les lettres, il s'amusait encore dans les années cinquante à faire des reproductions en couleur avec ses trois fils, et avec l'aide de Picasso. Attestée par de nombreux documents témoignent de son amitié pour les Hongrois. Ayant passé une partie de son enfance à Tab, dans la région de Somogy; à chaque fois qu'il vient en Hongrie, — a-t-il dit à l'inauguration de son exposition, — « c'est un peu comme s'il rentrait chez lui ». Non seulement parce que ce pays est la terre natale de son père, mais aussi parce que le public hongrois l'y accueille comme un des siens.

C'est Vercors qui a préfacé le livre d'André Lazar, *Hongrois de la Résistance*, paru à Paris en 1946:

« Jamais une guerre n'a été aussi évidente dans ses buts, ni si confuse dans son déroulement . . . La tyrannie et la liberté s'étaient opposées. Dans cette immense guerre civile, les peuples ont tous, de façon ou d'autre, été à la fois vaincus et vainqueurs . . . Car en Norvège, en Belgique, en Grèce, en France ce furent les mêmes barricades: celles où les hommes sont frères. Peu importait sur ces barricades qu'on fut Français, Hongrois, ou Juif. On était d'abord un homme, — seulement un homme, — et ces différences comptaient peu. Mieux encore, on se battait pour qu'elles ne comptent pas, pour qu'elles ne comptent *plus*. Ne laissons pas pourrir les fruits de cette victoire, gagnée par tant de sang, par tant d'amour. Ne laissons pas refleurir parmi les Nations la fleur vénéneuse de la haine, non, pas même celle de la méfiance ou du mépris. Quelques pays restent à guérir, sans doute, par des remèdes qu'il faudra encore longtemps sévères et rudes: l'Allemagne, le Japon, — ceux qui n'ont donné aucun soldat à cet immense sursaut de libération humaine. Mais les autres, tous les autres, tous ceux qui ont donné des fils pour recouvrer une liberté perdue, qu'on les fasse entrer dans un mouvement d'amour fraternel dans la grande famille des peuples qui n'ont qu'une seule race: celle des hommes. »[10]

[1] Vercors: La bataille du silence. Souvenirs de minuit. Paris, 1967, Presses de la Cité, p. 61.

[2] Ibid. p. 17.

[3] Beregi, Théodore: Pour garder les trésors. La Bibliothèque Nationale a lutté pendant cinq ans contre la Gestapo. Cité Soir, Paris, le 22. déc. 1954.

[4] Debû-Bridel, Jacques: Les Éditions de Minuit. Paris, 1945, Éditions de Minuit. 100 p. Bibl. 93—96 p. (En 3.735 exemplaires pour la France et 1.590 exemplaires pour l'étranger. Fait à l'imprimerie clandestine d'Aulard.)

[5] Vercors, op. cit. p. 307.

[6] Aragon parle avec Dominique Arban. Paris, Seghers, 1968, p. 138, 143.

[7] Interview donnée par Paul Éluard au journal hongrois Uj Magyarország, le 17 sept. 1946.

[8] Vercors: Cette déchirante fermeté du cœur. Lettres Françaises, le 9 sept. 1970.

[9] Tibor Tardos: Az éjszaka irodalma (Littérature de la nuit). — Fényszóró, Budapest, le 8 janv. 1946.

[10] Bajomi-Lazar, André: Hongrois de la Résistance. Préf. de Vercors. Paris, 1946, Le Bateau Ivre.

Tibor Tardos: La littérature de la nuit*

C'est en automne 1942 que j'ai fait ma première rencontre avec la littérature française clandestine, c'était un jour d'automne pluvieux, dans une petite ville française de la Méditerranée.

J'attendais depuis un bon moment dans l'allée menant au port, sur le côté droit, vers le milieu de l'allée, comme cela avait été convenu. Je venais de décider de ne plus attendre longtemps: quatre ou cinq minutes au plus. Un coup d'œil sur ma montre, un autre sur l'horloge, et je fit volte-face pour partir.

A ce moment venait de surgir, entre deux patés de maisons, un cycliste trainant derrière lui une petite remorque. Il arriva à ma hauteur, freina, s'arrêta.

— Monsieur, s'il vous plaît, pour aller au port?

— Oh oui, — dis-je — par là! Et je montrai la direction opposée. C'était le signal.

— Tout va bien, alors. — Il sauta de vélo, tira de sa charrette un paquet de la dimension d'une caisse, enveloppé de papier brun, et le posa devant moi. — Bonne chance et au revoir.

Je n'habitais pas loin mais il me fallut bien faire quelques courtes haltes avant d'arriver chez moi avec le lourd paquet.

Son contenu était divisé en deux parties, enveloppées séparément. J'en ouvris l'une, et, à ma grande surprise, elle ne contenait pas les habituels tracts renéotypés. La couverture se déchira et un paquet de journaux imprimés tomba à mes pieds.

C'étaient des exemplaires imprimés de l'*Humanité* de Paris. Ils avaient la présentation des grands exemplaires anciens de l'Humanité, avec faucille, globe et marteau, que Paris avait ouvert sur ses genoux, le matin dans le métro. C'était le même journal, mais rétréci d'une manière hallucinante, comme si les batailles perdues et le sang répandu l'avaient atrophié, un journal comme celui qu'un malade peut voir dans son cauchemar; avec des lettres fines et minusceles, une tête de page mince comme un doigt. Le tout n'était pas plus grand que ma paume.

Au-dessus des Humanités, je trouvai des exemplaires de Témoignage Chrétien, et de journaux inconnus: Combat, Franc-Tireur, Libération, autant de petits journaux de quatre pages, avec une présentation parfaite en miniature: tous des organes de la Résistance française.

Je continuai à fouiller dans le paquet défait, et je trouvai des feuilles blanches, délicates, un peu plus larges. Elles portaient un titre simple, mais riche d'un passé et de promesse: Les Lettres Françaises. Sur la première page un poème jetait ses feux;

Ce petit monde meurtrier
S'oriente vers l'innocent,
Lui ôte le pain de la bouche,
Et donne sa maison au feu . . .

* Voir les notes. L'article de Tibor Tardos ne fut publié qu'en hongrois.

En bas du long poème, la signature: Jean du Haut. « . . .Donne sa maison au feu . . . », n'est-ce pas, Jean du Haut, n'est-ce pas, mon cher, unique Paul Éluard, il donne sa maison au feu . . .

Il faisait froid, dehors, il pluvait. Je me réchauffais à la chaleur de ce feu, au feu de cette maison que le pur et cristallin Paul Éluard avait vu donner au feu. D'autres signatures suivaient: François la Colère, Forez, Vercors, Minervois, Jacques Destaing . . . . Articles, nouvelles, poèmes: une grande littérature dans un journal minuscule, littérature que le public français n'avait pas rencontré depuis longtemps. Et les signatures, les noms inanimés prirent corps. *Aragon* entra dans la pièce dans les souliers de François la Colère, suivi de François *Mauriac* sous le manteau de Forez, Jean *Cassou* chantait dans la voix de Jean Noir. L'épouse d'Aragon, Elsa *Triolet* se faisait appeler Laurent Daniel à l'intention des bourreaux. Ils étaient tous là, dans la pièce, se tenant par l'épaule, et parlaient, la tête haute.

Il y avait aussi autre chose dans le paquet. Des publications du Front National qui attendaient d'être mises sous enveloppe et envoyées aux adresses respectives.

L'Université Libre devait parvenir aux enseignants et aux étudiants; le professeur Langevin y écrivait ainsi que le grand savant communiste, Georges Politzer que les Allemands fusillèrent plus tard, et qui s'écria avant son exécution: « Imbéciles, vous voulez me tuer et vous me rendez immortel ! »

L'École Laïque devait se trouver quelques jours plus tard, dans les boîtes à lettres des instituteurs et des professeurs qui la garderaient en poche ou au fond de leur cartable, en compagnie d'autres documents clandestins, car ils ne se contentaient pas d'enseigner à leurs élèves l'arithmétique et la gymnastique: les bureaux de professeurs furent pendant longtemps, de véritables foyers de la Résistance. Les enseignants apprirent aux jeunes à assumer leur identité française et à sauvegarder la justice humaine.

Le Tribunal Libre et *Le Médecin Français* ne devaient pas longtemps, eux non plus, dans mon paquet qui diminuait rapidement. Chez nous, comme partout, c'était la classe ouvrière qui soutenait le combat le plus acharné, baignant dans son sang, perdant ses fils par milliers; mais les intellectuels ne se tapissaient pas, eux non plus, derrière une « neutralité » facile et égoïste. La liste de leurs martyrs remplirait des colonnes.

L'Ecran Français était édité par les cinéastes, *La Scène Française* par les acteurs, *Les Musiciens d'Aujourd'hui* par les artistes musiciens. Une admirable presse de vérité et de combat s'étalait à mes yeux dans cette pièce d'une petite ville. Mais l'autre partie du paquet se dressait, toujours intacte. Je l'ouvris.

Il en tomba quelque trois douzaines de petits livres brochés, gracieux, à la couverture grise. Des titres divers, mais un seul éditeur: les *Éditions de Minuit*. Mon cœur se mit à battre, ma main s'avança, j'ouvris le premier volume: *Le Musée Grévin*. poèmes de François la Colère. « J'écris dans un pays où l'on parque les hommes dans l'ordure et la soif, le silence et la faim . . . » — disent les premiers vers du volume. François la Colère, qui es-tu ? Ta grande colère ne sourdrait-elle pas de derrière le front blanc irradiant du patriote Aragon ?

J'aimerais avoir aujourd'hui ces trois douzaines de petits livres gris, ou même une douzaine seulement, ou même deux ou trois: je serais bien plus riche que je ne le suis. Après la Libération, les exemplaires des Éditions de Minuit se sont vendus pour dix ou vingt mille francs pièce dans les ventes publiques de charité. Mais ce jour là, j'avais les trois douzaines de livres gris: ils m'appartenaient tous pour un jour et une nuit.

Suivait *Le silence de la mer*, signé Vercors. Cette nuit je ne dormis pas, car j'attendais quelqu'un pour le matin, et parce que je lisais et relisais *Le silence de la mer* (deux ans plus tard, une autre nuit d'automne, je dus veiller de même: j'étais invité pour le lendemain matin chez Vercors . . .). Durant cette nuit de 1942, dans cette petite ville

méditerranéenne, ces géants singuliers m'entouraient et me parlaient un langage humain et clair. Aujourd'hui toutes les bibliothèques possèdent « *L'Éternelle Revue* » d'Éluard ou « *La Diane française* » d'Aragon. A l'époque, ces livres étaient mes seuls trésors, et pour très peu de temps seulement. J'entourai la lampe d'un papier journal, fermai porte et fenêtre et me mis à lire.

Je dus, un peu plus tard, interrompre ma lecture. Des pas résonnaient dans la rue, ils s'arrêtèrent puis s'éloignèrent. Il faisait froid et je compris que l'aube approchait. Je pris une plume et de l'encre, je commençai à mettre les adresses sur les enveloppes, à ficeler des paquets. Je chuchotais et fredonnais et sifflais comme la soupape d'un ballon trop gonflé. Quand j'eus terminé, je m'allumai une cigarette. La pièce était rangée, la table propre, l'armoire remplie de piles de linge . . . Quelqu'un sonna deux coups; je regardai par la fenêtre: c'était celui que j'attendais. Je tirai le verrou avec un soupir.

J'avais le cœur déchiré comme un amant trompé: Aragon, Éluard, Mauriac et Vercors allaient entourer quelqu'un d'autre la nuit suivante et, penchés sur lui, les yeux plissés, immobiles et pénétrants, c'est à lui qu'ils répéteraient la parole humaine.

(*Fényszóró* — Projecteur — Hebdomadaire artistique dirigé par Béla Balázs, IIe année, N° 2, 8 janvier 1946, p. 20.)

Györgyi Markovits

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Ismétlődés a művészetben (Repetition in Art)

Edited by Iván Horváth and András Veres. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1980. 357 pp.

This excellent book would well deserve international attention. Repetition, the phenomenon the studies are focused at, can be viewed from numerous aspects and due to its many facets it could appear as an obscure generality, but here it is well defined and circumscribed for interdisciplinary analysis. Unfortunately the studies were published with considerable delay: originally they were papers submitted to a conference in the Institute of Literary Scholarship in Budapest as long ago as 1973. The delay explains why no study is devoted to repetitive music: nowadays the works of Rzewski, Terry Riley, Reich and other composers arouse keen theoretical interest. It is a pity, again, that up to this day no review of the book has appeared; possibly, the theoretical import of the book is not yet palpable . . .

The volume starts with a witty, concise article by R. Austerlitz. The famous scholar gives illustrations to seven types of repetition (repetition in nature, poetry, music; tools and instruments as repetition, symmetry, binary oppositions and variations as repetition). It is a loose sketch, a brain-stroming, as if its sole aim were to introduce the more systematic studies.

The title "Levels and Aspects of the Study of Repetition", a paper by András Veres, promises a more thorough elaboration. And it succeds, partially at least. The text falls into four parts: as an introduction a survey of the formation of the philosophical significance of repetition is outlined, followed by an examination of its links with everyday life, and after an attempt to define the aesthetic function of repetition, attention is paid to its role in poetics. In the concluding passage a lengthy diversion deals with the structure of plots in literary works of art. Veres gives an interesting account of plot structures, although it may be noted that his conception of an intrigue-fight-climax scheme and its direct relation to primitive rituals would deserve some caution. Nevertheless, the paper provokes not only counter-arguments but also brain-waves and provides the reader with standpoints easily missed otherwise.

A brief study by András Gergely, "The Problem of Repetition/Repeating in the Philosophy of History", makes a distinction between "history" and "History", "history" being the story itself, things as they happen, while "History" represents the study of "history", or rather its end-product, written history. The main problem concerning the actual story ("history") whether there is anything that is repeated in its course, and if repetition occurs, what is repeated. There is an interesting attempt to explain the notion "event" from a historical point of view: it is argued that an event is meaningful (significant) only in a system of reference, just as our concept of time is socially determined and our past is "viewed through the distorting glass of our own age, of our own judgements". The author does not make any reference to the hermeneutic tradition which stands in the background of his statements, but it is obvious that Huizinga, Collingwood or Gadamer would agree with them. In conclusion he deals with relations between "history" and "History" and describes the science of history as a repetition, reproduction or reconstruction of "history".

A cautious remark might be risked here supposing that it may be justly claimed that understanding is *eo ipso* understanding-somehow, hence it is interpretation. The comprehended story should be called "History" since there is no "innocent" comprehension. Then, consequently, "history" exists only in our presuppositions, which means that it exists as "History". Nevertheless, the problems posed by Gergely are important and discussed exceedingly well in his close-knit, firmly constructed essay.

The most enigmatic text in the book is an interpretation given to a single sentence by Hamann. The text, written by Éva Kocziszky and Iván Horváth is scarcely five pages long and it might be appreciated as a bit obscure, embarassing poem in which interesting and well written passages often occur. In view of the main theme of the book the most important statement of the essay is that "the natural scientist of literature" would deal *exclusively* with repetition. He would, by definition, deal with the "repeatable" of the poem, not its unique utterance, "just as the natural scientist, while making experiments, disregards what is unrepeatable in the event".

In an essay on "Repetition and the Aesthetic Qualities" István Szerdahelyi and László Garai point out that repetition plays a certain role in the realisation of different "aesthetic qualities", i.e. repetition occurs in works of art describable as "beautiful", "sublime", "mean", "ordinary", "comical", "tragical" and the like. This statement could be traced back to the methodological confusion of certain schools of Marxist aesthetics in which the validity of the traditional categories of "aesthetic qualities" is beyond question. The terminology of Szerdahelyi and Garai is not clear at all, although there is a great theoretical tradition in the background of the use and interpretation of words like "freedom" and "restriction". (Ultimately these terms warrant here the terminological places of the categories of aesthetic quality). Terms like "delightful" or "horrible" may be operationalized, but it would require thorough socio-historical inquiry to explore readers' systems of conventions. The authors should have pointed to their own conventionalism instead of pretending to be fully objective as it is obvious that notions of order, proportion, sublime and the rest are crystallized in definite systems of convention and not "given" as eternal truths.

The longest and best treatise of the book was written by Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, "A Few Varieties of Artistic Repetition in Literature and Music". The multifarious, abundantly rich and enjoyable corpus of literary and musical reference alone makes it doubtless that within the covers of the book his is the most serious effort to reflect upon the problems of artistic repetition and to systematize its types. He gives an "annotated list" (his understatement) in a large part of which he treats repetition as the form organizing element of a work of art. "Simpler forms" of repetition include the intruments of continuity and discontinuity; to the former convention, symmetry and proportion belong, to the latter, external and internal citations. Another group of repetition types is described as "more complex forms": here variation, seriality and rhythm are to be found.

This endeavour of systematization is of great value for the very reason that the material presented and the ideas scattered *en passant* encourage one to elaborate an even more accurate and effective typology. One may, for instance, query the mutual independence of the types. Namely, proportion is hardly describable independent of convention (which is, again, a continuous simple form on the same level as proportion). Without conventions neither external nor internal citations exist; the receiver has to be aware of the rules by which one text can be brought into correspondence with another. The essay by Szegedy-Maszák does not set forth the difference between continuous and discontinuous forms of repetition either. Perhaps this difference can be maintained, but its establishment would require a seperate study.

László Beke, an art historian, wrote an exciting short study on "Repetition and Recurrence in the Fine Arts" with an appendix, "Theses on a Theory of Repetition" by an avant-garde artist, Miklós Erdély. From among the authors of the book only Beke shouldered the responsibility of following the path of Walter Benjamin in the jungle of contemporary avant-garde. He confronts some fresh phenomena in the fine arts with the problems of multiplicability identified with repetition: seriographs and phase pictures by Andy Warhol, the citations of Rauschenberg and Lichtenstein, hyper-realist works and the reconstructional repetitions of Boltansky and Spoerri. It is made evident that they all embody various types of repetition: the text repeats itself, another text, a segment of "reality" and, in Benjamin's sense, it is repeatable.

László Szörényi, a literary historian, chose to study some aspects of repetition in film and found a witty and convincing way to demonstrate how and to what degree the films of Eisenstein repeat "archetypical narratives", plots of antique and Christian passion-plays. The idea of this type of analysis goes back to Northrop Frye. The method is not too strict: to the plot of the film or to a segment of the world represented in it similar or similarly structured elements of mythologems are associated by the author as fixed points

of reference. This may appear as an *ad hoc* procedure but the associations always seem to be appropriate.

"Poetry and Versification", a study by Ferenc Mártonfi, a linguist, is, in fact, not centred around repetition. Nevertheless it is a delightfully written piece, crammed with technical detail. Mártonfi argues that a "phonological automation" could be built in generative grammar explaining the verse-making and verse-recognizing faculty of man. "Man", in the present case, is someone who is aware of the conventions of Hungarian and European versification. Mártonfi is not afraid of making use of nonsense texts and a nonsense poem by István Vas, but finally he admits that the semantics of "meaningful" (non-nonsense) poems demands a different approach. Notwithstanding, his analysis seems to be relevant to a structural and phonological approach to verse.

Mihály Hoppál ("The 'first' tale: Role of Repetition in Folklore") utilizes rather rudimentary methods in the analysis of a tale and leaves us with the impression that there was no need to use generative terminology as any (traditional) grammar would have done the job. The central category, "narrative unit", is left unexplained, the distinction between topic and comment appears and then quickly disappears. The tale discussed is a version of the well-known Pesakh Haggadah story on goat-fire-water-etc. destroying one another (Hoppál does not mention the source). Its surface structure is described circumstantially. The structure is allegedly "iconic" but it is not clear in what sense of iconicity. No reference is made to the trichotomy introduced by Pierce; the iconicity of a sign is perhaps no less a matter of convention than the simbolicity of a symbol. The problem is even more pronounced in the context of textual interpretation where the operation itself necessarily presupposes conventions.

Péter Simoncsics discusses "Varieties of Repetition in Uralian Folk Poetries" and discovers motivic and linguistic parallelisms in Yurak and Vogul songs. Correct and convincing so far, though the aspects of the examination are of a mixed quality. Then he analyses a Hungarian folksong and the aspects are changed again. His theorem is that some markers of ordinary speech may be brought into opposition with those of poetic language in which repetition is significant on different (phonematic, morphosyntactic, etc.).

A more complex picture of the dichotomy of ordinary and poetic language is drawn by Tamás Iványi who acknowledges a continuous scale between the two uses of language. His study, "On the Semantic Background of Parallelism", is a scholarly comparative analysis of parallelism, a type of repetition illustrated by samples from Arabic and Hungarian poetry. Such attempts at cross-cultural comparison deserve increased attention as they throw light on domains still in obscurity.

Károly Csuri's hypothesis in his study "On the Status of Two Types of Repetition in the Theory of Literature" is that repeated segments of a literary text often play determinative role in the meaning structure. To arrive at a verification of this supposition it is necessary to define the notions of "text", "literary text", "meaning structure" and "repeated segment of a text". Throughout, it is the text generating (text originating) apparatus that has a central, dominant role in his analysis; the product (the text) is regarded always from the point of view of its genesis. Though the receiver's aspect is initiated, the theorem of the "modification of original meanings in the process of text generation" has to exclude this standpoint. Csuri's compact and scientifically strict theory is built upon the concept of Literature-As-Special-Use-of-Language and his definition of literature owes much to Jakobson's "poetic function". The principles of Jakobson's distinction or the presupposed norm of "ordinary language" are not beyond criticism as it has been proved by S. Fish. Notwithstanding, Csuri's conception is not easly dismissible as it represents a marked, firm position characteristic of the Szeged school of Hungarian theorists of literature.

Gábor Bonyhai's paper, "Value Development and Repetition in Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus" is an accurate, fair and high level analysis of the novel. The premisses are not made explicit, nor are the conclusions, yet the main principle is clear — the value structure is interpretable through mapping motivic repetitions. This means that a prudent and close examination of the segments of a text reveals coherent patterns of value. Bonyhai works with an elaborate analytical method but, due to the fact that it is not brought into prominence sufficiently, the study seems to be an illustration of the problem of repetition rather than a comment on it. Certain types of repetition are described as meaningful and discussed extensively, while others are ignored in this otherwise brilliant essay; it would have certainly enhanced its value in the context of the book if its working principles had been made explicit by the author.

Repetition is often employed as a subsidiary notion in both practical criticism and the theory of literature but this collection of studies appears to be the first venture endeavouring to give concrete and practical, scientific and theoretical dimensions to it. There is no work of art in which repetition does not function in one way or another, even a one-word-poem (as an extreme case) or a text of non-linguistic sings is analysable as some special kind of repetition. Moreover, phenomena are analysable because they are parts of a system and the concept of system, by itself, presupposes some kind of repetition. It is a great merit of the editors of the book and the organizers of the 1973 symposium that they recognized the import of repetition. *Repetition in Art* is an ambitious and, as a whole, successful work as a first attempt at a general survey of the different aspects of its theme in art and its related areas.

György C. Kálmán

A marxista irodalomelmélet története (A kezdetektől 1945-ig)

Tanulmányok

(Histoire de la critique marxiste jusqu'en 1945. Études)

Éd. par Lajos Nyírő és András Veres. Kossuth Könyvkiadó. Budapest 1981. 437 pp.

Ce volume qui comprend à 13 études, est le produit d'un long travail. Vers la fin des années 60, le besoin s'est sentir d'entreprendre des recherches systématiques concernant l'histoire de la critique littéraire marxiste. Il existe une propre tradition à la théorie littéraire marxiste, il nous fallait, en prendre conscience, telle est l'opinion de Lajos Nyírő et de András Veres, les rédacteurs de ce volume.

Vers la fin du siècle passé, à l'époque de la IIe Internationale, on a commencé à appliquer l'enseignement général de la philosophie marxiste à l'esthétique, à la théorie littéraire, à la critique. Durant cette période, on n'a pas attribué d'importance à des remarques fragmentaires de Marx et d'Engels relatives à l'esthétique dont une grande partie d'ailleurs fut encore inédite. Les maitres du temps étaient Franz Mehring et Georges Plékhanov, et l'un en Allemagne, l'autre en Russie fut considéré comme le fondateur de l'esthétique marxiste. Dès le début des années trente, après la publication des inédits de Marx et d'Engels, on supposait que leur remarques possédent une cohérence intérieure. Il y avait des essais en vue de reconstruire leur système en se basant sur divers textes. En principe les recherches systématiques étaient bien fructueuses et donnaient de résultats cardinaux. En pratique, elles causaient, en même temps, des pertes considérables. A l'époque, où Lukács blâma la conception de Mehring et où l'héritage de Plehanov était abolie, la découverte de l'importance des textes de Marx et d'Engels a abouti à une négligeance presque totale des efforts du demi-siècle qui avait précédé.

Durant le dernier quart de siècle, on a commencé à rédécouvrir l'héritage de l'esthétique marxiste. On a republié et étudié des textes, en Union Soviétique et ailleurs on a consacré des études importantes entre autres à Plékhanov, à Mehring ou à Rosa Luxemburg. On a publié des esquisses historiques. Mais, selon ma meilleure conaissance, ce volume est la première entreprise en vue de fournir une histoire systématique et détaillée de la conception marxiste de la littérature à partir de ses débuts jusqu'à la IIe guerre mondiale. Il y a, certainement, des lacunes, dont parlent même les rédacteurs, on n'a pas de spécialiste pour traiter les discussions en Union Soviétique dans les années 1930. On ne parle pas, non plus de Dobrogheanu-Gherea, l'excellent critique roumain à l'époque de la IIe Internationale, on néglige le développement en Belgique, etc. Malgré ces lacunes, cette histoire qui englobe, à peu près cent cinquente ans constitue une majeure contribution non seulement à l'histoire de la critique marxiste, mais à celle de la critique en général.

1. C'est, dans une certaine mesure, un rôle de découvert et de diffusion. Les auteurs présentent souvent des critiques oubliés, des ouvrages oubliés, des discussion oubliées. On met en lumières une richesse variée dont l'existence même a été ignorée.

2. De ces facts, on écrit les premières ébauches d'une histoire universelle de la

critique marxiste. Je dit « premières ébauches », parce que ces études bien documentées et souvent rélévatrices traitent l'histoire surtout dans un contexte national.

3. Après la découverte archéologique et la reconstruction historique de la tradition, il s'agit de son acceptation constructive et créative.

A partir des années trente, écrit István Szerdahelyi dans son étude qui s'intitule *Marx, Engels et la théorie de la littérature*, une grande quantité des travaux se basent sur les fragments et les remarques esthétiques de Marx et d'Engels. Il faudrait une recherche collective pour confronter les diverses interprétations, même si on se borne au domaine hongrois. C'est pourquoi Szerdahelyi concentra son effort surtout sur texte originaux de Marx et d'Engels. Il analyse soigneusement leur contexte, en les situant dans leur époque, en les comparant aux textes d'autres critiques. Szerdahelyi interprète toujours l'occasion qui donne lieu à l'un ou l'autre des remarques. Après la présentation minutieuse des caracteristiques des textes, il en tire la conclusion. Quelle méthode serait plus fructueuse pour la théorie de la littétature? Faut-il utiliser pour un essai de reconstruction ce que Marx et Engels disaient des questions littéraires concrètes ou des divers écrivains concrets. Ou faut-il tirer la conséquence esthétique de leurs pensées philosophiques, et ce serait la base de travail de recherches. Szerdahelyi choisit la deuxième méthode en affirmant que cette recherche aboutirait à une métathéorie de la littérature. Selon Marx et Engels, la littérature fait partie du production spirituelle, et c'est ce qui constitue le point de départ. Il faut utiliser l'interprétation de Marx concernant l'essance de l'homme, et prendre de conscience que de l'oeuvre littéraire est une nature d'objet.

La parution, en 1800, du livre de Madame de Stäel, *De la littérature*, fut un grand évenement dans la pensée sociale de la littérature. A partir de cet ouvrage István Fodor donne un aperçu de la pensée sociologique d'une part et de l'autre des lignes de la politique gauchiste, pour situer les tendances marxistes dans la critique et dans la littérature, jusqu'à la deuxième guerre mondiale. Dans son étude extrêmement riche et concise intitulée *Les principales tendances de la conception littéraire socialiste en France*, Fodor parle, entre autres, de groupes littéraires, des revues, et de grances discussions, C'est ainsi qu'il parle de l'esthétique de Proudhon, de l'influence de la Commune de Paris, de l'apparation de la critique marxiste par Lafourgue, de l'influence de Kropotkine sur les anarchistes, des tendances du Parti Ouvrier de France. Il mentionne les revues Clarté et Europe, le problème du surréalisme et la révolution, et les éditions des fragments esthétiques de Marx et d'Engels par Fréville.

C'est *Histoire et conception de monde* (la conception littéraire de la IIe Internationale en Allemagne) que s'intitule l'étude de Endre Kiss. Il analyse en détail la *Die Neue Zeit*, revue théorique du parti socio-démocrate en Allemagne, et la pensée de Mehring, l'un de ses rédacteurs. Il présente la critique du positivisme à Scherer faite par Mehring, les problèmes de la tradition culturelle et la classe ouvrière, ceux du naturalisme et de l'art moderne. Kiss qui utilise surtout la méthode de micro-philologie, fait quelques fois des comparaisons bien utiles et de grande perspective, par exemple entre Mehring et Nietzsche.

Dans son étude qui s'intitule *Lénine et la littérature* Gránicz István affirme tout d'abord que l'analyse systematique des écrits de Lénine consacrés à la littérature a été commencé seulement au début des années trente. L'auteur en parlant de l'article *L'Organisation et la littérature du parti* examine sa genèse, sa situation historique, surtout les problèmes de la rédaction de l'Iskra. Il fait, justement, une place à part aux essais sur Tolstoi (1908—1910), où on peut voir la synthèse léninienne de la théorie générale du reflet et l'analyse concrète d'un écrivain génial. Dans la dernière partie de son étude, Gránicz parle de la politique culturelle de Lénine après la révolution et du problème de la proletkult.

Ce sont des questions bien complexes qui sont traités par Lajos Nyírő dans son étude *Tendences de sociologie littéraire dans la critique soviétique*. (1917—1930) Pour présenter les formations des écoles sociologiques, Nyírő devait exposer les questions suivantes: La politique culturelle et la philosophie de la culture de Boukharine et de Lounatsarski. L'apparation même avant la révolution d'un nouveau type des critiques marxistes qui étaient des érudits. Polémiques violentes sur l'interprétation de l'héritage de Plékhanov. La relation entre le formalisme et les sociologues. Nyírő qui avait auparavant consacré des études importantes aux formalistes, en analysant le cours de conflit entre les deux écoles, tire une conclusion bien importante: aussi le formalisme fit partie, de la critique marxiste.

Il explique les divergences de la tendance sociologique et dresse une véritable cata-

logue bien annotée des œuvres inconnues ou presque. Il analyse entre autres la conception d'Arvatov, collaborateur de Maiakovski et celui de Sakouline, de Keltouiala, de Pereverzev et son école, de Pospelove et de Volosinie.

Réflections sur l'histoire de la psychologie littéraire marxiste, c'est le titre de l'étude bien complexe de András Veres. Dans les remarques préliminaires l'auteur évoque des problèmes de notion d'une discipline, existe-t-elle par exemple une psychologie littéraire ou une littérature du point de vue psychologique. Il esquisse les recherches de G. Th. Fechner et sa suite, en mentionnant, entre autres, des enseignements de Darvin, de Spencer, de J. M. Guyau, et surtout de Dilthey et de Freud. Ce dernier, avait d'ailleurs. un certain prestige, aux années vingt en Union Soviétique. Mais chose curieuse, comme Veres dit, qu'on ignorait la notion de "super ego". Veres présente et analyse en détail la conception de la *Psychologie de l'Art* par Vigodskhi (achevée en 1925) et sa relation avec les facteurs culturel et artistiques du temps. Aussi il donne un aperçu sur Caudwell et Attila József.

Szerdahelyi esquisse le développement de la conception de théorie de la littérature de Lukács à partir de 1919 jusqu'à 1945. Il présente surtout le changement de la notion du réalisme dans son contexte historique en fournissant une quantité de nouvelle observation. C'est ainsi par exemple qu'il révéle le rapport de Lukács avec la RAPP.

Les principales tendences de la critique littéraire marxiste en Allemagne entre les deux guerres mondiales, étude de Zoltán Kanyó, embrasse également un grand domain. L'auteur analyse l'expressionisme dans son rapport avec l'utopie révolutionnaire, présente des discussions concernant l'expressionisme, parle de l'héritage de Mehring. du rôle de György Lukács, et dit des choses importantes de la lutte antifasciste. Aussi il founit des informations des problèmes de la littérature prolétarienne.

Endre Bojtár qui publiait divers livres et études tant sur les poésies que sur les critiques littéraires d'Europe de l'Est donne deux articles pour ce volume. L'un traite le domaine tchéque, l'autre le domaine polonais. Sa méthode est la mêne dans les deux contributions. D'abord il résume la théorie marxiste dans la littérature, ensuite il analyse la position de la critique socialiste en face de la littérature contemporaine.

A partir de la deuxième guerre mondiale, l'héritage de Gramsci, y compris sa conception littéraire est devenu un trésor universel. Dans la formation de la conception littéraire marxiste en Italie Péter Sárközy concentre son attention surtout sur l'œvre de Gramsci, sans oublier le grand nom de Labriola, le fondateur des études marxistes en Italie. Pour élucider la nouveauté de Gramsci, il trace d'une part la ligne qui conduit de Labriola à Croce et de Croce à Gramsci et d'autre part la ligne qui se situe entre De Sanctis et Croce et entre ce dernier et Gramsci. Tandis que Sárközy explique que la doctrine esthétique de Croce n'est pas immuable et qu'elle a bien changé depuis la publication de *l'Esthétique* (1903), il rejette les interpretations selon lesquelles la conception littéraire de Gramsci était restée dans le cadre croceien.

On peut commencer l'étude de la critique socialiste en Angleterre par le chartisme, et on peut mentionner parmi ceux qui ont subi l'influence de Marx, le nom de William Morris, note József Szili dans étude de *La conception marxiste en Angleterre et dans la théorie poétique de Caudwell*. Il donne un aperçu lucide des années trente, en parlant surtout de Ralph Fox, pour élucider la situation culturelle des œuvres de Caudwell. Szili qui a publié, récémment, un livre éminent pour comparer et confronter certaines théses de Caudwell et de Lukács, considère le critique anglais comme l'un des plus constructif théoricien de l'esthétique marxiste. Il s'attache avant tout, à étudier le système de *Illusion and reality*. Il examine la notion du reflet chez Caudwell. Il analyse, entre autres, la conception caudwellienne de l'origine et de la fonction de la langue poétique et l'existence historique de la poésie.

La critique marxiste a une situation particulière aux États Unis, dit Sarolta Kretzoi. En théorie elle avait apporté relativement peu, mais son influence sociale surpasse celle des autres tendances. Entre les deux guerres elle dominait presque la vie culturelle et littéraire. C'est pourquoi Madame Kretzoi qui distingue trois périodes dans l'évolution de la critique marxiste (1900—1918, 1919—1928, 1930—1940) parle d'une quantité d'écrivains, de critiques et de revues, comme Upton Sinclair, Max Eastman, Michel Gold, Masse, New Masse, Partisan Revieuw, etc. Elle donne une large panorame, mentionne par exemple l'historien, C. D. Beard dont la conception aida la formation de l'historiographie marxiste. L'étude intitulée "L'évolution de la critique socialiste et marxiste aux États Unis" fournit une information riche des tendences, des luttes et des virages de way of life.

Il m'a fallu entrer dans des détails un peu longs pour indiquer le but, les intention, et le contenu de ce volume. D'après les résumes bien brefs des études, on voit nettement, je le crois, qu'il s'agit de deux types d'articles. Les premiers sont des recherches de base, où pour la premiere fois ou presque, des ouvrages inédits sont collectés et élucidés et expliqués. Les autres traitent de thèmes dont on a déjà beaucoup parlées. Dans ces cas, les auteurs confrontent diverses interpretations pour donner une explication valable de point de vue historique. Malgré les sujets différents, et donc, des méthodes différentes, il y a des points communs aux études.

1° Les auteurs tracent la situation historico-sociale.
2° Les auteurs analysent le personnage ou le mouvement donné dans leurs rapports, avec les tendances précédentes les précurseurs ou les adversaires. La plupart des études commencent par une esquisse historique.
3° Les auteurs apprécient, s'il est possible, la réponse des théoriens étudés à l'actualité littéraire.
4° Les auteurs utilisent largement les sources de seconde main, s'il en existe.
5° Les auteurs cherchent des renseignements qu'on peut appliquer aujourd'hui. Pour les collaborateurs de ce volume, l'histoire n'est pas archeologie, mais une science vivante qui aide éclairer le présente et l'avenir.
6° Donc, ces 13 études tracent une histoire de plus d'un siècle et traitent des processus dans divers pays. Rien d'étonnant que, je ne sais pas compétent de juger tous les mérites ou les défauts de ce volume. Étant specialiste de divers problèmes, et amateur pour d'autres, mon jugement, est, au moins en partice, subjectif. Je pense cepandant que ce volume est l'une des productions les plus passionantes de la critique hongroise, des dernières décades, et il mériterait l'attention du public international.

László Ferenczi

József Szili: The Structure of Artistic Representation

Nowadays we tend to forget about or else disregard the fact that every serious work of literary scholarship has wider, connotative implications. This plane of meaning extends beyond the explicit or denotative semantic range of the work in question, which is, in the strict sense of the word, identical with objective scientific statements. If a work literary scholarship aspires to meet social requirements, such second, connotative implications are, by no means, of secondary importance.

This semantic layer of the work written by József Szili implies a striving to give added emphasis to the creative powers of the aesthetic subject. In other words, his work is diametrically opposed to those current Western trends in the field of literary commentary that tend to eliminate the subjective as a motive force in their analysis of literary works. It is this approach which lends a human element to József Szili's book.

At the beginning of his work, the author compares Christopher Caudwell's *Illusion and Reality* with György Lukács's *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*. In these first chapters, he is on Caudwell's side, and it is Caudwell with whom he agrees. The main reason for this is that Caudwell, in his book, more explicitly suggests what József Szili states as his self-contained theoretical achievement: the object of artistic representation is the self-consciousness of man as the representative of human kind, what is realized in the true works of art as the activity of aesthetical subject and his consequent appearance as an object, in other words, what presents itself as the process and result of re-creation. This idea does not seem especially original in itself, for—what József Szili repatedly refers to— *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen* has also suggested that the object of artistic representation is the human essence of man. József Szili's theoretical achievement lies in his conclusions on the nature and significance of the aesthetic subject as re-creating the human essence of man in a work of art, thereby also re-creating himself. As soon as he arrives at this conclusion, the author tends to appreciate the ideas of György Lukács more.

It is beyond question that in all the works of aesthetics and the theory of literature, the author's terminology is of crucial importance. The world of these works can be depicted, especially when treating the fundamental issues of a field of the theory, and even the theory itself can be summed up in the terms which serve as its own key-notes. In other words,

the notes and predicaments of a theory are never of secondary importance, for the theory given will pivot upon them. For that matter, our expectation and of József Szili's also, of a work of art to apply a clear-cut and appropriate terminology, seems quite reasonable. Albeit the author never drops a hint about his own principles, it is exactly these that guide him when analysing the works of Christopher Caudwell and György Lukács. In both works, he has to notice a lack of precision in the application of terminology. At this point, his predilections for Caudwell can be well detected; notwithstanding he repeatedly points out the "flexibility" of Caudwell's terminology, especially as regards the terms used as "genotype", "common ego", etc. yet he treats all this with a greater indulgence than the undeniably occurring inaccuracies of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*. When analysing Christopher Caudwell's work, he is always tracing back the connotations of a term applied varying according to the context; moreover he infers them from the whole of the theory. He does not fail to treat Lukács the same way, however, while in the case of Caudwell, he shows a consideration toward his "flexibility"; he does not overlook Lukács's inaccuracies.

According to one of his crucial and exciting statements, in *Die Eigenart qes Ästhetischen*, two different — or as he puts it, "diametrically opposed"— conceptions are implied. Their difference can be summarised as follows. On the one hand, what is considered by one of them as the *objectivity* of the object of artistic representation (p. 79, my italics, T. B.), and on the other hand, what is taken for by the other conception the *adequate character* of aesthetical representation and what are criteria of the object of this representation (p. 80, my italics, T. B.). According to the *former* conception, the objectivity of the object of artistic representation will be assured if the objects to be represented, in other words, the objects "independent of perception", get into the work of art as being-in-themselves, that is to say, in their objectivity. As a consequence, the former conception or tendency —József Szili resorts to both term— does not make a distinction between scientific cognition and artistic representation. "This tendency —the author points out— is *hallmarked by* such discussions in which the requirement of objectivity comes to the fore" (p. 81, italics mine, T. B.). Thus this tendency results in a more or less 'comprehensive' aesthetical conception, focussed on the requirement of realism (p. 81). According to the *latter* tendency or conception, the object and even the adequate quality of artistic representation can be identified with the "'appropriate' subjectivity", or rather, with "the self-consciousness of man reflecting on the development of humankind" (p. 80). Thus, in the light of the latter conception, Lukács's view implied in the former one that art has to achieve "'the possible maximum in the adequacy of reflecting the objective world'", "should be reinterpreted." This no more concerns the reflection of the objectivity of the external world but that of the "*human essence of man* as 'being-in-itself' " (p. 81, italics mine, T. B.). As a consequence, this conception gives free vent to establish an aesthetics of universal significance, which disagrees with the sole "requirement of realism".

The question to be put here is whether there are really two self-contained tendencies or conceptions in Lukács's aesthetics. The answer to be replied raises a further issue, that is to say, if the object of reflection comprises the human essence and self-consciousness of man, in other words, if it is constituted by the inner world, then how can it be confirmed in principle that what is reflected is really nothing else but this inner substantiality and not merely an illusion obtained through erroneous reflection. The answer to this question may be that it is the objective quality of reality that testifies to the adequacy of reflection, as formulated by the "former" conception of Lukács, or at least as József Szili calls it. In other words, the "former" conception is nothing else but a conglomerate of methods and/or facts that serve to verify the "latter" one. Thus the "former" conception *lays the foundation* for the "latter" one, from what, in our opinion, cannot be concluded by a *direct* logical reasoning that it is only "a more or less 'comprehensive' aesthetical conception focussed on the requirement of realism" that can be constructed upon the predicaments of the "former" trend. In fact, it poses a further question: whether it is possible or not to establish an aesthetics of comprehensive nature on the grounds of the "former" conception by way of a *direct* logical reasoning. According to József Szili, the answer is no. In our previous sentence, we have underlined the adjective of the phrase logical reasoning, namely, the word direct, for as is well known, a number of authors tend to draw conclusions from the statements of Lukács by an "indirect" logic, in other words, by a reasoning in discordance with the logical line of the work itself, and/or

disregarding the actual meaninf of Lukács's certain statements in the given context of his works. József Szili, who is a supremely straight or "direct" thinker himself, keeps aloof from these procedures. For the very reason, he may even accept the "former" conception as laying grounds for the latter one, yet in an implicit manner, applying the term "former", he thinks that there is no correspondence between the two conceptions, albeit the "latter" being true in itself. He points out that in the "latter" conception the phrase of "the objective existence of the human essence of man and of 'the matters of humankind' *(das menschheitliche)* as *being-in-themselves*" is used (p. 152, my italics, T. B.), rather than "the reality of objects as being-in-themselves, applied in terms of sociology", on what no definite reference is made in the latter trend of Lukács's aesthetics. Taking all this into consideration offers a correct understanding of Lukács's "latter" conception.

József Szili aspires to detect in the core of the above problems—for example, the question whether reality reflected by art and science can be taken for one and the same one or not—what is the essential difference between scientific cognition and artistic representation. And it is exactly this point of view that adds *special importance* to József Szili's investigations, apart from the fact whether there are actually two self-contained conceptions implied in *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, or their relation is but that of grounding and building a construction on these grounds. The significance of József Szili's work lies not only in that he analyses Lukács's great work with the utmost objective accuracy (and not promted by emotional motives and prejudices like some critics of Lukács do), with a special emphasis on the most problematic and delicate questions, but it can also be due to the novelty of the author's scientific achievement.

Owing to his supreme modesty, József Szili treats his own ideas as they would be some of Caudwell's or Lukács's throughts. The greatest novelty lies in his insight that "The human essence of man is itself a product of a creative process, realised in *re-creation*" (p. 113, the author's italics, but my emphasis also T. B.). However, we may add that if the human essence of man is nothing but a creation, then the appropriate reflection of the world in the creative process can be maintained only by perceiving the objectivity of the world as it is *and* by establishing an appropriate relationship between this objectivity and the creative self. The other crucial achievement of József Szili lies in that he, from an epistemological starting-point that can be applied to art as well, traces back with great accuracy the way as the aesthetic subject can maintain its objectivity and become an object itself.

The double-rooted character of *Die Eigenart des Ästhetischen*, based on two self-contained conceptions—according to József Szili's opinion, wich again testifies to the accuracy reliability of his judgements—can be due in the last analysis to the fact that György Lukács does make only slight, if any, difference between the epistemological and ontological aspects of the problems. This statement holds true, even if in the light of *Zur Ontologie des gesellschaftlichen Seins*, Lukács's *Ästhetik*, written earlier, comprises so many trains of thoughts, prevalent from an ontological aspect as well. József Szili, in some parts of his work, intends to apply the points of view of ontology, to, nevertheless, it fundamentally rests upon epistemology. Thus the great merit of his work lies in that the author, when discussing the arguments of Christopher Caudwell's and of Lukács's, detects from point to point applying the terms and methods of epistemology, the creative process which results in the true great works of art, and at the same time he enlists the criteria that lend special greatness and fidelity to these works of art. He undeniably added his own achievements to the epistemological aesthetics analysed. Thus his most significant insight is that in the true works of art, it is the substantiality and self-consciousness of man as part of human kind that is re-created. By this insight, the author contributes considerably to laying the grounds for a Marxist aesthetics of universal importance. In this process of re-creation, the aesthetic subject plays a fundamental role as someone who is reflecting *and* at the same time is being reflected upon. It is the idea that renders József Szili's work essentially human. When reading this book, all the issues mentioned above, will not remain mere statements, outlined only by intuition. From this time on, they do not lack scientific clarification.

Tamás Bécsy

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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

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

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Mihály Babits

(1883–1941)

KÁLMÁN PÁLMAI

Mihály Babits, one of the great figures of twentieth century Hungarian and universal literature, was born one hundred years ago. He was a poet, a writer of prose, a literary historian and an outstandingly talented translator of literary works, who bequeathed one of the richest and most mature œuvres of our literature to his nation. However, the development and formation of the great curve that may be drawn of his career cannot be described as having been free from obstacles. His colleagues and contemporaries were almost without exception classicists and renewers of our literature, like himself. And, for the most part, they were fellow-workers of the famous periodical, the *Nyugat*. It was launched 75 years ago, in 1908. We find among his contemporaries Endre Ady, the revolutionary innovator of our poetry — the man who opened a new era in our literary history and paved the way for the truly difficult journey that Hungarian literature of this century was about to make. Dezső Kosztolányi and Árpád Tóth, are in many respects, fellow writers who are related in their artistic-aesthetic accomplishments, as is the very talented Gyula Juhász. He was a writer who, in the socially and intellectually limited atmosphere of the years of the turn of the century, was still fairly attached to the as yet backward Hungarian countryside. His centenary also falls in this year. And beginning simultaneously with Babits' career were those of two important writers of prose in the period, who are still read today and whose mastery has still not lost its effect. One is Gyula Krúdy who created prose of world literature standard in portraying the disintegrating world of the gentry — whose historical role had ended — by merging together planes of time and with masterly depiction of the realms of consciousness. The other is Zsigmond Móricz who by depicting remarkably the peasant world and the Dance of Death, *Úri muri* of an order of the gentry who had lost their possessions, their status and their human credit created one of world literature's most characteristic works of prose in the spirit of realism.

Mihály Babits was born into a civilian family of noble origin. He was born in Transdanubia (on November 26th 1883, in Szekszárd) a region which, rich in its natural endowments also plays a large part in the formation of

Hungary's literary, artistic and intellectual life. This town is also still the centre of the Babits cult today. He completed his university studies in Budapest, having read Hungarian and Latin at the college for humanities. It was there that he met Dezső Kosztolányi and Gyula Juhász — colleagues of his — who later became famous at the same time as him. He worked as a grammar school teacher in several schools around the country. Throughout his life he never severed relations with the *Nyugat* periodical. The first world war intensified his sense of responsibility towards society — he wrote anti-war poetry of great artistic force and effect. (Before Easter — *Húsvét előtt* — Fortissimo).

On account of these poems he was forced to resign his post as a teacher. In 1918–1919 he greeted the bourgeois democratic revolution and then the Hungarian Soviet Republic with enthusiasm first. The latter secured him a university chair. After the defeat of the Republic he was not spared by the counter-revolutionary order which had instituted itself for a quarter of a century. He was deprived not only of his position at the university, but also of his pension. He was excluded from the literary societies and was placed under police supervision for a while. As a result of these unwarranted harassments he was overcome by disillusionment and turned away from public life. He got married in 1921. His wife, Sophie Török, was also well-known as a poetess. By the end of the 1920s the road to success once again lay open before him. Ever since the first world war he was one of the leading lights of the Nyugat and from 1933 onwards he became its chief editor and practically its sole director. As editor-in-chief and as curator of the important literary — the Baumgarten — prize, his activities had a dual effect: artistic values were upheld but at the same time the theory of literature being a force of society was rejected. Dezső Kosztolányi says about him: "Both as editor in chief and as curator he carefully guarded his position outside of the party and above political movements, but this did become increasingly difficult in that period when in — fighting between political parties grew to world dimensions and finally, was impossible to maintain." The same polarization which is present in his lyrical poetry also appeared in his essays, in his literary and political views and in all of his activities. At the end of the 1930s there was in him a leaning towards the left of moral origins. In 1938 he wrote the following: "What will happen if we are covered by that flood of tyranny and barbarism which in this sad Europe will be on the doorstep of every place where even the tiniest gap has been left open for human rights and public freedom?" As regards his morality and artistic testament, there was no deviation from his pure rigidity — even in his last writings. In 1937 his fatal illness, cancer of the throat, was diagnosed. He died, in 1941, in the midst of devastating suffering. His burial was a day of mourning for Hungarian literature that was progressive and committed. Amongst those delivering

speeches at his grave, there were his poet successors (Gyula Illyés, Lőrinc Szabó and Aladár Schöpflin) and the great critics of his generation.

Mihály Babits was one of the most original creators of our literature and the most significant figure of the "Nyugat's" first generation besides Endre Ady and Zsigmond Móricz. He was, at the same time, one of the most expert philosophical thinkers and generally cultured men. There were few to match him in this. The stance of opposition with which he started out did not develop into a radicalism of bellicose political content — he remained in his outlook a liberal reformer filled with a sense of commitment. In this aesthetics of poetry he is one of the most organically cultured artists, as regards form, and he is an innovator of Hungarian poetry. His novels, essays and prose-works in general are significant milestones in our reborn literature. In 1927 his novel of "period value", *Halálfiai* (The Sons of Death) appeared. Its theme — mirrored in the fate of three generations — is the decay of the world of the Hungarian gentry, and cultural life at the beginning of the century. The many autobiographical elements interwoven in the novel, its richness of form, and the awe-inspiring colourfulness of its language make it an outstanding accomplishment among Hungarian novels. Babits is also of considerable importance as a "man of letters" and as one who had thoughts on literary history. His work systematizing the history of the literature, "The History of European Literature" (Az európai irodalom története, published in 1934–1935) is, even today an indispensable source for the man researching the roots and connections of Hungarian and world literature. He pursued his critical, essay-writing and theoretical activities almost continuously throughout the progression of his career and it was always of a high standard, rigorous and sometimes controversial in the spirit of its aesthetic form. The thoughts he expressed on the great figures of Hungarian literature of the past (on Mihály Vörösmarty, Sándor Petőfi and János Arany) and his opinions on them make reading matter whose message is still relevant today. Babits' outstanding achievements in literary translation (only comparable to those of János Arany in our literature) have rendered numerous classics of world literature accessible to the Hungarian public. He translated into Hungarian masterfully — and with the realism demanded of a literary translator — such works as Dante's *Divine Comedy (Isteni Színjáték)* Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, and the marvellous medieval hymns of *Holy Love (Amor sanctus)*. His knowledge of philology, his exceptional sense of form, his artistry in handling it and his ability to feel a poetical empathy are all combined in these literary translations. In them he does approach the ideal of the perfect translation. Pál Réz wrote of him: "He managed to tailor the poets he chose so successfully to himself and to the Hungarian language, as to be able to express his problems as a man and as a poet and often the problems of the current times as well, through his

literary translations." At the end of the 1930s the leaning to the right of his country's home policy, the growing fascism in Europe and the writer's awareness of the proximity of the second world war, inspired him to make new declarations. This was how he came to write one of his main life works (*Jónás könyve* [The Book of Jonah], 1937). In the tragi-comedy of Jonah the protagonist's touching flight away from what is prophesied and his brave discovery of himself is the portrayal of Babits' "road"; that of the individualist poet who goes his own way. Such a poet senses and actually knows that he cannot disappear onto his own island and into his own world, away from the world of humans and the reality of society. It is for this reason that he must withhold from politics his behaviour of the artist who locks himself away from the everyday affairs of the world. *Jónás könyve* (The Book of Jonah) is a summary and a poem at the same time, which brings his life to a close; it looks fascism straight into the eyes and is at the same time a self-confession and a self-criticism, too. It was in this particular great work of his and in his last poems of farewell *Ősz és tavasz között* (Between autumn and spring); *Csak posta voltál* (You were only the go-between); *Balázsolás* (A celebration of St. Blaze); *Talán a vízözön* (Maybe the flood) that his rich spirit rose up against violence to Thomas Mann like heights of bourgeois humanist opposition. The hundredth anniversary of Mihály Babits' birth is one of the great celebrations of writing in a humanist conception and of universal literature.

Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 25 (3—4), pp. 193—207 (1983)

On Hungarian Literature

(AN ESSAY FOR FRENCH READERS)

MIHÁLY BABITS

Europe has hardly any conception of Hungarian culture, and to tell the truth, has not been much interested in it. The small proportion of Hungarian literature which has reached foreign audiences — either by accident or by being directed towards international markets — cannot have represented it; and even if it could, it remained in isolation, unnoticed. History is not without parallel examples of a situation in which an enormous catastrophe casts light upon quite exceptional values: Hungary had to become the victim of an inconceivable political mistake in order to make the world realize that this small, neglected nation had something to contribute.

The Hungarian spirit had already been predestined to add a distinctive and new voice to the European concert, and that by the kind of predestination which causes special compounds to produce the most unexpected crystallization. The Hungarian spirit is truly a special compound constituted of the remotest elements. The basic forms of thought are certainly determined forever by language, and there is no other language in Europe which is structurally so distinctive. Hungarian has no close relative in the languages here, and indeed hardly has any relative in the languages of the world. It possesses a remote and strange Asiatic tone that makes even Russian seem kindred to Western idioms. This language of ours corresponds to a phlegmatic, yet ardent Asian spirit and to a realistic way of thinking that evolved in the vast areas between huge rivers and on endless steppes; it corresponds to soberly preserved folk-customs, to an especially keen sense of rhythm, and to a highly distinctive kind of music.

However, this hardly proved more influential on European culture than the primitive or exotic culture of some faraway nation — though Hungarian literature deserves far more attention than some mere ethnographical eccentricity. Hungarian culture is not foreign to Europe; rather it is a specially related branch, or the reflection of Europe in the mirror of another spirit — since other languages correspond to other spirits as language itself dictates. It is often said that a kind of unilaterality in Greek culture is due to the use of a single language; but at the same time it is true that a multilingual culture

grows more plastic in the same way the various phenomena of the stereoscope are built out of twin-images. Hungarian culture became "a western one a thousand years ago"; the language, and the spirit, are oriental even to this day. And yet does this wonderful amalgam not possess a real interest for Europe, offer a real illumination? For it is more than just a decadent or exotic import, but a particular flowering of Europe itself that, by being planted in a restricted spot and in foreign soil, has developed new tones and odours.

Indeed, Saint Stephen the King[1] dedicated his country to the Virgin Mary a thousand years ago, and so she became the goddess of western culture, since Hungarians (who are not mystifiers) accepted the new religion as a new culture. That is, they adjusted totally to new circumstances that would not tolerate heathen and nomadic ways of life. Being late arrivals in the Great Migration from Asia they were obliged by their European neighbours to adopt Christian civilization. Adoption of it, or annihilation by it, were the only choices open to them. And in this they were completely conscious of the situation they found themselves in. They possessed a certain kind of culture: they had gods, they created myths and songs, and even an alphabet through which to praise their deities. All this had to be forgotten, even those letters once carved in wood. European parchment demanded a new alphabet. The oblivion of the old dispensation signalled the dawn of Euro-Hungarian culture: a bitter start to a difficult process which took centuries. The old deities proved obstinate but in the end even they had to yield to political judgment, to the reasoning of a nation that wanted to survive and was thus able to survive. And so they retreated and buried themselves in the depths of the language, in unconscious shelters of the mind, and under the triumphant new religion's vestments also; so well did they hide, these old deities, that later poets and inquirers could not even locate their names.

This process is typical of Hungarian culture's history within Europe. It is the story of a struggle between east and west; and each stage of development, each new literary phase is a new defeat of the old gods who, nevertheless, do not entirely abandone the struggle. On the contrary, in obstinate revenge they assimilate every foreign thing, transform every new arrival, screen every new influence . . . Their first revenge was spiritual barrenness in mediaeval Hungary. After all, what kind of culture could have resulted from a foreign asceticism, even with the most resolute attempts at adjustment and the most sincere wish to create such a culture? "De strigis quae non sunt, nulla fiat mentio", declared Kalman of the Books,[2] king of Hungary. And common sense, which made Hungarians accept Christianity, protected the country from the mysticism of the superstitious Middle Ages. And old gods had been deities of Nature, and Hungarian attempts to live by an ideology that rejected Nature as contemptuous were futile. Euro-Hungarian culture could only bear

fruit when western thought finally returned to the springs of Nature, at the time of the Renaissance.

I am not referring to the ephemeral Renaissance splendours of Hungarian princely courts with their teeming Italian artists and humanists, a splendour that was to fade so rapidly in the face of Turkish invasion. However no storm could extinguish the flame that had at last flared up in the Hungarian spirit. And the truly representative man of the Hungarian Renaissance, Bálint Balassi[3] — who was also the first great Hungarian poet — lived in the period of the most bitter fighting and indeed was killed in the struggle against Turkish barbarity. Often called the Hungarian Villon, Balassi was a haughty and reckless exile though he was always more lord than vagabond. In the intervals between battles and chivalrous love-affairs, he read Italian and Latin Renaissance poetry, lying beside his horse in the grass, and these voices from the west released his innate oriental fantasy, released emotions that had been suppressed and silenced by western religion for such a long time. Thus, he became the master of the "flower-songs", that heathen nature-poetry of earlier Hungarians, and in doing so he became a poet of European standards in artistic terms. This lyric poetry is characterised by an oriental richness of imagery and a Biblical allusiveness which originated in the mind of the people. This represented an urge which could no longer be suppressed and which was able to create a "poetic school" among prosperous landlords and the courts of powerful magnates.

Meanwhile Hungarians were experiencing the crises of the West's intellectual ferment with an ever-increasing vehemence, while also living through the crisis of their own survival in a period of strife and destruction. In addition, this was also the moment when the nation realized its historical mission and these phenomena were — in a curious way — interrelated. Hungarians regarded themselves as the guardians of western civilisation. However, they also had to preserve their own orientalism and to protect it from western influence, as symbolized in their neighbour, the highly centralized Hapsburg monarchy. In the west, Reformation and Counter Reformation came in alternate waves, and Hungary had her own desperate polemicists, had her own Bossuet, a strange, vulgar, plebeian Bossuet however, but yet a figure who established the art of Hungarian prose through such polemics in these centuries. But these polemics were not simply disputes about religion or literature: the issue at stake was the existence and the historic mission of the nation itself. Catholicism in part meant Austria, while Protestantism was almost synonymous with the Turkish cause, since the Reformation had been able to find shelter only under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire. These rival empires represented east and west, and between them our nation in its special destiny swung like a pendulum. Hungarians were well aware that they were not permitted to choose their fate. The genius of mankind had placed them on the frontier of

two civilisations and they accepted their paradoxical fate quite consciously.

This attitude is well represented by the great Hungarian epic poem of the seventeenth century[4] by Zrínyi. An aristocrat who was also one of the greatest leaders in the struggle against the Turks, Zrínyi also wrote in the areas of political and military science, and was one of the most learned statesmen of his age. Following on from the earlier verse chronicles which often lacked in quality, he adopted the example of Virgil and Tasso to write a sombre and fatalistic Christian epic, the main hero of which was his ancestor, a martyr who accepted his death for the Christian world as the will of God. Martyrdom was granted to the poet as well as the nation as a whole.

Hero, poet and nation were well aware of their loneliness, abandoned to a martyrdom that was ignored and exploited by Vienna and Europe generally. This tragic sense of fate adds its sombre tone to this Hungarian heroic epic written in an ancient prosody far removed from Tasso's playful artistry in rhythms, and this despite its oriental abundance of imagery and colour. And the same adds its sombre tone to Hungarian life itself, that stands torn between extremes of barbarity as the despised guard and the despised lover of culture. The nation, even if momentarily cast on the bosom of Turkey by an instinct of self-preservation, is in intellectual terms closely connected with western civilization. The small principality of Transsylvania managed to develop itself into a French-style cultural "island", despite its steep mountains and its violent conflicts. Here lived Hungarian Saint Simons and Hungarian Sévignés. A protestant minister became a follower of Descartes, while Prince Rákóczi[5] was an ally of Louis Quatorze and a "French" writer. In addition, however, highly original ideas were born in the minds of Transsylvanians and of "kuruc" soldiers protesting against Austrian influence. Hungarian Saint Simons and Sévignés remained Hungarian to the backbone, and never before do we find such an upsurge of folk-poetry as in the songs of Rákóczi's "kuruc" soldiers, at first triumphant, then despairing, and finally defeated and hunted.

Nevertheless, these "kuruc songs" were the swan songs of early Hungarian literature. After the final defeat, Hungarian culture was oppressed by every means the Austrians could attempt, involving centralization, and virtual internationalization. Every national effort seemed in contrast a Quixotic dream, while culture appeared to flow exclusively from Vienna. The royal court of Austria resolutely Germanised all schools and administrative offices, and Maria Theresa lured the young aristocrats to Vienna that they might forget their mother tongue through an education in the levelling spirit of the *Gesamtmonarchie*. Thus Hungarian became a neglected, plebeian speech. Even the lesser nobility communicated in Latin rather than Hungarian. Like the ancient gods in the middle ages, the Hungarian spirit was in hiding among the poor, and by the middle of the eighteenth century Hungarian literature was practically non-existent.

But it was a mistake to believe that Hungarians could be so enchanted by western culture that they would forget their own. On the contrary, each encounter with western culture was an illumination and a reminder, just as the tree reminds us of the flower that used to bud on its branches and whose withering breaks our heart. The renaissance of Hungarian culture came from the most unexpected quarter, Vienna, and through the medium of young aristocrats nurtured at the court on the internationalist ideas of the French Enlightenment. This awakening of thought required a revitalization of the language. Disgrace and recrimination revolted. And soon Hungarian Rousseaus began to stammer: I say "stammer", since their mother tongue had suffered retrogression and impoverishment during the century of silence. A fantastic number of new words were required, more flexible phrasing, more compactness and sophistication than the old, awkward language. Devoted advocates of the neological tendency appeared on the scene, and fanatical opposition to them sprang up at once. It was another battle between east and west, a chapter in the great cultural struggle that has been characteristic of Hungary from the reign of Saint Stephen up to the present day, a struggle that has been woven into the internal affairs of the nation.

Anyone who is familiar with the atmosphere of literary dispute and the recent conflict surrounding *Nyugat*,[6] or the controversies over Ady's poetry — controversies which have not yet ended — will know that these battles are far more vehement than ordinary literary disputes. They have the intensity almost of political struggles for survival, as if the nation suspected that its cultural mission were indeed a cultural one. The result of these conflicts is the special amalgam I have already mentioned: a constant progress and a stubborn faith — interlocking cogwheels of east and west with which each advance is achieved by the fruitful connection of the two.

One such fruitful impetus was the neological tendency,[7] a heroic effort to render a poor, neglected Asiatic language capable of expressing the treasures accumulated by the great Hungarian nations, and in a refined style appropriate to the task. The effort produced an unexpected result: there is hardly any language in Europe that places at the disposal of the human mind the same degree of flexibility and versatility. Any speaker of Hungarian who has studied western poems with the finest Hungarian translations will agree that in Hungarian one can express almost any theme with the compactness of English, the clarity of French, and with a perfect ability to reproduce all the lyric forms of classical and modern literature.

This unexpected richness tempted the first generation of writers to eclecticism. The Hungarian spirit was indeed intoxicated with its attempts to render each literary form, to conquer each area of culture. Every success added a new flavour, produced new, successful hybrids. Hungarians came to realize that nothing was foreign to their language and they craved to experience

all the ancient and modern achievements of the human mind. Everything gained new meaning with this recognition. It was at this point that the Hungarian poets[8] discovered the beauty of mystic moods and a kind of philosophical melancholy for which the melancholy of Hungarian history provided a new background. Another poet attempted to express the element of sobriety in the Hungarian make-up by using Horatian rhythms. Hungarian sobriety is, however, different from that of Horace. This is a fierce sobriety, even if a paradoxical one. Thus the classical poems were given a new flavour when written by a Hungarian poet, resulting in no less flavour and perhaps more nobility and fire than in the Latin poems. In addition, a poor, profligate, young poet[9] returns to the freshest and most distinctively Hungarian rhythms in lyric poetry by studying Italo-German Baroque poetry. Original freshness grew richer through this experience of the Baroque fullness of mannerism. It is a symbolic detour: that is the way in which the Hungarian spirit returns to itself saturated by the riches of the west, and returns indeed to a new self. And by being the most distinctive instrument of the huge orchestra, it takes upon itself all the burdens and responsibilities of the entire European concert.

The Romantic period is also the era of national revival all over Europe. The prophet of Hungarian revival, Count Széchenyi[10] who — by being educated abroad had followed the same detour — defined the aim of his immensely influential agitation in this way: "To save a nation for Mankind." To save a special colour that is not to fade, a special voice which is not to be silenced. Is not the deliberation of this statement striking? Is not this European-ness unusual in nationalism, especially unusual internationalism? It was a tragic European-ness, to be sure, for Austria, the nearest European neighbour did not welcome at all this gift to Europe. Each modern attempt at national revival led merely to ill-fated revolution resulting in the almost total eradication of the Hungarian nation and, indeed, to its prophet's insanity. The life of this nation was neither unified nor continuous: the nation dies again and again but by some obstinacy of its spirit it always rises again. Its history is full of "Mohácses", an expression deriving from the battle that resulted in Turkish invasion and partition and used to denote national catastrophe generally. A station on the *via dolorosa* or Calvary from Mohács to Trianon is defeat in the War of Independence that started in 1848. The resulting surrender led to the oppression of a first-rate literature by Austrian censorship, for by that time Hungarians had no reason to be ashamed of their literature.

There were, at least, some high points and peaks, isolated pinnacles of the larger European cultural chain, peaks which seemed less than the very highest merely due to a certain perspective. The great Hungarian romantic poet differs so much from the standard poet/patriot that the difference might be said to make him European rather than Hungarian, or European as well as Hungarian. Vörösmarty[11] experiences patriotism as an issue concerning

Mankind as a whole, as Széchenyi did, and his experience is coloured by a special zeal because he is aware of his nation's tragic position in the "homeland of nations" to which it cries in vain, unheard, its grave coldly noted with indifference.

This tragic sense of fate, this distinctive and extreme condition, leads the Hungarian poet to confront problems of European nationalism which are still very real, even more real today than in the past. The poet remains oriental, although with new Western ambitions: he begins with Virgil and intends to write a Hungarian *Aeneid,* which, however, bears more resemblance to *The Arabian Nights,* despite its use of a classical hexameter unrivalled since the Augustan Age. This rich imagery permeates the language and fills Hungarian poetic style with an enamelling fire — that is, with a simultaneous understanding of the world's treasures and the sensation of a measureless infinity which gives even to poems based on folk tales a special, philosophical tone. This process also contributes to the tragic zeal of the poet who is bound to the problems of his nation. The national spirit is, after all, unable to accept the discipline of epic poetry and manifests itself instead in lyric verse, in a kind of lyric verse that is not homogeneous and is often clumsy. In a few poems, however, especially where the poet abandons the easy balancing of grandiose images and intense emotions, it is fully comparable to the finest achievements of European lyric poetry. And as a sense of the approaching national catastrophe leads to the continuous poetic exploitation of this abandonment of easy balance, so the airborne lyric flies higher and higher. The broken poet is neurotic like Széchenyi, and alcoholic because — as Ady[12] says — every Hungarian genius who identifies with his fate needs ecstasy in order to live. And this half-dead half-living poet sets the fear of fate to music by playing on the nerve-ends of man, on such crazy dross, and with an intensity that cannot be reproduced by citizens of more favoured nations.

By that point, however, the Hungarians were drunk on the words of a different and younger poet who had nothing of this tragic sense of fate. Being young and of Slav origins, he rejected it, and by this rejection made himself the ideal revolutionary poet who is able to express the momentary passions of his age without staggering under the burden of the past or concern for the future. And indeed there is hardly in world literature a poet who is simpler than Petőfi,[13] who was able to set to verse the uninhibited enthusiasm of youth which unmatched passion and spontaneous ease. Perhaps it is this simplicity which accounts for the fact that he is the most frequently translated and best known poet outside Hungary. The simple forms of folk-songs provide the models for his youthfully easy and simple poetry, and no wonder, for he was a child-hero of democracy. And the revolution for which he fought and in which he died a martyr's death might be said to be democracy's child-hero also. And yet Petőfi cannot be considered only as a narrow-minded, cultivated,

plebeian poet, or a political poet only through the revolution itself. Folk-poetry was the source of much true poetry in the contemporary *Zeitgeist*, and its cult did not lead to limitation to the nation or the region but rather to an expansive richness in line with the simultaneous expansion and enrichment of western culture. This popular-national era in Hungarian literature could never meant detachment from European civilisation, nor was Petőfi the *Naturbursch* he is sometimes described as. It is characteristic that in 1848, in the exciting time leading up to the revolution, the three greatest poets of their age combined their powers to translate Shakespeare into Hungarian. For one must not forget that in the memorable year the Hungarian national cause was closely intertwined with the cause of liberty and progress in Europe. Petőfi, the laureate of the national revolution, was an idealist socialist and an anarchist as well. Yet there is no other poet in world literature whose eyes beheld the column of fire, not covered by Reality's mist or Opportunity's limitations, and beheld it so brightly and simply. This is a seer's concrete idealism, in a naive yet divine youth who makes Shelley look like an inconsiderable dreamer, Heine an incredible cynic, and Hugo a mere posing actor. Petőfi's idealism possesses both the unique sobriety of the modern Hungarians and a prehistoric freshness. He is a poet of ideas, ideas for which he sacrificed his life, but he is also the author of robust love-poems and descriptive passages of an intensely pure realism. Those scenes of the old Hungarian steppes in his verse prove him to be a master of poetic description, an art which is all the more remarkable in its monumentality when one considers how unconscious it is.

This poetic realism was fully adequate to expressing the spirit of that democratic era and the older Hungarian psyche. Petőfi was succeeded by another great Hungarian realist whose works show elements of naturalism long before the formation of European nationalism. In his first long poem, János Arany,[14] a giant of epic achievement, had followed Petőfi's example in creating the eternal rustic figure who typified the emerging democratic nation, a figure personified in a semi-historical Magyar Hercules depicted with monumental actuality. This Hungarian Hercules was, however, the creation of a modest and hypersensitive poet, who, while seeking the most scrupulous realism and the simplest indigenous literary forms, achieved an art of unrivalled poetic plasticity. It was Arany also who created from a form of ancient Hungarian epic verse related to the French alexandrine a modern poetic instrument with rich and distinctive tones. Austrian oppression resulted in a positive development of his lyric poetry. If zeal is the proper domain of Vörösmarty, and passion that of Petőfi, then Arany is the master of melancholy. His poetic vigour prompts him to plummet the darkest and most inconsolable regions of Hungarian peasantlife, while also enabling him to reach the highest levels of prosody and literary technique. He is a genuine *poeta*

doctus with the modern bard's *raffinement*. A foreigner can have little or no idea of the complex music of his words, words which never lose the touch of rustic wisdom. At time, his art is akin to Tennyson's; like Tennyson he is a dedicated moderniser of national epic, having composed an enormous trilogy based on ancient myths. This material is centred on the figure of Attila, king of the Huns in the pre-Christian era, and on occasion it is significantly related to Germane mythology. Hungarians having accepted Attila as their progenitor, who had pitched his tent in the same part of Europe, the poet cast him as a Hungarian *King Arthur*. Unlike Tennyson, however, Arany possesses enormous powers of construction which employ rocks rather than pavilions, powers which are quite distinct from the syrupy ease of his English colleague. As a naturalist, he is never lost in pre-Raphaelite sophistication, and while his poems are no less elegant than Tennyson's the chords of his art are remote from playful artistry. His celebrated ballads culminate in the elucidation of guilt like Shakespearean tragedies, while Attila's fratricide imparts a grave lesson to the nation and simultaneously is the centre of a masterpiece of ruthless psychoanalysis. In tending towards the analytical-psychological novel, Arany's later epic poems recall Browning rather than Tennyson. His lyric poems depict the sufferings of age with an almost physiological precision and reflect the first pressures of modern metropolitan life.

Arany was older than the great British poets I have compared him to, and he was contemporary with the first Hungarian novelists and their flowering. The heroic unfolding of superb characters in an outmoded, primitive society always creates a lyric culture, and it is really the lyric form which Hungarians raised to an unequalled level, in which they triumphed over the nations of the world. To a large extent, this resulted from the fact that Hungarian literature, despite its uniqueness, lacked an audience. For the novel is as much the product of an audience as of the writer, the public being, so to speak, the subject and the addressed consumer of the novel. Thus the Hungarian ability to know man and reflect his life had been restricted to verse before the advance of democracy led to a more modern way of life. With that, the novel was awakened also and soon after it reached positively to its zenith: in the hands of a highly intellectual statesman, it was committed to the promotion of democratic change and social aspiration, for Kemény[15] saw the reality behind the wheels of History, history which thus became *magistra vitae* indeed. Often referred to as the Hungarian Balzac, he more closely resembles Scott in that he exploits the adventurous history of a small, mountainous country, Transsylvania. But Kemény's Transsylvanian history is not simply a matter of settings and costumes. He is concerned with the *dessous* of events, the fatal game of motives, the secret impulse in politics, veritable avalanches which can be started by a single step of Fate, that terrible moral fate which spins life's dark and tragic gossamer from petty foibles and scarcely

detectable faults of character rather than from our venial sins. The threads of this gossamer are psychic cords, and there are chapters in Kemény set in the depth of our psyche and employing an advanced psycho-analytical form of *monologue intérieur* — or rather *dialogue intérieur*. Kemény, by his strict sense of reality and his insight into underlying motive, becomes one of the greatest publicists in political life. His politics are not those of Kossuth[16] but of Deák,[17] or, if you wish, of the defeated nation's wisdom in compromising, a decision which led to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This compromise found little sympathy among the Hungarian people but it did maintain peace and made possible social and cultural development. In this period of intellectual exhaustion and emergent commerce, solemn lyric verse was silenced, and the novel became a dominant literary form. And soon it turned from Kemény's ideal of a novel revealing deep secrets and bitter truths, to produce a new style designed to entertain readers, to help them escape to the imagination, to soothe and manipulate them with the magic of art and of humour. The leading authors of this period were Jókai[18] and Mikszáth,[19] both well known abroad as well as in Hungary. They introduced a magical ease into Hungarian narrative which makes foreign authors appear clumsy in their work. Jókai is the direct descendant of the oriental story-tellers; he throws all gravity out of the boat and heads for the most bountiful and fantastic dream-coasts that appear and vanish. In translation his work may sound like the usual kind of adventure story because the translation lacks the impulsive magic flow of the Hungarian language. These novels are apparently set in unreality where the limitations of reality are surpassed and the hero, like the prince in the fairy-tales, escapes into the Impossible with total ease. This unreality, however, has a deeper, innate reality, that of the oriental spirit which would not bow under the yoke of modern, dull, compromising life. It also possesses some ancient roots among folk-tales, roots which are revitalized by the characteristic humour of Hungarian folk-tradition. Jókai is an overproductive writer, often uneven, who trusts to the grace of an inspired moment: and when this inspiration is present he becomes a genuine master, at ease equally with rustic reality and the Utopias of space and time. He is more than a Hungarian *Dumas-père* and, especially in his shorter stories, fantastic or humourous, he shows signs of a unique talent even when compared to the best European authors.

If Jókai tells stories, Mikszáth is the master of anecdote, another escape from reality. Humour which was a refraction of reality in Jókai's dreamworld provided Mikszáth with an opportunity to treat reality as a game. Stylistically, the realistic art of Mikszáth can be compared with the greatest European writers, especially the English writers. But what he lacks is the responsibility and seriousness of a great writer. He is the poet of the pre-war decades, like his age he was apathetic and opportunistic to a degree. Never failing to see the humourous side of things, he answers the immorality and bleakness of

his age with a smile. While the objective and the phlegmatic attitude of the Hungarian peasantry turns into cynicism in his art, Mikszáth's good spirits and love of life protect him from becoming excessively cynical.

Mikszáth is typical of a period in which literature stepped down the pedestal of high lyricism and set out in search of everyday life. Those who stayed on the pedestal — mainly survivors from the older generation — saw little cause for laughter. Strangely enough, these years constituted unexpected economic and social development and her most sensitive men of letters lived through the most intense pessimism. Pessimism is the natural correlative of an age lacking in ideals, even if life seemed rosy for the practical man. For this reason, the last lyric contemporary[20] of Petőfi and Arany brooded on the darkest problems of an aimless life and aimless death; and the younger poets of the period, enchanted by Schopenhauer, found life's only meaning in *mood*, introducing that word and concept from German into Hungarian. The unique synthesising genius of the age is Imre Madách,[21] author of *The Tragedy of Man*,[22] a play translated into most of the languages of Europe. *The Tragedy of Man* is a universal text expressing not only the aimlessness of Hungarian life but of human existence itself. Its superb construction charts the course of human history with its vain upheavals and diappointments in a manner no more comforting, no less biting than that of Voltaire or Anatole France. The play has a greater seriousness, however, by virtue of its puritan gravity and an even more puritan poetic style. Madách's play is often compared to Goethe's *Faust*, and the general conclusion is that Goethe is more the poet, Madách more the philosopher. In my opinion both are poets though of entirely different kinds, related only through external features in their work. Madách is the true taciturn poet who identifies himself with the disquieting problems of modern society; and as these existed in Hungary only at an initial stage, his work should be recognized as truly prophetic. Madách is monumentally objective, he flinches from consequence. His work is one of the noblest attempts of the human mind to confront emotionally and morally the fate of mankind.

The Tragedy of Man, which has proved successful on stage also, is one of the masterpieces of Hungarian drama. I have not previously referred to drama, and this is due simply to the fact that, in the chaotic periods of Hungarian history, theatre and stage were forced to the background. There were indeed no outstanding dramatic achievements, apart from one historical play[23] in the Shakespearean mode dating from the time of the neological movement and dealing with the characteristic Hungarian conflict between loyalty and patriotism. Later dramatists, like some novelists before them, also, mastered dramatic technique; and so Hungarian plays did reach foreign audiences, but only in the period of the commercial theatre, with its inevitable declension from pure literature. Nonetheless, the well-known name of Ferenc

Molnár[24] should be mentioned here, not only because he was a successful dramatist but also because he was a fine writer.

However good these writers were, Hungarian literature had descended from its throne and given its crown away in the dull decades. Publishing prospered, the general level of public culture rose, writers had more readers than ever, and they served the reader with unexpected ease and elegance of style. Yet this literature amounted to no more than sophisticated content, third-hand popular elements, sentimental flirtation with perhaps a tincture of French piquancy or artificially grave and bombastic love of country. In the first years of the twentieth century, as happened so often before, change came suddenly. A whole group of talented individuals, working for that change, inaugurated a real struggle for culture under a new but ever old flag, and a sudden anxious revival began. Being faithful to its exogamous nature, Hungarian literature was once again fertilized by foreign impulses — like an inverted Antheus. The magazine of this new literary revolution was *Nyugat* (West). Renewed contacts with western trends involved a renewed involvement with the most ancient and profound problem of the nation. The old struggle, the struggle of Saint Stephen, began once more, re-emerging on the eve of quite outstanding achievements, after years in the dullest silence. It was a revival of language, of language and the spirit, a thirst for everything new, the desire of the soul that has never been sated in the course of a thousand years. It produced, nevertheless, self contempt and self-satisfaction at the same time: for though desire is a sign of restlessness, it is also a sign of discontent and discontent is nothing other than the awareness of suppressed creative powers. The movement gathered itself around *Nyugat* and assailed the Hungarian conscience — which is why it provoked such a strong resistance. The name "West" was not intended to promote any imitation of western genres, but to urge Hungarians to note their existence and to realise their own situation in modern European culture. This was in no way a rejection of Hungary's traditions but rather an identification with the nation's special cultural role in Europe by which the treasures of that older mine, so worthy of Europe's attention, might be rediscovered also. Indeed, this movement which is so fiercely rejected as antinational in its homeland can contribute to the west a new impetus, a new energy through the spiritual tonalities of this strange nation.

The distinguished leader and supreme classicist of the new movement is Endre Ady who experienced his first artistic awakening in Paris — just as in an earlier period the young aristocrats had rediscovered Hungary while standing in Maria Theresa's circle at Vienna. But Ady has much more to offer to Paris in return. In Hungary a French decadent influence has been detected in him, though this influence was merely like that of a stone dropped into a liquid as a catalyst. The resulting crystallization bears little resemblance

to the stone itself. In no way is Ady a decadent poet. He is the eager and approving lover of Life, and this not merely in the fashionable sense of artistic identification with life, but in the sense of a totality of human experience. We can trace his development as we read his poetry, the way he was awakened to full awareness, the fact that he — who felt himself the "kinsman of death" — directed his attention to ever more profound and philosophical appreciations of Life, Life to which Death is mere servant. This is the view of life he urges upon his ever-dying, ever-rising nation. And he seems an innovator in this respect though these innovations of his are but a recourse to the basic issues of the Hungarian past, passing back over the preceding lazy and forgetful generation. Kuruc songs are echoed in his poems: as for prophetic mission he is the logical successor of Petőfi and Széchenyi, and a whole series of similar prophets, since — like all Hungarian poets — he is a prophet. Ady's poetry as a whole is the symbolic utterance of a prophet, not as in the French symbolist *œuvres*, but as in the work of the oriental mystics and Dante, for example. This "sea-gull masked as a lark" — he refers to himself — concealed the symbolic system of his unified world-vision, and it is indeed a more rigorous and complex system than that of any seer or philosopher. This abundance of symbols is truly an oriental feature in him, but his prophetic voice is entirely western. This prophetic element, however, is that of the true lyric poet who does not preach Life in the abstract but out of the language and terms of his own life. Everything becomes a symbol of that individual life of his, and his life in turn symbolizes everything. And indeed, this life appears symbolic and predestined, like the life of Dante: Ady plays his part with full deliberation, while the setting and stage lighting are provided by the menacing shadow of a nation and an entire commitment. Ady's mission is to show forth life amid the destruction of a whole world, and it is the eternal triumph of the Hungarian spirit that, while the best minds in Europe were preaching chauvinism and hatred, this small nation led by Ady could view individual tragedy in the perspective of Mankind, and could identify itself with mankind's Calvary no matter how hard that lot had been. This could be achieved only by a nation for whom Europe and Mankind are not mere abstractions but the permanent objects of its endeavour and aspiration — that is, by Hungary. It is certain that the representative intellectual figures in Hungary have always been far from over-prejudiced towards nationalism since, unlike fellow intellectuals of other nations, they saw the common fate of Mankind, the fate of small nations in the world generally. Or to express it in the words of Ady himself "since Magyar, Vlach and Slav sorrows are always the same". This is why the poets of this nation have felt and now feel themselves strangers among their own kind — and yet they are Hungarians, like Ady, whatever their suffering may be. Ady's poetic distinction is already beyond dispute, but there are still disputes about the poetry itself. It is a common view that he was a revolution-

ary, although his revolution is the internal and sovereign revolution of the Hungarian spirit uniting its gravest contradictions. Ady is a socialist and a nobleman at the same time: moreover, as a Hungarian nobleman, he might even be prouder than the first baron-poet of the sixteenth century. Even his socialism is proud and gentlemanly. And the same paradox lies behind this visionary poet of life and his strong attachment to the puritan Bible. Both his socialism and his credo of life have their roots in a special and incorruptible faith in the dignity and value of Man and Life, a faith so characteristic of Hungarian peasants and having in it a biblical element. This sense of value helps Ady in his confrontation with God and Fate, helps to create of this "unbelievingly believing" mind one of the greatest religious poets. And the same sense of value renders heroic and tragic his stance before the full tragic force was unleashed, and gives significance to his hatred of war as the annihilation of life. Both in his thought and in his political action, Ady is the perfect counterpoint to Count Tisza,[25] the other leader of pre-war Hungary. In his uniquely Hungarian and biblical sense of life, the life-preaching poet is closely related to the disciplined, puritanistic politician.

Ady is not the sole contributor to the evolution of a new Hungarian literature. He is only the first martyr in the phalanx of new poets and writers who seek to advance the message of the Hungarian spirit to Mankind. What is this message? Such a question can hardly be answered here. I believe that sooner or later it will find its way to the world, and then Europe will at last hear the words of this small nation, a nation that bore its message for a thousand years, formed it, matured it, preserved it closely, filtering it through the pain and waste of new hearts, new organs. This message is no programme or abstract piece of wisdom to be read like a slogan or printed in a few pages. If it was capable of such summary there would be no meaning to the lives and sufferings of the distinguished and talented individuals who have coined from their own lives and sufferings missing words for this message. As the present inheritors of this complex message, Hungarian writers differ so widely one from another: some support ruthless realism, others are almost mathematical minds attempting to penetrate the fantastic aspects of what is possible. Some are conservative artists supporting radical tradition and limitation of genre, others are revolutionaries fighting all limitations, even within the nation. But to the eye of a foreigner — even after due attention to interpretation — even the most conservative may seem revolutionary, the most internationalist seem distinctively Hungarian. Nonetheless, this specifically Hungarian attitude, like a mirror, reflects the face of Europe and of Man.

NOTES

[1] Saint Stephen the King, the first king of Hungary who converted the nation to Christianity, b. 970 or 975 AD, crowned in 1000 d. 1038.

[2] Kálmán of the Books, King of Hungary, the first Hungarian ruler who was also a Latin scholar, b. 1068. crowned 1095 d. 1116.

[3] Bálint Balassi b. 1554 d. 1594.

[4] The title of the referred epic is *Szigeti veszedelem* (Sziget Endangered) written in 1646 by Count Miklós Zrínyi b. 1620 d. 1664.

[5] Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II, leader of the War of Independence from 1704 to 1711. b. 1676 d. 1734 in exile in Turkey.

[6] *Nyugat* (West) the magazin of the literary revolution in the first half of this century. Founded in 1904 it currently appeared until 1941.

[7] The *neological movement* took place in the last decade of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th centuries and was led by Ferenc Kazinczy, one of the most prominent organizers in Hungary's literary life and also a poet and translator supporting Classicism, b. 1759 d. 1831.

[8] Some of the great poets of the Hungarian Enlightenment: János Batsányi b. 1763 d. 1845; Dániel Berzsenyi b. 1776 d. 1836. and

[9] Mihály Csokonai Vitéz 1773 d. 1805.

[10] Count István Széchenyi, the leader of the Reform Movement preceding the War of Independence in 1848–49, b. 1791 d. 1860.

[11] Mihály Vörösmarty b. 1880 d. 1855. The epic referred to as the Hungarian Aeneid is *Zalán futása* (The Defeat of Zalán) relating the triumph of Árpád, the chieftain of the seven Hungarian tribes entering the Carpathian Basin over Zalán, ruler of the Slavs inhabiting the northern part of the region between the Rivers Danube and Tisza.

[12] Endre Ady, symbolist poet and leader of the literary revolution at the turn of this century b. 1877 d. 1919.

[13] Sándor Petőfi b. 1823 d. 1849.

[14] János Arany b. 1817 d. 1882.

[15] Zsigmond Kemény b. 1814 d. 1875.

[16] Lajos Kossuth, radical political leader of Hungary in the War of Independence in 1848–49, b. 1802 d. 1894 in exile in Italy.

[17] Ferenc Deák, a supporter of Kossuth in the War of Independence in 1848–49, later leader of the so-called "passive resistance" among the lesser nobility, excellent publicist, who promoted the *Compromise* in 1867 which politically meant the foundation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. B. 1803. d. 1876.

[18] Mór Jókai b. 1825. d. 1904.

[18] Kálmán Mikszáth b. 1847 d. 1910.

[20] Reference to *János Vajda* b. 1827 d. 1897.

[21] Imre Madách b. 1823 d. 1864.

[22] *The Tragedy of Man* written in 1859–60 consists of fifteen scenes from which the first three and the last provide a framework set in the Heavens, in Paradise and outside Paradise for the historical scenes (from the fourth to the twelfth scene) and two scenes set in the future.

[23] Reference to *Bánk bán* written by József Katona (b. 1791 d. 1830) and set in 13th century Hungary when Bánk, the mightiest vassal of the king (Andrew II) was compelled to kill Queen Gertrude in order to cease the menacingly increasing German influence. The play written in 1814–15 was the basis for the first national opera by Ferenc Erkel.

[24] Ferenc Molnár b. 1878. d. 1952 in the United States.

[25] Count István Tisza, reactionary political leader of Hungary who, by his demagoguous agitation, managed to thrust the country into World War I, b. 1861 d. 1918.

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Analyse des Gedichts ‚Abendfrage' von Mihály Babits*

ÁGNES NEMES NAGY

Wenn schon der Abend, diese lind und sanft
deckende Decke — schwärzlich, glatt aus Samt —
von einer Riesenamme ausgeweitet
sich über die umsorgte Erde breitet
als sanfte Hülle mit Vorsicht, so weit,
daß drunten jeder Grashalm aufrecht bleibt,
der Blumen Blätter werden so nicht faltig
und des Buntfalters zarte Flügel flattern
emailliert beide, regenbogenartig
und werden ruh'n danach in ihrem Schatten,
der Hülle Fülle nicht fühlend, als wäre
die leicht-glatt-samtne Hülle ohne Schwere:
dann — magst du sein in fernen Weltenteilen,
oder im braun-betrübten Heim verweilen,

oder im Kaffee stur begaffend das
Lichtmachen mit dem sonnenhellen Gas;
oder beschaust mit deinem Hunde träge
den faulen Mond am Hang durchs Laub am Abend;
oder wenn dich auf staubbedecktem Wege
fährt dein verträumter Fuhrmann gleichsam schlafend;
wenn 's dir schwindelt auf dem schwankenden Deck
des Schiffs, oder in des Bahnabteils Eck;
oder wenn du die fremde Stadt begehend
bewunderst müßig, an Kreuzungen stehend,
der fernen Gassen Fadenzug entlang
der Straßenflammen zweifältigen Gang;
willst längs der Riva der Wasserstadt eben,
wo der opalne Spiegel Flammen streut,
was längst vorüber weinend neu erleben,
sein Andenken bringt süße Plage heut':
dein Ich dereinst — das Bild ähnelt der alten
Wunderlaterne: ist auch wahr, auch nichtig,
sein Andenken kann niemalen erkalten,

es ist zugleich auch Last, auch Schatz, gewichtig:
dort, wo dein Haupt der Angedenken Last
gegen den Marmorboden hängenlaßt,
wirst dich in lauter Pracht und Wonne senken
und dennoch memmenhaft nur daran denken:
zu was da all das viele Schöne reicht?
und dennoch verwaiset nur daran denken:
wozu das seid'ge Wasser, Marmor sprenkeln?
wozu des Abends Decke, flügelleicht?

* Deutsche Verse und autorisierte Textübertragung: Gáspár Soltész.

warum die Gipfel und warum die Wipfel?
und auch die See, man sät ja nicht darein?
wozu Gezeiten denn, wozu die Tiden,
die Wolken — trübe Töchter, Danaiden?
die Sonne — glutend sisyphischer Stein?
warum Dereinstiges, Andenken, ferne?
warum die Monde, warum die Laterne?
warum die Zeit, die sucht und findet kein
Ende? und nimm das Kleinchen Grashalm dorten:
warum wächst Gras, wenn es dann eindorrt fortan?
es wächst ja wieder — warum dorrt es ein?

Was schön ist schwer — meinten die Alten. Es liegt selbst heute kein Grund vor, diesen Spruch zu widerlegen, insbesondere dann nicht, wenn man das Schöne eines Gedichts philosophischen Gehalts herauszulösen suchte. Es ist nämlich schwer, den sogenannten äußersten Fragen entgegenzuschauen, die Grundlagen unseres Seins zu klären, aber hundertmal schwieriger ist das Meditieren in *Versen*. Mihály Babits berührt nachgerade die heiklen Zusammenhänge von Vers und Philosophie über die Dichtkunst, das «geheimnisvolle Handwerk» sinnend. »Das wunderlichste ist« — sagt Babits —, »daß allzu tiefer oder weiser Inhalt dem Vers sogar schadet. Das weiß jedermann. Es gibt hervorragende und hochhinauswollende Dichter, die dadurch getötet wurden. Man vermag mit Last beschwert nicht zu fliegen; und es kommt hier aufs eins heraus, wenn auch die Last aus lauter Gold und Edelsteinen besteht . . .« Zum Glück ist Mihály Babits selbst ein Dichter, der auch mit Last beschwert zu fliegen vermag, und diesem Fakt haben wir unter anderen auch die *Abendfrage*, eines der schönsten, klassischen Stücke der ungarischen philosophischen Dichtung zu verdanken. Der zweite Versband von Mihály Babits — *Prinz, mag sein, daß auch der Winter kommt* — ist eine Sammlung seiner von 1909 bis 1911 geschriebenen Verse. Darunter befindet sich auch die *Abendfrage*. Es ist also ein Vers des jungen Babits, des Babits vor dem Weltkrieg, der aber ist in bezug auf die Form soweit unersättlich, in bezug auf das Erlebnis soweit nach geistigem Erlebnis witternd, daß man aus seinen ersten Bänden die komplette Landkarte vom geistigen Interesse der wundersam reichen ungarischen Jahrhundertwende aufzureißen vermöchte. Es könnte sich sogar ergeben, daß die Landkarte geräumiger ausfiele als die Landschaft selbst. Wie sollte sie auch nicht geräumiger werden, ist ja der Vers zuwenigst ebensosehr die Kunstgattung des Verlangens wie die des Faktes.

Der Dichter des Sich-nie-zufriedengebens hat viele tausend Kilometer und dreitausend Jahre der europäischen Literatur durchweg ausgebeutet; die Poesie seiner jungen Jahre ist überfüllt und stilisiert, wie das Studierzimmer eines großen Reisenden. Aus seinem Reichtum langt zu allem, vor allen Dingen zum Spiel. Es ist die Zeit der berühmten Alliterationen, der Wortspiele, der Anhäufung, des Parallelismus — um bloß die äußerlichsten Elemente zu nennen —, aber dieses Spiel kann nie wirklich leger werden. Als ob er gar

keine Wörter, sondern Steine wälzte, oder aber — mit seinen eigenen Worten — als würde man »dem schwermütigen Tanz toter Säulen« zuschauen: es verbleibt darin jedesmal etwas Gewicht. Es ist das meist Gewichtig-Spielerhafte in der literarischen Sezession Ungarns: hagerer Gedanke und mit aneinandergepreßten Lippen Gehegtes sind die Träger des Prunks der Wörter. Aus den Zieraten blickt uns ein straffes und sinnendes Asketenantlitz an; dieser junge Mann von siebenundzwanzig Jahren, mager und schwarz, ähnelt einem Johannes, dem Täufer in Hermelinmantel. Allerdings könnte man sagen, daß um die Jahrhundertwende alle Dichter einen eigenen neumodischen Hermelinmantel besessen haben, das war schon ein Requisit des Zeitalters, es dürfte jedoch nie einer gegensinnigeren Gestalt so eng angewachsen gewesen sein wie im Falle Babits.

Der Pomp und die Schlichtheit, die Lust zum Rankenwerk und das Bestreben nach Substantialität verknüpfen sich just in der *Abendfrage* in einer unvergeßlichen Weise.

Nehmen wir zuerst die äußere Erscheinung des Verses in Augenschein. Dieses aus dreiundfünfzig Verszeilen bestehende Werk ist ein einziger Satz. Auch die sich am Ende des Verses anreihenden Fragesätze folgen — gemäß der Babits-Orthographie mit kleinen Anfangsbuchstaben — eingehängt aufeinander, sind sie ja bloß die Varianten einer einzigen Kernfrage. Dieser lange Verssatz ist an sich eine Bravour, entspricht dem Ehrgeiz des jungen Babits, und verrät bereits an sich etwas über das Gedicht. Namentlich, daß es eines einzigen Gedankens halber entstanden ist, der Frage zuliebe: «warum leben wir?», daß es ein alleiniges Ziel hat, einen alleinigen Mittelpunkt, und das demonstriert der Vers bereits mit seiner grammatikalischen Erscheinungsform. Man braucht den Vers bloß anzublicken, oder aber versucht man ihn durch die Stimme von Babits intoniert zu hören, in jener eigenartigen, an Psalmodieren, Beschwören erinnernden Tongebung, und schon reißt einen die ununterbrochene Welle der Zeilen mit sich fort. Reißt fort? Es dürfte ein allzu ungestümer Ausdruck sein; bloß zu schunkeln beginnt uns eher der Vers, wälzt uns in die Kehren der Beisätze, scheint in den Buchten der Bilder mit uns anzuhalten, dann aber setzt er seinen Weg weiter fort, just deshalb recht behäbig, weil er ja unaufhaltsam ist.

Wenn schon der Abend, diese lind und sanft
deckende Decke — schwärzlich, glatt aus Samt —

so beginnt der Vers und es kommt danach in einer langen Folge von Reihen nichts anderes, wie die Beschreibung des Abends, eine Anhäufung zierer und zierlicher Details, das Bild von der Amme, die aufrecht stehenden Grashalme und das unversehrte Falter-Email, und allein das an der Spitze des Verses stehende *Wenn* ermahnt darauf, daß man sich in einem Beisatz befindet. Die Gliederung des aus dreiundfünfzig Zeilen bestehenden Verssatzes überläßt

der Dichter drei winzigen Adverbien dieser Art: *wenn, dann, dort.* Diese drei gleichsam unbemerkten Führer instruieren uns inmitten des Verses und machen das Dickicht überblickbar.

Dann (also abends) magst du sein in fernen Weltenteilen — so knüpft sich der zweite Teil an den ersten an. Und von nun an erweitert sich das Gedicht, als fotografierte es die Landschaft von einem emporsteigenden Flugzeug: wir sehen die Bilder der Welt in sich mehr und mehr erweiternden Kreisen. Wir brechen aus dem Heim des Dichters auf:

. . . oder im braun-betrübten Heim verweilen,
oder im Kaffee stur begaffend das
Lichtmachen mit dem sonnenhellen Gas;
oder beschaust mit deinem Hunde träge
den faulen Mond am Hang durchs Laub am Abend;
oder wenn dich auf staubbedecktem Wege
fährt dein verträumter Fuhrmann gleichsam schlafend;
wenn 's dir schwindelt auf dem schwankenden Deck
des Schiffs, oder in des Bahnabteils Eck;
oder wenn du die fremde Stadt begehend
bewunderst müßig, an Kreuzungen stehend,
der fernen Gassen Fadenzug entlang
der Straßenflammen zweifältigen Gang —

hier bleibt die Aufnahmekamera plötzlich stehen. Sie fängt nicht mehr neue und aberneue Landschaften in ihren Sehkreis auf, zeigt vielmehr unerwartet eine Szenerie aus nächster Nähe:

. . . längs der Riva der Wasserstadt eben,
wo der opalne Spiegel Flammen streut —

wir langten in Venedig an. Der folgende Teil des Verses spielt in Venedig — könnten wir sagen. Auch könnten wir sagen: es ist reiner Zufall, daß es sich hier abspielt, aus der Allgemeinheit des Raums, der geographischen Fernen gingen wir vor Anker an einer schönen Stelle der Welt. In einem großen poetischen Oeuvre kommen aber selten Zufälligkeiten vor. Um jene Zeit war Babits in Venedig, und er war nicht nur dort, schrieb auch einen Vers darüber, wie etwa jenen *Zrínyi in Venedig* betitelten:

San Marcos hehren Platz — den tat ich stumm durchstreichen —
betrat in alter Zeit ein andrer Ungar trist,
— Poet, werter als ich, und Held, jetzt sondergleichen —
ganz wuchtig, was er will, das hat er wohl gewußt!

Für Babits hat Venedig nicht allein die venezianische Vergangenheit bedeutet, sondern zugleich auch die ungarische Vergangenheit, das heimische Zrínyi-Andenken. Und es ist nicht nur das Vergangene der Menschheit, der Einzelperson, sondern auch das der Nation, wovon er sagt, »sein Andenken kann niemalen erkalten, es ist zugleich auch Last auch Schatz«. Dieses mannigfaltige Erlebnis der Vergangenheit erreichte den Dichter in der italienischen

»Wasserstadt«, und sein Vers erweitert sich nunmehr auch in der Zeit, so, wie er sich vorhin räumlich bereits erweitert hat:

. . . was längst vorüber weinend neu erleben,
sein Andenken bringt süße Plage heut' :
dein Ich dereinst — das Bild ähnelt der alten
Wunderlaterne : ist auch wahr, auch nichtig,
sein Andenken kann niemalen erkalten,
es ist zugleich auch Last, auch Schatz, gewichtig —

Wir gelangten zum abschließenden Teil des Verses. *Dort*, in Venedig stellt der Dichter die Abendfrage:

dort, wo dein Haupt der Angedenken Last
gegen den Marmorboden hängenlaßt,
wirst dich in lauter Pracht und Wonne senken
und dennoch memmenhaft nur daran denken :
zu was da all das viele Schöne reicht?

Der abschließende Teil des Verses besteht aus eingehender Darlegung dieser Frage, aus ihrem wiederholten Vorzeigen von neuen und aberneuen Seiten. Der Rhythmus holt sich auf: durch die vielen kleinen Fragesätze wird der Ausgang mehr und mehr dramatisch, es behält jedoch der Vers gleichzeitig auch das Dahinwälzen der Details bei, die Bilder der Welt üppig und pompös herzählend. Dieser Schlußteil ist das Wunderwerk der Binnenbewegung des Verses, als sagten wir von einem: Er beeilt sich mit Weile.

. . . warum die Gipfel und warum die Wipfel?
und auch die See, man sät ja nicht darein?
wozu Gezeiten denn, wozu die Tiden,
die Wolken — trübe Töchter, Danaiden?
die Sonne, glutend-sisyphischer Stein?

Wir treffen hier die bündigsten Beiwörter der ungarischen Dichtkunst an. Der Dichter faßt das Bild, die Mythologie zur Hilfe heraufbeschwörend, gleichsam in den winzigen Kreis des Fernrohrs ein; die Perspektive der Gleichnisse erschließt sich bloß vor jenem, der gründliche Einsicht nimmt. Der sich mit Weile beeilende Dichter hat keine Zeit für die Entwickelung seines Traumgesichts, er überläßt es dem Leser, er möge mit eigenen Augen erblicken die sich unausgesetzt auffüllenden und entleerenden Schläuche der Wolken, die trüben Danaiden-Töchter; den auf den Berg des Himmels jeden Tag hinaufgewälzten und niederrollenden feurigen Stein, die Sonne. Er, der Dichter, schleudert nur in das sich fortwälzende Satzsystem seine Gleichnisblöcke, deren jeder einzelne einen besonderen Vers verdienen würde, und schreitet selbst weiter. Das nennt man unter anderen eine moderne Gleichnistechnik. Denn der junge Babits ist ebensosehr bündig wie auch verschwenderisch. Auch ist er in seiner Verwickeltheit schlicht. Ginge es denn schlichter, klarer, die Sprache uralter Sprüche entlehnend die abschließende Frage herauszusagen?

... und nimm das Kleinchen Grashalm dorten :
warum wächst Gras, wenn es dann eindorrt fortan?

Und damit wäre das Gedicht eigentlich schon beendet. Was ist der Sinn des sich mit dem Tode abschließenden Lebens? Wozu das Sein, wenn es zunichte wird — fragt der Dichter mit lauter Stimme, das, was sich dann und wann jedermann in seinem Inneren zu fragen pflegt.

Aber Babits bleibt dabei nicht stehen. Er schreitet in einer tiefsinnig-bezeichnenden Weise weiter; er denkt sich noch was. Das gesamte Werk seiner Jugend ist voll mit Weiterschreiten, Abschwung dieser Art. Der junge Babits führt nicht nur den Leser, oder drängt ihn manchmal faktisch in seine eigene Welt hinein, er frappiert ihn auch unausgesetzt. Solcherweise frappiert die Schlußzeile. Denn der Dichter fragt noch etwas über den Grashalm:

es wächst ja wieder — warum dorrt es ein?

Den Sinn dieser Schlußzeile könnte man mit philosophischen Fachwörtern umlegen. Hier handelt es sich jedenfalls nicht mehr um den einzelnen Grashalm, um die Person: die Frage wandte sich ins Entgegengesetzte, dieses tiefsinnige logische Wortspiel nimmt die Gattung, Art, Familie der Grashalme aufs Korn, die Ganzheit der Zucht. Jene absurd lässige Zucht, welche in einer mit gesundem Verstand so schwer erfaßbaren Weise das Sein und das Nicht-Sein vergeudet. Diese beiden Zeilen: Warum wächst Gras, wenn es dann eindorrt fortan; es wächst ja wieder — warum dorrt es ein? — nehmen die Absurdität des Seins von zwei Seiten unter Feuer.

Aber was gibt denn Babits zur Antwort auf die *Frage?* Man könnte auch sagen: gar nichts. Er hat ja eine Frage versprochen, und eine richtig gestellte Frage ist mehr wert als eine voreilige Antwort. Man könnte auch sagen: er tat nichts sonst, als daß er unsere Augen auf einen obgenannten Gedanken des Seins gerichtet hat. Das aber stimmt dennoch nicht. Denn die philosophische Dichtkunst ist ein schwieriges Unternehmen, sie ist eine der besttunlichen Kräfteanspannungen; der Lyriker jedoch, der nicht imstande ist, seine Ideen in Lebensmaterial einzukleiden, der nicht imstande ist, seinen Gedankengang auch zu einem Affektengang zu verstärken, der sollte lieber die Feder gar nicht in die Hand nehmen. Freilich ist auch der Vers von Babits ein Gemeingefühl-Vers, nur daß er demjenigen Sektor vom Gemeingefühl hingehört, welcher sich zur Philosophie zu verstärken vermag. Gewiß, Babits beantwortet schon die Frage, er beantwortet sie mit Gefühlsspannung und Materialfülle. Das seidige Wasser, der gesprenkelte Marmor, der Abend als Riesenamme, die transdanubischen Hänge, die italienische See, die Gaslaternen, die Landstraßen, die Städte, dieses unversiegbare, nostalgische Fortwälzen ist formal bloße Vorzählung; aber gefühlsmäßig ist es ein uferloses Ergötzen an den Bildern des Lebens. Der Dichter fragt grammatikalisch und antwortet mit seinem Bilderreichtum. Des Verses Körper antwortet dem Sinn des Verses.

Es ist freilich überaus bezeichnend, mittels welchen Lebensmaterials der Dichter seine Antwort illustriert, rechtfertigt. Es sollte eigentlich jeder Dichter die Abendfrage stellen und sie mit dem eigenen Lebensmaterial beantworten. Das Material von Babits ist vor allen Dingen ein Träger der Bilder des Schönen. Das Schöne ist ein Schlüsselwort dieses Verses, in derjenigen Abtönung des Wortes, wie man es um die Jahrhundertwende zu erfassen pflegte. Die europäische Dichtkunst der Jahrhundertwende gießt die Beziehung des Todes und des Schönen in unzähligen Varianten vor uns hin. Insoweit ist dieser große, denkende Vers zeitgebunden, während er dadurch, daß er auf die spukenden Ängste des Todes mit der Fülle des Lebens antwortet, seine Gültigkeit immerdar beibehält.

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Image of the World and Conception of Literature in Babits' European Literary History

G. BÉLA NÉMETH

The subject of my paper is the borderland between the history of literature and the history of thinking; more exactly one of the most significant and profound personalities of 20th century Hungarian literature: Mihály Babits. From the plentiful harvest his activities have yielded his ideological and interpretative presentation by the so-called exclusive perusal in his famous literary history seemed the most suitable for my research.

1

Reading and re-reading his non-literary prose the impression that it would be more fruitful to concentrate upon the lectures on literary theory held in 1919 at the university — the lectures that established his principles on the subject — waxed stronger. By that time the essays that elaborated his ideology had for the most most part been written; he had done the reading that influenced his interpretation of life and literature. Works of art, events, processes could modify and naturally did modify that which was thus created; above all the trauma of Trianon, the narrow-mindedness of the restauration, and the brutality of fascism: but fundamentally they changed or altered little, and even these modifications were carried into effect in a manner that suited him.

Yet when my analysis was complete I had to admit that I would perforce impoverish perhaps the richest but surely the most mature 20th century Hungarian spheres of thought by choosing a genre that was *not* truly suited to his character, a work that was *not* truly characteristic of his talent. His genre is the classical essay which he steered back from the torpid lowlands, the insipid marshes, the tangled web of cajolery of the Nyugat-generations to the objective individualism, the assertive intellectuality, the logical coherence of the great Hungarian liberal thinkers. But what can above all be brought up in favour of his literary history is the fact that this work comprises all the essential elements of all the pieces that constitute his didactic prose œuvre, the suggestions and results of the experience of European cultural, literary,

psychological and dialectic history. Which naturally does not mean that the image of the world and conception of literature manifest in earlier works exactly corresponds to that of this one; that would be a particularly absurd supposition in relation to the mentality of this restless percipient of the dynamically changing and creative time.

2

The books that deal with Babits are numerous but primarily of a communicative, philological nature. I am indebted to these books but especially to those that courageously and expeditiously elaborate as well as disclose facts: to the works of János Barta, Pál Kardos, Dezső Keresztury, István Király, János Reisinger, György Rónay, István Sőtér, Tamás Ungvári and others, but above all to the superb book of György Rába. If I do not refer to these books again and again it is only for the sake of saving time — as is my reluctance to quote the author himself, all the more as Babits's texts, like those of all true speculative writers, form for the most part logical links or sequences, and are detachable from these sequences only with great difficulty; are rarely aphoristic, thesis- or maxim-like, and even more rarely, if ever, proclamative.

Compulsory thrift and respect for the composition of texts are my reasons for confining myself strictly to my author's didactic prose. The *direct* introduction of poetry and fiction — without the mediation of poetics and study of genres and the *analysis* of the intention of creation — seems to me inadmissible, even if it is an accepted custom of our literary histories — though most of the Babits studies, especially the afore-mentioned book, does not fall into this error.

3

In relation to this work it is, we feel, especially important to elaborate and emphasize three of those elements proper to Babits' conservative liberal image of the world–and to his conception of literature which originates in and is constructed upon it.

3/a

The first of these is his *Catholicism*, originating in his heritage, schooling, and environment. In his first periods this ran deep beneath the surface and was rarely, if ever, directly externalized, only to burst forth and come into prominence in later years. This late Catholicism — especially the Catholicism manifest in this work — is naturally not identical with the Catholicism that was his heritage. It had become richer and had been altered by all the cultural and artistic experience and contemplation that a constant reader could collect into this volume as a result of a meditative way of life.

At first sight this Catholicism may seem primarily artistic and historio-cultural, liturgic and moral, tradition-bound and tradition-regulating. Yet it is above all philosophical; cognitive and ontological, metaphysical and transcendence-principled. And to the philosophical elements are coupled two theological elements in the strictest sense of the word: that of beatitude and salvation, which we may, of course, conceive as *historiophilosophical*. But none of the elements form part of the dogmatic tenets of the established church. The passionate declaration concerning the Church open at all times and to all peoples which he makes in the introduction of this book may seem to contradict this. But while one of the most glowing chapters is consacrated to Saint Augustine there is nothing but the cursory nod of a sentence to commemorate the great Saint of Aquinas, great master of hymnody that he may be. And if we take into consideration all that he has said about the church from the point of view of the whole book it is clear that his Ecclesia is the Old Christian church in which every soul seeking, desiring salvation and enlightenment, purification and improvement, irrespective of rank and station, language or nationality shall find realization of that desire and of his humanity in that desire. Therefore we should not be speaking of Catholicism but of catholicity, of oecumenity, of the greatest and truest universality of those desiring more than a biological, nay, we may even say more than a *merely rational* existence.

But here we must stop to consider a contradiction that may justly be raised. Catholicism and liberalism were irreconcilable adversaries in the 18th and 19th centuries. This contradiction is not only resolved with Babits: at a decisive point of his conception the two ideologies blend into one. Catholicism — or let us in this case say Christianity — besides and in spite of its doctrine of fraternal love, charity and responsability for one another — is an *individual ideology*. It is not due to one's nationality, race, class, language or turn of mind but in consequence of one's personal life, beliefs, deserts and actions that one is integrated into the church to find salvation within and through religion. One of the greatest historical feats of Christianity is the realization, in European history and thought, of the concept of the potential equality of every individual — at least before the tribunal of God — a concept that acted upon the consciousness of the largest masses. Babits was fond of — and varied with pleasure — the obsolete expression from the Hungarian Credo "the accord of the Saints": that is, the union and universality of the blessed and those in search of salvation. There is no pursuit or tenet more grotesque or repulsive to him, to the man brought up on *European Christian culture and liberal ideology* than that of a racial, national, class religion, culture, truth. Like one of the last past-masters of the theory of liberalism, J. S. Mill, he too saw in the collectivity of individuals striving to attain truth, salvation, prosperity and perfection the greatest and truest realisation of fellowship

and universality, though unlike Mill he was more wont to cite Goethe as the most eminent representative, archetype and dominant example of this collectivity and universality.

And here we must add a parenthetical observation to our temporary digression. No onslaught as brutal as that of Bangha–Nyistor's *Magyar Kultúra* had ever been launched against Babits. The trusted followers of the authoritarian Church recognized in him the true jeopardizer of religion hierarchized to secure acceptance of their power. They were justly concerned for their own privileged master's dominion. For like the famous Prussian king who thought suspect and dangerous any person able and daring enough to think without the *licence* and *guide-marks* of power, so they felt menaced by the *homo liber* and the *anthropos catholicos*, the man who was free and strived for perfection, who dared to invade the territory they considered their patented métier with his individual thinking.

After this parenthetical but necessary comment let us continue our discussion. The content of Babits' Catholicism was decisively influenced by two ancient philosophers, the Greek Plato and the Old Christian Saint Augustine.

The first impressed him with his ideology and his teachings of the Eros. The idea of things is more complete and more real than the things themselves. The divination and desire of these ideas lives in our hearts. We are forever approaching them but can never attain them. Babits never propounds but suggests that it is the idea of ideas representing value and energy that operates in all things, holds everything together, makes everything worth-while. It is after this that individual and universal man strives. And it is this aspiration that prompts, urges, operates deep within the Eros, it is this that lies at the depth of its thirst. Babits interprets the Eros in the widest platonic sense. Ideas are concealed everywhere, therefore the idea of ideas is present in everything. The longing for this and these penetrates all things and prepares them for the irruption of the Eros. Babits himself acknowledged how deeply this conception of ideas and the Eros was permeated with the ideology of Spinoza.

But this and later concepts gained their world image-forming and organizing character through the author's experience, revelation and interpretation of the works of Saint Augustine. If we took into account every reference to the Bishop of Hippo, and not only those in which he appears by name, he would head the index, commanding Dante, Shakespeare, even the most revered master of Weimar. Speaking of him Babits's voice becomes fervent and if he wishes to enhance a favourite speculative author a comparative reference to Saint Augustine appears on every occasion — even Kant, treated at first with unvarnished antipathy, gains admittance to his heart and mind because of his fundamental ideas and concepts.

Which are then those main elements of Augustine's work that he considers important and uses or recognizes as structural elements of his world image?

When we *constrain* these into four main points it is only for the sake of an *analytical approach* that we may dissociate the elements pertaining to his image of the world and those pertaining to his conception of literature. For time and again it is in the self-same sentence that he declares that this is the first modern intellect and the first modern style; that this is the first new concept of the world and the first new presentation of the inner life; that this is the first real portrayal of inner experience and the first real self-analysis, in comparison to which even Rousseau adds but exhibitionism and affectedness and nothing essentially new.

The first element may be said to be ontological *and* epistemological. Augustine, according to Babits, sees life in its entirety, but knows that the true essence as regards the individual and mankind is *inner life, interior development*. And this inner life and development is more than the intellect can grasp — but it can be divined intuitively, can be grasped through inner observation, and a lot of it — an ever-increasing amount of it — may be recorded through the resolution to confess. This is not only and not primarily a flash-like, heuristic intuition but is experiential, sensorial, or to use our author's favourite word, sensual. This apprehension is subjective and personal, but its reality is objective as regards the spiritual world and the environment of man alike.

The second augustinian feature of Babits' image of the world may be defined as being metaphysical and moral. The individual senses, is familiar with the reality and attraction of ideas, especially with the reality and attraction of the idea of ideas, the essence, the truth, the divinity. In the awareness of this reality and in the field of this attraction every manifestation of the Eros *may* be transformed into the worship of God; *may* be projected upon all living things as piety, and *may* embrace all living things with devotion. But not necessarily, not obviously. Because the Eros may impel towards evil, since human nature, impregnated by the Eros, is dual from the outset, and therefore the issues of the Eros it encompasses, the Eros that fills it, may also be of a dual character. The specific recognition, acceptance and admittance of this duality and the nature of the struggle to combat it represents the third and fourth characteristically augustinian features of Babits' composition.

Citing Charles Lamb, according to whom Augustine is the saint that mothers may hate more than most but whom Schopenhauer may extol with elation gives Babits great pleasure — an almost sensual delight. It is the presupposition of the evil inherent in the spirit of man, of the fact of the original sin that makes, in his opinion, the one and the other talk *thus*. Yet Augustine, thinks Babits, achieves escape through and at the cost of a great

emotional shock. Through and at the cost of an enormous shock because this sceptical mind cannot be satisfied with cheap utopistic monism and teleology — for what kind of Idea, what kind of Truth, what kind of God is that in whose emanation, in whose essential effusion *evil*, and in its wake *damnation*, is contained? But the thirst for truth, for the essence, for the Idea that is present in every soul, and the attraction that emanates from the Idea — or, as Babits makes Augustine say in a Spinoza-like fashion — from the Universal Spirit upon every soul, the *illuminatio veritatis* renders capable every soul of combatting evil. The love, advice and experience of one's companions may be of service in this struggle but the final decision must be a personal one. No one can be redeemed in spite of themselves but each may work out his own salvation.

The doctors of religion and faith may with good and just reason accuse Babits' Augustine of upholding an anthropomorphically teleological, humanistically principled image of God and of dialectics that resolve the discrepancy between good and evil and thus verge on psychology — as Augustine himself was charged with these and not without reason, though the accusation coming from others, especially from those approaching the Hegelian view, became credit and praise.

All this however lies far from our province. Let us be content with the inference that human nature, the inherent duality of the Eros it contains and the resolution of that duality in the aforementioned manner — or, to comply with many philosophical authors, let us say, his *augustinian dialectics* — may have been one of the most decisive points or *the* most decisive point that bound Babits to this conception. At all events it is a *statistically* demonstrable fact that one of the main concepts, one of the key-words of his image of man and his conception of literature is that *thirst*, that *craving* which exists in the spirit and which illuminates the spirit, in the strength of which it becomes capable of overcoming the evil that exists within man. In the case of almost every great poet he admires the notion of *thirst*, of *craving* forms the focal point of his discussion.

3/b

To this deliberation on the faculties and possibilities of human nature can be coupled the *second element* of his world image, dating back to his early years — the philosophically understood *positivistic character* of his scholastic erudition and self-education. But while around this former, the individually conceived Christian heritage were assembled the contemplative and attitudinal values he esteemed, this positivistic heritage brought out and made crystalline the qualities that he contemplated with growing doubt and aversion, despite

the fact that he kept many fractional elements from the components of this trend as well.

In his early years, as we know, he wanted to take up philosophy, and as an older student, later as an undergraduate, accepted as a matter of course this governing trend of the age: the positivism which *by then* and *until then* harmonized in the consciousness of the majority with the tendencies that later became its apparent or veritable opponents and which in part overthrew it. The more so since it was elsewhere but primarily in this country present not so much as a philosophical trend or system as a scientific approach and method, from which it was easy to select certain elements, adapt and implant these into other trends; as did the young Babits, with naive eclecticism, in his earliest compositions.

Let us emphasize two striking and very important elements here. The *doctrine* and *tenet* of the struggle for existence and the doctrine of biological and environmental determinism which professes, acknowledges, approves with true social-darwinist faith and impatience the inevitable destruction of the weak and unfit for life. And concurs with the concept of biological and environmental determinism. Babits quotes Spencer as his authority in this early period and proudly professes himself a sensualist (in the positivistic sense of the word). Later, as his historical reading became more extensive, his ideological meditation more profound all this was reverted and the concept came to characterize his world image as the primary source of aversion.

But — as we have already mentioned — he retained two principles of this conception, that of the influence of the environment and that of sensual perception — principles that were of decisive influence on him from the start. True, he enthusiastically spiritualized both, making the one the effect of the intellectual atmosphere, the other the inductive energy of psychological perception and process, and subordinating both to the said augustinian dialectics, to the merging of our spiritual thirst or craving for the Idea and the attraction emanating from the Idea upon our souls. These and other remaining positivistic traits belong primarily to the realm of *psychology*, describing and determining the perceptive and recollective mechanism and role of the consciousness. They are for the most part coupled with the name of those psychologists who have broken away from the wundtian psychological statistical experimental school; had turned against it or had formed an opposing front mostly in favour of introspection and the meditative (slightly praehusserl-type) elaboration of the results of introspection, as for example Jean Philip, Carl Stumpf, Otto Weininger or, the most influential as far as Babits is concerned, William James.

At all events during the period his literary history was being written, from the point of view of his image of the world and his conception of literature it was the *awareness of danger*, originating in the intimate knowledge of the

positivistic trend — which he often identified with materialism — that proved the most decisive in his consciousness. No study of Babits — no study of the age — may leave incited his words concerning Spencer, whom he greatly respected: "In the meanwhile the greatest intellects of the West (i.e. the Western world) were combatting Nothingness, the demon of infidelity; seeking temporary solace for the heart or at least a task for the mind in the struggle itself, in the fortitude of facing danger. Albeit a philosopher, Herbert Spencer by name, had by then resolved the problem of faith and infidelity by pronouncing it "*unfathomable*". It is easy for the philosopher, but what is there left for the poet who must necessarily deal with life, with life as it is perceived and endured, and to which death unquestionably appertains?"

And if some of his illustrious contemporaries were marxists at the time, it was on the basis of his irrational myth of reason of the period that he evolved the so-called Brown Death philosophy. In the authentication of these philosophies Babits attached at least as much importance to these positivistic national- and social-darwinist concepts, affecting to be scientifically rational and prattling about the laws of natural selection — and not unjustifiably. He believed that these conceptions deprived man the individual of his moral, psychological, ontological autochthoneity, of his emotional-intellectual rights and dignity, as did certain hegelian or socialistic doctrines. They accomplished this, according to Babits, through the divinization by the individual of a people, a nation, a race, a class — *therefore*, in his opinion, through the degradation of tasks and aims determined by a fraction into component, service parts; and added to this they wished the thus debased individual to jubilate his inclusion and not to question its exclusive redeeming character. "Ours is the mechanical world of organized powers", he says bitterly.

3/c

Closely connected to this are the formative and perpetually changing *third group of components* that make up his world image and date back to his early years — the *vitalistic philosophies* and the influence of their precedent representatives, primarily that of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Bergson.

Popular belief in part holds Bergson's influence the most decisive in Babits' case; another fraction condemns him for the supposed overestimation of the French philosopher. Naturally it would be useless to object that his name appears in this great work on two pages all told, not even a tenth as frequently as that of the author of Zarathustra. Albeit this latter, like Augustine, appears in almost every chapter, if not by name, then by reference, symbolically or through a variation of the text — in spite of the fact that he classed Bergson among the gifted, "artistic philosophers", just like Nietzsche

and Augustine. But the second, late study of Bergson clearly states the depth of his disappointment, at the same time acknowledging the importance of his *liberating* role in his career.

The essence of this may be concentrated into two points: the demand for metaphysics did not die out at the time of the positivistic-materialistic scientific attitude to life, and will not die out until the human intellect needs art and philosophy. This is one point. The other is that this demand and the results of science are easily harmonized, may even strengthen and cannot exist singly after a certain intellectual level. In point of fact the reading of Bergson did not change the train of Babits's thoughts, but strengthened him in their direction and gave their realization full scope. And at the core of his disappointment lies the fact that his philosopher *simply pronounced* the right to, the demand for and the possibility of metaphysics without realizing them in comparison with the great predecessors and according to the claims of the age as perceived by Babits. From his essay and from this volume it is apparent that the questions of philosophy, and within these the questions of metaphysics, have been relegated to and transposed into psychology — a fact that in many respects may be pronounced of Babits himself. The touch of irony in the repeated mention of "Professor Freud" and his "psychologists" shows that the determined, excessive enforcement of this tendency did not give him much pleasure.

And yet it is possible that the overwhelming impact of Nietzsche, whom he plainly considered one of the greatest and most influential thinkers, was due to the growing awareness of the inevitable approach of philosophy and psychology or rather of anthropology. We know that his youthful enthusiasm for his philosopher became quite early and to a great extent subdued and that he meticulously graded the supposed values of Nietzsche's works in the famous essays entitled *The dangerous ideology* and *The betrayal of the literates*; but at the same time he elucidated and acknowledged the inspiring and thought-provoking elements that had become integral, necessary and valuable components of his own world image.

From the almost uncountable quantity of references, variations and interpretations let us choose four elements — again somewhat under duress. The first of these is the idea of *eternal return*. It is well known that philosophical literature has given many interpretations to this idea of Nietzsche's — not exactly contrary to Nietzsche's intentions and not really against the grain as far as Babits is concerned. For he was always a partisan of precise formulation, but also believed in the possibilities of multifarious interpretations. By this Babits apparently meant for one the Heracleitusian motion of the eternally similar, but never identical universal human stream of consciousness and existence, for the other and primarily the reappearance, always in a different form, of the great existential questions, the questions of the apprehension

and selection of the essence in the course of every true life, true process of reasoning and work of art.

The second trait is Nietzsche's definition of one of the principal human and objective values, which, just like the former element, can be linked with the platonic and augustinian thirst or craving in Babits' conception. What is man? asks Nietzsche and Babits. He is that which must be surpassed, they both reply, each meaning something different by those words; the one following the course of the Wille zur Macht and remaining within man, the other following the direction of the transcendency of the urging of the Eros and the attraction of the Idea. The third is the emphasis and defense of the self-forming will of the individual against the doctrine of determinism and organicism. The fourth and last but not least is Nietzsche's opposition to the average, the fashionable, the multitudinous. There is perhaps no other famous Nietzsche title that Babits varies as often as that of the *Anachronistic Meditations.* And if at one time he did this self-complacently, in this work he does it with bitterness. In relation to this we must make mention of Babits' much-talked aristocraticism but also of the two famous essays in question, *The dangerous ideology* and *The betrayal of the literates,* and of his attitude to the enlightenment manifest in these.

Almost from the beginning this author-philosopher was on an oppositional-defensive footing with the educated people, with the so-called intellectual public life and public spirit of his day. Especially at the time this work was being written. In his opinion the *particular* had overcome the *universal,* everyday interests ruled over interests of universal validity, commonly devised theory over the vivid reality of life and worst of all, in the spirit of the latter, instinct and corporeality ruled over the intellectual and the spiritual. Only by a superficial reading of his works can one arrive at the conclusion that Babits was not in favour of the gradual humanization of the structure of society or its facilitating civilization. But he did profess that the perfection of the structure and the development of civilization were not the aims but the means of the self-assertion of individual man in his *individuality* and thus in his human *universality.* All partiality, whether it ousts *reason* through the mythicization and totalization of irrational qualities or whether the reverse happens, leads to the denial of the humanity of man and to his oppression — to the invalidation of the delicate balance between good and evil according to Augustinian dialectics, and thus to the annihilation of human self-realization in the spirit of good. He considered that most representatives of the enlightenment reduced man to a purely mechanical cerebral function, degrading him into an expendable component of an implicitly held, simply conceived process of development, disregarding the always *non-recurrent* intellectual-spiritual personality. And did this with a self-complacent, naive self-assurance inadmissible in the intellectual world. His attachment to

Schopenhauer — to whose "instruction" he bid farewell with the title of the famous essay on Nietzsche — can be first and foremost explained by the automatic and necessary requisite of scepticism and the defense of individual man he recognized in his work.

During the period of the genesis of this work however he believed it was *reason* that was being degraded, that was being robbed of its comparative, controlling, universalizing, judicial function in favour of the more unscrupulous enforcement of obtuse, selfish, impulse-governed fractional interests, sentiments and ideas. And seeing this he repeatedly and unfailingly stood up for rational enlightenment even if he was thus opposed to his favourite, most cherished authors. And in point of fact the reversal of his feelings towards Kant, the substitution of admiration for the original antipathy may be linked with this. In the beginning he believed to recognize in Kant's ruthlessly executed criticism the manifestation of the self-assured, self-complacent intellect which denies everything it cannot grasp. During the time of the atrocities of the war a thorough study of his works had to convince him that this great intellect was not self-complacent but knew and assigned its own limits and what it could encompass, and it is due to this ability, according to Babits, that Kant recognizes that it is the *aesthetic power of judgement* originating in the Eros and beyond reason but not opposing it, as well as the *ethic comprehension* arising from the thirst of the spirit and impelled by the attraction of the idea that can conduct man to *hope*, to overcome the factors that are as yet or will always be beyond the sphere of reason; to turn these to his best advantage using reason to combat biological, animal instincts. But it is surely not accidental, and not simply according to the custom of the age that he favours the more all-encompassing notion of *intellect* to that of *reason*, as if believing to avoid thus the confrontation of that which, in his opinion, exists *within* and *without* the sphere of reason, *permeating*, but *not opposing* each other.

3/d

Our time, however, flies: we must proceed to our second sphere of questions, though it will hardly be necessary to enlarge upon these in detail as we have taken into account many circumstances relating to them, and not particularly indirectly or covertly at that. Yet surely the question arises and needs be answered — and such incidental questions are wont to acquire major importance in this country — which Hungarian authors did Babits consider the progenitors of his world image and conception of literature?

Four names must undoubtedly be mentioned: those of Arany and Péterfy above all, but also those of Kemény and Kölcsey.

Some paragraphs of his Greek passages but especially his approach practically coincides with that of Péterfy, the opposer of positivism and

Nietzsche and partisan of the rights and prerogatives of the individual. There is *one* element of his conception that must be brought to notice: if the historical development of human consciousness, of human intellect, has raised a question, that question can never again be avoided. Since the essence of history — as that of the development of literature, declares Babits, like Péterfy, without contesting the advantages and necessity of the continual perfection of social structure and the perpetual progress of civilisation — is the evolution of ideological thinking, of its variety and perfection. "Every human life and work is a world image in itself, a possible standpoint in the face of the world, of the universe . . . Robinson's taking stock of his island again and again. This standpoint, this attitude becomes conscious and deliberate through expression."

He disputes with Dilthey though in many respects there is some affinity between them — and even more perhaps (as can be said of Péterfy) with the *conservative-liberal* Ranke whose famous thesis may in his interpretation read: the great intellects of every age *could* and should be equally close to God. Like Carlyle — whom Babits greatly admired — he believed that the great intellects of an age characterize that age, and concurred with the opinion he attributed to him, namely that the fortunate periods of history were those that could boast of such intellects and paid heed to those intellects; yet Carlyle's autocratic principle of coercion which propounded that the masses must forcibly be made to take heed of these was alien to him, did not agree with his liberalism, with his respect of the individual. In this respect he followed Macaulay's democratic principle of persuasion by intellectual radiance.

And this is the point where we may grasp the ostensible or genuine contrast between the *collective development* of culture and literature and the restriction of his works to the *individual spirit*, the *particular thirst for truth*. And we may grasp his conception of the eternal continuity and renascence of culture. This idea was never as forcibly prominent as in the case of the meeting and changing points of the ancient and Christian cultures. It seemed then — he says — that all that the spirit, the intellect had created in culture would fall prey to the new and elementary desire for truth. But this did not come to happen. With a tremendous effort the new thirst for truth engulfed the true values of the old culture. Not only its devices, but also its revelations. And it could do so because, as it became differentiated in its individuals, so it was revealed that it was the urging of the Eros and the attraction of the Idea towards truth that lay behind those too. It is in this that his bitter and decisive dispute with Osváth about the possibility of the *objectivity of truth* or its necessary *subjectivity and relativity* originates. Osváth took the latter to the point of absurdity, limiting the thirst of literature entirely to the *search* itself. Conversely Babits considered it bound to defend, enlarge and transmit the results of the quest, the thirst, the endeavours of man.

And here the oft-repeated question of the handling of the Old Testament may be discussed. According to Babits the Old Testament became part of European literature when it joined in the attempt to answer the universal questions concerning man through Christianity, when the Eros impelling towards universal truth and the energy of the Idea attracting towards universal truth was projected into its objects, histories and symbols. Until then it had been the affair of a race, a people, of their proper fate. It is unnecessary to say that the soundness of this view has been extensively and justly disputed by literary historians. Just as it is unnecessary to say that the *students of religion* who do not consider the Old Testament a racial affair, but a revelation, would do the same. But the discussion of this would lead us far astray and it is after all not our task.

What is more pertinent to our discussion is that Babits' historical pessimism regarding the culture of his age seems to be resolved at this point. Not through a definite, confident, regulative theory prescribing a system of norms. Time and again in this book and elsewhere he has wondered whether socialist doctrines, marxism among them, may not one day play the role that Christianity once played in the life and culture of man. But — understandably — he soon dismissed this possibility. *Understandably* because he considered marxism in essence here, as in other phases of his thinking, a *variety* of materialistic positivism.

Yet there exists a deeply confessive passage in his writing about Nietsche, in an emphatically stressed place: in the summary of the historical part. "Man, — he says — the man of today has not attained his last phase of development . . . Nietzsche . . . the philologist and philosopher has proved to be one of the greatest poets. His book is full of treasures, but also full of dangers for the future. But that future for the most part is *my* future — mine who is writing this . . . He deserves to have this history end with his name."

What is this supposed to mean?

A few pages back he paid his favourite poet and philosopher a double-edged compliment for recognizing that metaphysical thinking was necessary and making a great effort to attain it — but through the Wille zur Macht. And this, as we have emphatically stated earlier, did not comply with Babits' desire of transcendency. Nietzsche remained within man while Babits strived for a more universal force, a more pure Idea, a more eternal existent. But because this struggle had not come to an end and would never reach an end, he concurred with his author in his efforts and his attitude of desiring the future.

This belongs to the realm of his conception of literature. Naturally we cannot speak of his poetics, rhetorics and stylistics — only of his approach, his attitude in the widest sense of the word.

In the summary of his literary theory he disclaimed the method of classification according to genres. He adopted it here and adopted it prolifically

but made it clear that it was in reality a delicate, undependable device. He speaks of *light* literature, *elevated* literature, and criticism according to function, meaning light and elevated literature metaphorically rather than determinatively. It would not be advantageous to accept the relative categories of this theoretical study, which are the least successful and convincing even here. He uses the metaphor — new become famous (and existing in Nietzsche's work) — of the chain of peaks. Every work that can be classed as elevated literature — as we have mentioned in the case of the idea of *eternal return* — is a new confrontation of the eternal problems of mankind within the scope of a new age, within the compass of a new individual. These works of art are rare and their readers are not numerous. But no age is identical with another in either respect.

Babits does not regard stylistic trends irreversible categories. Or at least in this book he considers them more important than those of the genres, but by no means in the fundamental fashion of Dilthey. The history of literature is the history of changes in ideology, and the style of every age, of every artist is a method and means of expressing, of objectivizing the ideology of that age and that artist. In his literary theory he uses the words *expression* according to the custom of the French literary theory of the age and believes that it loses its capacity of conveying individual ideologies, its power of expressing attitudes only if individual expression becomes a common, collective *formula*.

Ideology, of course, in relation to literature, is meant in a wider sense in the case of Babits than in the scientifically considered rational systems of thought. And naturally individual, particular ideologies are not of equal worth or depth just as individual styles are not equal in worth. He can accept that an image of the world, an ideology may be expressed through the objective facts of the registered exterior world. He therefore appreciates not only Balzac but also the best of the naturalists. Naturally by no means to the extent that he appreciates, say, Proust. And when he speaks of Augustine's style his quiet, gentle pathos becomes heated ("like my mother used to do, because that is what her heart had taught her. 'In schola pectoris': there was no one to say it before Augustine", he states). He is mostly attracted to the English-German romantic-type style and not to that of the romantic *period*, especially not to that of the French romantic period. He considers the English-German romantic-type style the result of the formation and development of the most complete, courageous and individual ideologies.

From this it becomes clear that the territory — or let us say the genre — closest to his heart is lyrical poetry. Not only and not primarily the lyricism manifest in poems, not only and not primarily the poetry of direct subjectivity and emotionalism, not only and not primarily directly self-expressive and autobiographical poetry. It is perhaps the descriptive-evocative-expressive

subjectively inspired and individualistic-type presentation of the exteriorly and interiorly induced objective stream of consciousness that is most to his liking. The true objects of attraction from the representatives of lyrical poetry are Goethe and Shelley, Baudelaire and Browning, the late works of Vörösmarty and Arany. And the Augustine-type, Zarathustra-like, Proust-like strongly confessional but deeply reflective speculative-emotional lyrical prose. The kind that strives for a world image and creates in effect a world image — for every great work — as we repeatedly make him say — is a stand-point, an attitude towards the world, towards existence. He did not exclude politics and public life as the means and possibility of objectivizing this struggle but he deemed politics and public life casual, passing subjects of literature — the domain of another sphere of life which is related to literature, to the sphere of the struggle for a world image only indirectly.

4/a

Many theoretical and practical questions could be, and probably should be raised. But our time is running short. There remain two problems which must nevertheless be discussed. The first is the question of the restriction of his field to Europe.

Babits considered European culture and literature the most highly developed of his age, its distaff side included. He did not believe in European superiority — far from it. Potentially he was prepared to recognize and accept that any other culture and literature in another period of history may reach this level of development. But in his day no other literature or culture, mentality or world-image formation could compete with the state of development, the mobile structure, the dynamics of European culture and literature. Some Eastern cultures may have compared with it once but have a long time since become static, tradition-bound, their hierarchy restricted. He believed that the dynamic historical structure of European culture was due to its capacity of making the universal problems of human existence, the questions of its basic aims the continual centre of interest for every man, instilling into them the compulsion and the pain, the majesty and the dignity of dealing with them. This culture does not recognize the categories of a *caste* chosen and entitled to think and that of the *masses* bound to *follow* these. He considered that it was in this culture that the compulsion of self-creation, the consciousness of the necessity of the creation of a world image was realised to the utmost.

The second problem is that of the relation between national culture and universal culture, national literature and universal literature. He considered these *inseparable*. But he placed the common essence over the dividing differences. The two are not opposed but it is not possible to disregard the order

of importance. Disregarding it would mean that neither category would lead anywhere. We may only speak of the nature of *Hungarian, English, German, French* man if we have simultaneously and previously spoken of the nature of *Man*. Babits felt that his century had forcefully separated the two and had placed the dividing, secondary element not only opposite, but above the primary element, the common essence, the unifying force — and did this almost exclusively. This is what he experienced in the case of the French nationalists of the beginning of the century, the Hungarian and non-Hungarian chauvinists of the Danube basin, and especially in the case of the propagators of Nazism and their conscious or unwitting Hungarian followers. "Global Empire", he often wrote longingly, meaning by the symbolic expression the unimpeded fraternal unity and voluntary collectivity of nations that so many had yearned for before, during and after the two great wars, especially the best of the much-suffered and often deceived Central European peoples.

To this sphere belongs the question to which the listener certainly expects an answer: in what manner did Babits fit our national literature into the history of European literature? Strictly speaking this is a question of proportion rather than of method or conception, since he considered Hungarian literature and culture from the beginning, continually and completely a literature and culture nurtured on the soil of Western Christianity and liberalism — one that did not lose contact with that soil even under the influence of the secularizing ideological tendencies, but the desire to belong to the soil was henceforth amalgamated with the consciousness and desire of disparity as happened in the case of many others. In this book (and during this period) there is hardly any mention of the mystical position and quality between East and West indicative of a fateful, tragic, mythicized eternal solitariness, of which it was so very much in fashion to hold forth on by his foregoers and contemporaries (and of which he himself speaks at length in the first of his aforementioned unsuccessful essays, by no means uninfluenced by Beöthy).

What are these proportions like? The answer is clear-cut: they are precise and just. Longer passages are given up to those who may truly be ranked with the representatives, as he would say, of European elevated literature: Balassi, Pázmány, Zrínyi, Mikes, Csokonai, Berzsenyi, Kölcsey, Vörösmarty, Eötvös, Petőfi, Arany, Kemény, Péterfy, Ady runs the list. And a few more names merited a mention. From those listed the names of Zrínyi and Berzsenyi, Vörösmarty and Petőfi, Arany and Ady are strongly emphasized. The fact that the extent of their treatment generally does not equal that of their foreign companions of the same rank is no contradiction. Babits wished to present the evolution of a characteristic intellectual-spiritual sphere, the historical evolution of European literature. In this evolution

Hungarian works of art had as small parts to play as *inducers* as many works of other minor nationalities of European stature. Therefore his task was that of insertion, the indication of position and proportion. And he accomplished this objectively, with a validity and relevance that holds good even today. He knew that the European character or stature of the authors of minor nationalities did not depend on whether their names were often repeated but upon whether their works could truly be measured against the European intellectual-spiritual-artistic standards of an age.

Historio-philosophical and ontological interest played a great role in Babits' philosophical disposition. He believed that the human essence, which is always most apparent in a dynamic great culture, is always structure-like and structurally variable. In each of these structure-like elements the variation of the characteristics of the parts is always much faster than the variation of the more general, more constant and more quintessential common essence. The changing of the parts always has an effect on the whole of the structure, but the truly essential changes in the parts are always accompanied by essential changes in the whole of the structure. The detachment of parts for the purpose of separation entails the mutilation of the whole and implies an emptying of the parts that threatens their existence. The tragedy — the tragicomedy — of nationalisms is that they believe to recognize the essence of their represented culture in ephemeral, incidental, secondary manifestations, losing or discarding in the meanwhile the consciousness of the common, truly human essence that is the true basis of every peculiarity. Because he did not believe that it was possible to say anything definitive of the characteristics of any part without drawing a parallel between it and the common essence, just as it is impossible to confront it with the other parts without taking into account the common essence.

From all the products of his mature didactic activities it is certainly not by chance that the least congruent, the least argumented, the most artificial as far as a starting-point, logics and conclusion is concerned are those two essays in which, as if doing violence to his own conception, he attempts to examine the part independently, detached, in itself, as did many of his contemporaries. The first is the essay upon the character of Hungarian literature, the second is a didactic prose piece upon the Hungarian character in a volume entitled *What is Hungarian?* The first is undeniably haunted by the Beöthy-type pretentious national characterology — in certain statements it is manifestly felt. In the second he was so far conscious of the absurdity of the undertaking that it is full of revocations, faltering apologies and excuses. "When a question like this arises, — he says, — the writer can only send out exploratory feelers in the direction of a faculté maîtresse, of a basic trait" — in which he does not believe himself. Understandably. For perhaps it is not hopeless to determine the Hungarianness of the Hungarian nobility in the 18th and

19th centuries or that of the Hungarian peasantry in either half of the 19th century. But, by making a particular element an eternal essence, the question becomes absurd and can only be answered by those able to tell you not only what is Hungarian but also what is more Hungarian and even what is most Hungarian — and immediately lay down the duties of the individual in contradistinction against the individual in the name of the essence *under penalty of letting the nation perish*. Or one can answer with trifles like the high dignitary of the *What is Hungarian?* volume, according to whom being Hungarian means being a good Hungarian and the foremost aim for all Hungarians is to be the best possible Hungarians.

But Babits did more than write, speak and harangue — he thought.

5

We have said that Babits's liberalism was conservative. We would not think to speak of sophistically revolutionary conservativism, of conservative revolutionarism in the name of Chateaubriand, La Garde, Gobineau, Ernst Jünger or even Mannheim. This liberalism was conservative because it adhered to that nineteenth century variety of classical liberalism which saw the right and liberty (in the widest sense of the word) of every individual as the most important means of helping every individual to assert himself within and through his own image of the world. At the same time this conservatively liberal attitude was defensively oppositional because it made use of the elements contained by the ideal and those resulting from the ideal for the purpose of defending the ideal — but not only of these — almost exclusively of these. That interfusion of liberalism and social democraticism which characterized the left-wing intellectuals of the second third of the century remained alien to him, and he believed he could best defend the rights of man, the rights of the individual with the moral resistance of primarily cultural and intellectual means. This on the continent of the collective-national or national-social dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini, Laval and Franco, Metaxas and Horthy, Salazar and Gömbös — not to mention other tyrants and other dictatorships — was certainly not enough, but it was certainly not unimportant. And from an artistic point of view this conservative liberalism was more open than any radicalisms of other tendencies whether opposing the part or opposing other trends that differed from their own. Babits did not accept works of art according to the *trend or schools* to which they belonged but according to the *direction of their meaning*. The works which were capable of directing attention in a convincing manner to a world image worthy of attention by force of the direction of their meaning he estimated and accepted — regardless of the trend or school to which they belonged. Babits's book is a historical continuation of that peculiar Hungarian liberal train of thought which may be marked

with the names of Kölcsey, Széchenyi, Eötvös, Arany, Péterfy and Jászi. This work is at once a narrowing down and a broadening out of that train of thought: the declining of a direct social-public role being the former, the prevention of limiting thinking to a purely political-philosophical level being the later. And this book of Babits's fits into the line of the European literature and the intellectual culture of the age which runs from Rilke to Eliot, Plank to Einstein, Bohr to Heisenberg. This latter in his superb essay on Plato expresses ideas that are almost identical with Babits' views: every life and every work of art is an attempt to create a world image. An attempt which is the right and duty of every man. And like Babits — the experiments of those listed all pointed towards transcendency.

It would not commend marxist thinking, it would not be worthy of marxist thought to attempt to explain the reasons behind those common and characteristic features with lexical stereotypes, with solely sociological explanations or even pathopsychological formulas instead of a true philosophical interpretation that embraces sociology, psychology and politics, even if this means submitting our own opinion to revision — since ontology of historical dialectics, historical dialectics of ontological aspirations are at the centre of marxism — as György Lukács clearly saw in his final maturity and courage.

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Structure et sens poétiques dans les anciennes chansons d'amour occitanes

IMRE SZABICS

Depuis la parution des études fondamentales de R. Jakobson et de J. M. Lotman sur les rapports inhérents de la poésie et de la grammaire, la corrélation interne des textes poétiques et de leur structure grammaticale *(Poésie de la grammaire et grammaire de la poésie; Le parallélisme grammatical;*[1] *Linguistique et Poétique*[2] *— The Structure of the Artistic Text*[3]*)* on ne saurait faire l'analyse exhaustive d'un poème sans tenir compte de la fonction poétique des éléments phonématiques, lexicaux, syntaxiques et sémantiques, tout comme du rôle indispensable des figures de rhétorique dans la composition des œuvres littéraires. Comme le fait remarquer très justement R. Jakobson: «...c'est dans la FICTION, telle qu'elle se développe dans l'art du langage, que les FICTIONS LINGUISTIQUES se réalisent dans toute leur plénitude. Il est parfaitement évident que les concepts grammaticaux, — ou, dans la terminologie de Fortunatov, les "sens formels" — trouvent leurs possibilités d'application les plus étendues en poésie, dans la mesure où il s'agit là de la manifestation la plus formalisée du langage. Dès lors qu'en ce domaine la fonction poétique l'emporte sur la fonction strictement cognitive, celle-ci y est plus ou moins occultée, . . .»[4] Et un peu plus loin, il définit ainsi la cohérence interne de la récurrence de certains éléments grammaticaux et du parallélisme grammatical: » La récurrence d'une même "figure grammaticale", qui est, (. . .) avec le retour d'une même figure phonique, *le principe constitutif de l'œuvre poétique* (c'est moi qui souligne — I. Sz.), est particulièrement évidente dans ces formes poétiques où, plus ou moins régulièrement, des unités métriques contiguës sont combinées, en fonction d'un parallélisme grammatical, en paires ou, occasionnellement, en triplets. »[5]

Dans la présente étude nous nous proposons d'analyser et de démontrer l'unité de la composition poétique et de la structure grammaticale dans deux pièces célèbres et de première importance de la lyrique occitane du moyen âge.

Guiraud de Bornèlh: Alba

I

L'opinion des critiques a été longtemps partagée sur ce troubadour périgourdin alors que l'abondance et la variété de son œuvre (77 pièces) ainsi que la perfection de sa technique poétique lui valurent la réputation de « maestre dels Trobadors », et que Dante même « le considéra comme le poète de la *rectitudo*, avant de lui préférer Arnaud Daniel ». Bien que ses nombreux *cansós*, *sirventés* et *tensons* ne présentent pas une philosophie originale et très profonde de la *fin'amor*, tel n'étant pas son but, il excelle avant tout dans la perfection de l'actualisation formelle des thèmes communs de la poésie troubadouresque, dans la richesse et la virtuosité de son langage poétique, de ses procédés expressifs et de sa versification.

Pour notre part, nous partageons entièrement le jugement pertinent et juste de R. Lafont: « Poète peu personnel, Guiraud de Bornèlh excelle cependant à provoquer une émotion de haute qualité chez le lecteur. Emotion esthétique liée à la beauté des images, à l'extraordinaire variété des rythmes et des rimes, à la rigueur de l'expression, et, autant qu'il nous soit permis d'en juger, à la splendeur de la mélodie. Emotion plus qu'esthétique, car il réussit à prendre au filet de son style le sentiment amoureux, le sentiment de l'amitié, le sentiment de la nature. »[6]

« Oscillant entre le *trobar ric* et le *trobar leu*, il conquit sa réputation surtout grâce à ses poésies hermétiques » (P. Bec),[7] et en particulier à son Aube, considérée comme le poème le plus célèbre du genre, et le plus troublant.

Reis gloriós, verais lums e clartatz,
Dèus poderós, Sénher, si a vos platz,
Al meu companh sïatz fizèls ajuda,
Qu'eu non lo vi pòs la nòchs fo venguda,
E adès serà l'alba.

Bèl companhó, si dormètz o velhatz,
Non dormatz plus, suau vos ressidatz,
Qu'en orïent vei l'estela creguda
Qu'amena'l jorn, qu'eu l'ai ben coneguda,
E adès serà l'alba.

Bèl companhó, en chantan vos apèl,
Non dormatz plus, qu'eu aug chantar l'auzèl
Que vai queren lo jorn per lo boscatge,
Et ai paor que'l gilós vos assatge,
E adès serà l'alba.

Bèl companhó, eissètz al fenestrèl,
Et esgardatz las ensenhas del cèl;
Conoisseretz si'us sui fizèls messatge:
Si non o faitz, vòstres n'èr lo damnatge,
E adès serà l'alba.

Bèl companhó, pòs mi parti de vos,
Eu non dormi ni'm mòc de ginolhós,
Ans preguèi Dèu lo filh Santa Maria,
Que'us mi rendés per lejal companhia,
E adès serà l'alba.

Bèl companhó, la fòras als peirós
Me prejavatz qu'eu no fos dormilhós,
Enans velhès tota nòch tro al dia;
Aras no'us platz mos chans ni ma paria,
E adès serà l'alba.

— Bèl dous companh, tan sui en ric sojorn
Qu'eu non vòlgra mais fos alba ni jorn,
Car la gensor que anc nasqués de maire
Tenc et abras, per que non prèzi gaire
Lo fol gilós ni l'alba.

(Texte d'A. Kolsen)[8]

Roi glorieux, lumière et clarté véritables, Dieu puissant, apportez, s'il vous plaît, Seigneur, votre aide fidèle à mon compagnon. Car je ne l'ai point revu depuis que la nuit est tombée, et bientôt poindra l'aube !

Beau compagnon, que vous dormiez ou veilliez, ne dormez plus, éveillez-vous doucement; car je vois grandir à l'orient l'étoile qui amène le jour; je l'ai bien reconnue, et bientôt poindra l'aube !

Beau compagnon, mon chant vous appelle, ne dormez plus; j'entends chanter l'oiseau qui va cherchant le jour dans le bocage; et j'ai bien peur que le jaloux ne vous surprenne, car bientôt poindra l'aube !

Beau compagnon, montrez-vous à la fenêtre et regardez les étoiles du ciel; vous saurez ainsi si je vous suis fidèle messager. Si vous ne le faites point, vôtre sera le dommage, car bientôt poindra l'aube !

Beau compagnon, depuis que je vous ai quitté, je n'ai point dormi et n'ai cessé de prier à genoux Dieu, le fils de sainte Marie, afin qu'il me rende mon loyal ami; car bientôt poindra l'aube !

Beau compagnon, vous m'avez prié, là-bas, sur le perron, de ne point m'endormir et de veiller toute la nuit jusqu'au jour; et maintenant ne vous plaisent ni mon chant ni ma compagnie; mais bientôt poindra l'aube !

— Mon doux ami, je suis en si noble séjour, que jamais je ne voudrais voir venir ni aube ni jour, car je tiens dans mes bras la plus belle qui naquît de mère. Voilà pourquoi je ne prise guère ni le stupide jaloux ni l'aube.

(Traduction de Pierre Bec)[9]

Pour ce qui concerne les caractéristiques de ce genre lyrique, nous en citons la définition succincte de P. Bec: « D'une manière générale, on peut définir *l'aube* comme une pièce lyrique composée sur le thème de la séparation de deux amants qui, après une furtive et souvent illicite entrevue nocturne, sont réveillés à l'aube par le chant des oiseaux ou le cri du veilleur de nuit et déplorent le jour qui vient trop tôt. Le mot *alba*, du moins dans les pièces occitanes, revient régulièrement à la fin de chaque couplet où il forme refrain: d'où le nom du genre. »[10]

II

A la différence de la plupart des aubes, notre poème commence par une invocation, une prière dans laquelle l'ami fidèle, le guetteur sollicite la protection de Dieu pour les amants menacés par le *gilós* ou l'arrivée prompte du jour:

Reis gloriós, verais lums e clartatz,
Dèus poderós, Sénher, si a vos platz,
Al meu companh sïatz fizèls ajuda, (1–3)

Le protecteur suprême, le « veilleur céleste » est invoqué par quatre syntagmes nominaux (dont trois sont épithétiques) qui, en formant une série de répétition synonymique, complètent et intensifient les uns les autres. Les deux syntagmes les plus importants aux points de vue sémantique et rhétorique *(Reis gloriós, . . .Dèus poderós)* constituent un parallélisme grammatical parfait, étant dans une position initiale identique, et comprenant les mêmes éléments grammaticaux (nom + adj. épithète) et aussi le même nombre de syllabes. L'apposition du premier syntagme *(verais lums e clartatz)* est une périphrase métaphorique dont l'épithète-clé *verais* a pour rôle distinctif, avec la métabole *lums e clartatz* d'opposer Dieu, « *fizèls ajuda* » des amoureux, aux autres « lumières » de la nature (aube, jour) qui sont, de par le caractère spécifique du genre, leurs adversaires nuisibles.

Au troisième vers de l'invocation apparaît le *terme-clé* (meu *companh*) par lequel le guetteur appelle l'amant tout le long du poème, et le fait que ce terme est mis en tête du vers par l'inversion des éléments de la proposition lui assure d'emblée une expressivité poétique. Ce terme revient par la suite au début de chaque strophe en fonction de vocatif *(Bèl companhó)*, et devient de la sorte un *leit-motif* anaphorique traduisant l'insistance soutenue du guetteur.

Après l'invocation, cette demande de protection pour les amoureux plongés dans leur entrevue nocturne, le guetteur s'adresse à son compagnon et lui rappelle l'arrivée du jour qui, favorable pour le commun des gens, paradoxalement, est un moment « cruel » pour lui puisqu'il devra se séparer de sa bien-aimée. En un premier temps, l'ami fidèle tente de « réveiller » son « *bèl companhó* » tout doucement, avec des paroles tendres, ce qui est rendu, d'une part, par les deux impératifs pléonastiques formant un parallélisme syntaxique et sémantique, et atténués par l'adverbe *suau* (doucement):

Non dormatz plus, *suau* vos ressidatz (12)

D'autre part, l'argument du veilleur est renfermé dans une subordonnée causale de ton très harmonieux (*Qu'en orïent vei l'estela creguda | Qu'amena'l jorn, . . .*), contenant l'annonce périphrastique de l'aube *(estela creguda qu'amena'l jorn)*, ce qui rentre également dans le cadre de l'insistance douce, atténuée. Nous faisons remarquer qu'à l'unité harmonieuse des subordonnées du distique contribue dans une large mesure la paronomasie des deux participes du substantif *estela : CreGUDA . . . ConeGUDA*.

Les deuxième et troisième couplets sont reliés par la récurrence expressive de l'appel *(Non dormatz plus)* dans la même position syntaxique, en tête du second vers du distique. (Ce même verbe revient encore, en tant que polyptote des précédents *(Eu non dormi)*, au début de la cinquième strophe servant de preuve à l'appui du service inlassable du veilleur.) Dans ces couplets, de même qu'au début du quatrième, le veilleur se réfère aux divers phénomènes

de la nature pour atteindre à ses buts et s'acquitter de sa mission, et élargit de la sorte l'espace clos de la situation de départ en lui prêtant des dimensions extra-contextuelles.

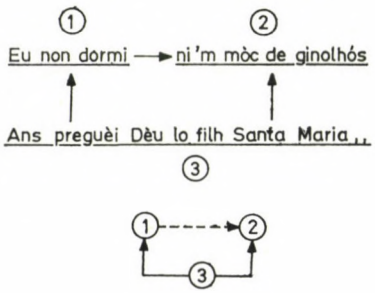
> . . . qu'eu aug *chantar l'auzèl*
> Que vai queren lo jorn[11] per *lo boscatage*, (12–13)
>
> Bèl companhó, eissètz al fenestrèl,
> Et esgardatz *las ensenhas del cèl*; (16–17)

Cependant, ces topiques de printemps, bien connus et familiers pour le public médiéval, constitués des motifs du chant d'oiseau ou du bois verdoyant — *las ensenhas del cèl*, belle image métaphorique, peut être considérée comme la reprise et variation du syntagme périphrastique *estela creguda* —, sont, en l'occurrence, les moyens efficaces de l'insistance du veilleur attentif.

Par la suite, le guetteur exprime son dévouement plein d'angoisse pour son « *bèl companhó* » *expressis verbis*, par ses confidences personnelles:

> Conoisseretz si'us sui *fizèls messatge :* (18)
>
> Bèl companhó, pòs mi parti de vos,
> Eu non dormi ni'm mòc de ginolhós,
> Ans preguèi Dèu lo filh Santa Maria,
> Que'us mi rendés per lejal companhia, (21–24)

Dans la cinquième strophe on assiste à l'amplification rhétorique du thème de la surveillance dévouée au moyen d'une gradation frappante:



La prière mentionnée aux vers 23–24 est en effet la reprise de l'invocation initiale, la répétition expressive de la demande de protection à Dieu pour l'ami-amant *(Que'us mi rendés per lejal companhia)*. Le syntagme épithétique impliquant la fidélité et l'amitié *(lejal companhia)* constitue une figure étymologique avec les termes *companh* et *companhó*, et cette identité étymologique est susceptible de traduire l'identité et l'unité sémantiques, contextuelles des *termes-clés* fondamentaux du poème.

Au début de la sixième strophe, le guetteur rappelle à son ami l'accord convenu entre eux *(Me prejavatz qu'eu no fos dormilhós)*, et l'importance de cette demande est soulignée par des temps verbaux marquant la durée et l'intensité de l'action (imparfait, tour périphrastique). D'autre part, le parallélisme syntaxique des propositions adversatives des cinquième et sixième strophes

(Eu non dormi . . *. . . qu'eu no fos dormilhós,*
=
Ans preguèi Dèu . . . *Enans velhès tota nòch . . .)*

relève le leit-motif le plus important de *l'alba*: le dévouement et la vigilance du veilleur.

La dernière strophe renferme la réponse fière et frappante de l'amant au veilleur, qui est une opposition nette des angoisses de celui-ci. L'amour et la présence de sa bien-aimée lui font oublier et mépriser les dangers imminents que lui rappelle l'ami fidèle:

Car la gensor que anc nasqués de maire
Tenc et abras, per que non prèzi gaire
Lo fol gilós ni l'alba. (33–35)

III

La tension latente se manifestant tout le long du poème se traduit par le refrain *(E adès serà l'alba)* qui clôt, à la fin de chaque strophe, le discours avertissant du veilleur comme un argument final et irrévocable. Le refrain de la dernière strophe contenant la réponse consciente de l'amant réunit même les deux périls imminents qui menacent les amoureux *(Lo fol gilós ni l'alba)*.

Le veilleur est le personnage central, le protagoniste véritable de l'alba. Il est non seulement le garde vigilant et fidèle des amants mais aussi et surtout leur porte-parole, susceptible de créer un rapport, une communication entre leur espace clos et le monde extérieur. Ce n'est qu'à travers ses propos adressés à l'amant, ses insistances et angoisses, bref, son attitude manifesté à l'égard des amoureux qu'il surveille et protège qu'on peut suivre l'évolution de l'entrevue pleine d'éléments dramatiques, exposée au danger *que'l gilós (les) assatge*, et plus encore à l'arrivée imminente du jour qui provoquera la séparation douloureuse et inéluctable.

Bernart de Ventadorn: Can l'erba fresch' e-lh folha par

I

« Parmi les troubadours et les trouvères du XIIe siècle, Bernard de Ventadour occupe une place toute particulière à la fois par la profondeur de son inspiration, la sincérité de ses confessions, la variété de ses émotions,

le rythme et la musicalité de ses vers et par l'originalité de son imagerie poétique. »[12]

Certes, Bernard de Ventadour dépasse tous ses devanciers et contemporains en tant que poète le plus doué et le plus profond de la *fin'amor* qui était à la fois son thème principal et sa source d'inspiration inépuisable. C'est dans son œuvre que les principes du courant idéologique et poétique qu'on est convenu d'appeler *fin'amor* et *courtoisie* trouvent leurs formes d'expression les plus congruentes et se présentent dans leur épanouissement le plus complet et le plus parfait. La sincérité des sentiments et la profondeur de la passion de ce troubadour du XIIe siècle saisissent même aujourd'hui le lecteur bien qu'il soit fort probable que chacun de ses poèmes ne traduise pas un amour réel, un amour vécu. A ce propos, M. Lazar a parfaitement raison de faire observer: « Les limites entre *le vécu dans la réalité et le vécu dans l'imagination* sont dans toute poésie (. . .) si fugaces, si inextricablement mêlées, qu'il est difficile, impossible même, de les distinguer. En fait, elles ne demandent pas à être distinguées, et l'art consiste justement dans cette fusion entre le réel et l'imaginaire, dans cette métamorphose de la vie vécue et de la vie imaginée. C'est la substance même de l'expérience poétique. Les amours réellement vécues et les amours rêvées seulement peuvent se traduire dans la chanson avec la même intensité, avec une sincérité identique. C'est certainement le cas dans la poésie de Bernard de Ventadour. »[13]

Amour réel et imaginaire, amour sensuel et spiritualisé, joie extatique et désir insatisfait, espérance nostalgique et détresse désespérée, tous les aspects de la passion amoureuse sont abordés et développés dans les chansons d'amour de Bernard de Ventadour, poète inégalé du *jòi* et de l'exaltation de la *fin'amor*.

CAN L'ERBA FRESCH'E-LH FOLHA PAR

Can l'erba fresch'e-lh folha par
e la flors boton'el verjan,
e-l rossinhols autet e clar
leva sa votz e mou so chan,
joi ai de lui, e joi ai de la flor
e joi de me e de midons major;
daus totas partz sui de joi claus e sens,
mal sel es jois que totz autres jois vens.

Ai las! com mor de cossirar!
Que manhtas vetz en cossir tan:
lairo m'en poirian portar,
que re no sabria que-s fan.
Per Deu, Amors! be-m trobas vensedor:
ab paucs d'amics e ses autre senhor.
Car una vetz tan midons no destrens
abans qu'eu fos del dezirer estens?

Meravilh me com posc durar
que no-lh demostre mo talan.
Can eu vei midons ni l'esgar,

li seu bel olh tan be l'estan:
per pauc me tenh car eu vas leis no cor.
Si feira eu, si no fos per paor,
c'anc no vi cors melhs talhatz ni depens
ad ops d'amar sia tan greus ni lens.

Tan am midons e la tenh car,
e tan la dopt'e la reblan
c'anc de me no-lh auzei parlar,
ni re no-lh quer ni re no-lh man.
Pero elh sap mo mal e ma dolor,
e can li plai, mi fai ben et onor,
e can li plai, eu m'en sofert ab mens,
per so c'a leis no-n avenha blastens.

S'eu saubes la gen enchantar,
mei enemic foran efan,
que ja us no saubra triar
ni dir re que-ns tornes a dan.
Adoncs sai eu que vira la gensor
e sos bels olhs e sa frescha color,
e baizera-lh la bocha en totz sens,
si que d'un mes i paregra lo sens.

Be la volgra sola trobar,
que dormis, o-n fezes semblan,
per qu'e-lh embles un doutz baizar,
pus no valh tan qu'eu lo-lh deman.
a Per Deu, domna, pauc esplecham d'amor;
Vai s'en lo tems, e perdem lo melhor!
Parlar degram ab cubertz entresens,
e, pus no-ns val arditz, valgues nos gens!

Be deuri'om domna blasmar,
can trop vai son amic tarzan,
que lonja paraula d'amar
es grans enois e par d'enjan,
c'amar pot om e far semblan alhor,
e gen mentir lai on non a autor.
Bona domna, ab sol c'amar mi dens,
ja per mentir eu no serai atens.

Messatger, vai, e no m'en prezes mens,
s'eu del anar vas midons sui temens.

(Texte de C. Appel)[14]

Lorsque l'herbe fraîche et les feuilles paraissent, que la fleur bourgeonne sur la branche, et que le rossignol élève sa voix haute et claire et entonne son chant, j'ai joie de lui, et j'ai joie de la fleur, et joie de moi-même et plus grande encore, de ma dame; de toutes parts je suis cerné et ceint de joie, mais la vraie joie est celle qui domine toutes les autres joies.

Hélas! comme je meurs de penser à elle! car bien des fois je suis tellement pensif que des voleurs pourraient m'enlever sans que je me rende compte de ce qu'ils font. Par Dieu, Amour! tu me trouves facile à vaincre; ayant peu d'amis, sans autre seigneur. Pourquoi n'oppresses-tu pas de même une fois ma dame, avant que je ne sois consumé par la passion?

Je suis étonné comme je puis durer sans que je lui confesse mon désire. Lorsque je vois ma dame et la regarde, ses beaux yeux lui vont si bien que je me retiens à peine de courir vers elle. Et je le ferais, n'était la crainte, car jamais je ne vis corps mieux taillé ni peint qui, pour le besoin d'amour, fût si rétif et lent.

J'aime tellement ma dame et la chéris, je la crains et lui rends hommage à tel point que jamais je n'ai osé lui parler de moi; je ne lui demande rien et je ne lui envoie

rien. Mais elle connaît mon mal et ma douleur, et quand il lui plaît, elle me fait du bien et m'honore; et lorsqu'il lui plaît, je me contente même de moins, afin que nul blâme ne lui en vienne.

Si je savais ensorceler les gens, mes ennemis deviendraient des enfants, et aucun d'eux ne saurait découvrir ne rapporter chose qui pût nous nuire. Je sais qu'alors je verrais la plus noble femme, ses beaux yeux et sa fraîche couleur, et je lui baiserais la bouche en tous sens, si bien que durant un mois on y verrait la marque.

Je voudrais bien la trouver seule, qu'elle dormît ou qu'elle en fît semblant, pour lui ravir un doux baiser, puisque je suis indigne de le lui demander. Par Dieu, dame ! nous vivons peu notre amour; le temps passe et nous en perdons la meilleure part ! Nous devrions nous parler à l'aide d'un code secret, et puisque l'audace ne nous vaut rien, que nous vaille notre ingéniosité !

On devrait bien blâmer une femme quand elle tient trop en suspens son amant; car parler longtemps d'amour est une grande tristesse et peut paraître une ruse, puisqu'on peut aimer et ailleurs en faire semblant, et joliment mentir quand il n'y a point de témoin. Douce dame, si seulement tu daignais m'aimer, je ne serais jamais atteint par le mensonge.

Va, messager, et puisse-t-elle ne pas m'en estimer moins, si je crains de me rendre moi-même chez ma dame.

(Traduction de M. Lazar)[15]

II

Les motifs du début printanier, actualisés par les champs reverdis et les fleurs épanouies ainsi que par le chant du rossignol particulièrement fréquent chez notre troubadour,[16] sont très étroitement liés à l'explosion du *jòi* (joie) d'amour. Bien qu'il s'agisse là des topiques bien connus, impliquant la naissance des sentiments amoureux, ils ne sont susceptibles dans aucune autre chanson de dégager avec tels vigueur et éclat cette joie presque extatique qui est le propre du poète de la *fin'amor*:

> *joi* ai de lui, e *joi* ai de la flor
> e *joi* de me e de midons major,
> daus totas partz sui de *joi* claus e sens,
> mas sel es *jois* que totz autres *jois* vens. (5–8)

On voit ici cette joie d'amour *in statu nascendi*: le troubadour révèle lui-même qu'il la ressent en entendant le chant du rossignol et en regardant les fleurs fraîchement épanouies *(joi ai de lui, e joi ai de la flor)*. Le mot-clé anaphorique *joi* se répète six fois (!) dans les quatre vers de la première strophe, et non seulement en position « marquée », c'est-à-dire en tête de vers ou au début d'hémistiche, mais aussi dans une disposition telle qui correspond à une belle gradation rhétorique et sémantique. Du *jòi* dégagé par les images de la nature printanière, le troubadour parvient à la joie suprême et unique « qui domine toutes les autres joies », à celle de la *veraia* ou *fin'amor*.

Après l'explosion et l'exaltation quasi idéalisée de la joie d'amour, ce sentiment extatique s'éteint peu à peu pour céder la place à la réalité troublante des désirs amoureux, et le poème continue par un *decrescendo* nostalgique. Le poète amoureux est en proie de sa passion à tel point qu'il est asservi non seulement à sa dame mais à quiconque voudrait disposer de lui:

> Que manhtas vetz en cossir tan:
> lairo m'en poirian portar,
> que re no sabria que-s fan. (10–12)

(Nous faisons observer l'allitération dans le deuxième vers — *poirian portar* — ainsi que la paronomasie des mots allitératifs). Il s'avoue être sans défense contre le pouvoir de l'amour *(Per Deu, Amors! be-m trobas vensedor : ab paucs d'amics e ses autre senhor)*. La vue seule de la belle apparence de sa dame le remplit d'un bonheur infini et peu s'en faut que l'amoureux ne se précipite inconscient dans les bras de celle qui pourtant « *ad ops d'amar sia tan greus ni lens* ». Le dynamisme et le rythme alerte émanant de l'intention du poète emporté par sa passion se reflètent dans la succession rapide des termes courts, monosyllabiques:

li seu bel olh tan be l'estan:
per pauc me tenh car eu vas leis no cor. (20–21)

Il se sent ensorcelé par les beaux yeux et le corps frais et ravissant de la « *domna* » ; ce fragment de portrait féminin, cette esquisse de *descriptio puellae* deviendra un véritable motif récurrent dans les vers 37–38:

Adoncs sai eu que vira la gensor
e sos bels olhs e sa frescha color,

Les paroles du *fin amant* deviennent à la fois passionnées et craintives lorsqu'il déclare son amour inassouvi pour sa dame; il se conduit en « *servidor* » qui redoute l'insensibilité et désire la bienveillance, la compréhension de « *midons* ». Il est pleinement conscient de ce que la *mercé* ne peut venir que de la bonne volonté de la dame qui connaît bien son état et ses aspirations douloureuses.

Tan am midons e la tenh car,
e tan la dopt'e la reblan
c'anc de me no-lh auzei parlar,
ni re no-lh quer ni re no-lh man.
Pero elh sap mo mal e ma dolor,
e can li plai, mi fai ben et onor,
e can li plai, eu m'en sofert ab mens,
per so c'a leis no-n avenha blastens. (25–32)

Si nous regardons de près la composition de cette strophe, nous apercevons qu'elle est construite en grande partie selon un principe binaire, c'est-à-dire que, la plupart du temps, ce sont des métaboles à deux termes, des itérations synonymiques qui en constituent les vers (Tan *am midons* e *la tenh car*, e tan *la dopt'* e *la reblan* ; Pero elh sap *mo mal* e *ma dolor*, e can li plai, mi fai *ben* et *onor*). Ce sont tous, en l'occurrence, les moyens rhétoriques adéquats de l'expression du sentiment amoureux exacerbé.

Il ne saurait être dû au hasard que cette composition binaire apparaît même dans la première strophe, consacrée à l'exaltation du *jòi* d'amour (Can *l'erba fresch' el-lh folha* par; e-l rossinhols *autet* e *clar* / *leva sa votz* e *mou so chan, joi ai de lui, e joi ai de la flor* . . .). Ce parallélisme relie en effet les deux strophes les plus importantes au point de vue du contenu idéologique

de la *cansó*: ce sont elles qui exposent de tels principes fondamentaux de la *fin'amor* que le *jòi* ou le service amoureux inconditionnel.

Le désir ardent et l'inaccessibilité de la dame aimée poussent l'amant jusqu'à des aspirations magiques: il voudrait savoir enchanter ses adversaires *(gilós, lauzengiers)* qui lui barrent le chemin menant vers sa dame. C'est aussi par l'enchantement qu'il espère pouvoir trouver seule et embrasser « *la gensor* ». L'amour inassouvi lui fait imaginer toutes sortes de jeux érotiques *(e baizera-lh la bocha en totz sens, si que d'un mes i paregra lo sens. — Be la volgra sola trobar, . . . per qu'e-lh embles un doutz baizar,)*. On ne peut ne pas s'apercevoir dans ces vers du caractère transcendant de la *fin'amor*; l'inaccessibilité de la *dómna*, les risques et les dangers qui accompagnent cet amour ne permettent qu'un accomplissement en rêve, imaginaire. Malgré que le poète semble professer l'idée de *carpe diem (Per Deu, domna, pauc esplecham d'amor; vai s'en lo tems, e perdem lo melhor!)* et qu'il blâme la dame pour faire attendre trop longtemps son amant, nul doute qu'elle reste absente dans cet amour et que le troubadour ne pourra qu'espérer sa grâce, sa *mercé*. *(Bona domna, ab sol c'amar mi dens, ja per mentir eu no serai atens.)*

NOTES

[1] Dans les *Questions de poétique*, Paris, éd. du Seuil, 1973, pp. 219–279.
[2] Dans les *Essais de linguistique générale* (Chap. XI.), Paris, éd. de Minuit, 1963.
[3] Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1977.
[4] *Poésie de la grammaire et grammaire de la poésie, éd. cit.*, p. 221.
[5] *Ibidem*, p. 222.
[6] *Trobar*, Montpellier, Centre d'Etudes Occitanes, 1972, p. 153.
[7] *Anthologie des troubadours*, Paris, Union Générale d'Editions, 1979, p. 166.
[8] *Sämtliche Lieder des trobadors Giraut de Bornelh*, Halle, 1935², pp. 342–344.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 169.
[10] *La lyrique française au moyen âge* (XIIe — XIIIe siècles), I., Paris, Picard, 1977, p. 91.
[11] *vai queren lo jorn*: selon Hamlin, F. R., Ricketts, P. T., et Hathaway, J., il s'agit ici d'un présent périphrastique au sens de 'va lamentant (l'arrivée du) jour'. « *queren:* il semble y avoir eu au Moyen Age une confusion entre *quaerere*, 'chercher', et *queri*, 'lamenter', provenant de la disparition de la diphtongue *ae* et du système des déponents. » (*Introduction à l'étude de l'ancien provençal. Textes d'études*, Genève, Droz, 1967, pp. 121–122.).
[12] Bernard de Ventadour, *Chansons d'amour*, éd. par Lazar, M., Paris, Klincksieck, 1966, p. 9.
[13] *Ibidem*, p. 11.
[14] *Bernart von Ventadorn: seine Lieder mit Einleitung und Glossar*, Halle, 1915, pp. 220–223.
[15] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 137–139.
[16] Voir aussi sa chanson *La dousa votz ai auzida* (*Ed. cit.*, p. 190.)

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André Chénier. Les problèmes de l'expérience

László Ferenczi

L'appréciation critique de Chénier et la « technique » de sa lecture ont varié, au cours des derniers cent cinquante ans, selon les exigences et pratiques consécutives au Romantisme, au Parnasse, à la poétique éliotienne et au Nouveau Roman français. La multiplicité des approches témoigne de la richesse du poète.

Chénier, de son vivant, n'avait publié que deux poèmes seulement et ce sont les éditeurs qui, plus tard, classeront ses poésies, en général selon les genres. Cette classification semble être satisfaisante, bien que la séparation faite entre les poèmes « achevés » et les fragments, soit peu convaincante, et ce pour deux raisons. La première — comme l'ont également remarqué Babits et Thibaudet indépendamment l'un de l'autre — est que l'influence exercée par Chénier provient tout d'abord de ses fragments, et la seconde, raison primordiale, est qu'il est extrêmement difficile de faire la distinction entre les poèmes achevés et les fragments.

En 1969 est parue à Moscou une anthologie bilingue de poètes français traduits par des poètes russes des XIXe et XXe siècles. Chénier y figure avec vingt poèmes, dont certains sont achevés et d'autres non comme le veut la tradition des éditions françaises. L'édition russe omet de signaler, avec force raison, si le texte en question doit être considéré ou non comme fragment, et évite par là de troubler le plaisir du lecteur. Qui plus est: sur les quelques 250 vers de *L'Aveugle*, comme seuls les 25 premiers ont été traduits par Pouchkine, l'éditeur ne publie également que ces 25 vers dans le texte français. Le texte donne ainsi impression d'un grand poème intégral; si le lecteur s'aperçoit qu'il n'a lu là qu'un dixième de l'œuvre, cela ne peut provenir que de ses seuls connaisances d'histoire littéraire, et non de son sens critique.

Les différentes éditions peuvent influencer les impressions du lecteur selon qu'elles séparent ou non les poèmes achevés des fragments, et si oui, dans quelle mesure, ou bien selon l'ordre qu'elles donnent aux poèmes publiés. Toute classification est arbitraire, précisons-le. Pour ma part, j'ai en général utilisé les éditions de Latouche, de Dimoff et de Walter — n'ayant pu acquérir celle de Hérédia —, mais il faut dire que mon opinion sur les élégies a été grandement influencée par le choix de l'édition de Gerbault.

A partir des classifications des éditions posthumes, nous pouvons ranger, suivant la thématique et les genres, les poèmes de Chénier en quatre cycles. Le premier comprend les poèmes d'amour, dont le genre caractéristique est l'élégie, le second englobe les poèmes relatant des histoires, des mythes de la tradition culturelle de L'Antiquité; on les appelle habituellement des *Bucoliques*. Le troisième cycle est constitué par les deux fragments d'épopée, l'*Hermes* et *L'Amérique* et le quatrième par les poèmes politiques: hymnes, odes et iambes; j'y range aussi l'Épilogue de l'*Hermes*. (Remarquons entre parenthèses qu'un certain nombre de poèmes entrent mal, ou pas du tout dans cette classification qui peut pourtant être utilisée à titre d'hypothèse de travail.)

L'élément spécifique des *Élégies* est la sincérité, sincérité qui ne constitue pas en soi une catégorie, ou une valeur esthétique, sauf dans la mesure où elle apparaît comme élément documentaire du point de vue de la thématique. Ce n'est pas la sincérité qui fait l'authenticité d'un poème, car celui-ci n'est pas un sentiment, et d'autre part l'authenticité du poème et la sincérité du poète ne sont choses assimilables. L'apparition de la sincérité dans la poésie est pourtant capitale, puisqu'elle signifie que le domaine intime imprègne le poème qui revêt ainsi un certain caractère autobiographique, et que le poète juge ses propres sentiments et opinions assez importants pour en faire un élément constitutif, voire l'essence même du poème. La sincérité et la prise de position personnelle rapprochent le poème du journal, — l'œuvre concrète révélant seule, naturellement, ce degré de transfert. La sincérité exprime dans quelle mesure le poète assume son moi, dans quelle mesure il juge important de communiquer, de perpétuer, voire tout simplement de rendre conscientes ses propres possibilités.

Les *Élégies* de Chénier ont pour caractéristique la plainte. Depuis Rousseau et le Werther, il sied au poète de se plaindre et la plainte est même devenue une sorte de vertu. Les *Élégies* présentent un jeune homme à peine sorti de l'adolescence qui raconte l'histoire d'un (ou des) amour(s), du désir à l'inassouvissement, des flammes à l'écroulement. Il use des éternels clichés de la poésie d'amour qui n'ont guère changé depuis les Grecs jusqu'à aujourd'hui:

Rien à mes yeux n'est beau que de sa seule image.

Le jeune héros des poèmes caresse le projet d'amener sa bien-aimée « bien loin de la ville » pour être désormais le seul à pouvoir satisfaire tous ses caprices. Il raconte ailleurs que la tristesse l'a tellement transformé que même ses amis ne le reconnaîtraient plus, qu'à cause de sa solitude il les fuit en même temps qu'il désire leur compassion. Il en vient même à maudire ses Muses tant vénérées, car « Vous laissez fuir Camille ». Une autre fois il demande au contraire à la poésie de le venger. Ailleurs encore, il peint le conflit du songe et de la réalité, de l'imagination et des faits inexorables:

Je dors, mais mon cœur veille; il est à toi
Un songe aux ailes d'or te descend près de moi
. . . . . .
Et seul je trouve alors que ma bouche enflammée
Crut, baisant l'oreiller, baiser ta bouche aimée

Ce que Chénier raconte, usant d'enjambements rappelant la prose, mais aussi avec d'inversions qui accentuant la solennité des poèmes, relève indubitablement des clichés constants de la poésie d'amour, amsi il n'en reste pas moins que c'est lui qui redécouvre une atmosphère pour la poésie française. Les clichés eux-mêmes sont individualisés, concrétisés par le « journal ». Une des particularités des *Élégies* est la fréquente apparition des allusions autobiographiques. Le poète songe à fuir son amour en partant pour Byzance, lieu de sa naissance:

Partons, la voile est prête, et Byzance m'appelle.
Je suis vaincu, je fuis. Au joug d'une cruelle
Le temps, les longues mers peuvent seuls m'arracher.

Car c'est là qu'une Grecque, en son jeune printemps
Belle, au lit d'un époux nourrisson de la France.
Me fit naître Français dans le sein de Byzance.

Le héros des *Élégies* est un jeune homme qui court à sa perte, pour qui l'être ou le non-être de la bien-aimée est d'une importance vitale puisqu'il dépend d'elle, qu'il est à sa merci. Mais cet amour, précisons-le, reste une affaire privée, une valeur individuelle. Il n'occupe la place ni de la philosophie ni de la religion, ne devient pas, comme chez Dante, une possibilité de connaissance et de synthèse, il n'est non plus une tentative pour se protéger du monde, comme chez Baudelaire ou chez Moréas. Nous sommes loin de trouver chez Chénier cette association de l'amour et de la religion que propose la poésie de John Donne, et qui se caractérise par la fusion des images érotiques et religieuses. Chénier ne se serait jamais associé non plus à cet aveu de Schlegel: « J'ignore si j'aurais pu prier de toute mon âme l'éternel si je n'avais jamais aimé une femme », ou à ces paroles de Schleiermacher: « C'est grâce à Eve que les yeux d'Adam se sont ouverte à l'adoration du monde et de Dieu. » Bien que Chénier ait fort apprécié la poésie des Ronsard — c'est un des reproches qui lui est fait au début du XIXe siècle — rien ne lui est plus étranger que ce motif des sonnets à Cassandre:

Un ris qui l'âme aux Astres achemine.

L'amour pour Chénier n'est pas une vertu, ni un vice, ni un prétexte ou une justification, — il est une question de fait. Il peut être problématique, mais n'est pas en lui-même un problème. Même si le fragment inspiré par Suzanne paraît le démentir, Chénier reste un des poètes les plus précis et les plus lucides de la littérature mondiale. Non pas parce qu'il suit des conventions, mais parce qu'il ne cherche pas à donner à l'amour d'autres valeurs et c'est

justement ce fait qui le distingue de ses contemporains allemands et le rapproche de Csokonai. Il est à rappeler ici que Csokonai et Chénier ont été tous deux inspirés par les poètes grecs, et non pas par Platon qui, le premier, a introduit une conception expansionniste de l'amour embrassant les domaines de la morale, de la politique et de l'épistémologie. Chénier pensait déjà à l'*Hermès* et *L'Amérique* quand il a écrit ses *Élégies*; le monde extérieur et intérieur l'intéressaient jusqu'en leurs moindres détails, mais il n'a pas pour autant cherché à les remplacer l'un par l'autre ou à les compléter l'un avec l'autre. Il est vrai qu'il n'aurait pas eu de modèle pour une tentative de ce genre.

Le héros des *Élégies* est un jeune homme qui manie parfois l'ironie contre lui-même, qui se désespère facilement et cherche souvent la mort; combien il est éloigné de l'Hercule viril des *Bucoliques*, combien la plainte des *Élégies* est loin de cette ironie inexorable, implacable qui se dégage des *Iambes* ou de cette objectivité supérieure et détachée qui caractérise certaines parties achevées ou les esquisses en prose de l'*Hermès*.

I

Dans un de ses poèmes bucoliques, Chénier révèle — ou disons plutôt: déclare, car cela n'était une révélation ni pour lui, ni pour ses contemporains —, qu'il suit une grande tradition européenne. Il cite les noms de Théocrite, de Moschus, de Bion, de Virgile et de Gessner dans le poème qui débute par ces vers fiers:

> Ma muse pastorale aux regards des Français
> Ose ne point rougir d'habiter les forêts,
> Elle veut présenter aux belles de nos villes
> La champêtre innocence et les plaisirs tranquilles;
> Et ramenant Palès des climats étrangers,
> Fait entendre à la Seine enfin de vrais bergers.

De Horace à Ronsard et à Babits, les poètes ont toujours ressenti une joie enthousiaste à avoir réussi à implanter dans leur littérature nationale des formes, des techniques et des contenus étrangers. Redire n'est pas moins hardi et passionnant que de dire du nouveau; Chénier proclame avec une joie fière l'unité de la tradition et de l'innovation:

> Si ton âme a goûté la voix pure et facile
> Dont Pope répétait les accents de Virgile;
> Si quelques doux tableaux et quelques sons touchants
> De l'antique Spencer te font aimer les chants.
> Viens voir aussi comment aux bords de notre Seine,
> La Muse de Sicile et chante et se promène;
> Les tableaux qu'elle invite, et les accents nouveaux
> Qui répètent nos bois, nos nymphes, nos coteaux.

Exception faite de quelques poèmes qui proclament sans ambages le mérite personnel, les *Bucoliques* se caractérisent par un ton impersonnel. Si,

dans les *Élégies*, se sont les sentiments du poète qui priment, et sa position politique dans les *Iambes*, écrits pendant la Révolution, dans les *Bucoliques* c'est avant tout le sujet et son expression qu'il faut considérer. La subjectivité apparaît naturellement dans le choix du sujet ainsi d'ailleurs que dans l'agencement de l'histoire connue, mais ce n'est pas le poète qui parle: c'est l'histoire elle-même qui se raconte. La tâche du poète consiste à redire l'histoire déjà connue; sa personnalité se révèle dans cette sorte de concours qui consiste à dire la même chose mais mieux que les contemporains. A l'époque de Chénier, les poèmes bucoliques jouissaient d'une véritable mode en France, le célèbre Lebrun s'y adonna lui-même avec ferveur.

Il n'est pas facile de séparer les *Élégies* des *Bucoliques*; le cycle de Camille dans les *Élégies* étant particulièrement proche des *Bucoliques*. La difficulté vient de la tradition millénaire du genre, les poèmes bucoliques et érotiques se confondant déjà chez les successeurs de Théocrite. Dans la poésie de Chénier, on peut cependant faire une répartition assez satisfaisante. Le héros des *Élégies* est le poète lui-même qui parle à la première personne du singulier, celui des poèmes bucoliques est un personnage décrit à la troisième personne du singulier ou du pluriel. Chez le premier, le ton est celui de la confession et chez le second celui de la narration, mais tant les Élégies que les Bucoliques possèdent une construction dialoguée ou dramatisée. L'anecdote des poèmes bucoliques est gratuite et achevée, tandis que, dans les Élégies, est sensible à l'histoire.

L'univers des Bucoliques ne se limite pas à l'âge d'or. Certes, il a un aspect débonnaire qui se caractérise par les « plaisirs tranquilles ». Tel est le cas de l'*Aveugle*, histoire de l'admission et de la protection d'Homère. Ce poème est la description, — où l'on décèle un rien de prosélytisme — de l'estime dont avait joui jadis le poète, et de la solidarité du public. L'*Aveugle*, dit Scarfe, « is in the best ancien tradition because the episode springs naturally from its context, and because it is self-explanatory. It is in the best modern tradition because it has that concentration — almost excessive — which since Baudelaire has become one of the marks and requirements of grand poetry. » Scarfe ne connaît pas la traduction de Pouchkine qui révèle une autre possibilité inhérente au poème. Comme je l'ai déjà mentionné, Pouchkine n'a traduit qu'une dixième partie de l'*Aveugle*, à savoir:

Dieu dont l'arc est d'augent, Dieu de Claros, écorte,
O Sminthée-Apollon, je périrai sans doute
Si tu ne sers de guide à cet aveugle errant.
C'est ainsi qu'achevait l'aveugle en soupirant,
Et près des bois marchait, faible, et sur une pierre,
S'asseyait. Trois pasteurs, enfants de cette terre,
Le suivaient, accourus aux abois turbulents
Des molosses, gardiens de leurs troupeaux bêlants.
Ils avaient, retenant leur fureur indiscrète,
Protégé du vieillard la faiblesse inquiète;
Ils l'écoutaient de loin, et s'approchant de lui;

« Quel est ce vieillard blanc, aveugle et sans appui?
Serait-ce un habitant de l'empire céleste?
Ses traits sont grands et fiers; de sa ceinture agreste
Pend une lyre informe, et les sons de sa voix
Émeuvent l'air et l'onde et le ciel et les bois. »
Mais il entend leurs pas, prête l'oreille, espère,
Se trouble, et tend déjà les mains à la prière.
« Ne crains point, disent-ils, malheureux étranger;
(Si plutôt, sous un corps terrestre et passager,
Tu n'es point quelque dieu protecteur de la Grèce,
Tant une grâce auguste ennoblit ta vieillesse!);
Si tu n'es qu'un mortel, vieillard infortuné,
Les humains près de qui les flots t'ont amené,
Aux mortels malheureux n'apportent point d'injures . . .

La traduction de Pouchkine est estimative et explicative; elle attire notre attention sur la structure de l'*Aveugle*, identique à celle du *Mendiant*, poème tout aussi long. Les deux poèmes débutent par une ouverture autonome, qui expose, d'une façon extrêmement concise, les grands motifs de l'œuvre. Par la suite, le poète présente les personnages, décrit la scène où l'histoire se joue et illustre l'art du poète aveugle. Pouchkine omet le développement et les explications.

L'univers des *Bucoliques* n'est pas toujours celui des « plaisirs tranquilles ». Les tableaux épiques de la vertu récompensée, de l'harmonie résolvant les conflits et du bonheur réalisé *(L'Aveugle, Le Mendiant)* et les descriptions évoquant la joie naïve de l'enfance voisinent avec des poèmes sur la cruauté et la mort.

La Jeune Tarentine est à juste titre un des poèmes les plus célèbres de Chénier. Ce poème, comme *L'Aveugle*, commence lui aussi par un ton très élevé, inhabituel dans la poésie moderne et dû sans doute à l'invocation:

Pleurez, doux alcyons, ô vous, oiseaux sacrés,
Oiseaux chers à Thétys, doux alcyons, pleurez.

Une des raisons du changement de ton qu'on observe dans la poésie de Chénier réside justement dans le fait que la solennité de l'ode suggérée par l'invocation fait place au conte. (On peut observer une technique semblable chez Csokonai.) Les deux éléments dont se compose le conte sont l'anecdote et la description. Dans *La Jeune Tarentine* l'anecdote proprement dite est racontée très brièvement; la description, en revanche, est lente et détaillée. Après l'invocation, le poète poursuit ainsi:

Elle a vécu, Myrto, la jeune Tarentine!
Un vaisseau la portait au bords de Camarine:
Là, l'hymen, les chansons, les flûtes, lentement
Devaient la reconduire au seuil de son amant.
Une clef vigilante a, pour cette journée,
Dans le cèdre enfermé sa robe d'hyménée,
Et l'or dont au festin ses bras seraient parés,
Et pour ses blonds cheveux les parfums préparés.

Le rythme du poème s'accélère quand le poète raconte la catastrophe:

> Mais, seule sur la proue, invoquant les étoiles,
> Le vent impétueux qui soufflait dans les voiles
> L'enveloppe. Étonnée, et loin des matelots,
> Elle crie, elle tombe, elle est au sein des flots.
> Elle est au sein des flots, la jeune Tarentine.
> Son beau corps a roulé sous la vague marine.

La cérémonie funéraire des nymphes est racontée de nouveau avec une lenteur détaillée. Les derniers vers rejoignent, par le sens et par l'atmosphère, ceux de l'invocation.

La technique prestigieuse et l'élégance de l'expression font presque oublier la cruauté du poème: la caducité de l'homme face au destin et la brutalité de ce dernier disparaissent derrière le charme raffiné du poème. Le poète ne s'étend pas sur les horreurs de la noyade, le mot mort » ne figure même pas dans le poème dont l'effet réside justement dans une description légèrement solennelle, presque aérienne de l'événement tragique. (Ce ton aérien est aussi une caractéristique de la poésie de Csokonai.) La raison n'est pas que Chénier veuille éviter les couleurs plus fortes puisqu'il ne craint pas que les expressions vigoureuses nuisent à la solennité de son poème, (Csokonai non plus d'ailleurs) comme en témoignent ces quelques vers du *Dryas*:

> . . . . . Déjà voisin du port
> Entre la terre et moi je rencontre la mort.
> — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
> Il dit, plonge, et perdant au sein de la tourmente
> La planche sous ses pieds fugitive et flottante,
> Nage, et lutte, et ses bras et ses efforts nombreux,
> Et la vague roulant sur les sables pierreux,
> Blême, expirant, couvert d'écume salée,
> Le vomit.

Les *Bucoliques* représentent un univers d'antagonismes: celui de la vertu récompensée, celui de la détresse et de la mort. Nous y rencontrons bien l'éloge de la vertu qui efface la différence entre le riche et le pauvre, mais nous y trouvons également le dialogue intitulé *La Liberté* qui représente justement l'impossibilité de tout dialogue entre l'homme libre et l'esclave. Le double emploi du mot « dialogue » n'est pas un simple jeu de mots: Chénier doit à sa lucidité artistique et à sa sensibilité psychologique d'avoir choisi justement la forme du dialogue pour montrer que la compréhension réciproque est impossible entre les deux bergers appartenant à deux catégories sociales dont les systèmes de valeurs diffèrent fondamentalement. Il y a à la fois dialogue et pseudo-dialogue. Les paroles présentent une suite logique, des réponses succèdent aux questions, des négations aux affirmations et vice versa . . . mais les deux personnes ne communiquent qu'en surface, comprenant le sens des mots, mais ignorant tout de la réalité que ces mots cachent et qui reste impénétrable pour l'un comme pour autre.

Les *Bucoliques* sont inspirées des poètes antiques; non pas des philosophes, ou des historiens, mais des poètes: Homère, Théocrite et ses successeurs, le Virgile des *Églogues*. L'influence de ces poètes se manifeste à trois niveaux différents. D'abord, dans le fait qu'ils donnent des sujets dignes d'être interprétés: tels l'enlèvement d'Europe, princesse phénicienne, que Chénier a tiré de Moschus, ou la mort d'Héraclès qui, compte rendu prolixe chez Ovide, devient, sous la plume de Chénier, une tragédie en miniature condensée comme un sonnet. Ensuite dans le fait que les poètes antiques offrent le monde de la mythologie des noms avec toute leur spèhre d'associations, et en général, un arrière-plan culturel. Les nymphes « frappent leur sein » — lit-on dans *La Jeune Tarentine*: c'est dans Virgile que Chénier a connu cette expression antique de la douleur et du deuil. Enfin, mentionnons que Chénier emprunte souvent aux poètes grecs et latins — parfois même à d'autres poètes — des vers, des hémistiches ou des expressions qu'il implante organiquement dans ses poèmes. Ces emprunts y perdent leur signification originale et, pour comprendre le poème, il est inutile de savoir si l'emprunt est de Homère, de Virgile ou de Sophocle. Chénier, bien qu'il n'en ait jamais développé la théorie, prouve par sa pratique qu'il ne se préoccupait que de trouver l'unique expression possible; si celle-ci avait déjà été créée par un autre, il suffisait de l'emprunter. Le travail du poète comprend aussi un choix conscient.

Les *Bucoliques* comprennent de nombreux fragments dont certains ne doivent pas être forcément considérés comme tels; c'est une question de pure convention. Les traducteurs, Pouchkine ou Radnóti les ont interprétés comme des poèmes achevés. Ces poèmes sont, pour la plupart, appelés fragments car ils ne rendent qu'en partie l'esquisse préalable en prose.

Cependant, nous trouvons parmi ces poèmes des morceaux que nous pourrions appeler, avec un mot de Maïakovski, des demi-produits. Même parmi ceux-là, on rencontre des vers ou des expressions isolés qui méritent d'attirer l'attention. Je vais en citer trois:

> Où dort la solitude amante des ombrages
>
> . . . Le silence fils de la solitude
>
> Un silence confus qui demandait pardon

Selon l'édition Dimoff, les trois vers étaient destinés à faire partie de quelque grande construction. Pourtant, pour un lecteur de Sándor Weöres ou de René Char, ils donnent l'impression de poèmes achevés. Il est plus que probable que Chénier aurait protesté contre une telle interprétation mais, deux siècles après sa naissance, compte tenu des changements survenus dans la poésie depuis un siècle et demie, cette discussion avec le poète n'est pas sans raison d'être. Un poème peut être une grande construction, mais il peut

aussi bien n'être qu'un vers isolé. Le cas de Chénier est particulièrement intéressant, car lui qui recherchait consciemment les grandes constructions *(Hermès, L'Amérique, Suzanne* et nombre de pièces des *Bucoliques)*, sans pour autant mépriser les courts poèmes traditionnels *(Épîtres)*, est devenu, à son insu, le créateur du vers, de l'image en tant que poème.

Chacun des trois vers cités constitue une image indépendante et unie. A défaut de contexte, ces images ont pour fonction non pas d'illustrer, mais de suggérer. Il va sans dire que toutes les images indépendantes ne constituent pas des poèmes, même si elles y tendent, comme l'a observé Paul Éluard. Si je considère le vers « un silence confus qui demandait pardon » comme un poème, c'est parce qu'il est affectivement et logiquement uni, et ce n'est plus du poète, mais de moi-même, lecteur, que j'attends la suite.

Mais ces vers présentent aussi un autre intérêt, celui d'illustrer le travail de construction de Chénier. Celui-ci part d'un projet préalable, noté en prose plus ou moins longuement. Il essaye de réaliser ce projet — dont il s'écarte d'ailleurs quelquefois — de deux façons: d'une part, en écrivant longement certains épisodes ou passages et d'autre part en combinant des vers indépendants. Le changement de ton dans ses poèmes — nous en avons déjà parlé — est une conséquence de cette technique qui réunit des vers ou des morceaux écrits à différents périodes. Cette technique de « mosaïque » est d'ailleurs caractéristique de plusieurs poètes français de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle.

II

Chénier a travaillé dix ans à l'*Hermès*. S'inspirant de Lucrèce, il se préparait à réaliser une grande synthèse, à traduire en langage poétique l'univers de Buffon et de Newton.

Mais, de l'œuvre projetés, ne furent finalement réalisés que des fragments, qui, pour la plupart sont les passages les plus personnels et constituent chacun un texte poétique cohérent. Pour le lecteur d'aujourd'hui, le *Prologue* et l'*Épilogue* apparaissent comme des morceaux achevés; une partie relativement importante du IIe et du IIIe chants est également terminée.

J'ai déjà mentionné, à propos des *Élégies* et des *Bucoliques*, que le poète et la poésie, en tant que sujets, jouaient un rôle important dans l'œuvre de Chénier. Ce thème privilégié apparaît souvent dans les genres les plus divers. Il n'y a donc rien de surprenant à ce qu'il soit question, dans le prologue d'une épopée, de la tâche du poète et de la poésie, et que le créateur y parle de sa propre grandeur et de ses possibilités, puisqu'il ne fait que suivre par là une convention plusieurs fois millénaire. Dans le Prologue de l'Hermès nous recontrons cependant d'autres éléments qui surprennent par leur nouveauté:

> Moi, je me plus toujours, client de la nature,
> A voir son opulence et bienfaisante et pure,
> Cherchant loin de nos murs les temples, les palais

Où la divinité me révèle ses traits,
Ces monts, vainqueurs sacrés des fureurs du tonnerre,
Ces chênes, ces sapins, premiers nés de la terre:
Les pleurs des malheureux n'ont point teint ces lambris.
D'un feu religieux le saint poète épris
Cherche leur pur éther et plane sur leur cime.
Mer bruyante, la voix du poète sublime
Lutte contre les vents et tes flots agités
Sont moins forts, moins puissants que ses vers indomptés.

A première vue, ces vers pourraient n'être qu'une nouvelle version de « l'exegi monumentum ». Mais après une lecture plus attentive, nous y retrouvons une atmosphère baudelairienne, comme si nous nous trouvions en face d'une ouverture des pièces du Spleen et idéal, traitant des poètes et de la poésie.

La poésie est ici un pouvoir pur, et non pas encore le fruit d'un effort désespéré: c'est ce dernier motif qui distingue Chénier de Baudelaire. La poésie est une possibilité d'exprimer son moi, mais aussi de décrire le monde. Elle englobe l'éthique et la science, l'individu et le monde, les projets et la réalité.

Oh, ma plume ! fiel, bile, horreur, dieux de ma vie !
Par vous seuls je respire encor.

— dit le poète dans son dernier poème, en attendant la mort, conséquence de sa lutte constante contre les jacobins. Mais ces vers, nés d'une situation concrète — le poète attendait son exécution — caractérisent non seulement le moment de leur genèse, mais toute la carrière de leur auteur. Chénier a été l'amoureux comblé de la poésie qui crée, console et transforme le monde. Le IIIe chant de l'*Hermès* nous suggère que le génie enfante la bonté et la vertu et finit par triompher même si, durant la vie, il n'a été entouré que de l'ingratitude et de l'incompréhension brutale de la foule.

La confrontation des *Bucoliques*, de l'*Hermès*, des *Élégies* et des *Iambes* nous permet de dégager les caractéristiques propres à la poésie de Chénier. L'univers des *Bucoliques* est un passé achevé mais qui, par l'expression reçue, continue à vivre dans le présent. L'*Hermès*, même si elle est une synthèse historique comme le voulait l'auteur, possède des exigence dictées par le présent et est une œuvre tournée vers l'avenir. Les *Élégies* et les poèmes politiques (les *Iambes*, Épilogue de l'*Hermès*) sont, en revanche, exclusivement attachées au présent; ils se distinguent de l'*Hermès* ou des *Bucoliques* également par leur niveau de concrétisation.

J'ai rapproché les *Élégies* du genre du journal. Les poèmes politiques pourraient être apparentés au journalisme, d'autant plus que, pendant la Révolution, Chénier a été un journaliste actif et que l'identité de conception de ses articles et pamphlets d'une part, et de ses poèmes d'autre part, est indéniable.

Les *Bucoliques* et l'*Hermès* représentent un univers fermé, pour autant que les sujets, les problèmes et les tâches sont donnés une fois pour toutes par la culture antique et la science moderne. L'interprétation et la technique de l'expression sont naturellement personnelles, autant que le permettaient les conventions et la tradition en général. Mais la substance elle-même, les sujets, les problèmes et les tâches sont atemporels, ou tout au moins indépendants du temps accéléré. Les poètes grecs, Lucrèce, Newton, Buffon et les Encyclopédistes, indépendants des changements politiques et affectifs, ont toujours joué un rôle précieux pour Chénier qui pouvait s'appuyer sur eux.

Les *Élégies* et les poèmes politiques proposent, au contraire, un univers ouvert, soumis à un changement constant. La raison en est que les conditions extérieures et intérieures sont elles-mêmes continuellement en mouvement, exigeant sans cesse des réponses toujours nouvelles, celles d'hier étant annulées ou tout au moins remises en question par les événements d'aujourd'hui. Les *Élégies* ou les poèmes politiques ne peuvent être issus d'aucun « projet » en ce sens qu'ils sont des réactions directes aux attitudes momentanées de Camille ou de Fanny, ou aux changements politiques survenant en France. Cela reste vrai malgré les innombrables, références à l'Antiquité dont le poète érudit a truffé ses *Élégies* et ses poèmes politiques.

Les poèmes politiques débutent par la sévère critique de l'ancien régime qu'est l'*Hymne à la Justice*. Le tableau désespéré de la France gémissant sous l'injustice, privée des lois justes dont jouit l'Angleterre, est actualisé par le regret mentionné de l'échec de Malesherbes et de Turgot. Dans un passage important du poème, nous rencontrons l'hémistiche « nom sacré du prince ». Ce n'est pas une nécessité appelée par la rime, ni une expression de la prudence ou de la flatterie, mais bien la conviction même de Chénier. En effet, malgré toutes ses critiques portées contre la royauté, celui-ci a été un royaliste fidèle qui, en bon partisan des réformes venues d'en haut, déplorait l'échec de Malesherbes et de Turgot. Dans un passage du poème, Chénier se réfère aux lois anglaises, et ce pour deux raisons. D'une part, parce qu les lois publiques immuables assurent la liberté civique et d'autre part parce que les lois justes et une administration compétente sont capables en elles-mêmes de résoudre les problèmes de la vie économique, cette l'opinion est fréquente chez les penseurs français du XVIIIe siècle qui n'ont pas encore fait l'expérience du capitalisme.

Dans le cycle des poèmes politiques, l'*Hymne à la Justice* est suivi quelques années plus tard du *Jeu de Paume*, éloge des conquêtes de 1789. Mais l'ode apologétique cède bientôt la place aux poèmes du désespoir, de la haine et de la protestation. L'*Hymne aux Suisses de Chateauvieux* attire notre attention par son genre: c'est le seul hymne, à ma connaissance, qui doit être interprété dans un sens ironique. A la place de l'éloge et de l'identification affective au sujet — qu'exigeaient les conventions du genre — nous ren-

controns ici la critique et le refus. Le poète désigne Robespierre comme étant l'ennemi principal. Les derniers poèmes de Chénier sont des protestations inflexibles, ignorant tout compromis, contre les Girondins et surtout contre les Jacobins. Une de ses odes élève Charlotte Corday, assassin de Marat, dans l'univers magnifié de la Grèce antique, une autre, *La Jeune Captive*, raconte l'angoisse d'un compagnon de cellule face à la mort et sa soif de vivre. Les poèmes politiques sont des réponses concrètes à des événements concrets. Ils sont inspirés par le fait divers qui bouleverse le poète en atteignant sa personne et sa conviction, ou — pour *La Jeune Captive* et le dernier *Iambe* — par la réalité la plus directe. Défiant le temps de plus en plus court, Chénier a écrit plus d'une poème au seuil de la mort

> Comme un dernier rayon, comme un dernier zéphyre
> Animent la fin d'un beau jour,
> Au pied de l'échefaud j'essaye encore ma lyre,
> Peut-être est-ce bientôt mon tour.
> Peut-être avant que l'heure en cercle promenée
> Ait posé sur l'émail brillant,
> Dans les soixante pas où sa route est bornée,
> Son pied sonor et vigilant,
> Le sommeil du tombeau pressera ma paupière.

— écrit-il dans son dernier poème dont je cite ici les premiers vers. Le poème entier donne une quintessence des caractéristiques les plus marquantes de Chénier: l'association de l'hellénisme à sa propre expérience vécue, le va-et-vient constant entre l'abstrait élevé au rang de la mythologie et le concret tangible, entre la douleur excessive et son surpassement.

L'attitude du poète face à la révolution, ou plus exactement face aux Jacobins, est résumée dans l'*Épilogue* de l'*Hermès*. Peu importe maintenant de savoir si ce poème devait clôre l'épopée inachevée ou s'il est simplement un poème lyrique sur l'entreprise qui n'a pu aboutir. (C'est l'opinion de Scarfe, qui attache d'ailleurs très peu d'importance à l'Épilogue.) Celui-ci commence par l'invocation d'usage:

> O mon fils, mon Hermès, ma plus belle espérance,

suivie de l'évocation (mais non d'une idéalisation) du passé à propos de l'*Hermès* :

> Toi, l'objet le plus cher des veilles de dix ans,
> Qui m'as coûté des soins et si doux et si lents;
> Confident de la joie et remède à mes peines;

Le poème et la poésie en général font partie intégrante du passé du poète, leur cause est unie. Au souvenir succède, introduite par la tournure « Dans la France pour toi que faut-il que j'espère? », l'évocation du présent, sur un ton à la fois ironique et tragique. Même la possibilité de la poésie est mise en question. L'Épilogue se termine par une vision de l'avenir, mais cet avenir n'est qu'une contre-utopie.

Perdu, n'existant plus qu'en un docte cerveau,
Le français ne sera dans ce monde nouveau
Qu'une écriture antique et non plus un langage;
Oh ! si tu vis encore, alors peut-être un sage,
Près d'une lampe assis, dans l'étude plongé,
Te retrouvant poudreux, obscur, demi-rongé,
Voudra creuser le sens de tes lignes pensantes:
Il verra si du moins tes feuilles innocentes
Méritaient ces rumeurs, ces tempêtes, ces cris
Qui vont sur toi, sans doute, éclater dans Paris . . . .

Ces derniers vers, généralisant les impressions du poète, ont peut-être été inspirés par la discussion autour de la suppression du « e » instable. Le lecteur assidu des poètes antiques déplore ici la disparition d'un monde qui deviendra, pour l'érudit futur, un passé aussi lointain que l'est pour lui l'Antiquité. Tout comme les poètes anciens ont rendu compte du passé, Chénier se prépare à être le messager de son époque qu'il considère à jamais révolue. Un orgueil âpre émane de l'Épilogue, celui d'un Héraclès qui construit son propre bûcher pour y monter. Le poète entend être témoin du désastre, non pas le témoin qui s'y identifie, mais celui qui le refuse. Il n'est ici question d'aucun avenir, même pas sous la forme vague et incertaine qu'on voit chez Blake en quête d'une « autre » Angleterre. La lente et solennelle description du sage auprès de sa lampe, à qui le poète destine son message, souligne encore le réglement de compte définitif et total.

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Oneirismo y heurística en un poema mexicano finisecular: *Noche rústica de Walpurgis* por Manuel José Othón

Marco Antonio Loera de La Llave

> Se ha escrito que entre dos verdades del ámbito de lo real la trayectoria más breve es la imaginaria.
>
> J. S. Hadamard

En la gran triología descriptiva, *Himno de los bosques* (1890), *Pastoral* (1899) y *Psalmo del fuego* (1902), el poeta mexicano Manuel José Othón (1858–1906) se reconcilia con una realidad manifiestamente objetiva y, de esa manera, en última instancia con lo Sobrenatural. Desde el punto de mira de sus nociones expresivas del arte, a lo largo de los veintidós sonetos de *Noche rústica de Walpurgis* (1897) también se dibuja una trayectoria mito-poética de reconciliación. Mas en este caso lo descrito es simbólico y la vía, onírica. Ambos servirían, instrumentales, en el sondeo del propio ser a raíz de una voluntad insoslayable de redención; esto es, de anagnórisis a través de un autoencuentro purgativo. Soneto I: al oscurecer, el poeta invita a un colega artista, por lo tanto un alma gemela ideal, a internarse en el descampado agreste para testimoniar lo poético insólito. Soneto II: mediante lo descriptivo se entona la melancolía apropriada y se reitera el deseo de aventura. Sonetos III y IV: se postula la Naturaleza, descomunalmente expresiva, como fuente del impulso religioso. Sonetos V–VIII: varios de sus elementos integrantes se retratan artísticamente sublimados y siempre en consonancia con el tema principal del ciclo. Sonetos XII–XV: el autoencuentro equívoco se vuelca enajenado ya que se generaliza el hallazgo de lo personal como característico del Otro, es decir, del hombre en común. Sonetos XV–XVI: canto de gallo y repique de un campanario de iglesia; primer indicio que la aventura que se recoge en el ciclo se ha de entender como onírica. Sonetos XVII–XXII: el autodescubrimiento se confirmaría al reintegrarse Othón y su compañero a la vida cotidiana; se insta hacia la labor constructiva.

En resumen, el ciclo se divide en tres partes. En la primera (I–VIII) se delinea la Naturaleza como una dimensión artística y sacra dentro de la cual el poeta, acompañado, se interna en sí mismo para una experiencia reveladora. En la segunda (IX–XIV), lo fantástico y lo grotesco constituyen las transposiciones simbólicas de un proceso purgativo hacia la anagnórisis. La tercera parte (XV–XXII) viene a ser la resolución en términos de un despertar a la realidad inmanente bajo los auspicios de una benéfica y consoladora

Madre Naturaleza. La trayectoria de la aventura espiritual resulta arquetípicamente circular: de la realidad inmanente al principio del soneto I, a través de lo fantástico y extraordinario, hacia un retorno a la misma realidad inmanente. Este esquema, en sí, es una variante gótica de otro mayor y fundamental que acusa lo arquetípico y que se repite innúmeras veces en ópera, novela y verso a lo largo del siglo diecinueve: el encuentro consigo mismo es salvación mas sólo se logra cuando se elabora profunda y adecuadamente la experiencia.

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Dase el primer paso hacia el enfrentamiento del verdadero ser al acusarse como una necesidad imperativa. Cuando el poeta le dice a Peón Contreras, "Si tu voz melancólica no entona / ya sus himnos de amor, conmigo vuela / a esta región que asombra y que consuela," (I. 259–260);[1] o a la "noche de la selva" (II. 260), "sumérgenos en ti: que nos envuelva / el rey de tus fantásticos imperios / en la clámide azul de sus vapores / y en el sagrado horror de tus misterios." (II. 260); o, cuando de los bosques surge ". . .con infinito desconsuelo, / la más grande oración que desde el mundo / se ha alzado hasta las cúpulas del cielo." (IV. 261); o cuando los muertos, en soledad extrema, imploran por oraciones, ". . . ¡ Orad, hermanos !" (X. 264), y por la resurrección, " ¡ Ay, que llegue, oh Señor, para nosotros / de la resurrección el claro día !" (X. 264); o, finalmente, cuando Othón pinta a Cristo en el Huerto de Getsemaní en agonía espiritual (V. 262), formula, bien directamente (I y II), bien por medio de transposiciones simbólicas (IV, V, y X) un deseo sostenido de redención.

En la primera parte de ciclo, el atribuirle asombro a la Naturaleza (I. 260) y el poetizar la noche en términos del "sagrado horror" que sus "misterios" recogen (II. 260) recuerdan ambos la teorías de Kant y de Edmundo Burke sobre lo sublime, de las cuales por lo menos nociones le llegaran a Othón a través de divulgadores franceses — verbigracia, para Kant y el idealismo alemán, Cousin —; había, además, el ejemplo abrumante, por cuantioso, de más de cien años de escritura. Burke establece al asombro como ". . .aquel estado del alma inmóvil en cierto grado de horror". Entonces, ". . .la mente se halla de tal modo llena del objeto que contempla, que no puede atender a cualquier otro ni, por consiguiente, razonar acerca de aquel objeto que la ocupa. En consecuencia, lo sublime, en su más alto grado, nos apresura mediante una fuerza irresistible."[2] Kant, a su vez, sitúa el poder de lo sublime evocador como aquel de ". . .cierto pavor, o melancolía",[3] correspondientes emotivos de lo "sublime aterrador",[4] ya que "La profunda soledad es sublime, en una manera que incita el terror".[5] En su soledad extrema, Othón se provee del término "horror", en lugar de "terror", y lo consagra ("sagrado horror", II. 260) en consonancia con la retórica religiosa de su estética.

Una vivencia de profunda soledad, que incite "horror" ante la premonición de lo transcendental, es la dinámica de la *Noche Rústica* . . . en tanto que inquietud e irreprimible voluntad de reconciliación, como movimientos espirituales, se externan en expresiones tensas: "Coge . . . abandona . . . descálzate . . . deja . . . vuela . . . ciñe . . . ven . . . sube . . . (I. 259–260); "sumérgenos . . . (II. 260); "Oíd . . . escuchad . . ." (VI. 262); "Triscad . . . alzad . . . rómpete . . . estrella . . . (VI. 262); "Orad . . . (X. 264); "A infundir . . . A seguir . . . A lanzar . . . A remedar . . ." (XI. 246–265): "vamos . . ." (XII. 265); "Trae . . . (XIII. 266); "sacad . . . mostrad . . ." (XIV. 266); "escucha . . . vive . . . goza . . . ¡ Lucha ! . . . ¡ Ora y piensa !" (XVII. 268); "no temas . . . despierta . . . ¡ Descansa y duerme !" (XIX. 268–269); "Escucha . . . oye . . ." (XX. 269); "Bajemos . . ." (XXII. 270).

El imperativo verbal no es el único indicio de una psique sumamente tensa. El malestar se evidencia además en la topografía de plasticidad expresiva. El "agrio peñón" a comienzos del ciclo (I. 260) es interioridad del alma. El complemento "agrio" sugiere lo deforme e inhóspito. Es como si, ansioso de una redentora experiencia audible y visionaria, el poeta, transcendiendo, se irguiera sobre su propio yo.

La dinámica refrenada es un recurso que Othón utiliza a lo largo del ciclo para sesgar lo dramático de lo descriptivo. No sólo un agrio peñón — irrupción de fuerza amorfamente petrificada —, también hay druidas, paradigmas del hombre religioso primario, cuyas frentes maceradas contra un árbol, lo sacro en la Naturaleza, apuntalan el culminar expresivo de un rito religioso del lejano pretérito: "Albergue fui de druidas. Los ascetas, / en mis troncos de crústula rugada / infligieron su frente macerada . . ." (IV. 261). Dramática también, la transposición del ser en un viento que refrena su vuelo al transformarse en un espectador de lo sublime, tanto aterrorizador como sagrado: ". . .el errabundo / viento espantado suspendió su vuelo, / al escuchar de mi interior profundo / brotar, con infinito desconsuelo, / la más grande oración que desde el mundo / se ha alzado hasta las cúpulas del cielo." (IV. 261).

El viento siempre corresponde a la inquietud del espíritu, ya que ". . .es no sólo un atributo del paisaje sino igualmente un vehículo para cambios radicales en la mente del poeta".[6] Se da viento transformado en llanto de árboles ("el encinar solloza . . ." XVII. 267), y en gritos exclamatorios de un torrente personificado que resulta tan desaliñado como agrio el peñón: ". . .la hondonada / que raja el monte, es una boca ingente / por donde grita el bramador torrente / de furiosa melena desgreñada." (XVII. 267–268). Hay otras formas dinámicas en la Naturaleza con la que Othón elabora sus religiosos vínculos. A la luz le caracteriza una inquietud correlativa: ". . .Se inundan las montañas / en la luz de la luna transparente / que vaga por los valles tristemente . . ." (II. 260). Como el viento, el errante claro de la luna también

padece de melancolía en un descampado de lo sublime aterrador. A semejanza del poeta, cuyo don es transubstanciarlo todo con voluntad expresiva, la luna contagia la mazorca y el torrente con su frenesí y los convierte respectivamente en "lanzas de plata" y en "nieve".

Fenómenos cuya esencia ontológica es vitalidad, ya refrenada en su trayectoria — un peñón, el viento —, ya errante y melancólica — el claro de luna —, mas siempre capaz de un estético sublimar lo que toca. Tales intuiciones de lo vital, las cuales se fundamentan históricamente en el concepto estoico de un *Anima Mundi*,[7] orientan a Othón hacia el redescubrimiento poético de una *Natura Naturans* y de un *Weltanschauung* panteístas.[8] Todo ello va de acuerdo con su aprecio que el arte es creación expresiva, y como hemos de ver, contribuye además al complejo de ambivalencias espirituales que le caracterizan.

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Hasta aquí, se han estudiado formulaciones de tensión e inquietud. Interesan ahora imágenes que representan una exasperante tristeza. Forman antítesis con las dinámicas ya que en ellas se cifra abyección. Son símbolos de oquedad espiritual. Constituyen una poesía de espacio y topografía negativos.[9]

A lo cóncavo se transpone la desesperanza del alma sujeta a horripilante tortura: "¡A infundir con el vuelo y los chirridos / más horror en la noche, más negrura / en los antros del monte y más pavura / en las ruinas de sótanos hendidos!" (XI. 264). Se está ante un momento poético de asombrosa complejidad. Las "aves nocturnas" (XI. 264), probablemente brujas transformadas y nahuales, son, como vermeos, correlativas a la autocondena. Los antros, hasta el grado en que forman parte de un monte, promontorio del yo afirmativo, indican un vacío del alma que el poeta compara implícitamente tan eternas como la disposición de lo rocoso en la Naturaleza. Las "ruinas de sótanos hendidos" sugieren un sentimiento de completa negligencia y pérdida, puesto que un sótano, en tanto que un recinto, sería para le hombre un posible albergue; lo cual se tuviera en mente al construirlo. Ahora bien, ya que se utilizara como refugio en caso de peligro, el sótano, adjunto al recinto que el hombre infunde con su diaria presencia, participa de esa infusión. Mas no sólo serviría de último refugio. En general, recoge las pertenencias que no se utilizan cotidianamente. De ahí que sea un recinto de depósito así como un posible albergue y que, debido a su índole soterraña, sea una cueva doméstica. Es el almacén interior, dimensión del alma de la cual no se está siempre consciente. Los sótanos hendidos de Othón, provisorios albergues indefensos ante pájaros aterradores y ante el tiempo; se traza en ellos la melancólica imagen de un colectivo recinto espacial, sugieren lo subconsciente desvinculado de la conciencia, el desahucio e inutilidad del yo profundo.

El encierro de lo personal en abandono; hay otro también averiado, la ". . .destruida tienda . . ." (VIII. 263). Un símbolo dentro de otro, ya que no sólo sugiere la incapacidal del alma en definir una dimensión espacial viable para su intimidad y, por lo tanto, una incapacidal de autoafirmación sino que también connota el símbolo mítico del camino y, en consecuencia, la vida errante, toda vez que una tienda es una casa fuera de casa; esto es, un recinto provisional de espacio íntimo alejado del hogar. Ahora bien, a diferencia de los sótanos hendidos, correlativos a lo subconsciente, la tienda de Othón corresponde al recinto del yo consciente, en vista de que el grillo le canta al poeta que se refugia en esta cobertura desperdiciada.

Tanto las "ruinas de sótanos hendidos" como la destruida tienda" se encuentran ambas, por su patético abandono, cual si marginadas de cualquier centro u origen hipotéticos de atención. En el soneto VIII la marginación de la tienda y del poeta en ella recogido se relactiona con el recuerdo nostálgico al que también se la da forma espacial: "¿ Quién mide la enormísima distancia / que éstos separa de tan castos días?" (263). Que la interrogativa sea un lugar común no le resta valor expresivo, ya que las inmensas dimensiones que Othón suele evocar le corresponden a una conciencia que se reconoce profundamente enajenada dentro de sí, en tanto que la memoria es recolección de lo que se ha sido y añoranza, en remordimiento, de lo que jamás se llegó a ser. "El tiempo no es más que un segundo espacio."[10] De ahí, también lo singular del momento cuando a un paso de la muerte, haciéndole eco a Lope de Vega, formula en *Elegía . . .* (1906) albergue y espacios conjugados al escribir: "Ignoro de mi rústica morada / qué tiene, que viniendo de mí mismo, / vengo de la región más apartada . . ." (434).[11]

La automarginación introspectiva por medio de un marginar recintos simbólicos del propio ser: tal un procedimiento poético frecuente en Othón y mediante el cual concluye el último soneto de *Noche rústica . . .*: ". . .yo a vegetar tranquilo y olvidado / en el rincón oscuro de mi aldea." (XXII. 270). Mas se halla también un símbolo espacial centralizado cuyo análisis es crucial para quienquiera osado que se aventure dentro de la agreste selva espiritual de Othón. El símbolo es un árbol:

> Hay en medio del rústico boscaje
> un tronco retorcido y corpulento:
> Enorme roca sírvele de asiento
> y frondas opulentas de ropaje. (III. 260)

En el corazón de un descampado poético se da con un sacro bosque descrito como "basílica sagrada" (IV. 261). Es fuente y albergue de lo religioso; el único recinto de posible redención. En el *santo sanctorum* de la basílica se halla la imagen vertical de un arquetipo milenario; llámesele el Arbol Cósmico o el Arbol de la Vida, en nuestro ciclo se le dibuja nutriéndose, arraigado, de lo pétreo, indicio de lo eterno.[12] Reminiscencia tanto del arpa eolia de los román-

ticos como de la primera rima de Bécquer, nómbresele, también, correlato a un poetizar trascendente ya que es un "¡Harpa inmensa del campo! . . ." (III. 261) cuya música se entona más allá del entendimiento.[13] El espacio se ensancha cualitativamente: lo céntrico del árbol apuntala su ". . .interior profundo . . ." (IV. 261), análogo a las confesionales ". . .hondonadas más profundas . . ." del poeta (228), de donde surge ". . .la más grande oración . . ." (IV. 261).

A base de una serie de transacciones creadoras entre fenómenos, en el canto trascendente del árbol, plegaria de ". . .infinito desconsuelo . . ." (IV. 261), se transmuda el claro de luna. De ahí que se pueda decir que represéntase el concepto común a Othón y a Coleridge respecto al arte como un eslabón ". . .entre lo que está dentro y fuera de nosotros . . ." (227). Aun más, ese transformarse el rayo de luna en música que constituye plegaria y arte es ejemplar imagen de como en unidad se integra lo dispar mediante el sintético y mágico poder . . ."[14] de la facultad imaginativa verbal. Confirmaríase el entendimiento de nuestro autor de que la poesía es ". . .profundamente religiosa . . ." (226) tanto al estrato de la elaboración de imágenes interrelacionadas como al de la heurística re-creación de fábulas arquetípicas. Obsérvese, también, que la transmudanza de la luz lunar a música subordina en función lo visual a lo auricular, lo cual caracteriza a nuestro poeta. Equivale a una transposición de clave en una partitura. Dista la analogía de ser caprichosa. Originalmente, Othón hubiera subtitulado el ciclo de sonetos "sinfonía dramática" (475). No por casualidad ni sólo porque se trate de una aventura nocturna en el soneto preambular, le dice a Peón Contreras: "Sube al agrio peñón, y oirás conmigo / lo que dicen las cosas en la noche . . ." (I. 260). *Oirás*, y no *verás*.

Mas, por supuesto, lo visual se implica en lo musical en tanto que "La música da la idea del espacio", según Baudelaire.[15] Surge la coyuntura ontológica al correlacionarse la música y el espacio inmensamente extenso con el yo: "Se trata de lo infinito en nuestra vida interior", observa Johann Paul Richter, "de lo cual la música es como su traducción".[16] De ahí, el esquema expresivo y clave de nuestro poeta cuyos componentes son el tiempo, el espacio, la música y la plasticidad. Agréguese un valor más que integra los componentes del esquema: lo dramático (". . .ven de un drama admirable a ser testigo . . ." I. 260). Hay, en efecto, algo de ópera en el ciclo: un primer soneto a manera de obertura que no sólo introduce el tema, sino también al protagonista y al público, Othón y Peón Contreras, respectivamente; una experiencia visionaria a la que se encauza el poeta a través de una serie de desdoblamientos hasta que el conflicto dramático llega a un *crescendo* en los sonetos intermedios, IX–XIV; por último, un *decrescendo* anticlimático hasta la resolución final cuando se desvanecen ambos escenario y público: "Poeta: es fuerza abandonar el monte . . ." (XXII. 270).

Conforme al número de partes vocales, la textura de lo sonoro y musical varía cual si se tratara de una partitura compleja. Oyese la diáfana sonoridad de lo bucólico: "gorgoritas, alzad vuestras canciones, . . . / . . .vosotros, parleros borbollones, / dialogad con el viento y con la fronda." (VI. 262). También se da el ruido discordante y sobrecogedor del mal nocturno: bien implícito, ya en un batir de alas de un búho, ya en un momento de ballet, la "danza infernal" del conventículo; bien explícito, ya en el ". . .croar de la rana . . ." (XV. 267), ya en los "chirridos" y en los "horrísonos acentos" de las "aves nocturnas" (XI. 264–265), ya en los aullidos y chillidos de coyote y lechuza, respectivamente (". . .el coyote / ulula clamoroso, y aletea, / sobre negro peñón, el tecolote. / La lechuza silbando horrorizante . . ." XII. 265). Contrasta el ". . .aullido lastimero . . ." del perro (XIX. 269), con el cual el fiel guardián espantaría a la muerte que amenazara a su dueño en reposo. Hay también diana de gallo que pone en fuga a las malévolas sombras y el alivio consolador de un campaneo de iglesia en lejanía (XVI. 267). En pleno resplandor matutino, el ". . .ruido místico y profundo . . ." de la Primavera (XX. 269) y el sacro coro de las "agudas cumbres" (XVII. 268). No olvidemos, desde luego, el símbolico chirrido del grillo (VIII. 268), ni mucho menos la divina música trascentental del árbol (III. 261).

En suma, un arte que integra una pluralidad de fenómenos — luz, luna, aire, árboles y voces — en un complejo audible; un arte total donde lo espacial y lo sonoro se funden dentro de lo dramático a cuya formulación sirven. *Gesamtkunstwerk*. El juicioso gusto musical de nuestro potosino, amante de ópera, da fruto literario; la noción wagneriana, cifra de la estética del romanticismo, se acusa en el trasfondo, inevitable.[17]

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La música es modulación de sonido a base de un rítmico pulsar, variable mas constante. Asimismo la poesía, donde la palabra se integra al formar esquemas de versificación gobernados por un sostenido rítmico fluir que de vez en cuando varía para apuntalar el valor expresivo de lo semántico. En *Noche rústica* . . . como en casi toda su poesía la versificación de Othón no es innovadora. La estructura externa acusa un apego a cánones tradicionales. Rara vez impresiona la rima consonante, sea adverbial o adjetival ("transparente . . . tristemente" II. 260; "horrorizante . . . triunfante" XII. 265) "intensamente . . .perpetuamente" XVII. 268; "sagrada . . . alada" IV. 261), sea participial ("cantando . . . mostrando" VIII. 263), sea nominal ("portento . . . pensamiento", "viento . . . firmamento" VII. 262–263). Se da incluso un desliz cuando, hostigado por la voluntad expresiva, Othón neologiza pobremente: "menea . . . gigantea" (III. 261). Hemos de recordar, no obstante, el juicio de Chateaubriand respecto a lo contributivo de *lacunae* a lo bello, ya que la

mácula susodicha que el tercer soneto recoge se da en el espléndido pasaje donde se poetiza sobre la inefabilidad de la música que proviene del árbol—arpa. En cuanto al ritmo, se distribuye predominantemente con la sexta sílaba enfatizada. Se trata, según las categorías de versificación por Pedro Henríquez Ureña, del tipo A.[18] Conforme al esquema algo más complejo de Navarro Tomás, diríase que el ciclo de sonetos consiste en una urdimbre de versos enfáticos (distribución rítmica 1–6–10), versos heroicos (2–6–10) y versos melódicos (3–6–10), formas sumamente tradicionales al endecasílabo en nuestra lengua.[19] Afortunadamente, aun dentro de tan conservador ejercicio de versificación, se dan momentos felices cuando lo rítmico, en juego con el encabalgamiento o con la aliteración, le brinda adecuado apoyo al contenido:[20]

5 Cuando, como a través de fino encaje,
6 el rayo de la luna tremulento
7 pasa, desde el azul del firmamento . . .
(III. 260–261).

A base de un símil se elabora una imagen reluciente y matizada. Es un logro ejemplar del ejercicio analítico y de la imaginación poética en entrejuego. Que Othón se preocupaba por dar con la única formulación rítmica lo testimonia su rechazo de opciones carentes del expresivo encabalgamiento: verso cinco, "cuando traspasa como fino encaje . . .", y verso seis, "pasa desde el azul del firmamento" (476).

Tampoco le falla a nuestro poeta el dibujo magistral de lo rítmico en los versos consecutivos del mismo soneto:

5 Cuando como a través de fino encaje
6 el rayo de la luna tremulento
7 pasa, desde el azul del firmamento,
8 la verde filigrana del follaje,

9 desbarátase en haz de vibradores
10 hilos de luz que tiemblan, cual tañidos
11 por un plectro que el céfiro menea.

De repente, varía el compás a base de una esdrújula cuyo valor se disemina a lo largo de un amplio y doble encabalgamiento llano. Se resuelve el primer terceto en un verso melódico (3–6–10) que distribuye equidistantemente lo álgido para darle cabal apoyo a una evocación leonina.

En el soneto IV, se anticipa la conmoción del viento ante una plegaria descomunal mediante una *y* hilativa (polisíndeton): "Y en tremenda ocasión, el errabundo . . ." La pausa interior apuntala el vuelo refrenado, asimismo la cadencia en los versos subsiguientes:

9 Y en tremenda ocasión, el errabundo
10 viento espantado suspendió su vuelo,
11 al escuchar de mi interior profundo
12 brotar, con infinito desconsuelo,

Singular la pausa abrupta en el verso duodécimo después del término clave, "brotar"; y todo ello, consecuencia de un encabalgamiento llano que lo prepara. La resolución del poema, dos versos encabalgados y de enfatizada sexta sílaba, aminora el ritmo y lo uniforma a lo que se representa, una música majestuosa: "la más grande oración que desde el mundo / se ha alzado hasta las cúpulas del cielo."

Una y otra vez, a lo largo de *Noche rústica . . .*, Othón realza el significado a base de un ágil ejercicio aliterativo y de encabalgamiento eficaz. En el soneto XVI (267), un entretejido de oclusivas (p, t) y de alveolares (r, rr) junto con un encabalgamiento de versos llanos sugiere onomatopéyicamente el dramático estruendo del rayo:

12 Y, al tremendo tronar de los torrentes
13 en pavorosa tempestad, respondo
14 con férrea voz que despedaza el rayo.

Y en el Soneto XII:

9 Tras nahuales y brujas el coyote
10 ulula clamoroso, y aletea,
11 sobre negro peñón, el tecolote.

La ele alveolar lateral enunciada cuatro veces y un dibujo rítmico cromatizado de las vocales u-o-e en la segunda, sexta y décima sílabas del heroico verso décimo subrayan, en conjunto, tanto el sonido onomatopéyico que se cifra en la palabra *ulula*, como la desmañada actividad de fauna nocturna.

En el soneto XI (264–265) se hilvanan anafóricamente los versos iniciales de cada una de las cuatro estrofas. Ello, encabalgamiento llano y rima asonante interior ("noche . . . monte"; "horrísonos . . . terríficos . . . gritos") sirven para el dibujo estilístico de ralea en vuelo nocturno. Este soneto es un ejemplo contundente de paralelismo en la versificación que caracteriza a nuestro poeta. A menudo, su deseo de integrar los componentes de la experiencia poética logra su máxima expresión arquitectónica dentro de cauces hacia la simetría. Ne menos expresiva la instrumental distribución de la materia en fórmulas binarias, por cierto muy en concordancia con el verso clásico tradicional.[21] En nuestro ciclo es rasgo común al comienzo y al final de estrofas, sobre todo al rematar el último terceto:

3 ha de escucharse la oración alada,
4 no el canto celestial de los poetas. (IV. 261)

13 la ilusión, en la llama postrimera,
14 el recuerdo, en el último rescoldo. (VIII. 263)

8 "... a darles muerte y a asolar sus nidos !" (XI. 265)

Paralelismo, simetría, armazones binarios dentro de un fluir de versos enfáticos, heroicos y melódicos cuya consistencia rítmica varía de vez en

cuando a base de encabalgamientos llanos y abruptos: he aquí los elementos de los diseños verbales que ahora estudiamos. Y estos elementos, así como la hermética forma del soneto que los recoge, evidencian la inquietud perenne que fue Othón por lograr un arte íntegro, es decir, bien integrado. Mas ¿adivinaba que en lo rítmico fundamental se acusa su inquietud? Porque ¿qué es ritmo sino un frenesí elaboradamente mediatizado, un desasosiego que el poeta infunde en el inmenso y agreste descampado de su *Noche rústica* . . .? Cada tenso pulsar en el rosario de sonetos es un compás musical del árbol—arpa, símbolo de su voluntad trascendente. Y la música, en última instancia, es plegaria de redención tanto artística como espiritual.

La palabra rítmica cual vía de trascendencia; un flujo y reflujo de pulsaciones de valor plenas dentro de un recinto formal; un latir análogo al lírico fluir de rítmico golpeteo que Dios infunde en la roca: "La piedra tiene acentos. Vibra cada / roca, como una cuerda, intensamente" (XVII. 268). Conforme a la lógica de sus simbólicas permutaciones verbales y de sus principios expresivos del arte, a Othón le brindaba este momento poético la única solución posible a tanta búsqueda espiritual; una resolución cabalmente idealista según la cual la Conciencia — actividad pura — a través de su modalidad, la finita humana, postula el Objeto y lo recobra.[22] O sea, ya que el poeta constituye lo espiritual del descampado descrito, y ya que el descampado es correlato de expresión para su alma, él es demiurgo que infunde la materia, aun la más densa, de esencia y significado vital; él, Manuel José Othón, redime a su naturaleza salvaje justo como Pan, avatar suyo, redime la quimera que brota de la "infecta corrupción" de la muerte con una ". . .inmensa y divina serenata" plena de rima y ritmo (V. 262, IX. 264); y al salvar a su re-creado mundo se salva a sí mismo.

*

Othón, desde luego, no podía aceptar cabal y conscientemente el panteísmo implícito en sus nociones expresivo-creadoras del arte pero contrario a los artículos de la ortodoxia del catolicismo.[23] Más de una vez había defendido la fe contra el asedio positivista.[24] Más de una vez habíase declarado creyente; un buen poeta católico, este caro hijo de la Iglesia.[25] Precisa reconocer que la verdad del caso es algo distinta. Pormenorizada, su escritura testimonia el recrudecimiento cada vez más sombrío de rachas de crisis espiritual:

> Negro el altar, la bóveda desierta,
> el resplandor del moribundo día
> penetra por la angosta celosía
> de la alta nave sobre el muro abierta.
>
> Allá en la triste oscuridad incierta
> se levanta la cruz, negra y sombría;
> Cristo, la inmensa luz que en ella ardía,
> descansa ya bajo la losa yerta . . .

¡ Ay ! del mundo en el viaje solitario
una luz nos ayuda en lontananza
a cargar con la cruz hasta el osario.

Y cuando al mal el corazón se lanza,
así, de nuestra vida en el Calvario,
queda la cruz y muere la esperanza.

Que la ocasión para este soneto, "La cruz sola" (206), fuera un Viernes Santo no explica del todo el terceto final. Cual resaca, la desesperanza siempre obsesiona a Othón. En un poema cuyo título hace eco a Dante (Inferno III. v. 9), "Lasciate ogni speranza", escrito en 1882 cuando nuestro poeta tenía veinticuatro años, se lee: "¡ Dejad, abandonad toda esperanza / los que entréis al infierno de la vida, . . ." (321). Hacia el otro extremo de su trayectoria, dos años antes de fallecer, en el quinto soneto de *En el desierto*, él declara: "Y la sombra que avanza, avanza, avanza, / parece, con su trágica envoltura, / el alma ingente, plena de amargura, / de los que han de morir sin esperanza. / Y allí estamos nosotros, oprimidos . . ." (424). Dudoso, por ende, que "La cruz sola", cuyo tenor es una crisis de fe, sea meramente un ejercicio dentro del género de la literatura devota. Consabido a la ortodoxia que la pérdida de esperanza a la última equivale a desesperar de la Divina Providencia. Representa, por lo tanto, un paso hacia la incredulidad y la negación: "No hay peor calamidad", escribe Santo Tomás de Aquino, "que el desaliento en la batalla por la fe. Perpetrar maldad aniquila el espíritu, mas desesperar es caer en el infierno".[26] Se cifra la caducidad, por enajenamiento, de un patrimonio de fe en el conjunto de imágenes — una iglesia desierta, una cruz sombría y negra, un Cristo muerto — cuyo valor se aclara en el último terceto. No es casual que la agonía en el Huerto de Getsemaní figure en el soneto V de *Noche rústica* . . . previo al XII, donde se plasma la visión, onírica de nahuales y brujas "sin Dios y sin María" (265) escurriéndose hacia sus ritos de autocondena; tampoco casualidad que, "desde la cruz del viejo campanario . . ." (XI. 265), o sea en cabal posesión del símbolo básico de la fe, la ralea merodeadora dé chillidos de ". . .tan horrísonos acentos, . . ." (XI. 265) en tal forma que ". . .el valor más indómito se quiebre . . ." (XI. 265). Pájaros semejantes a estos vándalos de nidos — otro correlato de espacio doméstico a lo íntimo — hostigaron a Othón en 1889:

En las noches tediosas y sombrías
buscan su nido en mi cerebro enfermo,
plegando el ala ensangrentada y rota,
mis antiguos recuerdos.
No vienen como alegres golondrinas
de la rústica iglesia a los aleros,
trayendo de la rubia Prímavera
las blandas brisas y los tibios besos.
Vienen, como los pájaros nocturnos,
a acurrucarse huraños y siniestros
de la musgosa tapia en la rüinas

o de la vieja torre entre los huecos.
¡Que vengan en buena hora, que no tarden!
¿Por qué no se apresuran? ¡Los espero!...
¡Hace ya tantos años que dormito!
¡Hace ya tanto tiempo!
El negro muro del hendido claustro,
aunque roto y abierto,
aún se mantiene en pie, y en las ojivas
del campanario viejo,
si no hay esquilas que a la misa llamen
al asomar el matinal lucero
o anuncien la oración al campesino
y la hora del regreso
a las muchachas de la azul cisterna,
al pastor y al vaquero;
si ya no hay campanitas que repiquen
del santo titular a los festejos,
hay oquedades hondas y sombrías
que abrigarán en sus oscuros senos
a las lechuzas pardas y siniestras
y a los pájaros negros...

La maleficencia en *Noche rústica* . . . paralela a la que se recoge en este poema significativamente titulado "Voz interna" (234–235).[27] Para ambas un trasfondo nocturno. En un caso se representa la interioridad espiritual a base de un claustro abandonado donde el repique a misa no es más que nostalgia (versos 17, 21, 27–28), en el otro se plasma un espectáculo onírico de satanismo, ánimas en pena y cruz desacralizada (XI. 265, XII. 265). A la "destruida tienda" (VIII. 263) y a los "sótanos hendidos" (IX. 264), recintos en el ciclo del yo consciente y subconsciente, se traza análogo el "cerebro enfermo" (verso 2) del poeta, semejante a un nido para una ralea el cual a su vez cede lugar, volatilizándose, a la elaboración de un "hendido claustro" (verso 17). La trayectoria expresiva culmina en la valorativa descripción de "oquedades hondas y sombrías" (verso 29) propicias a un desgraciado apoderamiento inevitable: "¡Que vengan en buena hora, que no tarden!" (verso 13). Así es cómo Othón se enjuicia en su voluntad de confrontar lo disgregado y contradictorio, si no falso, de la vida personal mediante la remembranza. Y este es el mismo poeta que se había jactado de hallarse salvo de la colectiva oquedad espiritual — entonces, como hoy, derivativa a la subordinación de nuestra endeble economía mexicana, cual apéndice, a los intereses del capital estadunidense y europeo — cuando en 1883 lamenta ". . .el materialismo que nuestras sociedades invade, todo lo arranca y destruye, sin dejar en cambio con qué llenar el *espantoso vacío* que en el alma de los hombres y de los pueblos ha operado . . .[28] En mis versos siempre he procurado alentar la esperanza y fortificar la fe. Si no lo consigo en los demás, siempre el triunfo a que aspiro será mío, que por mi parte lo he conseguido ya. Con ayuda de la poesía creo y espero: con esa misma ayuda tengo bastante para resistir los golpes del escepticismo" (186).

No a diferencia de la primera "Walpurgisnacht" por Goethe, donde Fausto se halla en ". . .un reino fantasmagórico que participa de la realidad en tanto que es proyección del espíritu humano", la *Noche rústica* . . . representa lo real dentro de un sueño en tanto que simbólicamente se transpone un drama interno.[29] Nótense las analogías: una bruja que no recibe del hombre "ni una muestra de amor, ni una palabra" (XIII. 366), de ahí, en su abandono, tan marginada como "la destruida tienda" y los "sótanos hendidos . . ."; nahuales y brujas que ilusoriamente se autotransforman y un poeta que permutando símbolos y voces elabora su autotransformación prismática; brujas que provocan el mal y a los muertos (". . .En la sombría/cuenca de la montaña, las inertes / osamentas se animan a los fuertes / gritos de la caterva impía." XII. 265), y un poeta cuyo clásico avatar, Pan, ". . .cual a un conjuro . . ." (IX. 264), evoca ". . .fosfóricos capuces" (IX. 264), es decir, crea lo bello; por último, una bruja, presagio de aflicción y de pérdida de fe, que blasfema ("Yo a los hombres daré el vino impuro / que arranca la esperanza y el consuelo" XIII. 266), y un poeta que sufre obsesivos raptos de desesperanza.

El profundo malestar de Othón lo representa dramáticamente la imagen más expresiva en el ciclo de dinámica refrenada: la "abrupta roca" del soneto XIV (266). En lo más hondo de la experiencia visionaria no se perfila el sacro bosque, la primigenia "basílica" anterior al formalismo católico, ni mucho menos el Arbol-Arpa de la Vida robusto, trascendente y venerado, además, por el espíritu religioso que druidas encarnan; lo que sí se manifiesta es un malogrado promontorio amorfo, verdadero correlato a los esfuerzos innúmeros de Othón por resolver, en armonía, el caos personal.[30] Se dibuja a la "abrupta roca" como si constreñida por nahuales y brujas que la coronan danzando en círculo ("...Ya en ronda ciega/el coro de las brujas se despliega / de ti en redor, sobre la abrupta roca." 266), forma geométrica, por cierto, que simboliza plenitud y perfección.[31] De ahí que la escena sea la de un rito donde se celebra la perfecta imperfección a la cual el aquelarre se consagra.[32]

Tal la sin duda poco grata aunque sumamente expresiva delineación del yo auténtico: en un momento, la agonía de un Cristo que pondera su ineluctable destino para tantos inútil (V. 262);[33] en otro, la de muertos que, en extrema soledad, claman por la resurrección mas sólo la reciben de los demiurgos del mal (XII. 265); todavía en otro, los marginados "sótanos hendidos" (XI. 264), correlatos soterrraños al yo subconsciente, también en desahucio; aún en otro momento, sobre tierra, la melancólica y no menos marginada "destruida tienda" dentro de la cual el descorazonado poeta, a canto de grillo — que es el canto del Arte —, se ve obligado a reconocer la incoherencia de su alma; a más altura, y por último, los íntimos avatares, un monte atrofiado y un conciliábulo, cuyos esfuerzos de trascendencia son abortos. He aquí una visión espeluznante que el poeta, si capaz, no está dispuesto a aceptar en su totalidad. Para ello, los procedimientos de rechazo distant frecuentemente de los expre-

sivos con los cuales la ha elaborado. Resulta, en conjunto, un dibujo complejo no en pleno equilibrio; hemos de ver ahora cómo *Noche rústica* . . . se configura en una extraordinaria y bella unidad malograda.

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El problema fundamental consiste en traducir la experiencia visionaria a un episodio onírico. A diferencia de un visionario que postulara el sueño como oráculo de la verdad, sea del cosmos o del propio ser, por medio de una serie de afirmaciones e improvisados sucesos en la tercera y última parte del ciclo que no del todo armonizan con la experiencia nocturna, Othón ambivalentemente lo avalora.[34] La insegura interrelación estructural que hemos de estudiar da pábulo a la hipótesis de que, voluntarioso de eludirse a sí mismo, él llega a la noción de lo nocturno como onírico de manera apresurada, sólo en las etapas tardías de la composición de la obra, después de haber escrito la autorrevelatoria escena de maleficio.

Lo primero es razonar la función de Peón Contreras en la *Noche rústica*. . . Dentro de la ficción del ciclo él es, en cierto sentido, el compañero ideal de Othón, y por eso, el lector ideal ya que acepta la invitación condicional: "Si tu voz melancólica no entona / ya sus himnos de amor . . ." Es decir, si a ti como a mí te aflige un sentido de pérdida espiritual, entonces ". . .conmigo vuela / a esta región que asombra y que consuela" (I. 260). El dilema es precisar dónde se le ubica. El "Oíd" del ruiseñor (V. 261) y la apelación de los nahuales, "¡Oh, representación de los mortales!, / mostrad aquí vuestro asombrado gesto . . ." (XIV. 266), ambos dentro de lo onírico, se dirigen a Peón Contreras, no sólo a Othón. Y aquel "Vamos al aquelarre . . ." (XII. 265) junto con la declaración "Pienso que el cielo llora, ¿no lo adviertes?" (XII. 265) se dan también en el mismo ámbito dimensional. Fuera del sueño, sin embargo, recae lo del noveno verso en el último soneto: "Poeta: es fuerza abandonar el monte" (XXII. 270). De ahí que Peón Contreras se halle tanto fuera como dentro de lo soñado, incongruencia en sí que se puntualiza más de una vez. Obsérvese, por ejemplo, que el monte del último soneto es el mismo que figura en el primero; en ambos momentos nuestro poeta, desde la ostensible cumbre de ese promontorio, le habla a Peón Contreras; mas supuestamente también duerme en los sonetos XV (266–267), XVI (267) y XIX (268–269) soñando la aventura poética en la cual se recoge al compañero para quien él hace de Virgilio guía.

Otro problema formal es determinar cuándo lo onírico propiamente comienza, ya que la aclaración en el soneto XV de que lo visionario sólo ha sido un sueño no cuenta con ningún precedente. Da lugar a avaloraciones difícilmente reconciliables entre sí. Al comienzo se exalta la aventura (". . .conmigo vuela / a esta región que asombra y que consuela, . . ." I. 259–260); "Noche profunda, noche de selva, / de quimeras poblada y de rumores, / sumér-

genos en ti: . . . / . . .en el sagrado horror de tus misterios" II. 260); más tarde, hacia el último tercio, se le transforma en una ". . .vana / pesadilla maléfica. . ." (XV. 267). más sutil la diferencia entre su consagración poética ("ha de escucharse la oración alada, / no el canto celestial de los poetas" III. 261) y su nombramiento como un "sueño celestial" (XXII. 270) debido a que, contextualmente, la "oración alada" del sacro bosque no equivale a un "canto celestial" porque no baja inundando a lo sublunar sino que se verticaliza trascendente. Los sonetos XXII y III son oblicuamente antitéticos. Cifran la disyuntiva entre un conceptualizar más o menos dentro de los cauces del tradicionalismo literario y de la Iglesia, por un lado, y un poetizar relativamente inusitado por el otro, donde la palabra es búsqueda en el misterio que a sí misma se consagra y no lo consagrado *a priori*.

Ante el sentido de "oración alada", poesía que obedece a una necesidad expresiva de redención, se contrapone el de "sueño celestial" del último soneto. Nuestra hipótesis es que se significa no más que lo onírico como valor literario; es decir, materia elaborable en la artesanía verbal destinada para el buen gusto de los *cognoscenti* a quienes Peón Contreras manifiestamente representa: "Tú que de Pan comprendes el lenguaje, . . ." (I. 260). La suspensión del "sueño celestial" del poeta indica, por lo tanto, que el ciclo llega a su fin. Aparte del recreo artístico, hay ineludibles quehaceres mundanos (XXII. 270).

La real es lo mundano, cuya importancia primordial, mediante una serie de procedimientos, el poeta confirmaría. Le delimita, primero, cualquier posible sentido ulterior a la experiencia onírica, en sí algo como un exorcizar que concede a la vez que niega. Tal la voluntad de rechazo, que Othón dedica dos sonetos a la tarea (XV y XIX). Cuando en el soneto XV (266–267) se indica que el episodio infernal no ha sido más que el terror nocturno de una "vana pesadilla maléfica", se cifra una ambivalencia debido a los términos "maléfica" y "terror" como también al dibujo del gallo que representa, ante lo descomunal, lo característico a la vida cotidiana del campo y, de ahí, la seguridad que brinda lo familiar. Pero si el sueño hubiera sido, en verdad, una vana ilusión, el poeta no necesitara de la nota doméstica, ni tampoco de un grato y puntualizado amanecer, ni mucho menos de un despertar; en términos breves, no tendría que enfáticamente dividir el mundo poético de su *Noche rústica* . . . entre la fantasía y la realidad. En el soneto XIX (268–269), el deslinde entre ambas dimensiones se acentúa. El poeta concedería que, soñando, se hallaba vulnerable a la muerte; mas confirma como auténticos peligros, ante los ilusorios de lo onírico, el "lobo fiero" y el "amigo traidor" (XIX. 269). El lector recuerda el viento espantado del soneto IV cuando se acuña otro momento de dinámica refrenada: el alma atónita en la "Duda mortal . . ." (XVIII. 268); incluso se conjetura en el verso que podría deberse a la contemplación de ". . .lo incógnito delante" (XVIII. 268). Pero ahora lo incógnito ya no es lo sacro sublime y aterrorizador, sino la violencia y muerte

conjeturables que surgieran de luchas desesperadas tales como la del hombre contra bestia feroz, o contra otro hombre o, suicida, contra sí mismo. Cierto, para lo diurno y lo nocturno hay un común denominador: la muerte. Más, en última instancia, dentro del mundo de la realidad y no de lo soñado, se subraya el temor a la muerte corporal. Que en sí sea ella un tema para sobria reflexión es innegable; aunque jamás se compararía en seriedad meritoria de exploración artística a la del anonadamiento del alma en caos. De aquí que en los sonetos XVIII y XIX, el temor a la muerte física, si no una soslayada transposición del temor a la espiritual, sea vana inquietud, ya que el máximo peligro es una inadecuada creación del propio ser, no una "fiera" (XVIII. 268), o un "asesino", o un "amigo traidor" (XIX. 269).

La evocación de una conflictiva realidad circunstancial se vincula, por supuesto, con la experiencia nocturna. Un alma en desarmonía necesaria e insistentemente percibe desarmonía en torno, ya que "lo grotesco" según Kayser, "es el mundo enajenado".[35] O sea, al avaloramiento grotesco y onírico de lo personal le corresponde tanto la visión de un mundo no menos desavenido, como también la imposibilidad de aceptarlo: ". . .vuelve la vida ingrata y fría, . . ." (XXII. 270). Estas palabras confirman el aborto del sueño visionario; si el proceso de anagnórisis verdaderamente se hubiera cumplido, el poeta sería incapaz de acotarlas hacia el final del poema. En ello, no importa incluso la índole de lo captado. Wordsworth, por ejemplo, reconoce la pérdida inevitable de esa "primera visión" que se goza en la inocencia. Baudelaire confronta el mal dentro del propio ser. Ambos intentan la resolución artística de sus íntimos desgarros sin eludir lo complejo y válido intuido. Consecuencia: un "Prelude" inglés y un "Le voyage" francés. Y es que la pérdida de fe dentro de la esfera de los valores tradicionales de la sociedad sólo se resuelve favorablemente por medio de la creativa elaboración de un nuevo esquema interpretativo, lo cual Othón, profundamente dividido entre sí, sólo lleva en parte a cabo. Bien dice Marx que el lastre de la tradición caduca ". . .oprime como une pesadilla . . ."[36]

Se alejaría Othón de su experiencia onírica no sólo llamándola inconsecuente sino que también situando, en su lugar, las tensiones y peligros del diario vivir. Se vale, además, de un procedimiento para minimizar lo expresivo de su verso: pluraliza las voces ficticias. Dentro del marco de la fábula se responsabiliza de sólo ocho de los veintidós sonetos, los números I, II, III, XII, XVII, XVIII, XXI, y XXII. En los sonetos cruciales de lo satánico, números XIII y XIV, las voces, respectivamente, son las de cuatro brujas y nahuales. Sin duda, a través de tal distanciamiento estético, se incrementa la complejidad del ciclo y se socava cualquier tendencia hacia el sentimentalismo confesional que Othón censura en el prefacio a los *Poemas rústicos* (228). Todo ello se ajusta a su formalismo de cuño parnasiano. Mas si se tiene en mente la totalidad de sus nociones del arte, el juego poético de voces es, una vez más, ejemplo

de la proverbial espada de doble filo. Autentifica, por un lado, lo nocturno ya que, cuando dentro de un sueño se les atribuye poder expresivo a la Naturaleza y a seres maléficos, se crean para lo narrativo simbólico fuentes objetivas, por otro, así también nuestro poeta se soslaya porque en el crucial soneto XIV generaliza el hallazgo de lo personal ("¡Por doquiera el mal . . . !" 266) y se lo confiere a los nahuales.

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Fórmulas de autoelusión: universalizar lo que simbólicamente representa la índole del yo íntimo y atribuir el proceso a terceras partes; multiplicar voces ficticias; delimitar, si no negar, el valor de lo onírico; y asentar como el fulcro de inquietud no la voluntad y apetitos personales vinculados en dialéctica a una realidad externa, sino a ésta cual vida "ingrata y fría" (XXII. 270), o sea, enajenante y enajenada, donde la angustia se emblematiza en el tema de la muerte a manos de ese extraño familiar que es cualquier Otro. Ahora bien, la incapacidad de legitimar la visión onírica obedece a un aspecto psicoverbal que en Othón se compagina con su poder de captación simbólica. Viene a la memoria un pasaje que se recoge en un ensayo por Gregorio Martínez Sierra sobre la limitaciones artísticas de Núñez de Arce: "Hay dos clases de poetas: los que piensan por imágenes y los que ven por ideas."[37] Junto con Núñez de Arce (y se podrían agregar los nombres de otros postreros versificadores del siglo diecinueve, tales como Campoamor, Bartrina, y Acuña) el Othón de nuestro ciclo tiende a pertenecer a la última. Es un poeta explicativo, lo cual conjuga con su entendimiento de la artesanía literaria como una "labor intelectual". Casi siempre cuando elabora una imagen el concepto se agrega para aclararla. Por ejemplo, en el soneto VIII (263) el valor de las imágenes finales "llama postrimera" y "último rescoldo" abstractamente se anticipa:

> . . . te seguiré mostrando
> *la ilusión*, en la llama postrimera
> *el recuerdo*, en el último rescoldo.

En el soneto IX (263–264), la función simbólica de la quimera ("pálidas luces . . .") prosaicamente se resuelve en el terceto final:

> Que no existe lo estéril ni lo inerte
> si Pan lo toca, y al brotar un beso
> siempre estalla la luz, aun de muerte.

En este momento el concepto no sólo sirve para explicar. Característica de Othón que recuerda apenas algo al verso metafísico y barroco del siglo diecisiete, es el esfuerzo de acuñar imágenes de abstracciones en sí: el beso, símbolo archi-consagrado, es por analogía el pivote táctil para esa luz abstracta aunque no menos simbólica y consagrada que surge de otra abstracción. A la última, el conjunto análogo casi ni se visualiza y menos impresiona.

En el soneto II (260), después de dos cuartetos descriptivos de cierto vigor, sobre todo el segundo con un fructífero hipérbaton, el poeta aclararía el singular valor de lo que acaba de haber elaborado. Para ello, los dos tercetos que, a pesar de la personificación ("el rey de los fantásticos imperios"), resultan fundamentalmente conceptuales: "que nos envuelva / . . .en el sagrado horror de tus misterios." Caso semejante el soneto XVII (267–268). La primera estrofa es vívidamente descriptiva. En la segunda, verso cinco, la imagen pétrea de latidos líricos deriva mediatizada por el intelecto. Si inicialmente el poeta la hubiera intuido, habría eliminado la declaración "la piedra tiene acentos . . ." ya que el hallazgo que sigue, ". . .Vibra cada / roca intensamente . . .", le supera a raíz del verbo dinámicó "Vibra" en lugar del copulativo "tiene" y del concepto abstracto "acentos".

No se aclara el valor simbólico del árbol en el soneto III (267–268) sino hasta la última estrofa y de una manera discursiva:

> . . . no hay cantores
> que a tus himnos respondan, ni oídos
> que comprendan tu estrofa gigantea.

Ahora bien, este soneto denota otro rasgo estilístico. La mudanza del árbol en arpa se lleva a cabo por medio de una serie comparativa. El primer paso es semejar la penetración de la luz lunar dentro del follaje del árbol a la filtración del mismo fenómeno a través de "fino encaje" (III. 260). En el segundo paso, se materializa un dejo más lo luminoso al evocarse un "haz de vibradores / hilos de luz . . ." (III. 261) temblando como si ". . .tañidos / por un plectro que el céfiro menea" (III. 261). Sólo después de estos dos símiles que constituyen un sostenido proceso transformativo afirma Othón la doble índole del árbol: no meramente un fenómeno natural del descampado sino también un "¡ Arpa inmensa del campo !" . . . (III. 261). El símil como procedimiento artístico es un concesivo gesto a la percepción colectiva de una supuesta realidad externa, lo cual se acusa en el soneto XVII (267–268) cuando el poeta califica lo intuido, rocas vibrantes, con el momento ". . .como un cuerda, . . ." y luego procede, típicamente, a explicar lo simbólico de la imagen: "que en sus moles quedó perpetuamente / del Génesis la voz petrificada."

En resumen, una propensión a aclarar la imagen simbólica y un procedimiento de comparación a favor de la transmudanza del concepto o del fenómeno. Se acusa desinterés, si no incapacidad, de zambullirse directamente en lo metafórico. Es como si a Othón, igual que a Núñez de Arce, le refrenara cierto respeto al entendimiento común; de ahí el lastre explicativo a la creación verbal. Lo prosaico analítico es un elemento frecuentemente dañino. Caso ejemplar, el soneto VII (262–263) donde lo abstracto en sí se ahueca en el verso "el más grande y asombrador portento" debido a hipérbole; también irredimibles el verso "bajo la estrecha cavidad caliza" y los complementos binarios, "rápida y certera" y "mortífero y tonante".

Tales rasgos de estilo, en conjunto, sirven para comprender el porqué no se legitima cabalmente lo onírico. Son indicios de un poeta no del todo consciente del poder visionario de su imaginación; paradoja, ya que suela explicar los símbolos que formula. Mas de los tres imprescindibles para le experiencia nocturna, la "destruida tienda", los "sótanos hendidos", y la "abrupta roca" coronada por un avatar colectivo de autocondena, por medio del cantar de un grillo sólo en parte adivina Othón el sentido ulterior del primero; no logra aclarar los otros dos.

Tenemos en Othón a un poeta incongruente que, a pesar de ciertos marcados rasgos de estilo, no evidencia la voluntad por una retórica uniforme. La textura léxica en su ciclo varía. Lata diferencia hay entre la terminología caballeresca que se recoge en la primera estrofa del soneto I (259) y la dicción neoclásica en los sonetos V (261–262) y VI (262), llena de imperativos poéticos, "Oíd . . . Escuchad", de preciosismo literario, "linfas . . . grácil . . . gorgoritas . . . parleros borbollones", y de personificación mítica. A su vez, todo ello se contrasta con la tónica verbal de la experiencia visionaria en sonetos tales como el III y el V y del XI y al XIV.

El artista que se orienta hacia el equilibrio interior y hacia la armonía con lo circunstancial se empeña en elaborar una sola retórica que coincida con el descubrimiento heurístico de su propia y auténtica visión. De ello, algo y más hay en *Noche rústica* . . .; empero, también incongruencia en lo estilístico y en lo arquitectónico que testimonia una profunda incoherencia espiritual. Correcto el juicio de Max Henríquez Ureña que en Othón hay una variedad de estilos.[38] Y es que nunca halla su propia voz porque jamás logra una plena anagnórisis. De los tres libros que proyecta y que la muerte le frustra, dos se titularan, significativamente, *Poemas del odio* y *Poemas brutales* (22). Le creadora vía purgativa aún daba para mucho.

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A pesar de la negación ambivalente de lo onírico, dentro de la resquebrajada unidad de *Noche rústica* . . . la voluntad de reconciliación espiritual y artística impulsa a Othón a que formule algún medio de redención, si no cabal, aunque sea provisorio. De ahí el soneto XVII (267) donde "el antiguo concepto cristiano de *liber naturae* cuyos símbolos dan la medida de los atributos e intenciones de su autor"[39] se evoca cuando se transforma el oro y el granito en libros aurales de lo Divino que reclaman del hombre tanto el esfuerzo ("¡Lucha!") como una actitud celebratoria ("¡Vive y goza, mortal . . .!"), mientras que, física y simbólicamente antitéticas al "agrio peñón" (I. 260) y a la "abrupta roca" (XIV. 266), las "agudas cumbres" de perfecta trascendencia forman un coro que le recordaría sus obligaciones espirituales: „¡Ora y piensa!"

Respecto a estos juicios imperativos hay sólo un problema: se formulan un paso después del campaneo matutino (XVI. 267) y dos después del canto del gallo al romper el alba (XV. 266–267). Ya que no surgen de la experiencia nocturna, no constituyen intuiciones arraigadas en el reconocimiento creador del auténtico ser. Pertenecen, más bien, a la sobreestructura — al *ethos* — de la sociedad que reclamara la lealtad del poeta; una sobreestructura, por cierto, en plena crisis transformadora. De mayor acuerdo con la índole de un alma en conflicto y duda es la afirmación de la vida como ". . .ingrata y fría" (XII. 270); con lo cual queda en entredicho la firmeza de su convicción en la viabilidad de lo social y lo profundo de su fe en la bíblica fuente del deber.

En el último tercio del ciclo el poder redentor de lo telúrico materno concuerda más con el delineamiento onírico de lo espiritual y con las implícitas nociones del arte expresivo que llegan a objetivar una naturaleza superna: "¡Santa Naturaleza, madre mía!" (XXII. 270); esto es, a una *Natura Naturans* panteísta. La Madre Naturaleza es misterioso origen de fertilidad ("Escucha el ruido místico y profundo / con que acompaña el alma Primavera / esta labor enorme que se opera / en mi seno fructífero y fecundo." XX. 269), asimismo de única consolación para un desolado cuyo ". . .intento de invocar y subyugar aspectos de lo demoníaco del mundo . . .",[40] en particular los de su interioridad, ha culminado en un disparejo aunque extraordinario logro. Al asegurarle que él vive en unidad fundamental con ella ya que lo circunscribe (". . .vives conmigo . . ."), le promete tregua a su marginado ser; sobre todo porque le asegura un grato sepulcro (" !Con cuánto amor abrigaré tus huesos!" XX. 269), el único recinto inviolable para la ". . .vencida carne . . ." del hombre (XX. 269) en perfecta inconsciencia, allende el frenesí que es la vida, un desasosiego que ha inducido a Manuel José Basilio Othón y Vargas, ansioso de redención, a la aventura poética: *Noche rústica de Walpurgis.*

NOTAS

[1] Othón, Manuel José: *Poesía completa*, Joaquín Antonio Peñalosa, editor México, 1974, Editorial Jus pág. 260. Toda referencia a Othón es por esta edición y figurará en el texto de la monografía entre paréntesis; tratándose de *Noche rústica* . . . se antepondrá en cifra romana el número del soneto cuando sirva a manera de clarificación.

[2] Monk, Samuel H.: *The Sublime: A study of Critical Theories in XVIII Century England*. Ann Arbor, 1960, first edition, 1935, The University of Michigan Press, pág. 92. En esta monografía sobre *Noche rústica* . . . toda traducción de lengua extranjera es nuestra.

[3] Kant, Immanuel: *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*, translated by John T. Goldthwait. Berkeley, 1965, University of California Press, pág. 47.

[4] Ibid., pág. 48.

[5] Loc. cit.

[6] Abrams, M(eyer) H(oward): The Correspondent Breeze: A Romantic Metaphor, In: *English Romantic Poets: Modern Essays in Criticism*, edited by M. H. Abrams. (New York, 1960, Oxford University Press, pág. 37. Es nuestra la traducción al español.

[7] Abrams nos recordaría que ". . . las ecuaciones simbólicas entre el aire, la respiración y el alma no son exclusivamente románticas ni mucho menos recientes." Las

traza hasta el Viejo Testamento y la mitología grecolatina. Luego indica: "Implícito en el concepto estoico de *Anima Mundi* se recoge el de un suspiro, o gas divino, que infunde el mundo material y constituye, además, la psique humana." (Ibid., págs. 44–46)

[8] Al monismo implícito en la corriente expresiva del pensamiento y arte decimonos los define René Wellek cuando escribe sobre el "nuevo arte" en las letras alemanas desde mediados del siglo XVIII: " . . . esta nueva visión enfatiza la totalidad de las facultades del hombre, no sólo la razón, no sólo el sentimiento, sino la intuición intelectual, imaginación. Se trata del renacimiento de un neo-platonismo, de un panteísmo (cual fueran sus concesiones a la ortodoxia); un monismo donde se logra identificar a Dios y el mundo, el alma y el cuerpo, el sujeto y el objeto." (Wellek, René *Concepts of Criticism.* New Haven, 1963, Yale University Press, pág. 165). Una de las concesiones, y veta menor en la filosofía idealista, es el consabido panenteísmo de Krause (Morillas, Juan López *El krausismo español.* México, 1956, Fondo de Cultura Económica, págs. 38–39). Pero en México, durante el siglo diecinueve, Krause no tuvo epígonos; consúltese la obra aún fundamental por el Obispo de Guanajuato, el Presbítero Emeterio Valverde Téllez, *Bibliografía filosófica mexicana* (México, 1907, Tipografía de la viuda de F. Díaz de León).

El renovado entendimiento que Wellek esboza pronto se explaya por toda Europa. Puesto que Francia, desde el Siglo de las Luces, ha cumplido la función de transmisora a la América hispánica de las inquietudes del continente, es singular descubrir en sus literatos del siglo XIX la misma huella monista. Hay juicio gálico sobre el transfondo ideológico del romanticismo que lo confirma. Según Louis Reynaud, se trata de un panteísmo anglo-teutónico que se acusa aun en el católico Chateaubriand: " . . . más que el de Bernardino de Saint Pierre, el cristianismo de Chateaubriand es, por consiguiente, no sólo un gozo estético, sino uno que encubre con suntuosos pliegues, el panteísmo y el individualismo anglo-germánicos del siglo XVIII, todo lo que el autor de *El genio* . . . creía, de buena fe, combatir." (Reynaud, Louis: *le Romantisme : Ses Origines Anglo-Germaniques.* Paris 1926, Librairie Armand Colin, pág. 156). Mas en pleno siglo pasado ya se entendía que la corriente expresiva no se daba dentro de los cauces de la ortodoxia de la Iglesia. Ludóvico Vitet (1802–1873) enjuicia el romanticismo en los siguientes términos contundentes: "Es, en dos palabras, el protestantismo en las letras y en las artes." (Vial, Francisque. *Idées et Doctrines Littéraires du Dix-Neuvième Siècle.* Paris, 1928 Librairie Delagrave, pág. 94). A diferencia del krausismo español, Bécquer sí brinda uno de los mayores aportes peninsulares al monismo literario que llega a Hispanoamérica. Para una exposición de *Natura Naturans* en su obra, véase Díaz, José Pedro: *Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer : vida y poesía.* Madrid, 1971, Gredos. págs. 415–428.

[9] Para un estudio fenomenológico del simbolismo de formas circundantes, consúltese a Bachelard, Gaston: *La Poétique de l'Espace.* Paris, 1967, Presses Universitaires de France ; sobre todo, los capítulos "La Maison de la Cave au Grenier," (págs. 23–50) y "Le nid" (págs. 92–105).

[10] Poulet, Georges: *La Distance Intérieure.* Paris, 1952, Plon. pág. 14.

[11] La rectilínea fuente literaria se halla en *La Dorotea.* Es el romance "A mis soledades voy . . ." que en el momento clave lee: "¡No sé qué tiene la aldea / donde vivo y donde muero, / que con venir de mí mismo / no puedo venir más lejos!" El discreto comentario por Blecua a estos versos se adecúa a la reformulación que de ellos lleva a cabo nuestro potosino: ". . . la llegada del hombre a su espíritu. Lope no podía venir de más lejos: venía del fondo de sí mismo a contemplarse en puro espectáculo." Vega Carpio de Lope Félix: *La Dorotea,* editada por José Manuel Blecua. Madrid, 1955, Revista de Occidente. págs. 42 y 141). Según Hartman, rasgo en la poesía es que se dé "algún encuentro entre la persona y su sombra . . ." ya que "al evocar una etapa superada, el poeta confronta su auto—enajenación." (Hartman, Geoffrey H.: "Romanticism and Antiself-consciousness, *Romanticism : Points of View,* edited by Robert F. Gleckner Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1979, Prentice-Hall]. pág. 291. Ciertamente menos psicológico aunque, por metafísico en tendencia, más conforme al espíritu de la época es el juicio de Johann Paul Friedrich Richter (1763–1825) teórico y literato del romanticismo alemán. Lo elabora a manera interrogativa cuando reflexiona sobre la ecuación distancia y memoria: "¿Por qué todo en la añoranza (Sehnsucht) y en el recuerdo, todo lo lejano, muerto, desconocido, posee la virtud mágica de evocar . . . el infinito?" (Praz, Mario: *La carne, la morte e il diavolo nella letteratura romantica* [Firenze, 1966, Sansoni editore. pág. 18).

[12] A base de un enfoque jungiano, Edward F. Edinger traza las formas simbólicas de nutrimento y el Arbol de la Vida en *Ego and Archetype : Individuation and the Religious Function of the Psyche.* Baltimore, Maryland, 1973, Penguin Books. págs. 287–292. El árbol y el bosque como fenómenos sacros es un lugar común en mitología y folklore.

Véase, Frazer, Sir James George: *The New Golden Bough*, edited by Theodor H. Gaste. New York. Mentor Books. pág. 107.

[13] De ahí, también concebible como un árbol oracular, ya que por medio de su estética plegaria se anticipa la conformación armoniosa de los momentos y valores múltiples de *Noche rústica* . . . y, por consiguiente, de Othón, en tarto que, cual poeta, es Palabra inteligente e imaginativa que se autoelabora. En la literatura occidental el Arbol Oracular es una vieja noción de cuño pagano. Véase Husband, Timothy: *The Wild Man : Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York, 1980, The Metropolitan Museum of Art), págs. 54–57. Para el tema del harpa eolia en la literatura romántica, véase Abrams, M. H.: *The Mirror and the Lamp : Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*. New York, 1958, W. W. Norton and Co. págs. 51–52.

[14] Ibid., pág. 175.

[15] Baudelaire, Charles: *Escrits Intimes*. Paris, 1946, Les Editions du Point du Jour. pág. 72.

[16] Ayrault, Roger: *Le Genèse du Romantisme Allemand*. Paris, 1961, Aubier. pág. 203.

[17] Madison Stein, Jack: *Richard Wagner and the Synthesis of the Arts*. Detroit, 1960, Wayne State University Press. págs. 62–63, 154–155, 159, 169–171). En una carta desde la ciudad de México a su esposa (12–XI–1900) Othón evidencia su conocimiento, algo más que casual, de ópera cuando relata sus impresiones sobre una mexicana, *Atzimba* por Ricardo Castro (1864–1907), a cuya presentación había asistido. El juicio, algo severo, es de índole comparativa, para lo cual se vale de *Cavallería Rusticana* por Mascagni y de *Aída* por Verdi. No se limita a comentar la música; enfoca también sobre la estructura dramática de los libretos (Othón: *Epistolario*, editado por Jesús Zavala. México, 1945, Editorial Nueva España. págs. 36–37). Como tantos otros literatos, cede al entusiasmo wagneriano: "oyó a (Julián) Carrillo una conferencia y concierto sobre Wagner, y se contrató con él para escribir entre los dos una 'Tetralogía' soberbia y grandiosa 'a base de lo nuestro'." (Momtejano y Aguiñaga, Rafael: *Ambiente cultural en la juventud de Othón*. San Luis Potosí, 1960, Instituto Potosino de Bellas Artes. pág. 22). Se supone que Othón colaboraría escribiendo libretos para lo cual contara con su experiencia como uno de los destracados dramaturgos nacionales de entre siglos. Carrillo (1875–1965) también fue potosino; se le reconoce en la música como el descubridor del decimotercer sonido atonal.

[18] Henríquez Ureña, Pedro: El endecasílabo castellano. In: *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras*, XIII (1944), 743.

[19] Navarro Tomás, Tomás: *Métrica española: reseña histórica y descriptiva*. New York, 1966, Las Américas Publishing Co. pág. 503.

[20] Se enumeran los versos para facilitar la lectura del comentario.

[21] Alonso, Dámaso: *Poesía española*. Madrid, 1966, Gredos. págs. 74–75 y 329–330.

[22] Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich: *The Phenomenology of Mind*, translated by J. B. Baillie. New York, 1967, Harper and Row. págs. 144–145. Frederick Copleston, S. J.: *A History of Philosophy, vol. VII : Fichte to Nietzsche*. London, 1963, Burns and Oates. págs. 40–43. Seidel, George J.: *Activity and Ground : Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel*. New York, 1976, Georg Olms Verland Hildesheim. pág. 47 y siguientes.

[23] Lo único de Othón directamente sobre filosofía académica se recogne en una epístola al ecléctico Ramón Manterola (México, 1848–1901), la cual se publica como carta abierta en el diario potosino "El Correo de San Luis" (julio de 1884). Ironizando, Othón denigra el idealismo alemán cuay propensión es panteísta: "Dicho se está que para los sabios y para los que a los estudios filosóficos se consagran, claras, clarísimas deben ser las enmarañadas obras de metafísica alemana . . ." Se supondría que la carta fuera de agradecimiento ya que poco antes Othón había ido a la ciudad de México por primera vez, donde conoció a Manterola quien lo recibió en su casa y ahí le leyó de sus ensayos filosóficos. Mas de vuelta en provincia, la gentileza del huésped apenas, si acaso, se denota cuando Othón, recordando la lectura, prosigue demoledor: "Y no creí yo nunca, como a muchos he oído decir, que las verdades sobre Dios, el Universo y el alma eran de tal manera terminantes y sencillas que no necesitaran de une explicación aunque fuese tan alambicada y sutil o tan seca y descarnada como las de la metafísica alemana y del positivismo." (Dromundo, Baltasar: *Manuel José Othón : su vida y su obra*. México, 1959, Impresora Juan Pablos. págs. 172–174).

Imposible ser a la vez panteísta y católico. La ortodoxia de la Iglesia es dualista: Dios y creación no coinciden. Balmes, inteligente y, a pesar de ciertos ribetes inofensivos de la escuela escocesa del sentido común, en lo mínimo heterodoxo, aclara la incompatibilidad entre el idealismo alemán y el catolicismo cuando confronta en sus escritos a

Hegel: "¿Qué será este espíritu universal que absorbe, que identifica en sí todos los espíritus particulares? ¿No es esto la proclamación pura y simple de un panteísmo espiritualista? . . . Mas nosotros afirmamos que el Autor de tantas maravillas existía desde toda la eternidad, antes que nada existiese fuera de él; y ahora conserva, mueve, vivifica el mundo, no como el alma al cuerpo, sino de una manera independiente, libre, sin estar ligado con su criatura, sino obrando por medio de su voluntad omnipotente . . ." (Balmes, Jaime: *Cartas a un escéptico en materia de religión.* Barcelona, 1846, Imprenta de A. Brusi. págs. 176 y 182).

[24] Véase la nota previa y el soneto "A Augusto Comte" (194).

[25] Véase los poemas "A la fe" (35), "Plegaria (59), y "¡Patria!" (130). En una carta (8–XII–01) a Juan B. Delgado (México, 1868–1929), su único discípulo literario, Othón le comunica su voluntad que antes de imprimirse *Poemas rústicos* (1902), donde se recoge nuestro ciclo de sonetos, se incluya ". . . un dibujo . . . Es simbólico y le diré lo que quise representar, aunque no lo haya logrado: es un triángulo equilátero, en cada uno de cuyos lados — el ángulo queda para abajo — están escritas las palabras latinas: lo Verdadero, lo Bello, lo Bueno. En el centro una cruz de brazos iguales, sobre un sol que flamea — eso negro que usted ve, son rayos luminosos — lo cual representa a Jesucristo, el Verbo Eterno de Dios, que es el foco de toda arte, de toda Ciencia, de todo lo que hay inteligente en el hombre. Es, en fin, mi lema, para todo lo que yo he escrito y escriba." (Othón: *Epistolario*, págs. 43–44). Por católico, Othón jamás fue masón; mas el triángulo equilátero con sol rayante es la misma forma geométrica — sólo que con el ángulo hacia arriba — de la cual la masonería se vale para simbolizar al Gran Arquitecto del Universo cuya Inteligencia se recoge en el dibujo a manera de ojo. Se acusa un sincretismo que, en lo algo pegadizo, es característico del siglo diecinueve. Se evidencia otra vez en la fuente lejana, neoplatónica, del trinario lema que le sirve al padre del eclecticismo, Víctor Cousin (Francia, 1792–1867), como título para su obra notoria, *Du Vrai, du Beau et du Bien* (1858). Othón, deseoso de afirmar la índole cristiana de su arte, agrega la cruz simbólica.

[26] ". . . dicit *Glossa* [ordin.]: 'Nihil est vitae laboribus, et quod peius est, in fidei certamine constantiam perdit.' Et Isidorus dicit, in libro 2 *De Summo Bono* [c. 14]: 'Perpetrare flagitium aliquod mors animae est: sed desperare est descendere in infernum.,'" (D'Aquino, San Tommasso: *La Somma Teologica*, XIV. 1966 Casa Editrice Salani. pág. 409).

[27] Quizá mediatizados por Núñez de Arce, en lejanía se escuchan ecos de Leopardi; la representación de la sencillez e inocencia campestres que contrastan con la interioridad personal es rasgo característico del romántico italiano. Esas ". . . muchachas de la azul cisterna . . ." recuerdan momentos tales como "Vien fuor la femminetta a cor dell'acqua . " en *La quiete dopo la tempesta* (XXIV) y "La donzeletta vien dalla campagna . . ." en *Il sabato del villaggio* (XXV). Leopardi, Giacomo: *Obra completa en poesía*, edición bilingüe, introducción y traducción por Juan Bautista Bertrán, I. Barcelona: Ediciones 29, 1978. págs. 182 y 184. Dentro del contexto de las letras patrias finiseculares, "Voz interna" prefigura a "Mis enlutadas" (1890) por Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera. "Aguárdolas ansioso . .," confiesa el Duque Job respecto a las que "Escudriñan del húmedo aposento/rincones y covachas," en búsqueda de "todas mis culpas/todas mis faltas." (Nájera, Manuel Gutiérrez: *Poesías*, prólogo por Justo Sierra, II. México, 1897, Librería de la viuda de Ch. Bouret. págs. 178–179). Las semejanzas con el poema de Othón resaltan: una voluntad de autoencuentro para la que se poetiza lo dimensional como correlato a la interioridad violada; además, una resolución en lo mínimo alentadora.

[28] La subraya es nuestra.

[29] Atkins, Stuart: *Goethe's Faust.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958, Harvard University Press. pág. 91. Problemático determinar qué tan bien Othón conociera la obra de Goethe, asimismo si dominara la lengua alemana; ello no obstante su parcial ascendencia teutónica, dato confirmado por sus biógrafos, Dromundo y Zavala (Dromundo, pág. 169; Othón, Manuel José: *Obras completas*, edición preparada por Jesús Zavala. México, 1945, Editorial Nueva España. pág. ix). A Delgado, que le ayudaba publicar sus obras, Othón le escribe una carta (12–III–03) donde corrige la defectuosa ortografía de un término alemán en la narración *Coro de brujas* que deseaba dar a la imprenta: ". . . antes que se me olvide, le suplico rectifique la ortografía de la palabra *Brooken*, que va en el cuento. Es el nombre de una montaña del Harz donde, según la leyenda alemana — vea el *Fausto* de Goethe — se celebraban los aquelarres en la noche de Santa Walpurgis." (Othón: *Epistolario*, pág. 81). En la *Revista Azul*, dirigida por Gutiérrez Nájera y donde Othón publicó varias composiciones, se recoge escritura de la época derivada de *Fausto*: un artículo por Carlos Díaz Dufoo, "Gounod-Goethe" (29–VII–94,

págs. 193–194); una selección, "La Pascua," de la castellanizada versificación del poema por Teodoro Llorente (1895, págs. 384–385); un cuento humorístico por Clemente Palma, "La Walpurgis," (1895, págs. 405–407). Dudoso que cualquiera de estos esfuerzos haya influido en el génesis de *Noche rústica* . . . que, aunque se publica en 1897, ya se escribía durante la primavera de 1894, lo cual nuestro poeta constata en una carta (2–V–94) a Delgado (Othón: Epistolario, pág. 6). El *Parnaso de México*, editado por Enrique F. Granados, recoge una leyenda, "El llano del diablo," de Vicente Riva Palacio y Juan de Dios Peza en colaboración. Lo que tiene en común con nuestro poema es la fábula, en tanto que incluye un aquelarre, y el trasfondo, un descampado mexicano. Mas el tono y la métrica del todo difieren; la "leyenda" es una humorada en octosílabos intranscendental. No hemos logrado determinar cuándo por primera vez se publica. A más tardar ha de haber sido durante la creación de *Noche rústica* . . . ya que Riva Palacio nuere en 1896 (Granados, Enrique F.: *Parnaso de México: antología de poetas mexicanos*, I. México, 1919, Porrúa. págs. 457–479).

[30] El correlato topográfico, como ". . . símbolo de pecado . . .," responde a la transmudanza de ". . . conceptos morales y teológicos en valores estéticos del paisaje." Abrams bosqueja la índole y difusión europeas de este proceso hacia una ". . . físico-teología . . ." en *Natural Supernaturalism*, pás. 99–102.

[31] Para el tema del círculo cual símbolo ". . . de plenitud, de totalidad, de unión de lo antagónico, de lo prolífico, del ombligo del mundo y del eje del universo . . ." véase, Edinger, pág. 4.

[32] Se acopla la actividad de las brujas de Othón a la que el folklore les atribuye. Véase Baroja, Julio Caro: *Las brujas y su mundo*. Madrid, 1961, Revista de Occidente. págs. 185–189; también la obra de 1584 por Heinrich Kramer y James Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, edited and translated by Summers Rev. Montague. New York, 1971, Dover Publications. págs. 66, 104–109, y 140–144. Respecto a la brujería mexicana, consúltese la monografía de Mendoza, Virginia R. R. de: Las brujas en el folklore de México. In: *Anuario de la Sociedad Folklórica de México*, VI (1950), 475–483.

Fenómeno del folklore universal, el nahual varía de nombre según la lengua. En México, es de origen pre-cortesiano y se le atribuye el poder de adquirir la forma del animal cuyo espíritu le sea afín (Mendoza, Virginia R. R. de: El nahual en el folklore de México. In: *Anuario de la Sociedad Folklórica de México*, VIII [1951], 123–137). En *Noche rústica* . . ., debido al término autóctono con el cual se le evoca, es color local a favor de una literatura nacional.

[33] Vieja noción en el catolicismo; Fray Raimundo de Capua, por ejemplo, se la atribuye a su coetánea, Santa Catalina de Siena (1347–1380). Según ". . . los manuscritos de Fray Tomás, el primer confesor de la Santa . . .," ella ". . . manifestó durante uno de sus éxtasis que la causa de la tristeza del Salvador y de su sudor de sangre en el huerto de los Olivos fue su previsión de que muchas almas no alcanzarían a gozar de los frutos de su pasión." (Capua, Fray Raimundo de: *Vida de Santa Catalina de Siena*. Buenos Aires, 1947, Espasa Calpe. pág. 104).

[34] La psicología y la crítica literaria han elaborado un entendimiento harto uniforme de lo onírico. Se insiste en el concepto del sueño como un proceso de integración a base de un visionario reconocimiento de lo verídico del yo y del cosmos. Para Béguin, el sueño romántico es ". . . un modo como descender en el yo hasta la región donde se sobrepasa el subjetivismo y se desemboca en una nueva y más profunda comunicación con la realidad, ya no individual, sino cósmica o divina." (Béguin, Albert: *Ame Romantique et le Rêve*. Paris, 1961, Librairie Jose Corti. pág. 323). Jung sostiene que la función general del soñar es la de contribuir a una homeostasis psíquica (Carl G. Jung, editor, *Man and His Symbols*. New York, 1964 Dell Publishing Co. pág. 34). Edinger indica que ". . . los sueños son expresiones del eje Ego-Yo. Cada sueño es como una epístola desde un lejano Egipto para alumbrarnos (*Ego and Archetype*, pág. 125). Jankélévitch elocuentemente discurre en torno a lo nocturno cuando comienza ". . . 'La vita nuova,' es decir, el caos dentro de la naturaleza y dentro de la consciencia, al mismo tiempo que se celebran las nupcias de la conciencia y de la naturaleza." (Jankélévitch, Vladimir: Le nocturne. In: *Le Romantisme Allemand*, Albert Béguin, éditeur. Paris, 1949, Les Cahiers de Sud. pág. 97).

[35] Kayser, Wolfgang: *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*. New York, 1966, Mc Graw-Hill. pág. 184.

[36] Marx, Carlos: *El dieciocho brumario de Luis Bonaparte* (Moscú, s. f., Editorial Progreso. pág. 9.

[37] Martínez Sierra, Gregorio: *Motivos*. Madrid, 1920, Editorial Calleja Saturnino. págs. 74–75.

[38] Henríquez Ureña, Max: A propósito de un panegírico. In: *Crónica*. Guadalajara, México, año I, núm. 18 (15 de septiembre de 1907), 299.

[39] Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism*, pág. 88. El reconocimiento de la vitalidad rítmica y plena de sentido en la materia quizá tenga como fuente un artículo por Salvador Rueda, Color y música. In: *Revista Azul*, I 1895, pág. 126 que, conforme a los valores del simbolismo finisecular, parcialmente reza: "Todas las cosas cantan a un himno a los oídos que saben escucharlo; todo tiene su melodía interna, que no se expresa con notas, pero que hace llegar su canto a nuestro espíritu." La materia como intrínsecamente vital es noción que cunde, tanto en las ciencias como en la filosofía, a fines del siglo XVIII y a comienzos del siglo XIX. (Piper, Herbert Walter: *The Active Universe: Pantheism and the Concept of Imagination in the English Romantic Poets*. New York, 1962, Oxford University Press. pág. 18 y siguientes).

[40] Kayser, pág. 188.

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Contribution à une rhétorique de la poésie moderne

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La *Rhétorique générale* du groupe μ liégeois (Paris, Larousse, 1970) est suffisamment connue de nos jours — voire même enseignée depuis presque dix ans — pour qu'il ne soit guère nécessaire d'en donner un compte-rendu détaillé; il est indispensable cependant, pour la clarté de nos propos, de résumer très brièvement le système des figures que les auteurs ont élaboré.

A la base des niveaux linguistiques (morphologie, syntaxe, sémantique) et en y ajoutant pour quatrième un niveau logique, ils distinguent quatre grands groupes des métaboles: *métaplasmes*, *métataxes*, *métasémèmes* et *métalogismes*; cette quadripartition est entrecoupée par les quatre opérations principales: *suppression*, *adjonction*, *suppression-adjonction* (= substitution) et *permutation*, dont les deux dernières ne sont rien d'autre que l'action simultanée des deux premières, sur l'axe paradigmatique dans le cas de la substitution, sur l'axe syntagmatique dans le cas de la permutation. C'est ainsi qu'on a finalement un tableau contenant seize cases, dont une, celle des métasémèmes par permutation, reste vide, étant donné que les « groupements de sèmes que constituent les mots ne sont pas pourvus d'un ordre linéaire . . . Il s'ensuit qu'il n'y a pas de sens à envisager une opération bouleversant l'ordre des sèmes » (*Rhétorique générale*, p. 94). Cette case vide marquée par un X, voici (a structure de ce tableau général des métaboles (*ibid.*, p. 49):

Types / Opérations	Métaplasmes	Métataxes	Métasémèmes	Métalogismes
Suppression				
Adjonction				
Substitution				
Permutation			X	

Après avoir examiné de près les figures classées dans ce tableau (classification incontestablement très bonne, sinon la meilleure jusqu'ici), et avant d'entreprendre de « décrire les conditions de production d'un éthos spéci-

figue », les auteurs précisent qu'« On ne trouvera, dans les lignes qui suivent, qu'une simple esquisse des directions que prendront nos analyses futures. Le lecteur pourra prendre une connaissance plus détaillée de ces vues dans un ouvrage ultérieur et qui constituera en quelque sorte le prolongement de celui-ci » (*ibid.*, 147). Or, cet ouvrage ultérieur, ce prolongement, c'est la *Rhétorique de la poésie*, parue en 1977 (P. U. F., Paris, « Éditions Complexe »), écrite par les mêmes auteurs (Dubois, Edeline, Klinkenberg, Minguet) sauf deux (Pire, Trinon). Prolongement quelque peu décevant, et non seulement pour des raisons personnelles; en effet, le noyau de la théorie exposée dans cet ouvrage, avec son modèle triadique et ses catégories (sujet vs objet, moi vs monde extérieur, anthropos vs cosmos), correspond ostensiblement à ce que j'ai développé dans un article de cette même périodique en 1974 (*Quelques traits particuliers de la poéticité chez P. Reverdy*, pp. 53—60 sqq.), et les coïncidences ne s'arrêtent pas là: pour n'en citer qu'une seule, les auteurs citent à titre d'illustration le même poème d'Ungaretti dont l'analyse m'a servi de point de départ (*Rhétorique de la poésie*, pp. 87—88). Non; les causes essentielles de cette déception résident ailleurs, notamment dans la hâte sensible des auteurs de joindre leur rhétorique générale à une théorie encore plus générale, aspiration dont témoigne entre autres l'affirmation pour le moins discutable que voici: « . . .il faut insister sur ceci qu'une "grille" telle que celle proposée par *Rhétorique générale* est apte en principe à couvrir *toutes les structures littéraires à n'importe quel niveau* » (*ibid.*, p. 19.; c'est moi qui souligne). Cette hâte a pour conséquence que les auteurs brûlent pour ainsi dire toute une étape de leurs propres investigations, et précisément celle qui aurait réalisé, pour reprendre le terme liégeois, la « médiation » entre une rhétorique fondamentale et une rhétorique de la poésie. C'est cette lacune que je me propose de combler, du moins partiellement, dans ce qui suit.

Revenons tout d'abord au tableau général des métaboles cité ci-dessus, et plus précisément à sa dernière case qui contiendrait les métalogismes par permutation. Outre les permutations chronologiques, figures devenues banales dans les textes du XXe siècle et bien fréquentes déjà dans la littérature dite traditionnelle, la *Rhétorique générale* ne présente qu'un seul exemple de permutation métalogique proprement dite, un texte de Michaux: « Je mets une pomme sur ma table. Puis je me mets dans cette pomme.» Et citons tout de suite les mots qui introduisent cet exemple: « Qu'elle soit rare, en dehors d'un langage surréaliste, n'enlève pas son intérêt à la permutation métalogique » (p. 143). Cette constatation est incontestablement vraie quant à l'intérêt de la figure en question; elle provoque néanmoins deux objections bien fondées. En ce qui concerne la rareté de ce métalogisme, nous n'y croyons pas; il est même la source majeure d'un certain effet humoristique. Voici par exemple deux définitions de Karinthy: « *Beurre* . . . A l'état glacé, on met du pain là-dessus »; « *Natation.* Deux ou plusieurs hommes s'accrochent simulta-

nément à un grand morceau d'eau, et ils le tirent jusqu'à ce qu'ils en arrivent à la fin »; et voici enfin les excuses d'un assassin: « . . .et alors il [la victime] a serré son cou entre mes mains, et j'ai eu beau à le prier qu'il ne me fasse pas de mal, il l'a serré contre mes mains jusqu'à ce qu'il se soit étranglé. » Qu'est-ce que ce sont sinon des permutations métalogiques? D'un autre côté l'on ne voit guère le bien-fondé de cette mise à part nonchalante du langage surréaliste qui caractérise tout de même une très grande partie de la production poétique française du XXe siècle. On est donc tenté d'émettre l'hypothèse que la raison de cette mise à part réside dans l'impossibilité où se trouvent les auteurs d'intégrer dans leur tableau rhétorique toute une série de phénomènes de la poésie moderne. Or, de cette hypothèse il en découle une autre, à savoir qu'au point terminal de ce tableau on pourrait peut-être en ouvrir un autre pour les figures qui n'y trouvaient pas leur place (et pour celles qui y étaient intégrées à tort, comme nous allons voir). Pour assurer la continuité des deux tableaux, on esquissera le deuxième de la manière suivante:

O. \ T.	Mp.	Mt.	Ms.	Ml.
S				
A				
S—A				
P				

				?
Ml.	Ms.	Mt.	Mp.	T. \ O.

Deux remarques s'imposent à propos de ce dessin. On voit bien d'une part que le nouveau tableau suppose le même groupement quaternaire des figures qu'a établi son prédécesseur, supposition que signalent les pointillés et dont il faudra encore vérifier la justesse. D'autre part, le point d'interrogation mis dans la colonne des opérations marque nos doutes à l'égard de leur pertinence à ce niveau; question à laquelle nous reviendrons par la suite.

Retournons maintenant à la figure prétendument rare de la permutation métalogique dont un des amateurs les plus illustres est certainement Malcolm de Chazal; voici un texte du *Sens magique* (II):

L'eau dit à la vague:
« Tu me bois. »
— « Comment le pourrais-je ?
Reprit la vague,
Je suis ta bouche. »

C'est un morceau qu'on peut qualifier sûrement de métalogisme, on pourrait même dire, mais ceci n'est plus aussi sûr, qu'il y a là une sorte de permutation; ce texte présente cependant une différence essentielle par rapport à la pomme de Michaux. Dans le cas de cette dernière il s'agissait d'une simple interversion de « l'englobant » et de « l'englobé » (homme et pomme); cette interversion une fois neutralisée, la figure disparaît, et la relation des deux rôles redevient normale; autrement dit, la figure est facilement *réductible*. Tel n'est pas le cas de l'eau et de la vague; si l'on intervertit leurs rôles respectifs, le résultat reste bien semblable à l'original, la figure ne disparaît point, comme le démontre suffisamment la transformation suivante:

*L'eau dit à la vague:
« *Je te bois.* »
— « *Comment le pourrais-tu?* »
Reprit la vague,
« Je suis ta bouche. »

Ce qui revient à dire que, cette fois, la figure semble *irréductible*, ou, pour être plus précis, elle n'est pas réductible d'un seul coup à une forme normale quelconque, pareille à celle qu'on peut entrevoir immédiatement à travers le texte de Michaux. « Se mettre dans une pomme » est manifestement l'inverse de « manger une pomme », tandis que tout ce qu'on peut faire avec le petit poème de Chazal et de même avec sa transformation arbitraire, c'est les réduire au même métasémème: « La vague est la bouche de l'eau ». Et voici un autre exemple de Chazal (*Sens magique*, CCCCLX) où l'on rencontre la même difficulté de réduction:

Le parfum
Se promena
Nu
Avec
Pour tout cache-sexe
La forme
De la fleur.

Si dans le cas de Michaux il s'agissait d'une interversion de l'englobant et de l'englobé, cette fois on peut dire que c'est le corps et l'habit qui sont intervertis, ce qui est presque la même chose; pas tout à fait la même pourtant, car ici, tout comme dans le cas de l'eau et de la vague, une redistribution des rôles (d'après laquelle la fleur aurait « pour tout cache-sexe » le parfum) n'efface pas le caractère métalogique, et à la fin d'une réduction plus radicale on aura toujours un métasémème, de type « Le parfum est l'habit de la fleur » ou inversement.

On pourrait multiplier sans aucune difficulté les exemples de ces métalogismes qui rempliraient donc la première colonne de notre tableau; passons maintenant à la colonne des métasémèmes. Voici deux métaphores in praesentia dont la structure superficielle est strictement identique:

1) Le lion est le roi des animaux.
2) Le gris est le cendrier du soleil. (Chazal, *Sens plastique.*)

Dans le cas du premier exemple une simple substitution suffit à faire disparaître la figure; en effet, si l'on dit: « Le lion est le plus puissant etc. des animaux », la figure disparaît, et sans une trop grande perte de signification. Que substituer cependant au « cendrier »? Sans dire que c'est théoriquement impossible, on est sûr d'avance de ce qu'une substitution quelconque affaiblirait peut-être la figure mais ne l'anéantirait pas; on retrouve donc, dans la famille des métasémèmes, la même irréductibilité qu'on a constatée dans le cas de certains métalogismes. Et nous arrivons au même résultat en essayant de réduire quand même les deux expressions à deux formes équivalentes, telles que:

1') Le lion est parmi les animaux ce qu'est le roi parmi les hommes.
2') Le gris est par rapport aux (autres) couleurs [ou encore: par rapport à la lumière] ce qu'est le cendre par rapport au feu.

Bien que les deux formes dérivées soient bien semblables, elles présentent une différence essentielle: tandis que *1')* contient les trois éléments de *1)* et un quatrième en plus *(les hommes)*, *2')* ne conserve qu'un seul élément de *2) (le gris)*, les autres ayant été obligatoirement soumis à des transformations métasémémiques (p. e. métonymique dans le cas de *cendre–cendrier*). Ajoutons que, si *1')* peut être considéré tout simplement comme une formulation plus explicite de *1)*, dans le cas de *2')* la perte de signification par rapport à *2)* est plus que considérable.

Et, tout comme dans le cas des métalogismes, les exemples ne manquent pas; Chazal tout seul nous en fournit en abondance: « Les vallées sont les soutien-gorge du vent » *(Sens plastique)*, « Le rose, c'est les dents de lait du soleil » *(ibid.)*, ou encore le morceau n° 102 des *Poèmes* (J.-J. Pauvert, 1968):

Le baiser
Est le sein
Qui tète.

Que l'irréductibilité constatée soit absolue ou relative seulement, peu importe, toujours est-il que les essais de transformation tracent une frontière assez nette entre ces figures et les métasémèmes « classiques »; par contre, la frontière entre ce type des métasémèmes et les métalogismes devient plus vague: en effet, à propos de notre dernier exemple, on peut se demander à

juste titre s'il s'agit d'un métasémème, d'un métalogisme, ou, ce qui est le plus vraisemblable, de la combinaison des deux.

Avant d'aborder les deux derniers groupes de ces « superfigures », il faut faire une remarque importante. La réductibilité d'une figure signifie qu'il est possible de la ramener à une forme « normale » quelconque, c'est-à-dire qu'on peut restituer le code que la figure a altéré; autrement dit, les figures répertoriées par la rhétorique classique (et par la *Rhétorique générale*) sont en quelque sorte des figures *destructives*, évidemment sans le sens péjoratif que ce terme comporte en général. La restitution du code est particulièrement facile dans le cas des métataxes et des métaplasmes: qu'il s'agisse par exemple d'une inversion ou d'une métathèse, on peut restituer l'ordre normal des mots ou des sons sans aucune difficulté. Figures réductibles et irréductibles s'opposent donc les unes aux autres comme figures *destructives*, existant par rapport à une forme normale quelconque, et figures *constructives*, dans le cas desquelles une telle forme n'est pas reconstituable, qui ne constituent donc pas une déformation mais une « formation » originale. Les auteurs de la *Rhétorique générale* reconnaissent bien l'existence de telles figures irréductibles, où « Les redondances du discours ne suffisant plus à sauvegarder la communication, il n'est . . . plus possible de réduire l'écart à quoi que ce soit » (p. 61); ils les insèrent cependant dans leur tableau, bien qu'elles y fassent exceptions, leur juste place étant parmi les figures que nous venons d'appeler constructives (sans aucun rapport, précisons-le tout de suite, avec l'appellation traditionnelle de « figures de construction »).

C'est ainsi que nous transférerions volontiers dans la colonne des métataxes de notre tableau un exemple de la *Rhétorique générale*, la *Louange de Dieu* de Pierre Garnier:

MAHOMET
SOLEIL PEUPLIER
RIMBAUD DIEU BEETHOVEN
ROUE ETOILE
JESUS

En effet, à notre avis il ne s'agit pas ici d'« une forme radicale de suppression » mais bien d'« un nouveau système relationnel entre les mots » (p. 75), il ne s'agit pas d'une destruction de la syntaxe mais de la construction d'une « syntaxe » nouvelle. Qu'on pense à *Un coup de dés* . . . de Mallarmé ou à *Quelques-uns des mots* . . . d'Éluard, il est évident qu'il n'y a pas là de relations syntaxiques à restituer, comme il n'y a pas non plus de sémèmes à restituer à partir des néologismes ou forgeries de Michaux (cf. *Rhétorique générale*, p. 61).

Celles-ci sont déjà des métaplasmes, mais des métaplasmes irréductibles, appartenant donc à la grande famille de nos « superfigures », tout comme les produits du lettrisme, du spatialisme etc. Ce que Serge Brindeau dit à propos

du lettrisme, plus précisément à propos d'un vers de Mallarmé transformé par Isou, met bien en lumière ce passage de la déformation à la création qui mène des figures « classiques » à celles de notre tableau: « . . .si l'on part d'une platitude quelconque, vaguement rimée, assonancée, rythmée, qu'on aura baclée en une minute ou deux et qu'on prend cet abominable brouillon comme support d'un travail de la matière sonore dans le sens de l'expressivité, on verra le poème apparaître, tellement émouvant de beauté . . . par rapport à la médiocrité initiale. Quiconque aura écrit au moins un poème lettriste (même en croyant se livrer à un pastiche) comprendra l'espèce de fascination qu'exerce cette technique de création poétique. » (*La poésie contemporaine de langue française depuis 1945*, Paris, Bordas, 1973, p. 507.) Les textes d'Isou apparaissent bien comme les résultats d'opérations métaplastiques, sans pour autant donner l'occasion de reconstruire un texte sous-jacent; citons seulement une strophe de son *Marbre pour Dante*:

Taratznpâpm Taratznpâpm Taratznpâpm
Haaa Haaa
Taratznpâpm Taratznpâpm Taratznpâpm
Haaa

Cas typique du métaplasme par adjonction répétitive, mais sans la moindre possibilité de réduction; et, si Isou élève au rang du poème une suite sans signification de sons, Éluard fait de même avec une page blanche qui ne porte qu'une sorte de dédicace (dans *Les nécessités de la vie . . .*, 1921). On ne peut pas dire cependant que ce soit là une figure de suppression, sans se voir contreint du même coup à indiquer du moins approximativement ce qui était supprimé; et nous avions également tort de parler tout à l'heure d'adjonction, car il ne peut y avoir ni suppression, ni adjonction, que *par rapport* à quelque chose, et, dans le cas du texte d'Isou, ce quelque chose est absolument indéchiffrable.

Nous arrivons ainsi au problème des opérations, posé dès le début de ces réflexions qui ont réussi peut-être à démontrer la raison d'être de notre tableau rhétorique complémentaire, fondé sur la distinction de deux type de figures, réductibles et irréductibles, celles-ci constituant visiblement l'apanage de la poésie moderne. L'articulation verticale de ce nouveau tableau est restée conforme à celle du tableau de la *Rhétorique générale* (à cette différence près que l'ordre des colonnes est inversé, pour assurer, comme nous l'avons dit, la continuité des deux systèmes); mais l'articulation horizontale n'a pas pu être reprise à cause de la contradiction évidente du caractère irréductible de ces « nouvelles » figures et la nature des opérations, ces dernières supposant *a priori* une possibilité de réduction. Il n'est même pas sûr que l'articulation horizontale du nouveau tableau doive être basée également sur des opérations quelconques (s'il en existe d'autres); on peut imaginer d'autres points de vue non moins pertinents. L'irréductibilité n'exclut pas, par exemple, les possi-

bilités de *transformation*; dès lors un groupement de ces figures basé sur les différents types des transformations possibles ne paraît pas du tout inimaginable. Dans ce cas, contrairement aux opérations du premier tableau qui caractérisent l'acte *créateur*, ici ce serait le point de vue du *récepteur* qui servirait de base à la classification. Pour le moment nous nous contentons du fait, prouvé par les exemples cités, que ce deuxième tableau n'est pas vide; quant à la question de son articulation plus fine, nous la laissons ouverte.

Quelques mots encore pour terminer. Nous avons employé les termes de réductibilité et d'irréductibilité sans faire référence à deux théories où ils occupent une position centrale: chez Jean Cohen (*Structure du langage poétique*, Paris, Flammarion, 1966; *Le haut langage*, Paris, Flammarion, 1979) et chez A. Kibédi Varga (*Les Constantes du poème*, La Haye, Van Goor Zonen, 1963). L'*écart* de Cohen est certainement en proche parenté avec *l'étrangeté* de Kibédi Varga, il y a cependant une différence essentielle entre les deux notions: tandis que le critère de la poéticité de l'écart est sa *réductibilité*, les écarts irréductibles, ceux par exemple de certains textes surréalistes, étant considérés par Cohen comme non-poétiques, l'étrangeté est caractérisée justement par son *irréductibilité*, l'étrange réductible n'étant autre chose, selon Kibédi Varga, que « le phénomène communément appelé *préciosité* » (*op., cit.* p. 22). Or, il paraît que la répartition des figures esquissée ici dissipe la contradiction de ces deux conceptions; et s'il en est ainsi, c'est déjà un résultat non négligeable.

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Ossip Mandelstam: I was Washing Outside in the Darkness

László Lator

This short poem starts with a concise situation report, a factual sentence, which apparently is isolated from the poet's sentiments, it does not say anything about his intimate world:

(I was washing outside in the darkness)

It may recall, of course, for many people, especially those, who were brought up in the country, thus knowing the preparations for leaving before daybreak the barren village yards, the luminous darkness for the first glimmer of dawn and the creepy-crawly feeling of washing in the open air. This experience must have been quite common in Mandelstam's life, as usual as the way he is writing about it.

Chukhovski remembers him as follows:

> He had neither property, nor a permanent home. He led a vagabond's life. He arrived with his wife at a town, where his admirers, lovers of poetry put them up for a couple of months, until he grew tired of their hospitality, and left for another place.

The date of the poem is 1921, we should therefore keep in mind, how turbulent a background Russia itself was behind the restlessly coming and going poet: the shaken hectic world after the apocalypse of World War I. Everything is tempestuous and unstable, millions of people pursue their consciously chosen aims or simply set out into the world seeking bread or a home. Mandelstam has just arrived at Saint Petersburg from the Crimea recently liberated from the rule of Wrangel: he joins the Soviets, but he obviously has no clear idea of his own future or that of the Russian people. At this historical moment that urges people to self-analysis, personal episodes may appear particularly significant in the magnetic field of larger scale events.

I was washing outside in the darkness,
the sky burning with rough stars,
and the starlight, salt on an axe-blade.
The cold overflows the barrel.
Tha gate's locked,

the land's grim as its conscience.
I don't think there is a rule more pure than the truth of fresh linen.

Star-salt is melting in the barrel,
icy water is turning blacker,
death's growing purer, misfortune saltier,
the earth's moving nearer to truth and to dread. 1921

When reading this poem we are the witnesses of a kind of similar transubstantiation. How does the poet suggest this? In the second line he is suddenly projecting the heaven shining with "rough stars" above the lonely man, and this background gives light to the initial picture, gives it a turn, places it into new dimensions, fills it with unexpected tension: the universe arches above him freezingly and fatefully just like Attila József's sky glittering with "icy knots" and it becomes at once the embodiment of cosmic loneliness. The third line — a characteristic motif of Mandelstam's lyrics — condenses the two extremes the wordly-human and the heavenly-inhuman into a single formula:

and the starlight, salt on an axe-blade

This unusual image interweaves the trains of two opposing lines of associations: the axe-blade is a human object, the tool of everyday working life, but at the same time its cold gleaming is threatening in the night yard: it is a masterless thing which at this moment has gone over to the hostile world surrounding us. The universe took possession of it, her strange shining settled on it. Also the metaphors of the starlight, and the salt have a position in the focus of manyfold flows of ideas: first of all the granule-crystalline cold shining of salt leads directly to the picture of "rough stars". But we can find a more indirect, mythical-magical line as well: according to the ancient belief that human destiny is governed by the constellation. Similarly to stars, salt also symbolizes fate: it is associated with sweat, tears, and thirst, or more generally: suffering and torment in body and spirit. But it recalls the symbol of "salt and bread" as well thus referring to the fundamental existence, uncorrupted fellowship, honest poverty, good intentions and love. Let us recall the lines of another poem by Mandelstam which throws light upon the formerly stated facts:

. . . To whom the merciless order of the bitter
starts/is salty rigour in a low, smoky hut./On
the ground there is some warm poultry-litter/
I got a whiff of the brute sheep-flock's
warmth./How I yearn for life ! For a good word,
for a cares. The flame of a single match
would warm me up./You see: I have got only
a water-jug in my hands/and my ears are
tickled by the rustling stars./ . . . /For
some people the night brings bitter tears
and gall/for others it means saltly biting
festive pain./Oh, holding a lamp on a rod
up to the height/going after your dog while
star-salt is dropping . . ./

In the parts quotated above the above sketched associations — we might say — happen in our very eye: star — salt — suffering — simple fellowship — mentioning only the main line of images.

The last line of the first stanza turns back to the initial picture. But in the meantime the universe with her space-cold flowed into the everyday human scene and human loneliness is filled with the feeling of cosmic loneliness. Behind the direct visual experience of the line "the cold overflows the barrel" there is a latent, a heavier, a more severe experience but this picture is not simplified into a symbol but — as so many times in modern lyrics — it refers to another sphere of the poem's message.

All what I have said about the first part is present only as an obscure emotional connotation. The reader may think that the poet paints a simple genre-picture — it is true, however, that with slightly unusual scenes — with which he wants to say exactly as much as he says: he is washing himself under the starry sky in the cold water of the barrel. However, the second verse puts into words the experience suggested by the first one in a strict conclusion with rational exactness. Does it really put this into words? The attentive reader feels as if the latent tragic tension of the starting picture broke out with a blow and shaped the three sentences of the second part — now in the less obscure layers of the poet's conscience:

> The gate's locked,
> the land's grim as its conscience.

The poet feels the choking loneliness; the distrustfully closing human world as well as the scenery inspiring bleak rigour are both facing him as hostile powers: he is alone among people, and he is alone in the indifferent universe. The extent of loneliness in the shy Mandelstam can clearly be seen from the portrait given by Chukhovski:

> I caught sight of Mandelstam at the station in Leningrad. He was sitting on a shabby suitcase with his wife. The suitcase was small and the couple — pressing close to each other in the large hall — was perching on it as two sparrows.

And a picture from 1922, when he was living in a room of the House of Artists in Leningrad which he had got with the help of Gorky:

> He was lying on the bed with his face turned towards the window looking on the Neva and he-was smoking a cigarette. He owned nothing in the whole room, expect the cigarette — not even a single personal object. Then I understood his basic trait: his rootlessness in everyday life. He was the sort of man who has no life-style and lives outside all conventions.

Mandelstam's loneliness was probably the result of the complex factors of his personal and social fate, an accepted maxim ("I accept your ill, strange world, large wilderness") but at the same time it was a painful, forced prison

from which he broke out sometimes with a desire to get into the warm community of the poor. ("How I yearn for life! For a good word, for a caress!")

The negative extreme: from the human microcosm glowing between the two ways of being lonely sparks out the maxim formulated in a plainly beautiful picture as the only possible moral principle:

> I don't think there is a rule more pure
> than the truth of fresh linen,

In addition, according to the inner rules of the poem this picture fits into two spheres. On the one hand into the basic situation: it refers to the clean shirt the poet preparing for the day shall put on after washing himself. On the other hand into the most significant sphere of the message: the fresh linen, cambric, — the popular symbols of locutions, proverbs, of folk-poetry and poetry — recalls the clear world of the poor, the blameless and spotless honour.

Trust and distrust are radiating from this rule. Trust in the sense, that even in choking loneliness there can be a way of exercising human control. And a distrust in society, in the power of moral rules. The long, bitter historical bits of experience of the Russian bourgeois intelligentsia are summarized in this life-principle embedded by doubt.

In the lines glowing with the choking sentiments of the confession referring to the whole of life, the tension of the poem reaches its peak, then, in the last stanza it returns to the starting motif. In the everyday scene dawn is coming, the stars are growing dim and disappear:

> Star-salt is melting in the barrel,
> icy water is turning blacker,

But now the stars are reflected in the water of the barrel giving the feeling that the icy universe has become the content of the human world. With its double affinity the salt-motif re-appears connected to the stars on the one hand and to human fate and suffering on the other. The picture is still growing: in the poem the diminishing stars do not promise the coming of dawn — but they leave behind a black, shining darkness.

And in the mind of the poet, standing eye to eye with the unsympathetic human world and the hostile universe, suddenly the pain, death with its definite outlines and the vision of fears take shape:

> death's growing purer, misfortune saltier,
> the earth's moving nearer to truth and to dread.

If we try to make out the obviously most important message of the poem we won't get a shocking new truth but the more or less common emotional overtones of a more or less common experience: the poet is lonely washing

himself and the feeling of loneliness and uneasiness overcomes him. However, the poem is beautiful because he puts the experience into words with an exceptional intensity of only poorly analyzable poetic means. We often get the feeling that certain moments in life, certain parts of the world suddenly give an experience which we are unable to put into words. But poetry is able to name these dim impressions and — a happy coincidence — it evokes recognition in the reader. This wonder appears in this poem: the poet shows us a vision developing from the meeting of experience and consciousness and this is reinforced with the evidence of elementary experience.

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The Grammetrical Reading of Robert Duncan's 'The Propositions, 2'

ENIKŐ BOLLOBÁS

The most difficult step in the description and exegesis of American post-modernist versification is the first one, that of finding the appropriate *measure*. Most critical and prosodic approaches fail here because this is a poetry which shows no overt metrical or grammatical regulations, and hardly any substitutional or metaphorical structures, but is still built on the counterpoint of certain contiguous units. These units and the measure arising from their interaction are not as easy to formalize as were meter, rhyme or parallelism. This is why the structuralist approach, for example, leads nowhere when applied to Charles Olson's, Robert Duncan's, Robert Creeley's or Denise Levertov's poetry: no neat patterns, of sound, grammar or imagery, are imposed upon the text in order to 'bring home the experience'. The structuralist interpretation leaves us with some skinny meaning, making — in every case — less of the poem than what is really there, and one does not understand why Olson, Duncan, Creeley or Levertov are considered such great poets.

For the post-moderns, the poem is a force-field, an act of measure in the sense that is measures both poet and his words, and produces an exchange of forces between them. The unit of measure in this exchange of forces between poet and language is the *sentence*, which can follow the mutations between poet as both master and servant of language, and language as both subject and object of the poet. The sentence is a mobile unit, its movements are reflected in the interplay of the continuity and discontinuity, the coherence and incoherence, of grammatical and prosodic structures.

The prosodic practice of the post-moderns has not yet been adequately described for lack of a prosodic theory that can account for the measure created by sentencing. There seems to be a gap of several decades by which poetic practice has outpaced scholarly description. Organicist-immanentist poetries work with a poetic material unsupported by independent and abstractable systems such as meter, rhyme, parallelism, metaphorical and subsitutional formal patterns. Instead of 'patterning' their text, the post-modernists rely heavily on intertextual relationships; syntax, asymmetry, sentencing, linearity and text-grammatical operations gain prosodic significance. Not that these

grammatical strategies were completely missing from metered or otherwise 'patterned' poetries, but rather they were treated, by poets and prosodists alike, as of secondary importance, coming only after the primary order of simultaneous patterns. Little attention was given to structures of continuity such as morphological segmentation, word order, sentencing, syntactic and semantic context, to their transforming power effective not only within grammatical spheres but prosodic ones too. Yet the density that distinguishes poetry from prose arises not from the presence of a patterned superstructure, but from the interplay of simultaneous and contiguous structures, from the counterpoint of grammatical and prosodic operations. This interplay of grammar and prosody has to be accounted for in metered verse just as in open forms, and it is *grammetrics*, the discipline born out of the hybridization of linguistics and prosody, that is capable of performing this task.

In the following I would like to give a grammetrical reading of a poem by Robert Duncan, 'The Propositions, 2'. I am giving this kind of analysis in the hope that this approach is sympathetic to post-modernist poetics. I also hope that my analysis does not remain formal description but grows into exegesis.

*

LOVE then:

  might I deny the force that drove me to the ground
  prime reality?

Have you never come to grief
  in which love holds reciprocal pain
  of heart? Tears

in natural flood that verifies?
  The sexual drive, erect
intention, is deep, is absolute.
  No more deep or absolute

than tenderness. It is life
  that tenders green shoots of
  hurt and healing we name Love.

In the dream the Masters of Cruelty gave me
  the choice: Shall we
tear out *your* eyes . . . or *his*?

"No! No, tear out *my* eyes." But what is terror?
    It flows both ways.
I saw their trap. I did not dare
  see *his* pain, and askd him
    to bear with me.

"No. *His*." Is this
  hidden in blind Love?
Joy too we share perilously.

Or are you so confident in pleasure you forget wholeness of
  experience?

The agony he felt was for *me*. We
  could not disguise the absolute
sentences of pain that wrackd him.

I could not let him go free then
into his own pain. But be-longing
claimd the seeing it thru.

The Crown the King wears, Reciprocity
is not actual.
Love prospers in right reason, but in season

has rigorous roots in romantic legend,
fulsomely to
"row on Moonmere," obey
the pull of magic stones, dream
associations, scriptures out of god-intoxications,
weirds, returns . . .

The comfortable hearth-fire warms because of warnings.
"In sickness and in health" health
not easier . . . Are there
delicate adjustments? not to acclaim
or restrain. The signature must be admired.

Olson names Love one of our four qualities. What
sensations prosper in the good?

Pain, pleasure, in this focus
we hold to the condition.

The qualities as we know them in-
form demand.

And for Love I stand perilously.

"*He* knows better," Freud said,
meaning the cock gives his own condition.

But the sick Knight of the (Heart)
followed the white Hart into its wilderness.
"In sickness and in . . ." the Land
that is Health blighted
everywhere
troubled by insistent Falseness

that threw up Knights and Demoiselles
that did desire the Heart to eat
that brought grief to Fair Things
that hid great Wealth beneath its Hill.

Nietzsche's portrait where all has fallen into the black
I hang upon my wall.

Love sets its triumphs in the void,
commands the real.

Let me begin the analysis with simple counting. There are 69 lines in the poem, varying in length from one to eleven words, from one sentence constituent to three sentences. There are 23 stanzaic line-groups, varying from one to six lines, patterned by indentation. The number of sentences is less easy to determine, but it is between 37 and 39, depending on how we count them: according to the capital letters marking the beginning of the sentence, their number is 38; according to the question mark/exclamation mark/full stop marking the end of the sentence, their number is again 38; but if we only consider that grammatical unit a sentence which both begins with a capital letter and ends with a sentence end marker, then the number of the sentences is only 27; if we agree that only either the beginning or the ending has to be

marked, their number is 39. — Most of the sentences are complete; there are only six elliptical ones. All of them are grammatical.

Neither prosodic structuring — lineation, stanzaic grouping, typography — nor grammatical structuring — sentencing – could account for the intricate measure of the poem in itself. This measure can only be explained by the consonance/dissonance, cooperation/counterpoint, coindicende/non-coincidence of prosodical and grammatical units. So we go on counting. Grammar completely coincides with prosody in three one-line, end-stopped sentences. 26 sentences begin where lines begin too, and also 26 sentences end at line endings. 12 sentences end within lines, while there are 43 run-on lines. Out of these latter there are 33 which I do not consider enjambed lines because these 33 break in between clauses, phrases or between a phrase and a clause. In the ten 'true' enjambments, there are nine line-breaks within phrases and one within a word.

These numbers bear witness to a fairly balanced grammetrical organization (26–26; 12–10). However, 'balanced' does not mean 'symmetrical'. The occurrence of grammetrical convergencies defies expectancy and keeps the reader's attention from falling into a tested routine. With the mutations of rhythm Duncan keeps a high intensity and unexpectedness level throughout.

The poet sets out to accomplish an immense task: to tame the unknown so that it should be known; to gather the wool of experience into a meaningful cloth which informs — because it "in-forms", gives form to — one of our "qualities", love.

The shuttle in this 'weaving' is the mobile sentence, which drives back and forth, in and through, the lines: it moves both vertically and horizontally to connect and continue seemingly disconnected threads of imagery and diction into one focus which does and should hold all, the focus of love.

The only way Duncan can complete the task of elaborating this vast subject is by allowing the language material to carry as much information as possible; by keeping the mobility and flexibility of the sentence and eliminating the redundancies of language. He has to find the balance to satisfy the two demands of ideal communication, whether everyday or poetic: clarity/intelligibility and thickness/richness of information. He thus has to reduce redundancies exactly to the degree where neither intelligibility nor information are hurt. Grammatical and prosodic units can be used in such combinations that their 'valencies', or combinational possibilities, are not all fixed in a redundant manner, but remain open. On the other hand, this openness must not become counter-informational, must not be a restraint on clarity and understanding. The right balance is, of course, the sign of a great poet.

The poem begins with the energetic upbeat of the elliptical sentence, "LOVE then". It is a bivalent opening with an ambiguous grammatical function, pointing in two directions: the connective *then* seems to refer back

to the previous poem as if the poet were continuing his line of thought, but it also leads forward: 'love is then the following'. The unresolved textual ambiguity signals that the poet intends to say something important, wants to gather his thoughts and wants the reader's attention all there too. A special emphasis is added to the somewhat worn-out word *love* by putting it in upper case (no other word will have this typography later).

If after this decisive opening we expected some revelation about the true nature of love from an omniscient poet we are soon disappointed: the inquiring question invites us, instead, to a common exploration of this human force — but not even the force itself, rather to the way it transforms, gives form to, commands reality. Reality here, *ground*, is both a noun and an adjective, suggesting another incidence where the attribute determines the object, puts its mark/signature upon the object which it modifies, so that this object becomes the attribute itself. The poet does not bother to answer the first question, but goes on to the next; in an economical way, of course, he has answered the question since only an assumed agreement leads to further inquiry.

The next question is a beautiful example of how multivalent sentence constituents can retain their valencies even in the structure of a grammatical and complete sentence. At two points this sentence is surprising: the adverb *never* suggests the recurrability of the action (as opposed to *ever*, which would refer to a single event, distinct from previous ones); this semantic dissonance seems to bring out the literal meaning of the verb *come*. The phrase *come to grief* also reliteralizes the metaphor, but it also does something else: it evokes the idiom 'come to terms'. Since nothing dismisses this association, the two meanings come together into something like 'come to terms with grief', which suggests a process, a discovery, knowing — just what the poem is all about.

The phrase *reciprocal pain* kicks wide open the possibilities of lexical pairs and oppositions to be fully explored in the course of the poem. Reciprocity, put into several contexts, becomes a key word, so that all of its directions can be followed. We have already come to a point where the poem ceases to follow one single path. The elliptical question — "tears in natural flood that verifies?" — seems to parallel the object phrase of the previous question, but the text-grammatical connectives are not clear. Not only does the sentence have no predicate part, but even the relative clause attributive of *natural flood* is incomplete: no object follows the transitive verb *verifies*. The sentence is left open, with the possibility of several completions. In our desire to finish the sentence we search among other elements of this reciprocity: discontinuous syntax demands continuity and waits for the as yet unspoken object of the verb *verifies*. Two sentences melt into each other; the syntactic structure is transformed as it proceeds. Everyday language, of course, allows

such ungrammaticalness; the sentence shuttles between two patterns which meet in such a way that one element, *the sexual drive*, is the object of one sentence and the subject of the other at the same time. Lexical connections between sentences suggest another continuity: tears grow in a 'natural flood' similar in a way to that of the sexual drive — they have their literal and metaphorical associational links.

After the three introductory questions the poem now moves to the 'propositions' it promised in the title. This first assertion following a series of questions has thus an extreme power, all the more so because it talks about something 'absolute'. But the affirmative tone of this sentence is soon modified: "no more deep or absolute than tenderness". The connection *no more* is supposed to follow a negative statement, otherwise we would say 'just as absolute'. This delicate deviation from text rules suggests that the previous sentences had an implied negative meaning too; while something is stated, its opposite is also argued against. A physical and an abstract quality are compared, but the abstractness of tenderness is soon taken away as the next sentence picks up the same word root in a different morphological form and also different function: tenderness is activated into a verb and becomes a natural force similar to the physical force in other ways, too, than in being absolute. With the reciprocal forces of "hurt and healing" brought together in love, we return to the opening lines, and thus the first part of the poem is completed.

In the next section we meet another facet of this reciprocity, and move into the world of medieval romances, allegorical figures and sometimes archaic diction. We are led into this world by reference to "the dream", as if we *re*turned to a place mentioned previously. The text-creating device of the definite article is misleading, but adds to the specification of the subsequent descriptions and dialogues. The reading mind seeks for connections and we look for ways in which the first, somewhat generalizing but definitely more abstract, part is tested, exemplified, and put into reality. Mentioning the cruel and compulsory "choice" certainly contradicts reciprocity; but this choice is shown to be false: it claims to exist between subject and object of love, upon whom the reciprocity of seeing and feeling is superimposed. But *feeling* and *seeing*, being transitive verbs uniting subject and object, question the possibility of choice. Reciprocity of action brings about reciprocity between subject and object. The forced nature of the choice is implied by the uncertainty of reference and the hesitation of the speaker. "No" is not an answer to an 'either-or disjunction': it eliminates the choice by choosing neither or both. In a subtle way, again, text rules are violated. Similarly, the conjunction *but* implies a semantic tension between grammatical elements; here, however, the two sentences connected by *but* are not in themselves contradictory, they merely shift the focus. It is by the conjunction that the reader learns that this

shift is towards a semantic opposite. The element of choice returns in having to choose between seeing and feeling: "to see his pain" involves pain on both sides since the subject and object of pain/suffering and seeing/witnessing are indistinguishable. Seeing and feeling as verbs uniting subject and object carry the element of reciprocity, and thus these two capacities gain importance in the condition of love. They work against "blind" love, where hiding and disguise prevent the sharing of both terror and joy "perilously". "Be-longing", where the prefix signals intensity, enforces the capacities of seeing and feeling – "thru".

This line of thought is broken by the elliptical sentence "The Crown the King wears, Reciprocity / is not actual", where the reference to the "King" is somewhat vague but seems to correspond to the atmosphere of quest literature evoked by the conscious archaic diction the lines move across. We also seem to understand that the common semantic features of *crown* and *king*, domination/subordination, are opposites of reciprocity. *Reason* and *season*, besides their similarity in sound, have similar etymological histories, but their reference to love, reason as a mental power joins the faculties of senses mentioned previously, while season has an outward-pointing quality. This season of love turns out to be that vulnerability which objects and subjects must allow themselves if they are in the middle of this situation. In a sense, non-reciprocity is also part of reciprocity; the romantic, non-reciprocal, part of love is here brought up without qualification, as a non-dismissable possibility. Man in love is just as much in the pull of magic stones as in the pull of his reason. But the pull of magic stones might have other connotations too: it corresponds to the passions of the moon which define shore lines. This association is not too far-fetched since the first poem in the sequence talks about just these forces of the moon. The element of "attack and retreat" is depicted in the motion of the fire too: gain and loss are the movements of the fire, which warms as it warns about extremes, conditions it attacks and retreats from. Water and fire are both perilous in that they are both conditions of immanent danger. The passions of the oceans, the passions of fire, the tides of the body and the tides of the mind are all brought together by semantic connotations of one focus. The piled prefixes denoting direction (*ad*justments, *ac*claim, *re*strain) swing *hearth*, *health* and *heart* into motion too; pain and pleasure take similar directions, without the restraints of gravity. The pulsations of mind, body, water, fire, grief and joy are joined in their reciprocity, and build a phrasal rhythm of two regular beats:

"síckness and in heálth", "heálth not eásier", "délicate adjústments", "to accláim or restráin", "the sígnature . . . admíred", "páin, pléasure", "hóld to the condítion", "infórm demánd".

But this rhythm is often broken by line endings, until the two beats are reduced to slow and heavy single beats:

"And for Lóve I stánd perílously."

"The qualities as we know them in-/form demand": this sentence is a pun with several levels depending on the function and relationship of the last two words. There might be a comma missing in between *inform* and *demand*: in this case they would function as verbs. Another possible reading is that *demand* is either the direct or indirect object of *inform*; thus: 'inform our demands' or 'inform us about our demands'. But if we read *inform* segmented, "in-/form", and take the prefix literally, the meaning would be something like this: 'put form into/give form to demands'. The indentation of these seven lines suggests that these sentences act as some kind of a mid-way conclusion about the condition and quality of love. But instead of giving a final, a restrictive conclusion, Duncan broadens his field by placing love together with the other three qualities of Olson and by not eliminating structural ambiguities on the levels of the sentence and the text.

The sudden change of tone, the quotation from Freud, gives a new turn to the poem; the diction shifts into the colloquial, the voice hesitates between seriousness and irony, and the sentence climbs out of its ellipse. The break in the middle of the line turns the sentence in a new direction: the object of the verb *meaning*, "the cock", changes into the subject of the subsequent clause. The pace of the poem, which seemed to pick up after the forced slow movement of the previous lines, again slows down.

The mocking tone, the subtle irony, is carried over to the next scene which takes us back to the world of kings and knights. The puns and the mid-line vertical rhymes seem to thicken the text, and the capital letters elevate the diction, but sentences get broken both syntactically and prosodically: they are unfinished and cut across by line endings several times. The recurring quotation from the marriage ceremony is impossible to finish; when it was quoted before, emphasis was put on the "health" part, but now "sickness" is explored. It is taken in its extreme meaning, as the trivial bodily sickness of love, yet combined with 'mental' sickness, falseness. Even knights and demoiselles suffered from it, again, in a reciprocal way. It is a mortal sickness, affecting subject and object, even if the object is the land ruled. The parallel clauses spead up the poem; the lines run out of the tunnel of uncertain references, and with one last sigh stop with Nietzsche. Wilderness is projected into blackness, the sickness becomes the venereal disease — knights and demoiselles must have been thrown up by the same sickness. The body blackening towards death also hides its wealth beneath its hill.

Love is not a condition *in* sickness and *in* health, but a process possibly leading *to* these both. Love has a strong directionality and transforming power; everything around it is its object upon which it acts. Its triumphs are its reciprocal directions, which finally come back to the "real" they originated

from. The last two lines thus function as a conclusion echoing the opening of the poem, yet still they lack the finality of a definition.

The poem does define love in a way, though, but instead of locking the subject up into a complex but neat concept/conceit, Duncan opens it up into all possible human spheres. The references are all open: natural powers meet human powers; the historical axis crosses the axis of the present; mental faculties and physical-sensual faculties come together in an undistinguishable manner; dreams flow into reality, reality gives form to dreams; heterosexual love and homosexual love are projected onto each other — and they all empty themselves into the superhuman condition of love. Love is the focus, the burning glass, but with binary, reciprocal powers: it gathers forces and at the same time diffuses them.

It is through linguistic operations that Duncan avoids this closing up. On the sentence level, structural and semantic ambiguities are retained all along the poem; on the text-level, the combinational possibilities become enriched because the valencies of sentences deriving from these ambiguities meet the unfixed valencies of other sentences. Prosodic patterning both interprets these ambiguities and multiplies them as grammatical correspondences are cut across and connected by prosodic units. The poem tests the ability of the poet to handle his material in such a way that the values, meanings, and possibilities that are there in language should not get lost. The mastery of the poet measures, as it is measured by, the immanent powers of language.

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Salvador Espriu: *Final del laberint*

KATALIN KULIN

I

Final del laberint[1] is one of Salvador Espriu's more enigmatic works. The title itself is not problematic, though: the labyrinth is a much used symbol in contemporary art, symbol of a world that seems too complex to permit the individual to find a way out of his personal and social dilemmas. The labyrinth stands for the difficulty or impossibility of orientation: reflecting human destiny confined to within finite boundaries, it is also reminiscent of ceaseless efforts to find the right way.

Approach to this poetic cycle requires the analysis, one by one, of the poems that make it up. The investigation of each and every motive appearing in those may seem somewhat naïve: yet it is to be preferred to the pitfalls of an impressionistic interpretation.

II

In Poem I,[2] both light turning dark and the ultimate winter, i.e. both the time of day and the season suggest approaching death; the thought is further enhanced by the descent, by darkness implied by an underground room. The prison, the confined space stand for a situation with no way out; the underground arches echoing with a terrible cry constitute the labyrinth itself.

Night, an unmistakable death symbol when referred to the poet's individual fate, turns into a mother symbol (maternal respir fangós)[3] that gives birth to life (wheat) when related to existence in general. The morrow brings not only summer in clearcut contrast to the winter, but bright sunshine too, dispelling the poet's night. The bird is a symbol of the Sun God. Its wings are ascending: life soars up, while the poet's way leads downhill. The wings signify the spiritual; the soul protects the world, just as the "arbres/d'ombres esteses damunt secs camins"[4] (I). The night is associated with a secret, regenerating force of fertility; the day with the active human intellect. The intellect strives to understand the Universe; the poet accordingly enumerates the four constitutive elements of the world within his ken. The poem progresses from night to day and again from day to night, reflecting the cyclicity of existence.

The cyclic structure is enhanced by the central position of the lines referring to collective destiny, with segments about the poet's personal fate flanking it on either side.

In Poem II, "I did not know" (no podia saber) [the world] contradicts the statement of the preceding poem: the contradiction is resolved if we consider that the first poem refers to worldly existence and the second to moral existence.

In Egyptian mythology, the axe separates the good from the evil. The windowless and doorless House of the Lightning Axe signifies the impossibility of orientation in moral life, a conflict which has no resolution. The sun-lighted corridors again symbolize the labyrinth. The elementary plaint exhaled by the nearby forests and meadows is shared by the poet, brother to every human being sentenced to death. The sympathy he feels in view of their fate and the courage he musters up in facing his own give birth to the poem, the sole instruments of escape from the labyrinth. His pain is placed into context by a spreading stain of blood, the inescapable death of all that is living; it is the agony of an existence beyond all hope that turns the poet into an integral person. The poem repeats the cyclical structure of the previous one, the succession of individual — communal — individual, until finally the song bursts open the gate of the labyrinth: the door of the House of the Lightning Axe, symbol of the poet's moral existence.

Only song can bring salvation. That is why, as told in Poem III, the Shepherd, the celestial shepherd symbolizing God, the poet addresses with the intention of purchasing from him the small amount of pain ("compra aquest petit dolor") that is the poet himself. In both this poem and the next two, the wind mediates between Man and the transcendental. In antique Indian, Persian and Egyptian mythology, Vayu, the god of air, wind and storm was worshipped for his progenitive and destructive power; also, according to the Egyptians, his breath linked this world and the other; it invigorated the living and resurrected the dead. A symbol of the spiritual and of the connexion between Earth and Heaven, it stands close to the Christian concept of the Holy Spirit. That is why the Shepherd has come with his flock of winds which remain with the poet (even after the Shepherd has gone). In Indian mythology, Vayu traverses the sky in a golden chariot. The glitter of gold is associated with light, a symbol in its turn of truth, life and the godhead: it illuminates the human soul to be reflected from it as pure gold.

In Poems III, IV and V, light, the day, gold and wind all refer to life and to the spiritual. The first contrasts with death (the night); the second permits Man to escape the maze of his own mortal nature. Night lurks in all the poems: the Sun is westering and, according to Poem VI, the evening brings fear ("pel vespre ve basarda"). Beside the first-person-singular ego, another one appears: the two often alternate even within one and the same poem.

(The *thou* and *I* both refer to the poet himself; a state of crisis is conducive to a split of the personality.) In Poem VI, the poet warns himself not to shrink from the wind, not to give up the illuminating power of the soul, the weapon *par excellence* of Man against death. The human soul thirsts for life and drinks from its water, and so does the poet — yet what is the progress of life but an approach to death? The river of life has a dual meaning: the more the thirsty drink of it, the sooner it is transformed into a river of death.

After the ephemeral freedom attained through creation, the symbols of captivity and of a moral crisis reappear: "endins de l'esguard de glaç / per sempre t'has deturat"[5] and, in Poem VIII, "Llança mudes canilles / al meu encalç".[6]

The poems discussed so far have raised their sights to the sky; the poet now looks down into the deep waters. The ascending motion of the day is replaced by the descent into the realm of the night, of darkness and the subconscious. The person leaning over the water perceives himself in its "innermost reflection". The split personality recommends an action to itself but performs the opposite. The ego falls apart into an *I* and a *thou*. "No et miris en el corrent, (. . .) No estimis la teva imatge . . ."[7] (VI) is an obvious allusion to the myth of Narcissus who was told by the oracle that he could live only until he caught sight of himself. His undoing was that he could love no one but himself. The myth expresses the perils of our wish to penetrate our subconscious. The poet treads on forbidden ground: it is in consequence that he gets lost in the labyrinth lined with mirrors endlessly reflecting his self-image. The labyrinth of the myth conceals a monster hiding from sunshine and life; however, death awaits him in the underground corridors. The hunter is approaching the labyrinth; the peals of his horn connotate lethal thrusts. But the hunter is also Actaeon, whom Artemis transformed into a stag to be torn to pieces by his own hounds. That is why the stag is "mort amagada", concealed death. The favour of the goddess (for the stag is Artemis' favourite animal) is fraught with the fatal outcome.

The "grans ullals del silenci"[8] of Poem VIII (an allusion to the mute stag hounds of the previous strophe) associate with the symbol of the horn, a weapon that will inflict wounds just as the lance, the spear or the axe in Poems X and XI. Back in Poem VII, however, we find another symbol too, the castles of the spider: in its web, the light, the day and life itself are all caught and held captive together with the poet himself. The thread (recalling the Dire Sisters) is a symbol of temporal subjection. The surface of frozen water again suggests captivity; it estranges the words and thereby renders creation (i.e. the Song, the sole means of escape) impossible. The hunter might be Actaeon — the hounds and the fangs corroborate the interpretation — who breaks the law by looking at nude Artemis. Actaeon and Artemis are the two sides of a coin, of the poet's split personality. The poet is an explorer

who explores himself above all. Our reading suggests that the link of the thirst-motif with life is an indirect one. The poet thirsts his own secret most of all; his thirst of life is a secondary concern. That is why he warns the hunter — his introspective ego — to leave the quick spear and the subtle lance and to choose the well-honed axe instead if he wants to find the secret of solitary life. It is not sufficient to wound, i.e. to open a breach; it is only the axe that can separate the good from the evil and shed light onto moral existence. "Pero mira'm abans", the poet continues, and "endevine què sóc / a la vora de l'aigua";[9] the image evokes the bathing Artemis, who is also the Goddess of the Moon. In Poem VIII it is the little Man of the Moon who sets the hounds on the poet-Actaeon; in Poem X, it is Artemis who extinguishes Actaeon's glance and thirst with a great flood of blood. But the same Artemis also says: "sóc de la veu que em cercava"[10] in keeping with the riddle of Poem XI: "Endevina què sóc". Being symbols of the same soul, Artemis and Actaeon cannot separate. This is the reason why the *I* and the *thou* interchange so frequently in the poems.

The dual soul, human and divine, mortal and eternal will search and pursue, strive to understand and fear the unknown. And the fear of the unknown outgrows the fear of death. Actaeon is pursued by the hounds; the goddess, Artemis, exposed a minute ago to his furtive glance, herself becomes a huntress. The soul longs for the divine, for eternity and immortality; yet the closer it gets thereto the more painfully it is made aware of its human mortality Pain is eased by the desire causing it: it makes the poet forget the divine glance.

In another possible reading the poet fights the two-faced god, spender of both life and death. The hunter then is death, who probably offers his prey to God: "Quan cobris la despulla, / a qui portar-la?"[11] The voice calling the poet might be the celestial Shepherd or, just as well, the Lord of Life and Death, as the Bible calls Christ. Poem IX addresses as *thou* the person who begs to be hidden from the trees of his fear and who asks whom to offer his prey. The poem ends with "la gran set de tu/s'apaga en la meva ànima".[12] If, in Poem IX, it is Death who advises to drop the lance and wound with the axe, the desire to guess who is standing by the water's edge does not have the destructive power for its object. Both life and death project onto the poet: the cry under the arches summons to both life and death; the Shepherd goes the way of the Sun God who is the giver of life but is headed for the night with his oxen, promising the peace and silence of a dream/death. The hunter whom he asks to hide him from the trees of his fears is his very captive. The poet's God-image is two-faced; that is why his invoked one cannot be identified in clean-cut fashion with the God-image of any religion.

The poet interiorizes his experience of existence as a god with a changing face; he searches for the secret of good and evil in himself. He therefore pro-

jects the essence of the life-giving Shepherd-Osiris into his own essence and destiny: he himself will be the tree that hides life-promising Osiris; his is the deep and bright secret of solitary life; it is onto his raised arms that the birds of dawn descend, singing a song of salvation composed of his words. And as the song dies away, it is he who expires at the shore, lonesome as the trunk of a bawen tree.

In Poem XV the *thou* divides in two again: into Death who fells the trunk and the poet who can find his song no more. This poem is most revealing of the struggle of life and death within the poet; his split ego is the labyrinth, the enclosed space of his soul. The bared branches of Poem XIV mark the end of the song. Recall that these branches were reflected in the eye of the lake. A frequent motif, the gaze fixed upon the depths of the water recurs in Poem XVI. The poet's efforts to create are in vain. His glance penetrates the well of the Gazer who watches him from the deep with never-closing eyes. The Narcissus motif of Poem VI permits us to infer that the poet is actually looking at himself. At the same time, however, the Looker is an ego who is wiser — more perceptive — than the poet in his struggle to find the right expression. This ego is greater-than-human: it possesses a divine power and knowledge. "El desvetllat / s'oblida del meu somni", the poet asks,"o vol deixar-lo / que sigui sols imatge / de la por immortal?" (XVII).[13]

The secret, the key to life and death, the Lord of Good and Evil dwells in the poet's soul; that is where the power to banish his fears must come from. The menace of his dreams threatens to stymie his creative capacity, since "temps de cançó vol alta casa";[14] that is, one needs an open space for soaring, the closed-in one of anguish will not do. The house is, of course, the poet himself, built with blood and crowned with death, recalling the words of Christ: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." (John, II. 19.)

In religion and folklore alike, martyrdom and untold agony are the indispensable precursors to any great work of creation. Yet even such agony seems futile. The painful cry over the water marks the end of the time to sing. The poet is full of love, miserable and unrequited, because he is incapable of creation: ha acknowledges the impotence of words by naming God the Nought, the secret within and without, the essence of both the Univers and of himself: "El pobre amor / de la meva ànima / Diu el nom del no-res / amb odi de paraules" (XVIII).[15]

Let us recall the motto of *Final del laberint*, taken from Meister Eckehart: "Soll das Herz vollkommene Bereitschaft haben, so muss es beruhen auf einem reinen Nichts — in diesem liegt zugleich das höchste Vermögen, das es geben kann."[16] Eckehartean theology considers the absolute otherness of God ineffable and unfathomable: apart from the Nought, all words are incompetent and liable to misconstruction.

There are echoes of Heidegger in Poem XVIII. In Heidegger's view the Nought "ist möglich und auch wirklich . . . nur zum Augenblicke in der Grundstimmung der Angst".[17] The fear pursuing the poet in his dreams is so indefinite — although its subject might be death — that it may qualify as anguish. Subjectless anguish too may conceal death, even if unexplicited in conscious thought. In order to decide whether Espriu's *fear* means fear or anguish, let us cite another Heideggerian idea: ". . .die Angst [befindet sich] gerade in der völligen Ohnmacht gegenüber des Seienden im Ganzen . . ."[18] The poet's incapability to create — recurrent in the previous poems — is tantamount to impotence vis-à-vis the universality of existence.

Anguish, says Heidegger (whom we quote practically word for word), is the estrangement of the totality of the existing. He goes on to say, "Weil das Seiende im Ganzen entgleitet und so gerade das Nichts andrängt, schweigt im Angesicht seiner jedes 'Ist'-Sagen".[19] The farewell over the waters — the leave-taking from the things of life — corresponds to the said estrangement. It is evident from the last quotation that the *is* falling silent before the Nought is tantamount to the hatred for the words, for their incompetence and futility.

For Heidegger, the Nought is the *tertium comparationis* by which existence is related to the existing which is both itself and not-itself. The universality of the existent (which we have reduced, for simplicity's sake, to the duality of life and death in Espriu's poetry, but which is, of course, much more complex in reality) appears now *within* Espriu, now *outside* him: the existent both is and is not the poet. The Nought which — *pace* according to Heidegger — is *within* Espriu allows him to make contact both with himself and with the existent, i.e. allows a complex process which ceaselessly changes direction according as the poet's efforts to understand are directed towards himself or towards the existent.

The struggle to understand and experience the mysterious and conflict-laden nature of the world is the subject of Poem XIX, in which the snow burns and the flame freezes, the source wounds and the sword heals. The flame and the source are life-symbols; heat refers to pure intellect; the sword represents the capacity of the spirit to separate good from evil. Even the contrast "llum de cims al riu, / fosca de terra l'ala"[20] is intended to state more than a mere contradistinction: the soul may shed a beam of light onto the everyday objects yet, no matter how high its wings raise it, it will still bear the marks of its material nature. The expression that "La mort de la mar fa / la flor més perdurable"[21] implies that, value being timeless, the beauty of the instant may triumph over time. Of course, all this is rooted in Espriu's experience, but in the next strophe he delves even more deeply in himself. It is this deeper and more secret ego that stares at the water like Narcissus and identifies the pool that looks back, while the poet's white eyeballs suggest blindness, a failure of perception. The last strophe presents no contrasts. The bright rain is a fer-

tility symbol, just as tears are. (This meaning of rainfall in a Mediterranean country is quite obvious.) The symbolic implication of weeping emerged in Poems XIV and XV: the songs will cease, because the roots of weeping have dried out.

Weeping is present in Poem XIX, too: "el plor de l'endinsat / sense retorn per l'aigua".[22] The weeper is identical with him who (in the previous poems) was glaring up from under the water and who both is and is not himself.

Rain and weeping associate in a fertility concept: "Dic . . . el plor de l'endinsat / sense retorn . . ."[23] expresses that the poet has lost his creative ego. The last two lines reveal the Nought, just as the poet's secret ego, to reside in the deeps of the water. The possible inferences are that this ego has been transformed into, or has merged with, the Nought, that is, with God. Many a religion is aware of the dual presence of godhead, dwelling now in Man, now outside. Often in the foregoing poems, a divine gaze follows the Poet absorbed in introspection and searching for the secret of his existence. At times, the two-faced God of Life and Death is the poet himself, a manifestation of a human essence that is both destructive and protective.

It is perhaps not unjustified to assume that, in this double-edged poem, even the Nought is two-faced.

If the Nought is God — which seems to be confirmed by Nicolas Cusa's motto — He must be unfathomable to Man whose perception is limited to the level of distinction and complexity, whereas God is a single simplicity that precedes all the distinctions and complexities, the principles of existence and non-existence. The *Deus absconditus, Le Dieu caché*[24] in the title of Lucien Goldmann's book which concludes that the rational and mechanistic conception of the world has turned infinite space into the jurisdiction of automatic laws which in fact eliminates God from the space, in contrast to the mediaeval idea that the Universe is filled with the presence of God. This would explain Pascal's "Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis m'effraie".[25] It is either the *Deus absconditus* or Heidegger's Nought that leaves us in the silence of Poem XX, a silence full of anguish, as indicated by the image "petit, tan fràgil, / pell de tambor".[26] Frightened, Man hides to evade the perils. Diminution pertains to the realm of the night. Tom Thumb belongs to the system of night symbols. Even the dead song is small: a puppet hanging from the lips of madness ("ninot penjat/dels llavis de la follia"). This image, too, generates anguish. The dead song is of the night: it should therefore be taken in piety to rest in the serenity of the light. Divorced from the poet, the song is carried into the light by glittering bees. Both the light and the bees are percepts attached to the Sun God: Ra has the power to light up even the realm of the dead and to resurrect them. Born from Ra's tears, the bees symbolize the creative process which, in Espriu's conception, is rooted in weeping; tears fertilize the poet's soul; the bees transform nectar into honey, just as the

poet's artistic imagination transforms his experience — the song is spiritual nourishment just as the honey is bodily food. The tears of Ra and those of the poet undergo the same transformation and set up a form of identity between the poet's concealed ego and the divine essence.

In the system of night symbols, the garden and the hive are synonymous with the labyrinth, with an enclosed space that frightens the soul, represented by the wings of the bees. Yet in a night charged with deadly peril, one tends to attribute inverted meanings to things. Instead of rising up to fight the peril as a hero, Man curls up very small, hiding from death by crawling into a coffin (represented by the womb, the enclosed space, the circle, the room, the garden, the labyrinth). The hive, closed forever, suggests that Espriu's poetry is dead; he fears the weeping of the dead no longer, implying that creation has become impossible for him, since there is no creation without suffering.

Poems XX, XXI and XXII tell of the poet's frustrated efforts at redemption. This interpretation is corroborated by motives familiar from the life of Christ: the garden where the poet follows the swarm of bees recalls the Gethsemane and the eve of crucifixion. A heavy stone of oblivion presses down the hive: even the long weeping of the dead will not lift it up again ("Ni el llarg plorar dels morts / mai més no podrà alçar-la"[27]). This is the counterpart of the boulder that sealed the tomb of Christ which, however, was easy to roll away. When they beg the poet: "ens recordis avui",[28] the dead in Poem XXII repeat practically unchanged the words of one of the thieves crucified together with Christ: "Lord, remember me" (Luke, XXIII. 42), again, Christ might well have uttered "El meu temps estrany el dol esborrava",[29] although what follows, "ni amb el vostre plany no podreu alçar-la",[29] reveals that only the *poet's* sorrow has been effaced. The dead, drawing away from the lights of the ark, thirsty and deprived of their wings, symbolize the dark kingdom of death against which Espriu's poetry struggles so passionately, with such soul-shaking persistence. The poet reveals his attitude to the community only when he sins against it by renouncing the responsibility he had shouldered for his fellow men. The dead have wept with the poet's eyes, have complained with his words; yet he refuses them. The question asked by the dead, "Moriem en tu o has mort amb nosaltres?"[30] starts off another biblical association: "Blessed are those who die in the Lord" (Rev. 14, 13), but here again the meaning is different. The question ("Moriem en tu . . . ?") implies that the poet no longer feels any compassion for the dead; the alternative (". . .o has mort amb nosaltres?") attributes the cessation of their existence to the poet's death: it is for him that the bells toll. In Poem XXIII the bells call the poet to the Lord's prayer; he is, however, stopped by "ullals del ca enfollit de l'aigua".[31] The Actaeon motif reemerges here with all its overtones: the poet looks at himself in the mirror of the pool, probing into the forbidden. Being

frightened of the Nought he will not acquiesce into the peace of faith. He was afraid of crossing over into the dark brightness: now the bells no longer call him to the feast to ring dead words into his ears. The next poem takes us back to the past: "Les campanes obrien / de matinada / camins a mar."[32] The powers of the deep drag on his ark. As we have seen, the deeps of water always hide either the poet or the Nought/God. He cannot leave the shore far behind, but neither can he reach the coast: "Caigudes veles fan / molt allunyada platja."[33] The wind, a symbol of the spiritual which should move his boat, sleeps "en llençols d'aigua"[34] (XXIV). The brightness-bringing soul, symbol of day and light, veils itself in sheets greatly similar to the winding-sheet. Man fleeing the night and death does the same; yet it is of no avail. The gates of light close before the poet. Still, by Poem XXV, he seems to have reached the shore. This shore, however, is in the realm of the night; it is the stars that appease his fright, not the sunshine. In an experience beyond life, his dreams make him roam the meadows of serenity and enliven his thirst of life with the image of a faraway spring. The realm of the night can only give the peace of the tomb. This, no doubt, is the enclosed space that opens up before him.

It seems that the poet flees death only until he finds rest in it. Poem XXVI begins with "he deixat endarrera",[35] and this "endarrera" encompasses the totality of experience since the moment when the bees were shut into the hive, when the poet renounced poetry. The next step, an act practically simultaneous with and attached to his renouncement, is his rejection of the dead who wanted to survive in him. The soul is asleep (the wind is sleeping in the watery winding-sheets), paralyzed; the bells call it in vain. The ark of Poem XXV has reached the shore at night, not in daylight. The poet walks towards the faraway spring alone, having left behind the beach, the ark and the sea (Poem XXVI).

The sea, this mad dog of an ancient nightmare, from which he has made his landfall, represents life with all its peril and anguish. That is why the poet steps out of life, finally leaving it behind, to be deprived of all, even the dead. The bells tolled words of death towards him, for he was afraid of entering the bright darkness. In Christian religion, conversion means that the Old Man dies in order that the new one might be born. The practical manifestation of this death is that the neophyte may renounce all his possessions.

Christ tells the young man who asks him to let him go and bury his father first: "Follow me; and let the dead bury their dead." (Matthew, VIII. 22.) Having entered the night of death, the poet does not descend, as in the underground rooms of Poem I; he scales a mountain instead, where he is welcomed by divine light. Poem XXVI explains the origin of these flames: they come from the dark bright, from the hope derived from death. Whereas in Poem XXV the poet receives only the protection of a death acquiesced in the peace of annihilation in a closed space, Poem XXVI advances one

more step: the poet emerges from the last forest; that is, he has found his way out of the labyrinth; he hears the galloping of horses upon a high prairie. It is daylight: he has left death behind; a new life awaits him. But both death and rebirth happen in a dream. The high prairies of the serene dream presumably represent the Elysian fields, an existence free of all earthly bonds, where horses graze freedom, sungrass, dawns and afternoons without night: "tota la llum guanyada".[36] One meaning of the symbol is evident: the "llum guanyada" represents victory over death. The horses are more difficult to interpret. Their free gallop might suggest the concept of time. In this state, time is no longer confined; it runs free, undivided by death. Existence flows with a natural ease, untormented by questions. But human quality does not disappear from this existence rooted in nature. The centaurs represent the entire living world. Their wise eyes are those of Cheiron, artist, sage and physician, the master of Apollon, who took Prometheus' fate upon himself. Cheiron escaped suffering by renouncing his immortality in favour of Prometheus. The wisdom in his eye watching the poet probably originated in that act. After all, death cannot be so terrible with life so full of suffering. The centaurs accompany the poet to where the yellow colour (representing life) gives way to snow. When they leave him, the forest/labyrinth and the tree of Osiris are far away, and the snow has covered all that had made up his life; his fate is fulfilled: he remains alone with himself and an eagle, symbol of God. The focus of his investigations, the duality of his personality and the godhead reappears. The wise eyes, the gaze of the I/God fixed upon himself is no longer needed: having left all behind, including his poetry and his dead, having dreamed and renounced the happy dream of the Elysian fields, the poet has finally found his true identity. In Poem XXIX, he has overcome all the obstacles, escaped the trap (the labyrinth), and scaled the highest peak, the realm of wings, the realm of the soul. His lips all blooded, for he has risen to a height forbidden to human beings, he utters words and snow songs which alone can follow him into the bright solitude of his soul. He has neither memories nor hopes. The snow songs, the frozen words, this being without memories or hopes is superhuman; his is an experience that can last for a minute at best. This is confirmed by Poem XXX in which the poet regards his plaint as the root of bright air, of wind, the wind that drives the ark of the sailor, the soul. The air has bloodwings. Thus the poet attains the insight that the soul must take its momentum from the aching world. One may flee life but one cannot avoid it: one must live it through and accept it in all respects.

Duality, referring to a number greater than one, is an ominous concept. Fully aware of death, the poet has with exemplary persistence asked questions about himself, about human existence and its limits, and has finally achieved his own unity and self-identity, which rest on the identity discovered within

the contradictions of the universe. The happiness of a possible step out of death dies away; only freedom remains — the acceptance of the human essence out of free will, with no help from memories and hopes, from the torment and goad of death, at a point where there is no message to show the right way, only silence whose source may be the Nought just as well as God. Attaining the exit from the labyrinth, the poet has reached his goal.

III

Final del laberint is an exceptionally mysterious book. In his work *Introducció a la poesia de Salvador Espriu*, Castellet provides a great deal useful information as to its most frequent symbols and signs. Lucien Goldmann's considerations in his *Le Dieu caché* as applied to Espriu's poetry by Castellet are particularly helpful.

Before marking out the progress of ideas in *Final del laberint*, let us demarcate the field spanned by its lines of force.

Castellet emphasizes that day and night go full circle in Espriu's work. It would perhaps be more enlightening to see this not as a mere alternation of life and death, but to assign to them the symbols related to the force fields of day and night. It is the weaker or stronger attraction of these fields that energizes the symbols fitted into the diurnal or nocturnal order by symbology or psychology. Wheat, summer and rain belong to the diurnal order. In *Final del laberint*, the song is wheat, the produce of the harvest. As wheat requires rain and summer, so does the song require weeping and light, that is, suffering and the soul: "Caves la terra esdevinguda eixuta, // on s'assecaven les arrels del plor. / Caves endins de les teves paraules: // no saps trobar-ne la cançó."[37] (XV); "Cauen a poc a poc, // petits mots, suaus ales // de la cançó de son // de la tarda"[38] (XIV). All the links between the earth and the sky belong to the realm of summer, light and day: the birds and bees, the wings, the ascending steps, the wind, the raised arms or branches: "els braços molt alçats // esdevenien branques. // A beure de la font // de les meves paraules, / . . . // davallen ocells d'alba"[39] (XII); "Era portada en ales de paraules, / . . . // paraules mai no dites, // abelles resplendents."[40] (XX) and "El vent s'adorm // en llençols d'aigua"[41] (XXIV). In the last example, the spirit represented by the wind is paralyzed so that "Les portes de la llum / se'm tanquen".[42] Some symbols change their meaning according as they are fitted into the diurnal or the nocturnal order. As rain, water may be the source of life; yet it also has an ominous sense, which we shall discuss among the images of the night. "I m'encamino en solitud cap a la font llunyana, // a les prades altes de la serenor del somni"[43] (XXV). The tree, too, has a double meaning: it may promote the fertile summer, the happy future: "Hi haurà potser molt piadosos arbres // d'ombres esteses damunt secs camins"[44] (I).

The nocturnal order comprises aridity in addition to darkness: the night is an infertile time for the soul. The fertility of the night is the blind and instinctive reproduction of the forces of nature. Man protects himself from the darkness that engenders fear and anguish by inverting the meaning of its images. He searches for a place that might protect him. Enclosure in a box which, in essence, stands for the depths, the tomb, becomes a protected place in all of its forms, be it pit, prison, closed room or house. All that hamstrings life in the daytime world turns into a shelter in the nocturnal order. The labyrinth in which the poet searches for escape inspires a whole series of night-images: beside the above-mentioned underground arches, the dark corridors of the house, the mirror of water which endlessly multiplies and emprisons the reflected figure, the forest, the garden, the hive, the stone convering the tomb and even the tree which in Egyptian mythology, embraced the body of Osiris. The blessed rain itself may become a prison since, as told by the dead: "La pluja venia i . . . / ens tancava enllà d'altes reixes d'aigua" (XXII).[45] In this dark world, the river becomes the Styx: "A poc a poc beus la mort: / la set feia el riu maligne" (VI).[46] Ascending steps belong to the day, descending ones to the night: "vaig davallar per esglaons de pedra / al clos recinte de llises parets" (I).[47]

The struggle, the basis situation of *Final del laberint*, takes place in the dual field of day and night. Time apparently does not function in that universe; at least it is not possible to trace the line of progress of inner experience from day to night or vice versa. But the descent in Poem I and the ascent in the two poems before the last does demonstrate that the struggle is not merely a theoretical one: the poet throws his whole personality into his quest for an answer which he can only win by searching his whole life. The quest is symbolized by the ark floating on the unfathomable and peril-filled sea which is called life. The symbols unleashing the time dimension are the bells and the horses. The bells indicate the coming of a definite point in time (such as death or the approaching moment of escape from it), not just its passing: "Si per tu sentim com el toc s'enlaira, / que fosc han sonat les fosques campanes!" (XXII);[48] "Les campanes obriren / de matinada / camins a mar" (XXIX);[49] "Un altre toc entenia el navegant en perduda mar, / un ample so de festa per camins esglesiers / com invitant-lo al prec senyorial" (XXIII).[50] Ecclesiastes, one of Espriu's favourite books of the Bible, handles time in much the same manner: "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven . . ." (Ecclesiastes, III. 1.) The horses are part of Espriu's dream about the Elysian fields: "Quan ja sigui feliç / somni de prades altes, / cavalls s'arboraran / saludant-me" (XXVII).[51] This time passes without death lurking at the end.

Similarly to the fields of day and night, *Final del laberint* projects a temporal space, too. This space is restricted to the afternoon, the night and

the dawn. It would, however, be futile to look in it for any temporal sequence within the cycle. In the manner of the spatial labyrinth, the times of day also follow in random order even within one and the same poem: "Ocells de l'alba lleu baixen el matí / de branca en branca. / A terra, je se'n va / la llum a pas de tarda." (XIII),[52] as a reflection of the poet's intricate journey. The selection of the temporal environment is significant: the afternoon is the time of introspection; twilight brings moral awareness in which one must face one's sins and faults. The afternoon leans into the night, as life declines to death; that is why it is a time of reckoning. But it is a time of fear, too, since sleep is a kind of death. Night equals death; it is characterized by a sheer drop, by Man sinking into the depths of his subconscious. The dawn has a dual meaning. Doctors know well how often people die in the darkest hour preceding the first light of dawn; "La meva por / cavalca nit, / tremolor d'alba." (XVIII).[53] But dawn also brings hope, announcing as it does the morning and the day. The temporal space of *Final del laberint*, however, does not include the day or the morning. Daytime only occurs in a dream; the morning is timely inthe above mentioned poem, since "A terra ja se'n va / la llum a pas de tarda." (XIII).

Above, I attempted to describe the force field between the two extreme poles of night and day, the field in which Espriu's universe unfolds. I have not yet mentioned the God-images of the various mythologies and religions which inform this process. The traits of the gods of ancient India and Asia Minor blend with those of the Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew-Christian gods. The power of the Sun God is not restricted to the day: he can illuminate the kingdom of the dead and can resurrect them, as Egyptian Ra and Osiris symbolized by the bees (the tears of Ra) and the tree (the tree enclosing the body of Osiris); the Celestial Shepherd is vaguely reminiscent of Christ. Mediator between Earth and sky, the wind symbolizes the spiritual and remounts to Egyptian Vayu, god of air and wind, with his destructive and life-giving attributes. Artemis, the goddess of the moon, brings death, which may sometimes be a sweat one. In the cycle, Artemis is evoked by the story of Actaeon. Narcissus, too, broke an interdiction by looking at himself in the water. Besides Actaeon, Orion the hunter also affronted Artemis. The goddess ordained the death of both. Although the poet does not name these protagonists, certain words and allusions in the poems refer to fragments of their myths. We are thus made to understand that Orion's sin is the sin of Narcissus and Actaeon: the deepest depths of man's own ego are no less secret, dangerous and forbidden to his searching eyes than the godhead. The innermost ego fuses with the divine, as revealed by the fact that the poet turns to god when addressing himself. It is evident from the above that Espriu himself judges the distinction futile or impossible. The closing lines of Poem XI ("Endevina què sóc / a la vora de l'aigua"[54]) imply the interchangeability of Actaeon. identified with the poet, of the hunter representing death and of

Artemis. He who "is standing at the water's edge" may well be either the poet or Actaeon, or indeed Artemis beheld by the poet. The reader errs in the labyrinth of the *I* and *thou*; the calling and the called are inseparable. The glance fixed upon the poet bending over the water is now divine, now the reflection of his own glance.

Ignoring the symbolic meaning or the connotations of the words, it becomes clear that, apart from a very few exceptions, they all refer to nature, or to objects (a house) that are integrated into the landscape no less than a tree or the sea. The objects, phenomena and animals have no personality: these things accessible to everyone in their commonplaceness appear here on the level of purest abstraction. The space of Espriu's poetry is a philosophically problematized one, as indicated by the presence of fire, water, earth and air, — the four basic elements constituting the world — in the opening and closing poems of the cycle. Earthly space expands into a cosmic one; the sun and the stars turn the whole Universe into the arena of the poet's struggle. The scene is not static: the sky revolves and the sun and the stars alternate in ruthless order, yet an active relationship is set up between them and the poet fighting his fight. By using the mythological elements Espriu translates the world *en direct* into a vehicle of indirect meaning which, from being a mere site, advances to become the subject of the investigation. It should be emphasized that the abstraction never raises any doubts as to the reality of Espriu's problematized world.

Among the above-mentioned motifs, a special significance is to be attributed to the labyrinth, a symbol present even in the title. The origin of the motif goes back to the myth of the Cretan Minotaur and the word *labrys* (axe, as mentioned by Castellet, too). The *labrys* is a symbol of divine power: similarly to the sword, it can part the good from the evil. The divine glance carries moral judgement. From the surface of the water — another labyrinth-symbol — gazes are looking at the poet. Poem II tells of the House of the Lightning Axe. All this justifies the conclusion that the cycle states a problem that is fundamentally moral. The shine of the Sun God's axe, its ability to distinguish good and evil is the only leading light out of the labyrinth symbolizing man's dilemma.

It should be mentioned, however, that despite the good-evil axis of the cycle, the word *sin* occurs only once. Sin is not stated expressly: nor is the universe. Therefore sin, too, is posited on a philosophical level. A philosophically problematized universe belongs to the domain of ontology. If the moral is given in the sphere of ontology, the ontological problem is actually restated as an ethical problem.

Whatever our findings and conclusions on reading the poems, the labyrinth principle requires us to admit their opposites as well. The Shepherd, associated with light and the Sun, keeps a herd of cattle. But the Boötes is

also a constellation of stars and, as such, belongs to the night. Remarkably the poet lets us step out of the ethical sphere: "Ara el pastor / fa armada / en els mercats // altíssim de la llum",[55] to identify the Shepherd and the cosmological entity of the constellation. The same is also true of Artemis, the hunter and the hounds tearing Actaeon to pieces. The Ursa Major (the most ancient symbol of Artemis), together with the Hounds (Canes Venatici) and the Boötes all shine in the cosmos (and so does, for that matter, Orion); the three constellations are relatively close together. Thus the poet might have looked up into the sky and been inspired thereby. The objectivization is, of course, imaginary. As Heidegger says, these constellations glide away with the totality of the existents.

Before returning to this problem, it is useful to summarize the contents of the poetic cycle.

It begins with the labyrinth. Then the Shepherd appears, bringing the wind with him. The wind remains with the poet. The poet watches himself in the water. He cannot find the song any more. Then he utters the name of the Nought. He shuts the song in with a slab of stone and stops mourning for the dead. But the bells already toll for him. His ark is motionless. In his dream, the free gallop of horses awaits him on the high prairies. He is taken to the snowy summit by centaurs where, left in solitude, he again utters the name of the Nought.

In the Heideggerian conception, the cycle represents a process of gathering anguish which allows the alienation of the totality of the existents and consequently the relationship of the poet to the existent — to the himself and the not-himself. The cycle is thus, on the one hand, the history of anguish and, on the other, the history of the exploration of the existent (this himself and not-himself); it is, consequently, the history of a search for an identity. But it could also be summarized as the story of the estrangement of the existents and of the experience gathered in exploring the Nought. The dilemma is ontological in both cases; but for Espriu, as we have seen, the ontological dilemma is an ethical problem as well.

This authorizes us to interpret the cycle as follows. Beneath the underground arches, the poet approaches himself. Death cries his name. Poetic creation promises a way out. His destiny which he shares with all mankind, makes him capable of creation ("em sento molt / germà d'aquell dolor"[56]). He encounters divine mercy but cannot give up his search for the secret of life heading for death and, within it, the secret of his own ego. His anguish takes the shape of a persuer and his persued. The personality chases itself and, within its own ego, discovers an alien power. The existent is both him and not-him. He is incapable of creation. In the unbearable anguish, the reign of the Nought becomes manifest, and the existents glide away; the poet rejects creation and feels everything that inspired him to be remote, including

his dead, for whom he had suffered, suffering being a form of community with the other mortals. Before meeting the Nought ("Car sentia por del nom del no-res"[57]), he finds no way out; all the ways close before him ("La força / d'aquell corrent / contrariava / la proa de la barca"[58]). Having accepted the Nought, that is, solitude, he no longer fears death ("les estrelles / . . .amorten avui l'antiga por"[59]), and his fear of the unknown is transformed into the certitude of the Nought. Loneliness offers peace to the *agonic* questioner, the pursuing pursued: "El clos indret on jo seré per sempre / amb la meva pau."[60] He has nothing — but he has traversed the labyrinth, scaled the summit of the spirit and asked his questions uncompromisingly. He could thus jettison the ominous number; the duality of his personality. The dual faces of day and night, of life and death have thus been united.

So far we have used the word *Nought* in the Heideggerian sense. But Espriu is not unequivocal in this respect, either. The Nought might also be God, as indicated by the motto of the cycle. Negative theology calls God the *Nought* to emphasize His absolute otherness. The mystic, Meister Eckehart, faces Man with the ultimate demand to be *one* — what he means thereby is of course the oneness that is God, and that can be approached only by attaining unity in oneself. In his conception, ontology and ethics blend. The House of the Lightning Axe has no windows: real cognition is impossible; it has no door either: it is also impossible to escape from it. Existence does not explain itself, but questioning the morally posited existence is unavoidable. Poetry and creation provide the only escape from this quandary. But any escape is temporary, because he for whom life is a moral condition cannot renounce asking questions and going in search of answers. Human experience shows that it is dangerous to ask questions. Greek equilibrium was based on this wisdom. This is what the stories of Narcissus and of Actaeon are about: they call attention to the need for maintaining the balance of the human psyche. But morals do not strive for a balance. Socrates, that most ethical personality of Greek philosophy, upset Greek equilibrium by his persistent questions. He gave no answers; he only taught how to ask. Espriu is aware of breaking the ancient taboos by looking into his own eyes and finding in them the glance of implacable moral demand. That glance is both his and not-his. He does not say whether it comes from him or from another being. The ominous number two, the unsupportable contradictions, the life he wants to live but which leads to death state a dilemma to be solved. The poet accepts no compromise: he renounces creation and leaves behind both his memories and his loved ones. His thirst which first seemed to be a zest of life turned, with the appearance of the Shepherd, into a spiritual thirst; he finally attempted to resolve the contradictory nature of existence and created a unity out of it. The poet has emerged from the labyrinth.

NOTES

[1] Espriu, Salvador *Obres completes*. I. Poesia. Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1977.
[2] Each poem of the cycle bears a Roman numeral instead of a.
[3] "a mother's muddy breath . . ."
[4] "trees / covering dry roads with their shadow . . ."
[5] "the glance of the ice on water / has preserved you forever."
[6] "He sets mute bloodhounds / to surround me."
[7] "Do not watch yourself in the current, (. . .) Do not like your own image . . ."
[8] "great fangs of silence."
[9] "But look at me first . . . guess who I am / at the water's edge."
[10] "I am of the voice that has been searching for me."
[11] "When you have seized the prey, / to whom shall you take it?"
[12] "my great thirst for thou has been slaked in my soul."
[13] "Has the vigil-keeper / forgotten of my dreams . . . or would he let it / be only the image / of immortal fear?"
[14] "the time to sing wants a high house"
[15] "The poor love / of my soul / calls the name of the No-thing / and hates words."
[16] Meister Eckehart, Von der Abgeschliedenheit.
[17] Heidegger, Martin *Was ist Metaphysik?* Frankfurt am Main, 1943, p. 12.
[18] *ibid.* p. 14.
[19] *ibid.* p. 13.
[20] "light of peaks on the river / dark as the earth the wing."
[21] "The death of the sea makes / the flower more enduring."
[22] "the weeping of him who has / entered the water, not to return"
[23] "I say . . . the weeping of him who [is] . . . not to return . . ."
[24] Goldmann Lucien: *Le Dieu caché*. Gallimard, Paris, 1956.
[25] Pascal, Blaise: *Pensées*. Les Éditions G. Crès et Cie, Paris, 1924, p. 138.
[26] "a drumhead small and so fragile."
[27] "Not even the long weeping of the dead / will ever be able to take it off."
[28] "remember us today."
[29] "My strange time has effaced the sorrow . . . not even with your complaints can you lift it (the stone) up."
[30] "Have we in thee or hast thou died with us?"
[31] "the fangs of the mad dog of the water."
[32] "The bells opened / at the sunrise / a way to the sea."
[33] "The fallen sails make / the shore seem so far away."
[34] "among winding-sheets of water."
[35] "I left it behind."
[36] "all the light gained."
[37] "Digging the earth that has gone dry, / where the roots of crying have dried out. / Thou diggest down into thine words: / but cannot find the song in them."
[38] "They float down by and by, / little words, / on the tender wings / of the afternoon song."
[39] "the high-uplifted arms / become branches. / The birds of dawn descend / to drink of the spring / of my words."
[40] "It was carried on word-wings, (. . .) the glittering bees / of never-spoken words."
[41] "The wind falls asleep / among the watery winding-sheets."
[42] "The doors of light / close before me."
[43] "And I am walking in solitude towards the distant spring, / on the high prairies of a serene dream."
[44] "There would perhaps be pious trees, / covering dry roads with their shadow."
[45] "The rains came and . . . / shut us in behind bars of high water."
[46] "Little by little you drink death: / thirst has made the river evil."
[47] "I descended the steps of stone / into the closed smooth-walled room."
[48] "Toll these bells thou hearst for thee? / how darkly were the dark bells tolling!"
[49] "The bells opened / at sunrise / a way to the sea."
[50] "The sailor on the lost sea heard another bell, / a rich sound of a feast on its way to the church / calling him to the Lord's prayer"
[51] "When I shall be happy / in a dream of high prairies, / horses will rear up / welcoming me."

[52] "The bords of daybreak / lower the morning / from branch to branch. / On the earth, the light / is receding / with afternoon steps."
[53] "My fear / rides the night, / the trembling dawn."
[54] "Guess who I am / at the water's edge"
[55] "Now the shepherd / buys young cattle / in the high markets / of the light."
[56] "I feel myself so much / the brother of that pain"
[57] "For he felt fear from the name of the No-thing"
[58] "the strength / of that current / impeded / the prow of the ark."
[59] "the stars / . . . today extinguish that ancient fear."
[60] "The closed space where I shall / stay with my peace forever."

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Variations on a Process of Demythicization on Hungarian Lyric Poetry in the 1960s and 1970s*

BALÁZS NYILASY

"All is possible"
(Gyula Illyés)

The toy balloons of chiliastic confidence in the future have developed a sag. Everyone wants to use the soft pedal; hands that not so long ago had reached out boldly for the tape now fumble insecurely in the fog that has descended onto the track. "Our future — 'tis to *know!*" — so the hammer of verse slammed down in the late 1950s. "O labyrinth of bankrupted scenery, o crossroads of anger, o future" — so doubt hesitates in the early 1970s.

Hungarian lyric poetry has grown bitter, no use denying it. The galloping progress of the horsemen of the Apocalypse, the swelling sound of desperate outcry in its choir of voices have grown into commonplace features.

> Just a brief call-up to the womb,
> soon as you're out, you get your summons,
> under penalty of the press-gang,
> into the ground, back.

— writes Gábor Görgey, illusionless;

> Together with the pot-bellied
> oldsters,
> the children, the sick, stuttering-blabbing folk,
> together with the pulsing terror, with the
> gentle animals sinking in the damp ground

is János Parancs's indentification with the suffering;

> humanness — bitterness,

moans Margit Szécsi, choking. Indeed, György Petri asks straight out,

> What am I up to, being still alive?

Of course, the phenomenon is by no means without antecedents. In the first half of the sixties, László Nagy and Ferenc Juhász, as witness their volumes of 1965, still struggle, teeth a-gnash, to recover a lost confidence in life; they drive the dogs of their faith to desperate efforts at herding together

* The poetry in this essay has been translated by Bálint Balkay.

the atoms of a world that insists on falling apart; they feverishly raise stone upon stone in their cathedrals of oaths; yet, by then, the "second generation" of the fifties, Margit Szécsi, Sándor Csoóri, Márton Kalász, Imre Takács and József Tornai have started tuning in their poems to the sentiment-circuits of resignation.

True, the experience of a historical trauma is still being softened by the zest of youth, by an awareness that makes them strive for the possession of reality; an elegiac sorrow is moderated by rhythm, bound forms of verse and the genre of the song; yet their poems exhibit a growing emphasis on the sentiment-spheres of hesitation, on a fading of self-assurance; motions of retirement into the spheres of personal existence are increasingly evident. By many a gesture, our poets are revealed not to be short of the wish for an ordered world, of the demand for usefulness, for speaking out with conviction and efficacy, for saying things of immediate social relevance, but the tension between intent and realisation remains unreleased, and resignation, more often than not, proves insurmountable.[1]

It is thus that, by the second third of the sixties, two main types of pessimistic attunement crystallise out. Sándor Csoóri's volume *My Second Birth* (1967) already provides a comprehensive summary and a paradigm of the features of one of the two, a *hesitant elegicism, a resigned relaxation of the tragic element a damping of sharp, dramatic conflict, combined with the sentiment-spheres of dissatisfaction, inadequacy, lack of fulfilment, homelessness, enervation.* By that time, Csoóri most frequently writes a slim, spare free verse, with persistent modifiers and tenses expressive of incertitude: reminiscences of childhood and youth have become the typical subjects, and a set of symbols, one that is to gain so important a role in his poetry has evolved, subtended by the elements of wind, snow, fog, wet, autumn, listless mornings, impenetrability, isolation, vagueness and lack of focus.

> Water has flooded all the air . . .
> Bones, skin, hair, love, all are getting wet,
> the future's getting wet.
>
> . . . sitting behind
> cloud-grey dim windows I . . .
>
> The wind has boarded up my home
>
> Unhooking from my body the parachute of slumber
>
> Autumn-time,
> stultifying fog,
> Dark Ages of patience
>
> I wake up day by day to find
> some other person looking at the ceiling through my eyes.

The other type of gloomy premonition of peril is exemplified in purest form by József Tornai's poetry of the time. His volume *The Golden Gate,*

likewise dated 1967, differs despite many related features also in conspicuous respect from *My Second Birth*. *Bitterness* rather than the elegiac tone is dominant: transports of temper, of *naked anger* are more frequent, effects are more powerful, the *tragic element less muted*; the poet's set of symbols is tellingly dominated by the more massive, rougher percepts of mud, stone, iron, dirt, concrete:

I vomit blood, petrol, concrete

I make my teeth snap at thin air

Total dementia:
madness of weeds, mud, swarf of iron,
madness of cogwheels,
madness of naked shoulders laying rails.

If I lit the lamp,
there'd be light,
If I put the house on fire,
there'd be light all over town.

Whoever will thaw my mouth
out with kisses,
will have to sob at my swearing.

nor wind nor dream will clear this cesspool stench from here.[2]

*

Then, starting with the late sixties, the early seventies, our lyric poetry is suffused even more broadly by a darker tone. In Juhász's jeremiads, in László Nagy's *Outcast in a Poem*, too (as well as in Szécsi's "long poems"), the prominent figure of the poet-hero is swamped time and time again by the surf of bitterness: even if not repressed altogether, the desire for and the gesture of stark, direct counterpoint becomes one degree less clear-cut; the lyric hero's position in the forefront of the battle, his spectacular, forceful stand in the face of the forces of destruction, his role as a value-preserving principle become a shade less emphatic.

After their first volume or two, the poetry of István Ágh, István Bella, József Ratkó, who took off in the second half of the sixties, and who were akin to Csoóri and his circle in both personal history and experience, assumes a similarly resigned, elegiac nature, whereas Mihály Ladányi, Ottó Orbán and the majority of those who emerged in the seventies represent a sharper, more dramatized variety of skepticism.

It is in the late sixties and early seventies that the pessimistic perception of existence becomes embedded into a solid foundation: the Hungarian society's crisis of values, a more comprehensive sphere of historical doubts, the "doldrums of history", the aimless drifting of the generation that had grown up in the eventless era of the post-1956 consolidation, the gathering problems of

existence, the whole overlain by an ontological premonition of peril constitute a system of motivations that is more clear-cut and definite than the preceding one used to be.

We associate the emphatic emergence of a new poetic "grouping" with the feature of ontological skepticism. The poetry of Magda Székely, Zsuzsa Takács, Zsuzsa Beney, Péter Vasadi, Barnabás Antal, as well as Dezső Tandori's first volume restore in the final reckoning, despite a number of distinctive marks, the interrupted continuity of the *New Moon*:[3] for them, a persistent sense of unease, of peril and hopelessnes becomes, as it were, the most essential property of the human being; immediate, everyday reality is "spiritualized", transsubstantiated into a vision: inner stirrings of which consciousness is well-nigh unaware, experiences of anguish and suffering replace the familiar, properly labeled and classified complexes of feelings in their focus; a live, pulsing pain often finds outlet in desperate cries of lament, frenzied pile-ups of words, reminiscences of metre.

> Who kill'd me? Where and when? Behind what hills
> was I scratched under? So what am I to do?

— asks Magda Székely, wounded by what she calls the "scandal of war";

> Foam in an empty riverbed
> is snapping at thy bones

— thus Dezső Tandori confesses of the hopelessness of human existence;

> Down, the red-hot tear-drop,
> rolls sparkling down the desert that's a face.
> Earth in the ice-cold of space.

— wails Beney;

> Dirty thou, dirty thou, thou whitest,
> unhappiness, my only, only one, don't leave me!

— thus Zsuzsa Takács invites suffering.[4]

Yet there is one more river to cross: one on whose far side there is the disciplined, impassive acceptance of the state of suffering, of hopelessness. János Parancs *(The Natural History of Versification)* stems the flood of plaint with an allusive mode of communication reminiscent of István Vas; Imre Oravecz's fragmented, stark, lean "verse grids", devoid of metre and nodes, his slow verbs expressive of hesitant, shuffling progress also represent the type of poetry which lacks even the "last freedom of motion", that of surges of suffering: at the centre is a totally alienated world from which every principle of ordering is absent.

> key turning in the lock
> heavy smell of straw
> a lightbulb blinks
> a mottled ball,
> on rolls the paper
> torn and holed

defenceless
the sleeper reaches out

a waxy face on all faces,
a bone crackling in the mirror.

The clock tolled. Across its face a tumbril rolled, wheels creaked, the box was empty.[5]

*

The texture of lyric poetry in the seventies is woven of many threads of pain.

We know how frequently Zsuzsa Takács and her circle, János Parancs, Oravecz, Péter Dobai place doubts *into an ontological dimension*, what a great emphasis they put on the biological vulnerability of man. Yet there is in their poetry, as a strong colourant, also the skepticism of the ultimate meaninglessness of human existence; the painful awareness of bodily decay in the poems of István Kormos, Csoóri, Tornai, Ottó Orbán, István Ágh, and indeed of quite a few representative poets emerging in the seventies (György Petri, Anna Kiss, Zsuzsa Rakovszky).

There is a compelling congruence in Tornai's situation assessments:

from nothing to nought

the POWs of death

I know nothing, believe in nothing,
am stretching out in total darkness.

Ottó Orbán pinpoints man's position as being

spied on by lynx stars from all around
in the whence-whither's night impersonal.

Sándor Csoóri complains that

my bone on the grindstone of the sea —
it is cold, so very cold.

Fright becomes one of the persistent motifs in the poems: it often finds its way into their titles.

To live awhile yet,
to watch awhile yet
how scared the hills grow in the falling dusk

— writes Tornai; Rakovszky's poem *Afraid* begins

What a lot of, Lord, and for what ages,
ever since I awakened to myself

and, as it progresses, its variety of situational and environmental elements turn into so many mysterious sources of fright-begetting power. Determinant is the motif of fatefulness, of the *awareness of impotence*, of *events that are there to be suffered*, the life-sentiment of[6]

> Here the sun shines in your eye, yet you don't wake up,
> here the night may zing and yet you will not sleep,
> here you get prepared yet will go nowhere,
> if you pace, it's as a squirrel on its treadmill.
>
> among the debris of the day
> an alien hand was always rummaging
>
> Intentions on the run, the run, run,
> Away, anyway, no way.

And as another telling feature, the seventies bring along also the circle of *motifs of exposure to coercion, to violence*. It is omnipresent in István Eörsi's "texts" above all: a man and a woman await their mysterious fate in the anteroom of a hall full of wailing; the hero of the "text" entitled *Chez Phalaris* converses at the dictator's behest with his own uncle frying in a red-hot copper ox; further examples, such as Ottó Orbán's child-torturing SS man or the henchman of the patrol which executed the father in front of the small child, or Csoóri's soldiers combing a park with pitchforks also mark the growing frequency of nightmare visions.

Fitting into the process of ongoing concretisation of the pessimistic spheres of sentiment and thought, there is a *skeptic's view of historical evolution*, a sensitive interrogation of the manifold miseries of an "unheated start", one of the groups of problems most intriguing to Ottó Orbán. It is his poetry with its remarkable width of spatial grasp, with its awareness of the "rich north" and "poor south", that questions most comprehensively the facts of conquest, violence, repression and misery, its insistent queries prodding a story that has failed to fulfil human hopes.

> After all, it's getting more and more hopeless
> to try ogling a better future,
> In the name, after all, of every great idea a
> garden gate is kicked in,
> the men and the children are chased out into
> the courtyard
> and the wife is kicked and kicked until she
> stops squealing . . .
> we live after all on a star of war and each wrinkle
> on our hands is a blood-letting device,
> and whoever stares us in the face will feel his
> heart wrung.

I saw the Earth: it opened to pleasure its womb snaking with roots, Wartime mounted it rolling naked, out of the torn-open eiderdown of smoke death ran like feathers.

The poems of almost every poet of the period are coloured by the *crisis of values* that has been unfolding in Hungary from the late sixties on. The

encroachment of the object-centric, material world view on an ever-widening front, the bitterness felt on account of a massive retreat into the spheres of private life is a fundamental voice line or a motif reiterated with some insistence in a broad range of volumes of poetry.

> Thy flame is fallen — and thy lurking embers
> are overlain by light, grey ashes.
> Roaring, my soul bellows a storm on thee
> — fire of creative revolution — arise !

writes Mihály Váci; András Nyerges voices his fears in

> Let not a bunch of clever guys sell out
> Our future so fine from under the counter

Ladányi's bitterest complaint is that

> Lo, the joy of money has done us in more thoroughly
> Than all the wars taken together.

and András Simor cites Csokonai, a 18th-century poet:

> How much noise by "mine" in "thine" has been begotten,
> ever since the name "ours" to disuse was fallen.

The rapid spreading of the holy trinity of car — plot — cottage induces Imre Györe to mediate thus:

> He who ekes out life without a weekend plot,
> will by today, tomorrow at the latest
> be suspect, and rootless of course also,
> a dubious type, a weakling wind-blown hobo.

I have intentionally confined my quotations to the poems of the generation that took off right after 1956 because it is the members of that generation who regard the societal phenomena referred to, the entire crisis of values *en bloc* as due to the stopping short of the revolutionary process, and the seepage of the bourgeois world-view and mode of thinking back into public life as a sign of a revival of "Bourgeoisia". Persistent thematic motifs in their poetry include the concern for the *de facto* preservation of worker power, for a communal way of life, misgivings the accretion of material wealth and a passionate fascination with the fresh revolutionary movements of the Third World (as witness Györe's and Simor's volumes of homage to Vietnam and Cuba).

Many of the elements of their situation assessment are taken up by groupings of poets whose volumes of poetry come out in the late sixties and early seventies. Yet although the bitterness felt on account of the "doldrums of history", the resigned mood of drifting, the complaints about the hemming-in constraint of space, the lack of opportunity undoubtedly recall motifs in the thought and sentiment of Ladányi and his circle, and although the younger

poets do attach themselves to that circle, they also deviate from it in many respects — more and more as the seventies roll along. The younger authors' efforts at explaining and interpreting the social process are couched less and less in the terms of a past situation; in their view, socialism increasingly becomes a complex system of institutions caught up in the process of evolution, modification and change; the problem of democratisation acquires a central role; the poems place a growing emphasis upon complaints about the lack of outlets for authentic social action, and increasingly identify with the laments of persons locked up in infantilism and shorn of the option of responsibility-taking.

this heap of bones,
this flaccid pyre,
wet loneliness strewn onto burning
loneliness, fake limbs on cott'ning snow,
this junk beloitered by the pest . . .
this free-for-nothing
harvest of rust
a power cut in scrap iron circulating,
this side of
a welkin held with wire together
they want this to be mine
and want it to be all there is.

(Endre Rózsa)

*

Lyric poetry in the seventies has a darker outlook: its lyric heroes have undergone profound changes.

I do love Man, I do;
no longer every which one, though

— this is the confession, in a restrained, quieter vein, of a poet (Mihály Váci) who, not so long ago, was still at home everywhere, who wanted to "account for every worry", to embrace everyone.

I when I imagine a hero he's no man-tiger out of Gothic lore,
but a goat grazing a high stony plain,
strongly attach'd to its bare abode,
than whose unreason only the unpretentiousness of its wants
and tough zest of life are greater

— this is Ottó Orbán's thesis formulating his new human ideal.

The poet-hero jousting with the dirty powers, chasing away the vultures, throwing a gauntlet to the sniffing curs is replaced by lyrical egos in the throes of a identity crisis of not suffering from a total lack of personal identity. As I have pointed out above, László Nagy and Ferenc Juhász do keep up the heroic attitude in most respects, but the resignation of Tornai and Csoóri, the persistent self-irony of Ladányi speak of definite changes; in fact, in Imre

Takács's volumes entitled *Admissions* and *An Experiment with Pebbles* the circuits of problems connected with guilt, self-accusation and the erosion of the personality have become ubiquitous.

I am used up, worn away

Under the nuclear cloud of lies soars the ash of my lost face

The broken dusk of dumb protest,
black veil of neurosis spreading out on my front.

When no longer working —
the mind decays:
you see it flaring up —
then darkness falls.

In the next phase, the poems of the generation that emerged in the late sixties mostly present — beginning with the early seventies for some of them — types of personality fragmented by doubt, self-dissatisfied, in this or that stage of erosion. Existence as a problem is best illustrated as a *state* by Petri; as a *process*, it is probably projected with the greatest artistic power by Lajos Pass's *First Requiem* show concreteness is most conducive to empathy.

Why, should I tell how my spirit
fails to jell: wrecks beget
wrecks in my brain . . .
should I now speak of the abominable familiarity
with which I walk my chaos? . . .
. . . I have given up
my yearning for desired unity:
what other ignominy may yet befall me? I'm dashing
to and fro as nimbly as a rat . . .

— so György Petri meditates with merciless self-tormenting frankness.

at times I so would implore, were it that tragedies,
that blows would have struck us infertile,
a violent wild hate rather, frank madness or purposed anger but
'tis the sharp itchy sly minutes, the silly wretched little
squabbles that
multiply . . .
. . . give birth to
anguish,
give birth to fear, to abhorrence.
suffocate and
smother us so that
we realise we have nothing to undertake,
we realise we are unable to stand up to anything,
we have nothing,
we must not wail, not being beaten,
we cannot flee, not being pursued, only threatened,
only chewed out, only worn out, so we ourselves give up for good,
still at the outset,
before we could have proved anything . . .

. . . woe, I can no longer speak of
myself, am no longer who
I was, so noble of intent,

nor was I turned into what they wanted,
acquiescent in patience;
two keen edges when biting
one another thus are both chipped
useless . . .

— thus is the world-feeling, the self-perception of the generation born about 1945, and grown up in the personality-decomposing medium of the "doldrums of history", as confessed by Lajos Pass in a poem that flashes up insights into many motivating social facts as well.

"This unheated star is not one to
fall for highfalutin gab"
(Ottó Orbán)

Suspicion suffused lyric poetry in the 1970s. The pathos of confidence in life was replaced by the philosophical-aesthetic categories of mistrust. The gesture of demythicisation-deheroisation, the tendencies of profanisation, the aesthetic categories of remoteness, vagrancy, scorn, irony, the grotesque and the morbid, slink into the poetry of our period in the wake of an obstinate seepage of agony.

The scale of voices of Eörsi's volume of 1968 is already of sufficient scope for the wryness of the *Grimaces*, and, although, in Ladányi's *Roaming after Thee*, the sharpness of the vagrant gesture is still moderated by an elegiac attitude, that poet had, by 1969 and to 1971 *(On the Far Side, A Kinder Country*, developed not only the provocativeness of vagrant poetry (self-exile from "bourgeois society", persistent profanisation, emphatic eroticism) and its typical scenes and entourage of objects (the proletarian world, cheap bistros dooryards), but the *aesthetic of pungent, shocking associations* as well. Ottó Orbán in his "Resurrection deferred" (1971) attacks "obsolete" myths with a surging power while Petri in his *Explanations for the Use of M.* masterfully deploys the ironic technique of circumlocution, the method of bogus prevarication.

The volumes just mentioned already are veritable repositories of deheroising, profanising gestures, processes and outlooks; yet from the second third of the decade on, the "ironic" mode of creation is seen to gain ever more ground, in addition to Ladányi and his circle, also in the *œuvre* of other poets. After several experiments of moderate artistic worth, it is in Anna Kiss's world populated by homely wall-niche saints, jolly witches and sympathetic devils, in the volume *Blackring* (1974) and even more in *Worlds* (1976) that the phantastic-comic grotesque comes of age, whereas Zoltán Sumonyi's *A Portrait, Complemented* (1977) manages to combine a chattily ironic tone with weighty cogitative elements, issues of historical destiny; Dezső Tandori develops the ironic parenthesis to something akin to artistic perfection, using this technique to cover up the essence and to make it appear accidental,

while footnotes are put to the boldest, the most organic use in the work of Géza Páskándi.[7]

And the way in which the whole of our poetry is imbued more and more fully with the aesthetic categories of distancement is marked out by a whole succession of first and second volumes: Imre Péntek's *Midnight Railyard, Anti-ad for Sweetness*, Géza Aczél's *Fresco with a Hangover*, Attila Benkő's *Thanks for the Keys, The after-Friday Thursday*, Lajos Pintér's *Rivers in White Shifts*, Irén Kiss's *Becalmed*, György Spiró's *Chronicle*, Ákos Szilágyi's *The Schoolmaster Embarrassed* and *Creatures*, and Attila Béres's *It's Tomorrow.*[8]

*

A permanent feature of demythicising profanisation is a striving for the commonplace, a "thematic downgrading", a preference for the elements and episodes of everyday life accessible to direct experience, the placing of the lyric hero into quaint, grotesque life-situations, an *ironic view of the cusps of human commonly held to be significant.* Ottó Orbán for example describes as follows that highly important event which is asking a girl's hand in marriage:

and in a kitchen on Lenin Avenue, glorified lummox he, he asked E. J. for her daughter's hand, sitting on a kitchen stool whule the kitchen wallowed in the ante-creation steam of the weekly wash and the centipede scrubbrush lay on its back on the tub's rim like a heraldic family beast . . .

And, in addition to the nodal episodes of personal existence, profanisation penetrates also the period's outlook onto *history.* The great, national symbols are relegated to the background; the event-centric view is replaced by the process-centric one, spectacular milestones by everyday reality, by common history as experienced by the common man; the personalities of the chronicle are placed into perspectives out of the ordinary.

poetry hungarianness no greek drama just a traffic accident

resurrection is odaic in essence only
for the rest posters bad money rumbling stomach

this whole novel smelling of pee and blood
into which Central Europe is reworking
the balcony scene of Verona

1918 by local reckoning
nothing is working
there is an idealist at the tiller
a count besides but a sucker first of all.

(Ottó Orbán)

That history is no longer anywhere near the old respect-commanding, solemnity-triggering poetic subject is indicated by the persistent, deliberate manufacture of anachronisms by the author just cited, the projection into the past

of the paraphernalia of modern technological civilization, as also by the playful archaisation in Simor's *Carnie* and by the chatty irony with which Sumony evokes the cusps of history.

The *world of percepts of mythology* also undergoes a revealing change in the seventies. Görgey loosens up the solemnity of the Last Supper with a rambling skein of associations; Anna Kiss and László Marsall parodise creation proper in *commedia buffas*; Eörsi writes persiflages on Prometheus and Mary; frequent with him are also sarcastic *changes of viewpoint*, searching glances cast upon the seamy sides of things; he quotes a journal by Godot, publishes a mouse's monologue on a grinning bald man (probably himself) invading the kitchen, and records the situation of the fish swimming in the tank at the butcher's from the respective viewpoints of the fish, the butcher and the customer . . .

Another persistent thematic motif of the seventies is *ironic meditation on poetry*, the mocking invocation of the Muse.

> No and no. 'Tis not the speech of angels that we hear,
> but History's misbegotten monster of a bull trotting up the stairs,
> shoving its stinking muzzle into one's flat . . .
> what we perceive is classical afflatus having left for parts unknown
> and closed up the vertiginous hat saloon of poetry

— this is how Ottó Orbán,[9] author of many a profanizing *ars poetica*, formulates and at the same time justifies the programme of negating traditional poeticization.

> We who
> experts in the matter of nothing
> write poems and
> in them hand out advice to humanity we know full well that humanity
> will tend to underpay this sort of advice

— is Ladányi's characteristic diagnosis concerning the situation of lyric poetry and lyric poets, in a poem pointedly entitled *Sham's Poetica*.

> Go poem, be the stuffing in a subsidised magazine!*

— so his younger contemporary, Gábor Csordás, launches one of his poems.

And *love*, that other great romantic myth besides "sacred poetry", is also increasingly profanized in the lyric poetry of the seventies. The poet of the sixties still for the most part looked upon the attachment of the couple as a preserving support and tie, as the convenant of

> Gird me up chin-high with faith
> and I will hold on to you
> unto the death-bed

and of

> Entwined as two hands in prayer.

* In a takeoff on the great Atilla József's "Go, poem, to fight the class war!"

Sándor Csoóri, Imre Takács, József Tornai, on the other hand, are at least as familiar with love's disquieting "other face", begetter of agony, and Eörsi, Ladányi and the poets of the seventies often refer with evident scorn to the "eternal feeling", emphasising as they do the seamy side of the blaze, of pervasive glow — the surfeit, the bitter prose of the day-by-day, the role of the "sunday father". As early as 1971, Eörsi in his volume entitled *A private hope* ironically enquires of his fond love why he had to miss the weekly breaking letter just due; Petri's piece *An alba for Telephone* is a jeering imitation of the medieval genre singing of the lovers' separation at dawn:

> Half four. Its half four already.
> Robert has left for home.
> He took the car, don't go back to sleep.
> I left some coffee in the cooker,
> light up in the corridor only, otherwise
> he'll smell the smoke . . . don't go back to sleep.
> Half four. Its half four already.

Adultery, impersonal lovemaking, sarcastically handled scenes in borrowed, dreary flats, motifs of the roomer's existence first appear in the volume entitled *Explanations for the Use of M.*, to grow into an all-pervading routine with the beginners of the 1970s.[10]

*

The set of genres of Hungarian lyric poetry has also undergone a profound change by the seventies. By the period under review, the poetic forms conceived in the sign of confidence in life, odaic in the main, encompassing unambiguous adient gestures have been relegated to the background: nor are the rhapsodies fighting for the recovery of that confidence truly typical; it is the elegiac and ironic genres and verse types of resignation in the broader sense that give the era its dominant colour.

The *ode-type poem*, which still played so serious a role with the post-1956 generation of the *Fire Dance*,[11] emerges by 1971 in a totally changed form: it is by negative means that Ottó Orbán's stormily powerful odes to the "Muse of Negation", to "Critical Hope" acquire, as revealed by their titles, the momentum of their identification. The other favourite form of the fifties, the *anecdotal genre*, also undergoes a radical change. Disappearing in its original form in the second third of the sixties, it reemerges changed almost beyond recognition, enriched in the reflective element and endowed, in contrast to its earlier preoccupation with the particular, with a significance reaching out beyond itself (Orbán's *Zodiac* and *Root in the Ground*; pieces in Sumonyi's *A portrait, Complemented*). The change that had overtaken our lyric poetry by the seventies is illustrated perhaps even more tellingly by the fate of the *idyl*. Whereas, before, the small and the great world were not sharply separate, whereas Simon's lyric hero riding a cart to propose to a girl,

Garai's road-mending worker eating his dinner at his own good pace were joined to the greater world with a thousand threads of confidence, in Tandori's shut-up "private world", in his domestic mythology built on the sports programmes of the "picture-presenting machine" (the TV set), on the rituals of feeding the birds, watering the plants and going shopping, on the koala poohs that are surrogates for life, community and action, and in Anna Kiss's comico-grotesque phantasy world that ceaselessly exudes pain and sorrow, it is obviously the life sentiment of peril, the basic gesture of flight that are the predominant features.

Even *song*, that most indestructible genre of lyric poetry, has been ironized by the seventies, with the vagrant, mocking, or indeed painfully ironic song coming to the fore (Eörsi's *Songs on the Subject Matter of Giving in*; Simor's *A Song on illusion*). The arch made up of several varieties of "little songs" spans the space of time from Eörsi through Ladányi to Imre Péntek and Ákos Szilágyi.

While I climb into my slippers,
a time-bomb goes off in Hampstead,
as I sit facing the telly,
people get killed, but not me yet,

if others starve, me, not me yet,
my heart beats regular as a pump,
I have grown ankylosed to horror,
like some scar tissue to the stump.

(Péntek)

And, at the end of this "survey of genres" in a few lines, we must not overlook the spreading in our period of the modern *jeremiad* (Ferenc Juhász's *Children's Songs*, Tornai's *A Song for Sacrifice*, *Songs for Péter Veres*), nor the emphatic emergence in the second half of the seventies of a group of genres quite unprecedented in the immediate past, the *scena buffa*, the *grotesque game*, beloved of Anna Kiss and László Marsall above all; one is, however, fully justified in classing here also Eörsi's piece *Clown on the bridge* and András Simor's *The Story of the Faust of Soroksár*.*

*

This reshuffle of genres is exhibited in pure and typical form also by the Fire Dance Generation's poetry. For a longish spell after 1956, that poetry was dominated by pieces of odaic, rhapsodic tone (odes, cantatas, rhapsodies, symphonies), with, in fact, odaic certainty still in the ascendant over rhapsodic doubt (Györe: *A Poem to the Party*, Ladányi: *A Hymn*, Váci: *Not Enough Yet*). Between 1965 and 1967, on the other hand, some of these poets are heard to change tone: Ladányi's volume *Roaming after Thee* (1965), referred

* Soroksár is a nondescript-commonplace suburb of Budapest.

to above in another context, alloys elegy with a vagrant tone; scornful-ironic and listlessly resigned, elegiac types of poem are strikingly frequent in Györe's book entitled *A Celebration with Modifications* (1965) and even more so in his *New Poems* dated 1965 and 1966, as well as in Nyerges's *Once upon No Time* (1967).

It is only one or two years later that Váci's poetry is pervaded by a truly deep gloom: his first full-fledged rhapsodies *(A Condign Power, Fool You)* appear only in his volume entitled *(Power of the Poor)* (1964). However, after a brief interlude of satire *(Present-day Dialectics, Relatives, Laced-up Souls, The Plains — Well I never!, Siamese Twins)*, his road leads him also straight into resignation.[12] His first political elegies turn up in his book *Rain on the Sands* (1968) *(A swaddle for a Country, Winter is Nigh)*, and his posthumous volume is tuned to an unistakably elegiac band of sentiments.

By the first half of the seventies, then, every member of the Fire Dance Generation had changed course for elegy and irony. The end of the process is marked, symbolically as it were, by Gábor Garai's volume of 1974 which, under its title *A season for Elegies*, expresses perhaps in purest form the resignation and faded self-assurance of the generation.

He who has been ordained a tree
must live in the forest.
Tempests perch in the lonely tree,
in its top, lightnings nest.

Every twig of the lonely tree
wails a silent, gnarled hoot,
A stand-up grave has been dug for it
by its standfast root . . .

It is shunned by carrion birds
for its tongue-tied screeching,
but grows vultures for itself
in its boughs self-wasting.

O lonely tree, burden and pain
to earth and skies so empty,
'tis not thou who hast left the forest,
'tis the forest who's left thee.

*

The deheroizing trend of the seventies naturally pervades language also. How little confidence our verse-makers have in the instrument of poetry, how often they feel impelled to replace a former, exquisite vocabulary by words of the *common language*, by the *everyday, spoken tongue* — all this is a familiar fact.

"Chums, bedlam, blokes, those who've made it" — these unmistakable colloquialisms turn up as early as 1965 in Margit Szécsi's fine romantic song.[13] "doing my drudge", "playing the fool", "a loaded spiel", "tarts on the make" are encountered in Ladányi's volume, likewise dated 1965.

The explosion to end all explosions, however, is triggered off by Orbán's *Resurrection Deferred* of 1971.

Whosoever in the white shift of his teeth in faultless choice words makes to orate on the bucolic quiet gathering dust at the grassroots to the inarticulate whimpering of uncouth agony has spat vinegar and bile into his public's face.

— states the author, programmatically: from then on, he renews poetic vocabulary with a truly deliberate radicalism, in a tireless quest for powerful fresh raw turns of phrase.

Making ends meet's a great sculptor and it
carves a sheepshead out of a human
face

I've spent half my life sitting on my
ass chinning with you

O arseheads, shoutest thou early on, to
mutter later, oh my brethren

Europe . . . with the poise of a beauty
queen stalking the shit of war.

In step with the replacement of the vocabulary and of the standard turns of phrase, the seventies repress the imperative and exclamatory sentence, letting the *ironic question* multiply. Persistent sham-ingenuous interrogation is a trick much beloved of Zoltán Sumonyi, but Ladányi too resorts to it frequently enough.

Only the crucificion, milord?
Not even the vinegared sponge no more?
we agreed on two thieves to start with,
what is this army doing all around?

If nine hundred and ninety
were to gather out of a thousand
and were to say
well the boys no cards tonight
no listening to that daft dance music
well lets have a look
now we have a wink of time
whats going on the boys
If out of a thousand there were to gather
nine hundred and ninety
what would
the prattle be?

(Ladányi)

The self-consistency and purity of language are also upset: the collage, the "prattle" come to the fore; the poet may shape a sovereign artistic entity out of quotations from others, out of commentaries, fragments: Simor in his poem *Air images* prefers in fact the "languagelessness", the fragmented language so dear to István Domonkos.

Oben in der Luft a red-hot t'rone,
Chief György with his mustache burn.
I makes magic, *Tiroler Schmidt,*
And *Bauer*-blood in flames go churn.
Not scares, will you, *Herren, Damen,*
No poor peoples not coming here,
I dips my stave *gut Aloys Schmidt,*
and *in der Luft* nobodies dere.*

The *blending of genres* is also considerable. In the second half of the sixties, it was just prose verse that was gaining ground; by the mid-seventies, Eörsi's books of mixed genres had appeared.

As the epic mode is repressed, the dramatic element gains ascendancy. Orbán himself frequently creates situations of stress *(A story from before the A. D., Chile)*, whereas in Sumonyi's volume entitled *A Portrait, Complemented*, a carefully chosen "situation" that, charged with dramatic energy and suggestive of historical destiny, points far beyond itself, in fact has risen to the rank of the most important poetic element *(In Endre Ady's Veres Pálné Street Flat, 1918; Csokonai on Bloody Heath for Martinovics's Execution)*.

*

The sixties and seventies bring a transformation also in the structure and architecture of the poem. The poetry of the mythic vision, as developed as a contrast to the banality of "lyric realism", had started as early as the fifties to drive the epic element out of the poem, to create a powerful, suggestive poetic language. It was in the same direction, towards a language charged with many free valences and with a great energy of association, towards a more poetic poetry, that Csoóri's and Tornai's work, full of associative invention, took its important steps in the second half of the sixties, and so did, in the early seventies, a profanizing aesthetic interrelating, flashing together a variety of levels in outlook, thought and tongue (Ladányi, Orbán), as also an increasingly evident spreading of the István Vas-style restrained, allusive, suggestive, elliptic mode of communication (Petri, Sumonyi, Szabolcs Várady).

The typical verse-structuring gestures of the seventies likewise have their roots in the second half of the sixties. The loosely knit poetic entity made up of several larger units, which Lóránt Kabdebó calls *"a representative torso"*, is favoured among others by Imre Takács, but mosaics of broken shards of poems are in fact present even in Mihály Váci's volume *Rain on the Sands (Sacred Epilepsy)*; furthermore, none of the coordinative *"long poems" which surround a central poetic core with a loose skein of many associations* (Béla Osztojkán, Tibor Zalán, Miklós Zelei) gives the impression of

* The allusion is to György Dózsa, nobleman leader of a peasants' revolt, executed in 1514 by being sat on a red-hot iron throne.

being entirely independent of some pieces in Szécsi's *Great Flower-shredder* or the odd poem still conceived in the spirit of Ginsberg and his circle in Ottó Orbán's output *(The March, The Breakthrough)*. Indeed, the antecedents of the *cyclical architecture* which becomes so pronounced from the second half of the seventies on are present in the poetry of, among others, Ottó Orbán again. Perhaps the *unarticulated stream of consciousness*, the flood apparently untouched by the gesture of composition (Géza Páskándi, Erzsébet Tóth) is the only one not to have even a germ of a direct antecedent among the new-design verse types of the seventies.

> If I gave this definition of freedom: that small motion which turns a fully determinate social being into a person who does not entirely reproduce that which has been given him by his determinacy.
>
> (Jean-Paul Sartre)

Let me, in this third and last part of my essay, compact into theses the essential elements of my views. First and foremost, I hold that the fundamental phenomena and processes of lyric poetry in the seventies can be derived from the gesture of demythicization in the broad acception of the term. I also hold the gathering gloom engendered by the perception of a peril from the last third of the sixties onward to be essentially akin[14] to the profanizing tendency that has been so marked since the early seventies. I identify its carriers, those who unhesitatingly express its values, as a matter of course with some of the representatives of the generation which took off in the fifties, who by now count their own several volumes each, whereas the diffusion and general spreading of the trend is to be associated largely with the names of poets who emerged in the seventies.

I deem the rise of these tendencies into landmark positions to have been necessary and wholesome in the final reckoning. True, they may have become the sources of much soul-searching at the average, everyday level of literary life, creating as they did the superficial appearance as if our lyric poetry were going through a period of total introversion, of a flight into itself, of the much-envisioned "change of function". After a scrutiny of its outstanding representatives, however, I am confirmed in my assumption that no such thing is true. The way I see it, deheroizing profanization implies a clearer sight above all, a truer reckoning with determinacy, whereas an enhanced sensitivity to peril leads to a more profound world view.

The Hungarian lyric poetry of the seventies is undoubtedly attached most directly to those prior periods marked with peril and disillusionment. In Anna Kiss's rank ornamentation, there is all the stifling sultriness of the Hungarian *fin-de-siècle ;* the early resignation of Sándor Csoóri and his circle

reflects the resigned, restrained gestures of the *Island and Ocean*[15] period; the gestures of Hungarian Dadaism spook in the Anna Kiss — and Marsall — style "scenes"; Tornai's powerful, elementary pessimism has Lőrinc Szabó's desperate, wild expressionism for its obvious antecedent; the menaced idyl of the "Nyugat" 's third generation is akin in many respects to the grotesque-distorted idyl of the seventies, and so is the *New Moon*'s attunement to suffering, as I have pointed out above, to Zsuzsa Beney's and her circle's painful perception of existence.

Undoubtedly, too, the aesthetic categories of identification are not immediately apparent in the lyric poetry of the seventies; nor does one discern at a first glance in the poems of the period the cathartic gesture still so much in evidence in the rhapsodies of the fifties and sixties; the resolve of

> We'll start anew a hundredfold if need
> be, should'ring this finest mission
> of them all
>
> I'll start anew, forsooth I will
>
> If right there be, my right it is . . .
> I don my helmet, grip my sword,

the thunderclap of the "eppur si muove" at the end, the poet hero opposing the forces of destruction, the bipolar dramatic structure of the poem, all these are things of the past; spectacular, stormy sentiments, arcs, lilts, nodes and points are relegated into the background.[16]

However, none of this implies that the lyric poetry of the seventies has gone in negation of the desire for an ordered world; only that the contents of justice, freedom and humanism had, as so often before in our literature, retreated into the sphere of nostalgia.

> Drop dead,
> dead of
> my carrion stench

— writes József Tornai in his poem *Spartacus' Seven Last Words on the Cross*, making it abundantly clear by his example that, in 1975, it would be vain to look for any immediate catharsis in our lyric poetry. Indeed, the value-preserving defiance is in the bitterness proper: *the catharsis is provided by the extremes of grief, anger and pain.*

> But meanwhile yet, this way or that, somehow,
> under the grassroots, so to speak,
> something had got created,
> he had grown up and also died meanwhile,
> the wheezy preacher of Debrecen town,
> meanwhile a heroic epic, a Manifesto, a Hymn had got written,
> meanwhile — 'tis hardly two months hence —
> a seedy stripling has turn'd a shepherd boy
> into a fairy king, and now
> is shouting 'Long live' on the Respublic

— writes Sumonyi in his poem *A Hungarian Jacobin poet in Early 1845*, whose unusual, colloquial tone and ironic expressions clearly conceal (and validate) the nation-building pathos of the Reform Period, as an excellent example revealing that "irony" means not the negation of the aesthetic categories of identification, merely their retreat to greater depth.

With the outstanding creative poets of the seventies, the profanizing tendencies of the period do in fact never mean the negation of significant value, only the negation of a spurious chiliasm. In the lyric poetry of Ladányi, Petri or Ottó Orbán, there is desperation behind the apparent jeering, a small-people's humanism behind the comic grotesque, nostalgia behind cynicism, suffering behind impassivity and sentimentality behind peevishness; and the contradictions between these layers of outlook and significance are apparent only: they in fact interpenetrate, mutually validating each other and rendering each other the more lifelike.

From the second half of the sixties on, Hungarian lyric poetry starts giving increasingly authentic answers to the questions put to it, questions that are not easy ones by any standards: it refuses to embark on any more sham offensives, but — or so it seems — neither does it retreat to the border where the renouncement of societally significant, relevant expression begins. If I may continue the metaphor, Hungarian lyric poetry increasingly seems to be digging in, to be preparing for a protracted trench war.

NOTES

[1] Sándor Csoóri publishes his third volume by the title *Flight from Loneliness*) although the book is well known to express the state and psychic strirrings of his turning in upon himself, of his cohabiting with loneliness rather than the gesture of flight: Márton Kalász calls *Rhapsodies* pieces of an unmistakably elegiac tone.

[2] At the time, Márton Kalász and Imre Takács stood closer to the resignedly elegiac type of lyric poetry hallmarked with the name of Csoóri, whereas the Szécsi's stronger surge of more extreme suffering stands closer to the more "dramatic" pessimism of Tornai. Moreover, as time passes, it is the poetess (Szécsi) who, within the "second generation", preserves some of the fundamental traits of László Nagy's and Ferenc Juhász's lyric tradition, the value awareness of the lyric hero, his samanic role, the symbolic, visionary, mythic mode of communication, the bipolar dramatic composition of the poems as well as the "long-poem genre".

[3] A literary-critical periodical, begun in 1946 and stopped in 1948. In the *œuvre* of the young poet-contributors who formed its circle (Ágnes Nemes Nagy, János Pilinszky, György Rába), there is a great, pessimistic emphasis on the terrors of existence, on the ultimate defencelessness of the human being.

[4] Even though this lyric trend does not emerge with any clarity until the late sixties and early seventies (Dezső Tandori: *A Fragment for Hamlet*, 1969; Zsuzsa Takács: *A Silent Play*, 1970; Zsuzsa Beney: *Land of fire*, 1972; Péter Vasadi: *A Report from Babylon*, 1974), Magda Székely's volume *The Stone Tablet* of 1962 foreshadows the most important elements of the world perception and mode of creation just described. It is another matter that, in her poetry, suffering is even more "concrete", being linked as it is — as I have pointed out — even more directly to "the scandal of the war".

[5] My description of what I assess to be the paradigmatic processes and landmark phenomena of the sixties and seventies is based first and foremost on the generations that emerged from the fifties onward, even though, starting with the second half of the sixties,

the shades of a gathering gloom are plainly visible in the output of the older generation of poets as well. By the gestures of his self-possession, the lyric hero of Gyula Illyés's *New Poems* could yet order the world around him tolerably well, whereas in *A Sail A-Tilt* (1965) and even more in *Black, White* (1968) the fascination of the extremes is felt to gather momentum: images of a chaotic world flash up, and a former objectivity is part-replaced by surges of feverish associations, by visions cast loose from any direct everyday reality. László Benjámin's volume *A Prisoner of the Oceans* (1967) is also symptomatic in this respect: in it, the elegy has come to join the rhapsodies of a shaken self-awareness; variations on a bitter self-mockery unheard of in the earlier Benjámin flare up, and an unreleased, resigned bitterness is heard from behind his lighthouse-keeper's mask. And, as a third and last example, István Vas's volume *Self-Portrait from the Seventies* (1974) is also remarkable for the decomposition of a classicising focus, for the powerful passions shining through its restrained, allusive mode of communication.

[6] The quotations are from poems by Petri, Csoóri and Szabolcs Várady.

[7] His opus entitled *Denunciation after the Fact* (1977) contains a total of 263 footnotes.

[8] To judge by his volume *The Bells Coming to Fetch Me*, bitter irony has by the end of the seventies invaded the poetry even of László Nagy. And to refer again to the older generation. Illyés's *All is Possible* also flashes with painful scorn, with desperate morbidity. Let us cite for an example some of the Crucifier's "rebuke": "What, are these nails? What God's lummoxes / have been into the trade again? . . . Are these to bear a man-size weight? I've sent / A message in so many words: to forge every third one this much longer: they must pierce two crossed feet and lodge in the wood / two inches at least, otherwise: what is to hold them?!"

[9] "Being poor, even relatively, means that one simply has not got the cheek to hang human speech full of Christmas-tree baubles and to give the soldiers of a war a festal address on the wingbeat of a gorsebush" (the allusion of the great interwar poet's, Árpád Tóth's *Elegy on a Gorsebush*); "on a star of war, amidst marvels of reinforced concrete, who will believe in the heavenly?" "After all, who is fool enough to recite Shelley with a landslide looming?" — thus, in many variants and from different points of approach, the author of *Resurrection Deferred*" declaims his antipathy and impatience towards the "old lyrics".

[10] In virtue of its symptomatic nature if not for its outstanding aesthetic value, it is worth our while to cite the tones of extreme morbidity as they appear in the second half of the decade in György Spiró's "love poems": "Well than / lets do away with this little one too, ducks. / We wont make / much of a fuss will we / its not the first one after all. / That we should have taken care? / You know by sight that / blonde dontcha? / Shes in the same boat. / What care she took though, poor thing, / to stay a virgin, from below at least."

[11] *Fire Dance:* an anthology of poetry published in 1958. The young poets represented in the volume made declarations of self-assured confidence in post-1956 consolidation, in socialism. Several of them — Mihály Váci, Gábor Garai, Mihály Ladányi — became the personalities typifying Hungarian lyric poetry in the first half of the sixties.

[12] The increasingly evident decay of the feeling of security is confirmed by the fact that satire, expressive of superiority, of a self-confident situation assessment, true or fancied, so frequent in Váci's and Nyerges's poetry of the time, hardly appears at all to start with in the poetry of the generations that came out in the second half of the sixties and in the early seventies.

[13] In any case, Margit Szécsi's fundamentally romantic personality and poetry with its *penchant* for pathos are coloured from the very beginning by intriguing overtones of vagrancy.

[14] As the signals of a "transformation" in our lyric poetry have become loud and clear (and the bearers of serious artistic value in the process) by about 1967, I apply the term "seventies" throughout to the period beginning that year, attributing to it a connotation of "otherness", of a "novel poetry" rather than a purely temporal one.

[15] The encroachment at this time of "dispassionate", restrained verse prose, crammed with enjambements but avoiding any nodality and pulsation, is not by far fortuitous.

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In the Widening World of Parables

László Jagusztin

1. In Soviet prose literature of the 70 the number of literary works based on the convincing force of parables became larger and the attention given to them also increased. The most essential element of parables is their duality: the comparison of reality with "a possible world" and the relation between these two spheres. The main point in depicting a possible (legendary or fabulous, past or imaginary future) world is always to make our present reality more explicable, understandable and acceptable. It follows from this that the direct aim of parables is to embellish works of literature with hermeneutic functions, i.e. to realize the syncretism of "subtilitas interpretandi", "subtilitas explicandi" and "subtilitas applicandi".[1] Parables wish to influence us with the whole narrated story as an animal fable (басня) does. It is not a genre of criticism but of inspiration and encouragement and uses the interpretation of fate manifested in the narration as an argument that is also applicable to the present. In addition it attempts to preserve the good ideals and guiding principles as recognized in "the possible worlds" and apply them to the real world. This does not mean a withdrawal or escape from conflicts of reality, it is just an answer to the question of how these good ideals and principles should be chosen and realized. The parable is the genre of crucial social situations emerging in a society that tends to become inwardly more and more perfect reaching ultimately an inward correction of its own. The internal power relations of Soviet society have become ripe for the detailed discussion of the great social collisions already solved. Parables carry out this task consistently, their chief characters themselves choose the good with the preservation of their essential features, they do not simply want to annihilate what is wrong but *eliminate* it completely. The motives of elimination, evasion and omission are very important in the solution of parable conflicts. The world is maintained by individual forms of ethic behaviour that are *transhistoric* (Meras), i.e. valid for a series of social formations (На чем держится мир?).

2. From this point of view and within this literary genre Aytmatov's œuvre is the most unified in contemporary Soviet prose. In his short novels

Материнское поле, Прощай Гульсары, Белый пароход, Пегий пес, Буранный полустанок and also in those not listed here, the attempt to reconciliate the forms of behaviour underlying the continuity of national and human existence becomes more and more intensive. Social tasks and actual roles are brought to the surface from the continuity of historical existence in order for them to be highlighted and this feature of Aytmatov's works also becomes more and more explicit and increasingly elaborated.

Tolgonay's dialogue of confrontation with Earth presented in the form of "skaz" deals with the order of importance and rights of matter and existence. The situation has a planetary and at the same time a national scope, the maternal fable about the fate of Sutanbul and her sons makes the truth of patriarchal moral concern pantheistically wide: the involuntary sacrifice for the preservation of life seems to be raised to the level of ritually accepted and, moreove, demanded *human sacrifice*, as it is Earth herself that summons the heroine to give the full emotional recollection of the past. The motive of *human sacrifice* becomes a more and more persistently recurring element in the conflicts in Aytmatov's parables. In *Белый пароход* the spirit of *death* verges on that of *idyll* in the little hero's tragedy. The value of the life sacrificed and its force in attracting attention develop from the child's defensive attitude. The childish moral idyll, created in a dreary world is an attempt to avoid feeling threatened. In this way the narrator's personality both withholds and stimulates the recognition of heroization. It is by the isometric rhythm of the narrator's evaluation and from the viewpoint of the "weak" infant hero who is placed in the position of exalted and sacrificed childhood that the final event in the plot, the self-sacrifice, is defined in *Белый пароход*. The idea of "a conflict between the conflicts of the plot" is used by Aytmatov with a gesture of unexpectedness in *Белый пароход;* It is prepared for in *Пегий пес* and has a mosaic-like structure in *Буранный полустанок*.

3. In *Буранный полустанок* Aytmatov *presents a metaphoric definition of his way of thinking*. It is in this work that the widest world is offered within the system of "possible ones" presented and evaluated by him. *The system of possible worlds* is the most banal device in our age for stating one's opinion about people. Aytmatov avoids banality by pushing the actions of the fantastic world into the background and *he prefers knowledge controlled by morality to knowledge which is controlled by ideology and politics often in the wrong way*. The lesson drawn from the conflicts of ethnic beliefs has been suffered for: *It is the carefulness with which they are incorporated into the system of history, the explicability of the historical commonness of experiences*. Aytmatov wants to put sense into the process of fatal human sacrifices ! The sense of the quality of human life (cf. Kirisk's fate) is the preservation of human qualities to prevent them from vegetating. The evaluative and invocative character of parable tales is expressed by composing the narrated story as a model.

In Aytmatov's short novel *Буранный полустанок* this model borders on argumentative preparedness, it represents, so to say, the quintessence of his œuvre and his way of thinking and is characterized by the particular nature of an anatomical dissection. This is expressed by *epic rhymes* which are consistently denoted typographically, too:

Поезда в этих краях шли с востока на запад и (с) запада на восток . . .»[2] (8)

This rhyme is repeated about eighteen times, and the political and ethic romanticism of the cardinal points is constantly reinforced. The biological, ethic and ethnic vitality of the crew in the desert station depends on their ability to assimilate themselves. The *culmination* of this assimilation in the story is the end, failure and the symbolic success of the funeral procession:

— А где же отец? — спросила Шарапат.
— А он вернется к вечеру. Уехал с утра в Почтовый ящик, к начальству тамошнему. (294)

The *starting point* is the beginning of historical fate, that is the story of the railway station, family life and camel keeping. This story coincides with the review of the *socio-historical* situation. *Abutalip Kuttubaev*'s tragedy in the fifties during the personality cult is the ballad of man's humiliation and defencelessness. Abutalip's behaviour and sufferings represent the tribulation of the participants of a *historical situation* and this is what the warmness of the narrator's *requiem-like* mood also derives from. Aytmatov is an understanding and forgiving narrator, but he records everything and does not forget but blames and preserves. The preservation of the lessen is demanded by the essence of parables, too, their central conflict being the commensurability of *Soviet power*, the *Kazakh custom*, *historical ethics* and *cosmic future*. As a result of the connection of "мифологема" with "футурогема" we can witness a very impressive evolution of thoughts. In "мифологема" the consequences of the dominant ethos of power are revealed and repeated in the story itself, in Abutalip's human-sacrificing fate, which can be explained as the present. In "футурогема" evolution progresses towards a type of power with a different quality: the final point that either defends or threatens the completeness of mankind. In *Yedigey*'s actions and thoughts he disputes Sabitman's "stalinistically" horrifying arguments on power:

И еще подумалось Буранному Едигею: А что, если такой человек у власти окажется — заест ведь всех, заставит подчиненных прикидываться всезнайками, иных нипочем не потерпит. (30)

Self-preservation and self-defence in the face of *power* are general momenta which move the plots of parables forward. Yedigey fights with *five forms of power*: the rigidity of the personality cult; the obliging force of the national past (the funeral); every kind of forceful power; (the principle of

Parity); himself; and the natural world order. Yedigey fights alone, he is almost lonely, like Aytmatov's protagonists usually are. He would, perhaps, only be able to make an alliance with the narrator or with natural forces. He carries the burden of the recognized task himself and follows the principles as told in his struggles. This is the Tolstoyan *principle of the value of death* turned inside out: the greater the motivation the sacrifice of life has, the more valuable and beautiful it is.

He carries on the most difficult fight against the dark social forces, the forms of power destroying his friends and *Abutalip Kuttubaev*. The horrifying final product of this system of power is the *mankurt* (манкурт) story compiled from tribal legends, the story of a matricidal people deprived of their freedom of will in the most bestial way, the story of complete spiritual defencelessness. The parable legend qualifies the stalinistic era as well: the vegetating presence and manipulatedness of people deprived of their social and emotional memories represents the intensification of the *Orozkul-effect* in Aytmatov's evaluative system. In *Белый пароход* Orozkul is the representative of the irritated despot, the strong man who has lost his way. The mankurt is a story that can no longer be intensified, it is a separate *work within the work:*

— Жоламан! Снимай — звала Найман-Ана, боясь, что с ним что-то случилось, повернулась в седле.

— Не стреляй! — успела вскрикнуть она и только было понукнула белую верблюдицу Акмаю, чтобы развернуться лицом, нотстрела свистнула, вонзаясь в левый бок под руку.

То был смертельный удар. (122—3)

The mankurt is a robot, even biologically manipulated, its legend setting up a counterpoint against the open world of the planet Forest Bosom which tries to establish contact with it. The science-fiction discovery of the planet Forest Bosom (Лесная Грудь) is also an independent parabolic story in the work, that is in Yedigey's real fate. The earthly civilization refuses to make contact and strengthens the inapproachability of Earth with the operation "Обруч". The almost apocalyptic image at the beginning of the operation extends the ethic validity of the real consequences of human deeds. Through the principle of "паритетность" the decisions concern everyone's existence. Here the world of the parable gains a really cosmic scope and covers the fate of every extant thing. Human existence becomes important as the *value* of mankind's existence *in itself*, in order that the lives of its members should remain reasonable. This is why in the final sentences of the narration Yedigey leaves for the town to fight for his truth. The mankurt legend and the space adventure unite and culminate in his world.

At this point Aytmatov does not pursue the practice of his former works and does not round off the narration with an evaluative moral lesson. The ending and the linking of the stories existing side by side in the work are left uncompleted. This looseness (рубленность), reminiscent of the structure

of a ballad, even becomes strengthened in the separateness of the narrator's points of view. Each story has a separate narrative position of its own.

Yedigey's fate, the plot proper, is told from the dual aspect of the "skaz". The hero's and the narrator's knowledge, world views and moods appear intertwined and this is also reflected in the formulation.

Едигей сразу догадался, что это жена спешила к нему, что непроста спешит и что на то какая-то очень серьезная причина.

The communicative and evaluative description that is external and internal at the same time, reflects the narrator's "compliance" with his hero's simple-mindedness and faltering ability to put his thoughts into words.

In the parable stories built into the *work* the narrator's attitudes are different. The tensions and rhythm of the wording in the mankurt legend are defined by the popular minstrel's maintaining an epic distance, and his knowledge of the whole story.

С тех пор, говорят, стала летать в сарозеках по ночам птица Донебай. Встретив путника, птица Донебай летит поблизости с возгласом: Вспомни, чей ты? Чей ты? (123)

It is in the cosmic parable story that the narrator is the farthest from his heroes and the plot. The labels (наименования) *Конвенция* and *Паритетность* reflect a kind of theoretizing generality from the very beginning, and this abstractingly evaluative attitude runs through the whole parable. The manifestation of "impersonality", however, denotes not only "dehumanization", but also "*mankind*" as a general and basic value. This is why the way the story is narrated approaches the devices used by communication for mass media and those of reflecting the thoughts and desires of a whole community:

«Авианосец Конвенция находился в тот час на своем месте, в том же районе Тихого океана, южнее Алеутов, на строго одинаковом по воздуху расстоянии от Владивостока и Сан-Франциско.» (81)

In the epic rhymes already cited, information about trains going from one place to another occur more than ten times. Their function is to separate the different parts of the process of narration and also to link them together, thus assuring a kind of unity. Their typographical denotation also refers to this inorganic role and this is why the three dots . . ., indicating unfunished thoughts, stand at the end of the different parts of the text. This external compositional linkage is also supported by micro-thematic allusions (аллюзии) such as the fact that the white camel of the legend is the ancestor of *Karanar*, Yedigey's famous and obstinate black male camel.

It is in another world, namely, in the world of the recipient that the different parts of this loose, ballad-like composition are put together. The story, the parable, loses its independence in order to promote the birth of the required human decision and behaviour. In Aytmatov's work this required

human decision and behaviour means historically valid observation, ideation and practice of the principle according to which the preservation of human and natural life is possible only through the search for values and the search for one another.

NOTES

[1] *Hans Georg Gadamer:* A hermeneutikai alapprobléma visszanyerése (Wahrheit und Methode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik. Tübingen, 1960.) Helikon, 1981, N° 2—3, 134–187.

[2] *Ч. Айтматов:* Буранный полустанок. М. 1981.

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The Narrative Model of the Novel of "Awakening": Dostoevsky[1]

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1. The first experiment which makes an attempt to deduce the principles of Dostoevsky's Weltanschauung from the form principles of his large-scale novels is attributable to Vyaceslav Ivanov.[2] The reason why we draw attention to this early poetical experiment at the moment lies in the fact that to this very day, seventy years on, the analytical methods of his essay, his conclusions concerning the structure of the Dostoevsky novel are regarded as basically acceptable, and what is more, in certain respects even topical again. It is his position established against the tendency to interpret Dostoevsky's novels restricted to the fields of cultural history, history of ideas and psychology which seems to be of present interest in the first place — a position from which Ivanov examines Dostoevsky's large-scale novels as models motivated on three levels, and sets himself against the conceptions of the turn of the century or even of an earlier period according to which the "intellectual antinomies", and "psychological pragmatism" had hierarchical priority. The "intellectual antinomies", the psychological "internal shifts" and the course of external events according to V. Ivanov's principally correct analysis form a homogeneous motive system, and that is why a particular component, if picked out from any of the levels — be it the intellectual, the psychological or the existential one — cannot make a poetical interpretation possible. Highly topical is that thesis of the author according to which — naturally following from the above-mentioned ideas — the heroes' seemingly "improbable" (or as we would say now: unmotivated) acts, gestures and words get a perfect poetical explanation if we do not lose sight of the fact that Dostoevsky creates a consistent and structurally interrelated motive-line on all of the three levels, and consequently we understand that all the acts, irrelevant from a logical or psychological point of view — that is metalogical and metapsychological acts — are represented not simply on three levels but as a unit possessing a threefold motivation.

It does not require any special explanation to grasp the reason why we do underline the importance of V. Ivanov's essay in spite of the fact that the conception he worked out regarding the function of the novel model is in

our opinion unfounded. When as far as the content is concerned he interprets this function as the genre of "religious repentance", he makes the traditional methodological mistake: he incorporates the analyst's own Weltanschauung — in this case that of philosophy of religion — into the system of form principles revealed essentially accurately though not exhaustively. However, if we disregard Ivanov's interpretation concerning the genre of the large-scale novels and retain the way he described the model, then it is proved beyond any doubt that his analysis gives a more sophisticated picture than the preceding or in many respects even than the succeeding investigations do. As far as the latter ones are concerned we could witness a tendency to subordinate the three equal and marked structural levels without reason to text units of intellectual, philosophical, in a worse case ideological (socio- and psycho-ideological) or of publicistic character thus constructing partly a tendentiously "monologue novel", partly a "dialogue" genre lacking an authorial program *only on one level* of the novel model — to make it more precise, on that of the character structure. This is the level which V. Ivanov called the sphere of the "intellectual antinomies" but examined as being structurally dependent on the external catastrophic events and internal psychological transformations. The exagerrated emphasis laid on the spiritual, ideological and intellectual references, the tendency to regard them as the dominant elements determining the genre results in a one-sided picture of the Dostoevsky novel. That is why we must bear in mind the results of V. Ivanov's analysis representing a more exhaustive and objective approach, and acknowledge as his merit the significant step he made forward in revealing the character-plot structural unity, consequently in throwing light upon the constructive principles of the Dostoevsky type of novel model.

If together with the function of the events ocurring on the intellectual, psychological and existential levels V. Ivanov had succeeded in eliminating the different epic functions of Dostoevsky's narrators, then he could have achieved even the complete description of the model. But the ignoration of the narrative functions prevented him from this and led him to the conception of the tragedy-novel which has been gaining innumerable adherents ever since.

According to the conception of the tragedy-novel Ivanov was able to conceive the character-plot structural unity only as patterned after a tragic model — and we think that the fact that effective poetical researches concerning narration were started only in the twenties may have had a share in it — but now it is no longer impossible to elude the task of restoring theoretically this structural unity, the correlation between "characters and events" as a *narrative model*. By this distinction we can elucidate the axiomatic thesis of our position according to which, on the one hand, it is poetically unjustified

to extend the concept of narration semiotically — in this case to dramatic models; on the other hand, a too narrow formalist interpretation — namely, narration referring restrictively to the speech of the narrator (e.g. "skaz") — is unjustified, as well. Occasionally the characters' discourse both regarding the length and the function are assigned a more important role in the creation of the narrative model than the narrator's narration; but it does not mean that the narrator's speech is rendered void that is he "lacks his part" and is deprived of his modelling and evaluating function (as V. Ivanov and his follower Bachtin state), it simply makes the narrator assume a specifically different field of activity.

To speak about the specific differences between the narrative and tragic models is beyond the scope of our essay. We are going to construct the narrative model of Dostoevsky's large-scale novel and this, even in a roughly outlined form, will elucidate our standpoint concerning the dissimilarities of the two artistic forms "based on action". Now it is sufficient for us to refer to the categorization dating back to the Aristotelian and Lessing tradition according to which narration — as linguistically it gives its objects in *details* — is able to model the correlation between character and events structurally better divided. It is opposed to the play on the stage which as it *personifies* this relation in a pantomimic way leaving undivided innumerable intermediate levels and their correlations (e.g. internal events) models syncretically, with reduction and relies on indirect signals where narration creates directly comprehensible structures. This is the reason why this syncretic — and of course ostensible — closeness of the dramatic form to the lucid forms of every day life all the same creates a more abstract model than the apparently more artificial — as linguistically realized — narrative detailing makes possible. This is due to the capacity of the narrative detailing for modelling the events of such ontological layers — integrating them into the characters' motivation-structure — which can be followed indirectly neither on the stage nor in life, and which are approachable only experimentally even for science. The two artistic models differ from one another not according to the extent to which they are pictorial or objective, nor in that respect how much they allow the reader to have free associations but according to that criterion to what degree they can be divided and structured. In this sense do we use the concept of detailing as a distinctive mark of narration, that is in the sense of the narrative division of the structural relations. Consequently, this term does not cover the meaning of meticulous, sensuous representation.

2. The elements of the narrative model, the "narrative details" in the case of Dostoevsky's novels can be included in at least three categories: 1) the verbal-conceptual group; 2) the preverbal and metaverbal group; 3) the category of character function manifesting itself in action. These narrative details which construct the hero's character on an intellectual, psycholog-

ical and existential level are arranged into various correlations resulting in a strikingly individual type of division in every particular novel. We can hardly imagine that other writers' subsequent works would differ from one another to such a great extent. But it is a general typological peculiarity of Dostoevsky's novels that the components of the intellectual level — that is statements representing the hero's ideas and convictions — show a great number of permanent and continuous repetition. This regularity equally characterizes the theoretical formulations of Raskolnikov and Ivan Karamazov ("Ко всему-то подлец-человек привыкает"; "Все позволено") Myshkin's conviction in the strength of compassion ("Сострадание есть главнейший и, может быть, единственный закон бытия всего человечества") the ostentatious intellectual nihilism of Stavrogin and Versilov, their "counterideological" conviction. So we can see that the intellectual level is the least changeable but in no respect less active sphere of the characters' manifestations than any other level. The inner justification of this peculiarity is easy to grasp if we bear in mind that the events of the plot lasting for a few days or weeks — only in *The Idiot* is this period irregularly extended to half a year! — even in people's actual life does not bring about a radical spiritual transformation or a change in their world view. Though it is true that there is ample time for personal tragedies to happen and in association with them for fundamental rearrangements in psychological, or often even in physiological functions: similar to Myshkin's reevolving epilepsy, Stavrogin's and Ivan's exacerbating white fever.

While the details describing the intellectual activity constitute one of the most stable structures of the Dostoevsky characters, the psychological level forms the sphere of the most dynamic transformations and at the same time the sphere of unusual active manifestation forms, atypical in traditional prose fiction. This is marked by a small number of repetitions which have a periodically increasing rhythm and consequently are strikingly variable from the reader's point of view. If on the intellectual level the hero is stable or hardly changing at all, at the same time existentially he is closed, that is regarding the outcome of the action he is doomed to failure, then in respect of the psychological level we have to say that it is not simply the most dynamically changing system of the character-structure, but it is the exclusive model of its evolution. It is the psychological level which determines the characteristic features of the length of the text, consequently it is the most detailed ontological layer in Dostoevsky's novels which is the most subtly divided by the narration. The narrative division of the transformation going on the psychological level composes a plot in Dostoevsky's novels, and the details, the components of this division mark the phases, the rhythm and the direction of the heroes' "awakening" at the same time. That is why the basic poetical question which crops up when we analyze Dostoevsky's novels is the fol-

lowing: which are the sign media through which the reader is able to approach the plot of "awakening" as a poetical code system hierarchically subordinating any other semantic structure?

In *Crime and Punishment* the psychological transformation encoding the "awakening" is continuous and unbroken. In the narration it is the interior discourse which is a decisive factor in the formation of the sign medium which details the correlation between the intellectual and psychological elements and the slow rearrangement of this relation. ("Ко всему-то подлец-человек привыкает!" — Он задумался. — Ну а коли я соврал, — воскликнул он вдруг невольно, — коли действительно не подлец человек . . .").

According to the above-mentioned correlation when Dostoevsky makes his choice on the person of the narrator he must bear in mind that both the internal and the external events should be accessible to the narrator in their extensive complexity. These events include even those which are beyond the reach for the majority of the heroes, even for Raskolnikov.

The situation is different in *The Idiot* where the way the plot of "awakening" is encoded imposes more complicated conditions upon the reception of a work of art. Here similarly to the previous novel, the relation between the intellect and the psyche, between the linguistically formulated — spoken or unspoken — ideas and the preverbal thoughts (in Myshkin's case between the idea of compassion and the inner signs generated by the six-month-long Russian experiences) which is marked by the hero's interior speech is within the narrator's reach. But on the other hand, as opposed to the previous novel, the extensive complexity of the internal and external events remains beyond the narrator's grasp. That is the reason why in contrast with the heroes' competence of this type he is doomed to assume the role of a narrator with a restricted scope of activity regarding his knowledge of facts and value orientation. The heroes' competence is hierarchically superior in both respects. The sequence of the external and internal events calling forth the psychological transformation in Myshkin by the beginning of the second half of the novel and justifying the hero's subsequent acts, thoughts, utterances and gestures, which seem to become more and more unmotivated and inexplicable from a narrative point of view, are completely inaccessible for the reader. Consequently these events composing a narrative hiatus structure are accessible to the reader only in the form of the outcomes and not in the phase of the process. The external and internal signs of the result of the transformation sharply divide the model of the characters' transformation as compared to the first part and to the plot of "awakening" in the dynamic transformation of Myshkin, the protagonist. So the tempo of the transformation is more dynamic here than in *Crime and Punishment* which means at the same time that the plot of "awakening" is encoded to a higher extent (or that the redundancy degree is low). It is the identity of character-event structure realized on the level of the plot of "awak-

ening" which determines the narrative functions in *The Idiot*, as it is the interrelation of the three poetical categories — character, events, narration —, their non-recurrent, irreproducible correlation which performs the same function as far as the conditions of interpretation are concerned. We cannot doubt that it is this genuine structure the novel owes its success in having secured its niche in world literature, the role it plays in the history of genres and its aesthetic significance.

Even more emphatically should we underline the timelines and importance of the attempt to restore the world literature status of *Besy* just at a time when genre poetics reaches a point from where it can undertake the task of redeeming its old, pressing debts effectively. *Crime and Punishment* and *Brothers Karamazov* no longer need such reinforcement. As a matter of fact neither in the case of *The Idiot* nor in that of *Besy* should this reinforcement be unrelated to the inherent values of the works. We need an objective investigation, a poetical clarification already basically accomplished in the case of the two other large-scale novels or *The House of the Dead*, *Poor Folk* and *The Double* according to their significance. But first of all we have to discard the ideological prejudices which keep throwing the biggest obstacles in the way of the correct formulation of the problem, not to mention the correct solution.

In *Besy* the small number of slowly increasing repetitions is realized even more indirectly than in the previous two novels, and that is why it requires a much more active attitude from the reader than the latter works. In this novel the plot of "awakening" is worked out not only differently but in a manifoldly encoded form. The basic difference in relation to *Brothers Karamazov* — and at the same time a greater typological closeness to *A Raw Youth* — is due to the fact that the psychological material: the interior speech, the thoughts just being born, the notion and emotion which are directly detailed in the other novels, here remain latent, unexplained in the structure of the characters.

In *The Idiot* and *Crime and Punishment* it is not the absence of the psychological elements fixed on the level of the interior speech which forms the code generating motives as in the structure of *Besy* or *A Raw Youth*. It is the organization of their rearrangements detailed directly by the narration, the structure of the transformation of the preverbal level — in *Crime and Punishment* a continuous while in *The Idiot* a discontinuous transformation.

In spite of all the substantial differences *The Idiot* is nevertheless the morphological antecedent of the "awakening" model of *Besy* in the sense that Miskin's dynamic transformation is motivated not only on the level of thoughts opposed to the idea of compassion, but on the level of the so-called "contradictory gestures", the spontaneous, unintended movements and mimic transformations as well. It means that we have to reckon with one structure of the events composing the plot of "awakening" not only on the level of signs

worked out on the preverbal level of the interior speech but similarly on the level of gestures functioning as the metaverbal symptoms.

It follows that the transformation of the character motivated on the psychological level is so dynamic and intense that it entails the reorganization of the system of gestures. That is it requires the narrative detailing of a previously non-existent or not active ontological layer and quality while, on the other hand, neither the narrator in *Besy* nor that in *The Idiot* can keep an eye on the evolution process of the gestures as an event, though the heroes themselves have this kind of competence by internal experiences and in this respect — as opposed to Raskolnikov — they are more competent than the narrator both regarding their knowledge of facts and the interpretation. The inner structural conditions which Dostoevsky creates to establish this hierarchical system of competence manifest themselves in the following: in one case *(The Idiot)* the model puts the events determining the genesis of gestures on a place out of the narrator's sight, which is fixed to the area of the capital, while in *Besy* it is put beyond the boundaries of a provincial centre, into the structure of the characters' prehistory, inaccessible to the narrator who plays the role of the chronicler in a provincial town.

Now if we are aware of the fact, that here in *Besy*, similarly to any other Dostoevsky novel the transformation of the central figure on the whole means its transformation on the psychological level, but as opposed to the other large-scale novels it is accomplished without the direct narrative detailing and division of this "psychological material" (non-verbal thoughts, notions and emotions) then the special way the poetic pattern of thought is coded in the work becomes immediately perceptible and we understand what is the source of the difficulties of interpretation due to which the novel is regarded as one of the poetical systems yet not revealed entirely. It means that it is the system of gestures, in the capacity of the system of the symptom signs which serves as the model of "awakening". But at the same time it means that the poetic information coded in these extraordinarily irregular acts — and now we speak about acts which even in the context of the whole life-œure seem to have a specially low redundancy degree, a particularly fantastic character and which from the narrator's point of view are apparently unmotivated —, so this poetical information can only be grasped by the reader provided that he incorporates into the interpretation of these acts the preverbal and metaverbal (that is "psychological") motivation revealed through the system of gestures. The intellectually unregulated, "spontaneous" gestures are very important components, narrative details of the characters even in the earlier works of the œuvre — that is they form a system even there — but first it is in *Besy* that they make up a structure appearing as constructive factors in the narrative model of the character formation.

In *Crime and Punishment* and in *The Idiot* the transformation of the

characters is explicable by the structure-like division degree of the directly detailed psychological material. Here the narrative detailing of the "internal" connections on each point of the plot creates the obvious intermediate phase between thought and speech, thought and act, thought and gesture obtaining to the structure of the character on the one hand, between external impulse and preverbal reaction on the other hand, as well as between the latter and the verbal (intellectual) level of the interior speech, thus establishing the narrative model of the events, the intermediate phases and the transformations which link the stages of the linguistic and non-linguistic formulation of the thought. The established model is that of an ontological level which neither the obvious forms of life, nor the personification on the stage make accessible as an object so direct, so much differentiated — detailed and divided. As in the case of Stavrogin *(Besy)* and Versilov *(A Raw Youth)* this internal relationship, and its transformation which produces a model of "awakening" is not directly accessible to the reader, it is the regular occurrence of certain gestures which form the way of representation of the implicit correlation of the intellectual and psychological component which relation has a motivation function. These gestures show an occurrence small in number but increasing in frequency like the "double", "contradictory" thoughts explicated in the interior speech of Raskolnikov and Miskin and that is why as opposed to the structure of the great number of permanent repetitions on any other character level (especially opposed to the structure of the "contrapunctal ideological parts" revealed by Bachtin) they appear as "contradictory" that is seemingly unmotivated gestures. The very wide range of Stavrogin's pailing and Versilov's smile and the occurrence of these elements imbedded in various adjectival phrases composes a psychological motive-structure which indicates the way, the direction and the rhythm of the process of "awakening', and explains the reason of such contradictory, from the narrator's point of view seemingly unmotivated acts (though called forth by the process of "awakening") as Stavrogin's duel — which is in fact a suicide attempt; his "confession" — a self-slander really; or his intention to announce it and the sudden, inexplicable alteration of this plan; his "escape" to Switzerland in the letter and his suicide in real life.

3. If — as the foregoing analysis makes it clear — Dostoevsky's hero is intellectually static, existentially closed, at the same time his character shows dynamic transformation and development on the psychological level. So we can say that here, on the psychological level of the model is the character-events interrelation the most detailed and divided, and similarly the constructive principle of the model — the determinant of the genre — can be grasped precisely here as the model of the event of the psychological process of "awakening" as the organizing principle of the plot "awakening" and as the genre structure of the novel of "awakening".

From this point of view both the intellect on a philosophical level and the tragic existence against which even this intellect, capable of raising universal problems (those of Hamlet and Faust) proves to be incompetent, is after all the model of those ontological regularities which genetically and structurally make the possibility of the psychological "awakening" inevitable.

If now we raise the question: What can parallel with the evolution of the "awakening" keep permanently alive the intellectual confrontation in Dostoevsky's hero? — then the reason should be sought in the great many cases of occurrence of those narrative details which the narration underlines in an contrasting way in the other heroes' character, set up in opposition to the protagonist.

So Raskolnikov having got into the subjective compulsion to act and at the same time into an objective action-vacuum meets and encounters Sonya, Katerina Ivanovna and Svidrigaylov guilty of their willingness to acquiesce in their fate not at the moment when he transgresses the moral standards, not at the moment of the decision leading to the violation of the boundaries but when its tragic consequences have appeared even in gestures, when the outcome of these acts have already launched an irrevocable attack on human personality. The prostitution, theft, alcohol-addiction, moral deterioration, suicide as the narrative details of the consequences of the events belonging to the prehistory of the characters in the model unfold themselves for Raskolnikov as predominant motives in the characters and as the outcome of the self-sacrifice, or playing Schiller, or the senseless acquiescence in the existing state of affairs and they again and again lead to his intellectual protest and judgement. Before the act Raskolnikov cannot know the conditions of the forced retreat, though he himself is taken captive and is soon to be sacrified in a situation from which there is no way out. The period between the double murder and his reporting himself to the police is nothing else than the narrative detailing of the psychological process and the slow transformation through which he himself gets acquainted with the objective conditions and laws of the forced acquiscence, now already on the basis of his own defencelessness — as a result of his "crime" and "fall". Raskolnikov's "awakening" is the recognition of the general normality which sets the rebellious individual's fate parallel to the fate of those who are called "horror-stricken creatures" in his theoretical judgements.

Myshkin's "awakening" is motivated by the strikingly numerous cases of occurrence of a quite different type of details. The reason which in spite of the conspicuous differences connects Nastasa Filippovna and Aglaya, Rogozhin and Ippolit, General Ivolgin and the people sentenced to forced labour; what in spite of the antinomy of their efforts formulated intellectually puts them into the same category — this reason can be found in their firm decision not to acquiesce in their fate even at the expense of self-destruction, the symptoms

of which parallel with the course of events are detailed in more and more intense and active manifestation forms up to the very point when first the psychological then the physiological functions fall apart and consequently they cease to exist. It is this effort heightened to the utmost which makes *The Idiot* the most tragic of Dostoevsky's novels — and at the same time — paradoxical als it may appear — the model of "awakening" opening up the greatest perspectives. Parallel with the retarding motives well in advance indicating the tragic outcome of the events, the "not to acquiesce" motives recur with a gradually increasing activity as the manifestation forms of such a positive value which is detailed by the narration as the motivation structure of Myshkin's "awakening". It is in the midst of this very quest for the function of these details that Miskin comes to the idea to revise his previous notions and to confront his European experiences with the Russian ones, consequently he comes to the thought that the first symptoms, the unexpectedly emerging possibility of breaking the tragic deadlock of modern humanity can be detected in this very idea of "not to acquiesce". This "Russian Don Quixote" proclaims not the slogan to avenge the insults, but his faith in the strength of the defiance of the offended.

This dynamic model of the process of "awakening" is detailed by the narration as the interiorization of the experiences gained from the events taking place in Russia, as the phases of the interiorization and as the appearance of new sign levels, corresponding to the qualitatively new stages: First Myshkin recall shistories which have the function to suggest the new impressions and he puts them next to one another trying to point out a kind of relationship and repetition. Later the process of formulation can be seen on the level of the emerging thoughts, while the idea reaches such a degree of generalization where it can be formulated linguistically, and then Myshkin is to speak about his new conviction which has come to clash with the belief based on the principle of compassion and gives rise to the "double thoughts". Finally, to remove the "double thoughts" in an external monologue, it comes to the verbal formulation of the conclusions drawn from his "awakening". It is an attempt to interpret — inbedded into the context of the dissimilarities of the Russian and European historical conditions — both his experiences resulting in his "awakening" and the reasons of the failure of individual action — in relation to himself just as well as to all the others not willing to acquiesce in their fate.

This model of "awakening" indicates the most competent way of thinking and evaluation and together with it the most authorized interpretation possibility of the inner world of the novel not solely within *The Idiot* but in the context of the entire life-work. First in this novel appears the "awakening"-type which gets as far as the recognition of historical peculiarities and is present in the hero's thinking as the primary condition for evaluation

as well as for interpretation. Dostoevsky uses the conception of "positive character" in connection with Myshkin — that is with his psychological "awakening" — exclusively in *this* sense and again this positive value is underlined by the creation of a level above character and event the components of which model culture-typological oppositions. These oppositions are set up by the regular occurrence of such motives symbolizing the decline of Western civilization and the disillusionment concerning its development to come as the recurrent mentioning of Holbein's outstretched Christ, Dumas' Dame aux Camelias, Flaubert's Madame Bovary and Cervantes' Don Quixote in the turning-points of the plot, and similarly their various interpretations in the spirit of the intellect of the characters exposed there as well and in the spirit of the historico-philosophical competence of Myshkin's "awakening".

The Idiot represents and opens up a new phase in the artistic thinking of the writer of the large-scale novels in the same way as *Crime and Punishment* does in respect of the small novels of the previous period or as *The House of the Dead, Notes from Underground* do together in relation to the works of the 1840–50ies. We would like to remind the reader of the fact that *The Idiot* is the single large-scale novel in Dostoevsky's life-work which even at any risk is determined to create the "positive hero". The reason why the experiment was not repeated was that Dostoevsky failed with it; on the contrary, because he was able to tackle his task just as well as in his own time and in his own way Cervantes did setting an example of the highest quality. Dostoevsky worthy of his predecessor, does not make his hero "fail" but makes him — and — through his "awakening" the reader–conscious of the new regularities which appear here and now in the relationship of the individual and the world, of the types of these regularities characterizing modern humanity ("Western" and "Eastern") and not only of the even harder conditions of individual action, its fate-like determination, but together with it its new and differentiated possibilities which reveal themselves on the different ontological layers of existence. And of course he makes us understand that for the quest for the positive possibilities we have to pay not a lower but a higher (often a tragic) price than in an earlier historical period, on the eve of modern times. The value-creating individual possibilities of the latter one were made recognized by Cervantes who created a new type of novel with the narrative model of Don Quixote's "awakening", opposed to the tradition both of the romance and the picaresque novel which represent "adventure-models". The Cervantes novel created a genre type, the model of the loss of illusions, which remained predominant in the development of the Western European novel up to Balzac, Stendhal and lingers on in the artistic thinking of Dostoevsky's contemporary, Flaubert. It is in similar way that Dostoevsky creates through his novel of "awakening" a new type for modern epic within the genre of the novel. Its direct antecedent was Gogol's narration and

Pushkin's character and plot construction, as well as the Western European tradition reinterpreted by the two authors. It is in this sense that we should take the comparison between Pushkin's *Poor Knight* and that of Cervantes, the Gogol–Molière analogy and the other parallels drawn in *The Idiot* on the level of the culture-historical opposition. In this respect the novel contributes not only to the clarification of the notion of the "positive hero" of a new type, but at the same time it helps to make us aesthetically aware of the specific peculiarities of the new type of the novel model — the Russian novel.

If in the process of Raskolnikov's "awakening", which supercedes the abstractness of the intellectual anthropologism from his thinking, the new regularity of the world-individual interrelation appears setting his own existential failure, his "fate" into equivalence with the fate of the Russian majority not willing to make peace with their life then in the case of Myshkin the recognition of this equivalence showing national peculiarities covers the six-month period undetailed in the plot. In the second part of the novel we meet the hero in a phase of his process of "awakening" when the intellectual basis of his conviction ("the law of compassion") surrenders his place to the recognition of the "laws" interiorized from the new experiences. As a result Myshkin's character is enriched with a newer stage of his process of "awakening" which reveals itself in the following: now he interprets the quest how problems belonging to the individual's fate can be solved as being connected with the search for the way out of the Russian situation enabling not only a national development but at the same time: an evolution for the whole of Europe. In the "not to acquiesce" feature emerging in the characters in spite of the fact that they are existentially closed and there is no way out for them Myshkin seems to detect the first symptoms of an individual-national-universal perspective, the symptom of the real alternative of a New World.

It is perhaps only *Besy* which is more tragic than *The Idiot* if we regard it from the point of view of the existential "blind alleys". First of all it is because on the level of thoughts Stavrogin already before the time the plot takes place goes through the alternatives which in Raskolnikov's and Myshkin's search for the solution came to be detailed only in the plot time as the central theme of the model. In the world of the events described Stavrogin appears as a man disappointed in these alternatives and having done with any kind of intellectual illusion. His actual "awakening" developing at the time plot takes place motivated by the necessary distortion of the positive values detailed by the narration through a great number of repetition in the characters of Verhovensky, Kirillov and Satov, the adherents of his earlier ideas, with the purpose of modelling three contrasting intellectual convictions and ways of action aiming at regularizing the individual-world correlation. Here Stavrogin confronts with the practical outcomes of an ad absurdum consistency regarding defiance elevated to the status of a conviction.

He confronts with Kirillov's conviction stating the superhuman freedom, the boundless possibility of the individual to bear burdens ("человекобог"), with Satov's theoretical and practical attempt idealizing the possibility to make people perfect to the utmost ("народ-богоносец") and with Verhovensky's idea (and the Jesuit practice) of the annihilation of the existing universal order through political anarchism ("Иван-Царевич").

If for Myshkin the Russian feature of defiance could be identified with the positive foretoken and guarantee of the universal, national and individual development, Stavrogin now has to realize how this positive value — the passion of defiance towards the existing universal order — is transformed into an intellectual conviction and as a result of the failure of the actions following from this conviction into the different variations of a hitherto unseen obsession in cases where an individual is forced to tackle individually unsolvable problems which are drastically beyond human intellectual and existential possibilities and even almost beyond the limits of his biological endurance.

4. We have dwelt upon the question of the general genre establishing elements in the narrative model and plot-structure of the large-scale novels and upon the peculiarity of the process how they are specifically organized. In the course of our analysis we saw that the intellectual, psychological and existential events form such a correlation in the character structure which, on the one hand, due to the unchanging repetitions of a great number models a situation which is existentially limited that is "closed" and it is impossible to find any kind of intellectual way out of it. On the other hand, the same correlation of events models a psychological "awakening" on the level of the repetitions of a small but gradually increasing number. So we arrived at the conclusion that in Dostoevsky's novels there is such a specific correlation of characters and events that it is neither the "history of the loss of illusions" nor the "history of the fate" which actually constructs the plot. It is true that following the genre tradition of the novel both constituents are present and work actively in the model but with a new function as they motivate the history of the "awakening". As Dostoevsky details only the final phase of both processes (and not their actual history as a whole), the intellectual "blind alley" and exhaustion are presented as belonging to the *prehistory of the* process of "awakening". The existential failure — the result of the coexisting objective action vacuum and subjective necessity to act — is given the function to condition the intensified psychological activity in the course of the whole history of events up to the very point when the elements of the "awakening" appear in the protagonist's thinking and he becomes conscious of them.

If 19th century Russian culture is regarded as a system of spiritual values growing out of a social evolution equally characterized by the "retardedness" of the social structure, on the one hand, and the "acceleration" of its

development, on the other, in that case a Dostoevsky novel can be interpreted as one representative intellectual form of this system. And then it is the never decreasing but during the century permanently accumulating social tasks which being unsolved rendered both the individual and collective failures to find the way out of the situation a recurring experience in history and so they multiplied the disadvantages arising from "retardedness" — in other words it is the socio-historical conditions which can give a proper explanation for the intellectual incompetency and existential hopelessness of a Dostoevsky hero as they form the historical and ontological bases of these experiences.

However, the socio-historical "retardedness" not only the disadvantageous conditions does reproduce in he 19th century. The renewed attempts made to solve the accumulated historical contradictions and the failure of these attempts recurring in the experience and actual life of each generation, that is just the reproduction of the disadvantageous conditions for social action on an increasing scale as a result of the intellectual and existential efforts (despite of the failure or perhaps just on the contrary, stimulated by it) worked out a method how to realize the contradictions leading to failure from time to time, elaborated a new way of thinking namely *the approach of the historical process from the point of view of the individual's* life-history which finally makes the individual aware of this regularity. It is evident that to realize the specifically Russian mode of existence this way of thinking had to come into antagonism with any kind of progressive Western-orientated and regressive Slavophile trend of ideas and similarly with all the intellectual models arising from Western European social conditions. This historically immanent way of thinking became the ontological source of the Russian novel in general which concerning its adequacy and universality surpassed the ideological forms of social thinking (Russian Enlightenment, Utopian Socialism, Narodism) including the writers' search for the way out of the situation as well. Only this way did the novel manage to remain the dominant form of thinking in the spiritual culture up to the last two decades of the century when this culture established the adequate forms of theoretical self-recognition. But by that moment the great era of the Russian novel comes to an end as the novel has fulfilled its "historic commissions" and begins the brightest period of its universal posthumous life.

If from *Onegin*[3] onwards according to the canon of the genre in the individual-world correlation the Russian novel modelled the above-mentioned contradictions as the contrasts between action and fate, thought and action, thought and word, thought and experience or to a certain extent even as the realization of these contrasts, later under the influence of the unbelievably active and sharper and sharper contradictions after 1861 the above-mentioned basic structure of the novel model was radically rearranged: now the contrasts between word and thought, thought and action, action and

result come to be realized not only as biographical contradictions ("demonism", "needlessness", "oblomovism" etc.) not only as the existence of an insolvable antinomy, that of a contradiction in one's fate but the explanation we can find for them can be traced back to social and historical roots — and this happens on that character level which Dostoevsky calls the "awakening" — прозрение — of his heroes and which earlier was exclusively within the author's or the competent reader's grasp.

As we could see the "awakening" of Raskolnikov, Myshkin and Stavrogin forms such a dynamic structure which as opposed to the search for solution on the level of thoughts and actions resulting in failure to find the existential and intellectual way out of the situation and consequently in the loss of illusions, now can model value establishing transformation in the hero. Due to this dynamic psychological reorganization Dostoevsky is able to grasp the national process of "awakening" in its embryonic phase, in the deepest, most hidden and most elementary social sphere — in the individual's psyche and he derives material for the plot of his novels from this "individual experience". Since through the individual's "awakening" he can model the first signs of the national "awakening" process and by a novel coming about like this he establishes an aesthetic value. As opposed to the economic, social, philosophical and cultural "handicaps" which a Russian thinker can't help realizing in comparison with Western Europe it is only this novel making a merit out of a necessity — that is a new type of autonomous and classical culture — which is not a "handicap" any more but an unique advantage, an asset of universal value.

NOTES

[1] This essay sums up the results of the researches into the genre of the large-scale novels and their interpretation made in the following works: Поэтика романа "Идиот". К проблеме жанрового мышления Достоевского. Hungaro-Slavica 1978, Budapest, 149–164. Повествовательная компетенция героя и рассказчика в романах Достоевского. Углубление жанровой дискретности в структуре персонажа. Annales Universitatis Budapestinensis, Sectio Philologica Moderna, t. XI. 1980, 55–70. — Жанрообразующий принцип сюжета и персонажа в романе Достоевского "Преступление и наказание". Annales Universitatis Budapestiensis, Sectio Philologica Moderna, t. XII. 1981, 55–64. — Роман-прозрение. Опыт жанровой поэтики Достоевского. Studia Russica IV, Budapest 1981, 27–70. Поэтическая мотивация в романе Достоевского "Бесы" — Acta Litteraria Hungaricae, t. XXIV (2–4), Budapest, 1982. pp. 27–56.

[2] *Вячеслав Иванов.* Достоевский и роман-трагедия. «Борозды и межи», 1916.

[3] On the problem of the genre and the structure of *Onegin* and on the role of the novel in the genesis of the Russian novel in: Kovács Árpád, Szempontok az "Anyegin" poétikai és műfaji meghatározásához (The Specifying principles of The Genre and Poetical Quality of *Onegin*). In: Tanulmányok a kelet-európai irodalmak és nyelvek köréből. Budapest, 1980, 291–302.

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Zur Ironie in Thomas Manns Werk »Der Zauberberg«

ZOLTÁN SZENDI

Dieser Aufsatz ist die Zusammenfassung einer umfangreichen Arbeit.[1] Anstatt einen Teil der Arbeit vorzustellen, wählen wir die Form der Zusammenfassung, um auch die Grundkonzeption aufzeigen zu können. So müssen wir aber sowohl auf eingehende Erörterungen als auch auf manche Beispiele verzichten.

Wenn über die Thomas Mannsche Ironie gesprochen wird, denkt man vor allem an seinen Erzählstil, an die fein nuancierte Erzählungsart. In der vorliegenden Untersuchung wird versucht, die Ironie als ein das ganze Werk umfassendes und determinierendes Gestaltungsprinzip zu analysieren. Unserer Meinung nach hat die Ironie nämlich in diesem Roman eine besondere Bedeutung: Sie ist die adäquate Ausdrucksform jener geistigen Wendung, die »Der Zauberberg« innerhalb des Gesamtwerkes repräsentiert. Durch die Aufdeckung des Beziehungssystems im Roman unter diesem Gesichtspunkt läßt sich vielleicht einerseits eine wichtige Phase dieses höchst komplizierten geistigen Prozesses, anderseits aber die Eigenart der künstlerischen Gestaltung näher beleuchten.

Hier wird also die spezifische Hierarchie der fiktiven Welt des Romans skizziert und die Bewegungsform dieses Beziehungssystems angedeutet.

Die ironische Hierarchie des Romans

Die Elemente, die die fiktive Welt des Romans aufbauen, bilden — trotz aller Verflechtung und Verschiedenheit — einheitliche Schichten, die deutlich voneinander abgrenzbar sind und deren Hierarchie mit dem folgenden geometrischen Modell veranschaulicht werden kann: Stellen wir uns einen Kegel vor, dessen Grundfläche die Position der Welt der «Ebene» im Roman kennzeichnet. Über ihr — als ein höherer und engerer Kegelschnitt — befindet sich die Welt des Sanatoriums, wo auch die Hauptgestalten des Romans leben, die aber als »lauter Exponenten, Repräsentanten und Sendboten geistiger Bezirke, Prinzipien und Welten« (XII, 442) aufgrund ihrer Position gleichzeitig eine noch höher liegende Schicht bilden. Die Spitze des Kegels, die Spitze der Hierarchie also, bezeichnet schließlich die Position des Erzählers.

Diese hierarchische Ordnung in der Welt des Romans gehört eng zu der künstlerischen Fiktion, die aber zugleich in einem anderen, tieferen Zusammenhang ironisch aufgehoben oder mindestens relativiert wird. Zum Beweis dafür, daß diese Hierarchie tatsächlich vorausgesetzt ist, nehmen wir das Wichtigste vorweg: Ihr Vorhandensein stellt die Bedingung für die Entwicklung von Hans Castorp dar. Diese Entwicklungsgeschichte des Helden spielt sich aber in dem fragwürdigen, berauschenden Zustand der »Steigerung« und Zauberei — enggebunden an die Bewegung der Fieberkurve — ab, um ihren Gipfelpunkt in einer Vision zu erreichen, von wo der Weg in die gefährlichste Tiefe der »hermetischen« Welt, der »okkulten Erlebnisse« führt. Und überhaupt: Gibt es eine Entwicklung dort, wo die Zeit aufgehoben ist? Denn die Zeit als eine Dimension des Romans wählt der Dichter gleichzeitig zum Gegenstand seiner Geschichte und stellt sie in Frage. Wenn wir aber nicht wissen, was die Zeit »an sich« ist, können wir auch nicht wissen, welche Form die Entwicklung hat, und dann befinden sich auch die Erzeuger dieser scheinbaren Bewegung in der Position der Illumination: Die Welt der Hierarchie bleibt ein reines Paradoxon.

Mit dieser Fragestellung haben wir vielleicht die Antwort schon antizipiert, obwohl bloß das grobe Schema der Romanstruktur angedeutet wurde. All das, was sich darauf baut bzw. was als fast endloses Gespinst der oft nur kaum wahrnehmbaren Schattierungen diese Struktur durchwebt, präzisiert mit minuziöser Umsicht das Wertsystem der Wirklichkeitsmomente, dessen »Endsumme« erst als das Ethos des Werkes aufgefaßt werden kann.

1. Die «Ebene»

Die »Ebene« liegt außerhalb der »hermetischen« Welt des Zauberbergs. So sind alle Informationen, die wir über das »Fachland« bekommen, indirekten Charakters: Andeutungen oder Erinnerungen. Am Anfang der Geschichte hat der Hauptheld des Romans diese Welt schon verlassen, bei seiner Rückkehr aber erscheint sie nur in den verschwommenen Bildern der Schlußszenen. Aber gerade dieser Umstand ist die Bedingung für die symbolische Steigerung der Zauberbergwelt. Der mythenhaften Prozeß der Verzauberung kann erst mit dem Aufheben der Wirklichkeitsdimensionen von Zeit und Raum beginnen.

Das wird in der konkret-plastischen Form des Reisezustandes ausgedrückt. Hans Castorp, als Repräsentant der »Ebene«, dieser auch historisch umgrenzbaren bürgerlichen Welt des Vorkriegseuropa, nimmt auf die Reise auch sein Fachbuch »Ocean steamships« mit, »worin er zu Anfang der Reise bisweilen studiert hatte; jetzt aber lag es vernachlässigt da . . .« (8). Dieses scheinbar nebensächliche Moment wird vom Dichter genau erklärt. Der Raum — gleich der Zeit — »erzeugt Vergessen«, und »selbst aus dem Pedanten und

Pfahlbürger macht er im Handumdrehen etwas wie einen Vagabunden« (8). Die Verknüpfung der Wörter Zeit und Lethe, »Fernluft« und »Trank« aber zeigt schon die Virtuosität, mit der die Geschichte bei Bewahrung der Wirklichkeitsmomente eine mythisch-symbolische Umdeutung erfährt. Im Zusammenhang mit diesem einzelnen Sachmotiv wird also der seelische Zustand der Hauptgestalt psychologisch begründet und gleichzeitig ihre innere Umwandlung nun auch schon symbolhaft – als Bereitschaft zur »Steigerung« — motiviert. Schließlich die dritte, kompositionelle Funktion dieses Motivs: In der motivischen Wiederholung erhält es als Kennzeichen des praktisch-bürgerlichen Berufes von Hans Castorp kontrapunktierend eine stark ironische Akzentuierung (218). Je mehr der Held in seiner neuen Welt »verzaubert« wird, desto lieber vergißt er sein Fachbuch, seine bürgerliche Arbeit — zusammen mit der ganzen Welt der »Ebene«. Er braucht es nur noch als »Legitimation«, um auch sein »bürgerliches Gewissen« beruhigen zu können.

Die Bewahrung der »Ebene« als Hintergrund bedeutet also das Erhalten der Wirklichkeitsdimensionen. Sie ist das historische Hinterland der Welt der »Siebenschläfer«. Ihre Position in dem Wertsystem des Romans kann folgendermaßen bezeichnet werden: Sie ist als der Rahmen des Seins notwendigerweise vorausgesetzt und bejaht, in ihrer konkret-gesellschaftlichen Form aber zugleich abgelehnt. Auch von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus kann und muß die ironische »Mittel- und Mittlerstellung« Hans Castorps interpretiert werden! Die Perspektiven nämlich, die der Hauptheld hinter und vor sich hat, sind ironisch konfrontiert.

In der Realität der Geschichte ebenso wie in ihrem symbolischen Zusammenhang ist zwar der Unterschied zwischen der Welt der »Ebene« und der des »Zauberbergs« vorausgesetzt, aber doch auch aufgehoben. Wenn die Bürger der »Ebene« sich gesünder glauben, so ist das eine leere Illusion, die ihrer Unwissenheit entspringt.[2] Aus dem Grundsatz der Fiktion folgt die ironische Konfrontation der erwähnten Schichten: Dem scheinbar gesunden Leben, dessen naivem Selbstbewußtsein, steht die bewußte und »ihren eigenen Wert erkennende« Krankheit gegenüber und daraus folgend auch der Verzicht auf das Leben der »Ebene«, das man in der Zauberbergwelt sowieso für sinnlos hält. Daher stammt also die ironische Alternative, vor die Hans Castorp gestellt wird: ein regsames, handlungsfähiges, aber zugleich sinnloses Leben oder eine völlige Stagnation, eine sündhafte »Vegetation«.

Gerade mit dieser ironischen Aufhebung der Unterschiede der zwei Welten bzw. mit ihrer Aufeinanderbezogenheit wird die bürgerliche Lebensform sarkastisch entlarvt. Die Intensität und künstlerische Einheit des Romans erreicht Thomas Mann dadurch, daß die Kritik — ohne die Grenzen der fiktiven Zauberbergwelt zu überschreiten — von innen geübt wird, durch Durchleuchtung und Vergrösserung der organischen Entstellungen der Klasse, die ihre progressive Rolle ausgespielt hat.[3]

Die bürgerliche Welt wird aber nicht nur mit der hermetischen Sphäre, die als Zerrbild in ihrer Gegenwarts- und Zukunftsbezogenheit die Verfallssymptome deutlich erkennen läßt, ironisch konfrontiert, sondern auch mit ihrer eigenen historischen Vergangenheit. Trotz des Erinnerungscharakters, den das zweite Kapitel trägt, zeichnet sich deutlich die Mikrowelt der vergangenen bürgerlichen Lebensform ab. Hans Castorps Jugendmilieu wird von einem ironisch-doppelten Blickpunkt aus geschildert. Wir lernen die intimen Geheimnisse eines altbürgerlichen Hauses mit den Augen des kleinen Hans Castorp kennen; zugleich aber zeigt der ironische Ton bzw. die ironische Konfrontation die ständig distanzierende Position des Verfassers der »Buddenbrooks«. Die Hauptfunktion des doppelten Blickpunktes sehen wir darin, daß er das ganze Motiv- und Motivationssystem schon hier, in seinem Kernzustand, auf doppelter Ebene fixiert.

Ein Beispiel dafür ist der Großvater »in zwiefacher Gestalt«. Bei der Beschreibung des Großvaters, wie er versucht, »die Krümmung durch Gegendruck auszugleichen« (36), spielt die Ironie kaum auf den biologische Verfall an, nicht einmal nur auf die kläglich-grotesken Anstrengungen, mit denen der alte Castorp sich bemüht, die Symptome der Senilität zu verheimlichen. Die spöttische Schärfe trifft auf die Stilisierung in einem viel weiteren Sinne zu. In der Gestalt des Senators hat sich die progressive Rolle des Bürgertums überlebt: Darin steckt der ironische Widerspruch seiner Haltung. Seine Würde, die auf eine echte geschichtliche Position, auf moralische Werte zurückgeht, ist in einer anachronistischen Form erstarrt.

Die ironisch stark betonten stilisierenden Gesten haben ihre motivischen Zusammenhänge sowohl innerhalb des »Zauberberg«-Werks als auch in anderen Werken von Thomas Mann. Das elegante Benehmen des Großvaters bedeutet für Hans Castorp ein entscheidendes Erlebnis: Die Würde dieser Haltung erscheint in seinen Augen als die Verwirklichung des Geistes, die sogar in einer gekrümmten Form aristokratisch vornehm ist. In Joachim lebt die moralische Haltung als »reine Form«, die weder von der historischen Vergangenheit noch von der Perspektive eines geistig-ästhetischen Abenteuers inspiriert ist. Trotz ihres Selbstzwecks wird sie nicht lächerlich, nur ironisch entlarvt, denn ihre Rolle, die Integrität zu wahren, hat zum Teil Berechtigung.

Die Beibehaltung des historischen Hintergrundes ermöglicht auch die horizontale Ausweitung der Bürger-Problematik. In der Konfrontation, bei der zwei Großväter (der von Settembrini und der des Hauptheldens) in eine Parallele zu einander gestellt werden, sind durch ihre Gestalten die voneinander abweichenden Richtungen der bürgerlichen Geschichte angedeutet. Die Aktualität dieser Konfrontation besteht darin, daß auch die Enkelkinder als geistige Erben miteinander und mit ihren Großvätern verglichen werden. Dem italienischen Advokaten, der ein »Oppositionsmann« war, gleich dem Enkel, der aber »das Ding in größerem, kühnerem Stile betrieben« hatte (218), steht

der »geschwätzige Literat« gegenüber, wie der würdevollen Gestalt des Hans Lorenz Castorp »das Sorgenkind des Lebens« und so wird die Möglichkeit einer eventuellen Kontinuität in beiden Fällen ironisch in Frage gestellt. In der Persönlichkeit von Settembrini schwächt sich der oppositionelle Demokratismus der effektiven politischen Handlung ab auf die harmlose, anachronistische Pose des aufklärerischen Literatentums, Hans Castorp aber übernimmt als großväterliches Erbe den aristokratischen Konservativismus und führt ihn weiter bis zur Dekadenz.

Das Paradoxon der in dem geschichtlichen Prozeß angedeuteten und determinierten Perspektive besteht im folgenden: Die Fortsetzung der fortschrittlichen Traditionen wird durch die veränderten historischen Bedingungen verhindert, und ihre Vertreter sind wegen ihrer Unzeitgemäßheit von vornherein zum Mißerfolg verurteilt. Der Weg aber, den sich der moderne bürgerliche Geist gewählt hat, schließt die echte Richtung des Fortschrittes seines Inhalts wegen aus. Der adäquate Ausdruck dieses Paradoxons ist die Ironie, die neben der Aufdeckung dieses tiefen Widerspruches auch die Funktion der Wertbewahrung erfüllt.

2. *Die hermetische Zauberbergwelt*

»‚Hermetisch' – das Wort hat mir immer gefallen. Es ist ein richtiges Zauberwort mit unbestimmt weitläufigen Assoziationen« (721). Als sich Hans Castorp wegen seiner komischen Einfälle entschuldigt, weiß er nicht, daß er mit dem profanen Beispiel das sein Schicksal bestimmende Milieu veranschaulicht hat, für das Geschlossenheit und Zeitlosigkeit charakteristisch sind. Wir könnten diese Situation auch »tragische Ironie« nennen: der Held macht ja dem Leser das bewußt, was er selbst nicht einmal ahnen kann. In seiner Geschichte bedeutet diese »hermetische« Geschlossenheit die völlige Entfremdung vom tätigen Leben.

Die besondere Atmosphäre der Zauberbergwelt enthält reale Einzelkomponenten und solche Komponenten, die eine symbolische Verallgemeinerung ermöglichen. Sie werden psychologisch fein motiviert. Der Magie liegt die Realität der Umstände zugrunde, die aber für einen »Hospitanten« so sonderbar ist, daß er sich seelisch und physisch »akklimatisieren« muß. Das aber zwingt ihn, die Begriffe von der »Ebene« nach und nach aufzugeben oder sie mindestens anzuzweifeln. Die realen Momente selbst halten die empirische Erfahrung zum besten. Das wird vom Erzähler ironisch betont, um das Zusammenspiel von Wirklichkeit und Symbol, Efahrung und Zauberei, Wissenschaft und Mythos herstellen und erhalten zu können.[4]

». . .ich bin im höchsten Grade konfus« (12) — sagt der Held, als er auf die Frage Settembrinis, wie alt er sei, keine Antwort geben kann. Es ist kein Zufall, daß zuerst der Zeitsinn bei Hans Castorp versagt. Das paradigmatische

Äquivalent des Zitates — »Das ist ja eine schöne Konfusion« (135) — bezieht sich schon auf das Wetter. Das eigenartige Klima der Alpenwelt, in dem das Nacheinander der Jahreszeiten, wie es in der »Ebene« üblich war, aufgehoben wird, führt notwendigerweise zu einem subjektiven Zeiterlebnis, das Hans Castorp sogar bewußt wird und damit in ihm einen Gedankenprozeß auslöst, der zur »philosophischen Begründung« bzw. Rechtfertigung jener Lebensform dienen kann, die in nicht geringem Maße eben durch dieses Zeiterlebnis suggeriert wird.[5]

Die motivische Verbindung von Erlebnissen der Schneelandschaft, der Erinnerungen an den »Strandspaziergang« und der »aufgehobenen Zeit« bestätigt ironisch das Epitheton ornans Hans Castorps — »Sorgenkind des Lebens« —, denn auch diese Motive drücken die mythisch-romantische Anziehungskraft des Todes aus, die den jungen Helden so sehr anspricht. Vertieft werden die symbolischen Zusammenhänge dieses Motivkreises durch die Heraufbeschwörung des Mittelalters (773). Das ambivalente Verhältnis zu diesem ganzen Motivkomplex beweist das fast ständige Vorhandensein der Ironie. Im Pathos des romantischen Lebensgefühls z. B. (»O Meer, wir sitzen erzählend fern von dir . . .«) (772), ist die Doppelheit der lyrischen Emphase und zugleich deren Parodierung enthalten. Und wie es während der Erzählung oft geschieht, bleibt die Identität des Blickpunktes im dunkeln. Hinter der Maske des Erzählers ist es leicht, das pathetische Gefühl auf den Helden abzuschieben![6]

Ähnlich wie die Alpenwelt trägt auch das engere Milieu des Sanatoriums zur Schaffung der geschilderten Atmosphäre wesentlich bei. Die Monotonie der Tagesordnung, die rituelle Lebensweise der Patienten machen die Zeit quasi »überflüssig«. Sie hört aber nicht auf zu existieren und »zeitigt« Veränderung (489). Worin diese Veränderung besteht, das sagt der Erzähler auch (765). Als er von der Funktion der Zeit der Erzählung spricht, spielt er mit den Begriffen »krankhaftes Element«, »hermetische Zauber« usw. deutlich auf die magische Atmosphäre der Zauberbergwelt an. Die Zeit als kompositionelles Element der Erzählung und die Zeit als Wirklichkeitsmoment in der fiktiven Welt des Romans werden ironisch in eine Parallele gestellt. Während der theoretischen Erörterung hat der Erzähler seine Geschichte vor Augen und gibt sogar listig deren »Schlüssel« an. Er macht eigentlich dasselbe wie Hans Castorp, als dieser mit seiner »Worterklärung« dilettiert. In beiden Fällen wird zugleich auch mit dem Leser ein ironisches Spiel getrieben.

Echte Vertreter dieses Milieus sind die Nebenfiguren der Geschichte. Sie bilden — trotz aller individuellen Eigenschaften — eine »homogene Schicht«, denn ihre wichtigsten Merkmale bestehen gerade in den gemeinsamen, wir können gleich hinzufügen: entstellten, Zügen ihrer Lebensweise und Mentalität. Obwohl sie im Hintergrund stehen, dürfen ihre Rollen doch nicht für nur episodenhaft gehalten werden. Im Gegensatz zu der traditionellen

Romantechnik ist nämlich ihre Anwesenheit durch die bekannte leitmotivische Technik, manchmal allerdings nur in einer indirekten Form, gesichert. In der Gegenüberstellung ihrer Welt und der der Hauptgestalten sehen wir die ironische Polarisation derselben Lebenssituation. Diese Polarisation macht also die Ambivalenz dieser Sphäre deutlich: die verführerischen Möglichkeiten des Geistes und zugleich seine Todesgefahr. Anders formuliert: Was die Hierarchie der Romanstruktur polarisiert, um diese Zweiheit sichtbar zu machen, das löst die Ironie auf und relativiert sie, um auch die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser Komponenten zu betonen. Ein Beispiel für diese dialektische Funktion der Ironie ist die motivische Rolle des russischen Ehepaars. Die »Steigerung« bei diesen Leuten ist, ebenso wie bei den anderen Nebenfiguren, in erster Linie körperlich zu verstehen, und sie wird dem ständigen Fieber zugeschrieben. Sie bedeutet in ihrem Leben eine ungewöhnliche Vitalität, eine hemmungslose sexuelle Lebenslust, die den »hochzivilisierten« Hans Castorp so stark empört. Nach der Bekanntschaft mit Madame Chauchat wandelt sich aber seine Verachtung in eine kaum verheimlichte Neugier um. In der Walpurgisnacht schließlich hören wir von ihm die Apotheose der Liebe, ja sogar der Körperlichkeit. Seine Liebeserklärung — »Le corps, l'amours, la mort, ces trois ne font qu'un« (486) — hebt ironisch die Grenzen zwischen der erwähnten Parallele auf, ohne sie gleich zu machen! Die romantischen Antinomien des Frühwerks von Thomas Mann kehren hier in einer dialektischen Form wieder.

3. Das System der ironischen Beziehungen zwischen den Hauptgestalten

Die Positionen der Hauptgestalten in der Hierarchie des Romans sind doppelt determiniert. Durch ihre begünstigten Repräsentationsrollen werden ihre Positionen über den Durchschnittsfiguren der Zauberbergwelt gesichert. Ihre positionelle Begünstigung ist eine Bedingung für die geistige Entwicklung, für die »Steigerung« Hans Castorps. Die andere bestimmende Komponente bildet ihr Beziehungssystem, wo die Ironie die Wertverhältnisse in erhöhtem Grade relativiert, ohne sie zu nivellieren. Die Hierarchie innerhalb der engeren Schicht der Hauptgestalten kommt so zustande, daß deren Wertordnung in einer schwebenden Bewegung gehalten wird. Während die Kompositionsbewegung im traditionellen Roman eine grundlegende Umwandlung des hierarchischen Beziehungssystems ergibt, ändern sich im »Zauberberg« nur die Wirkungswerte der Positionen. Die einzige Ausnahme in dieser Hinsicht stellt Hans Castorp dar, dessen Entwicklung vorausgesetzt wird. Die Hauptgestalten sind also infolge ihrer symbolhaften Rollen im traditionellen Sinne des Wortes »statische« Figuren, »ohne im realistisch-psychologischen Sinne unglaubwürdig zu werden«.[7]

Den Nebenfiguren gegenüber, deren Einstellung zu der »Ebene« eindeutig ablehnend ist, verhalten sich die Hauptfiguren grundverschieden.

Die Unterschiede ergeben sich aus den einzelnen Rollenfunktionen. Unter den Hauptgestalten sind Joachim und Settembrini dem »Flachland« verpflichtet. Sie verachten sogar ihre eigene Lebensweise im Sanatorium, sie können die »Akklimatisierten« nicht leiden, und zwar aus jeweils anderen Gründen. Für den »braven Soldaten« besteht ihr Laster im Mangel an Haltung, für den Aufklärer in ihrer »Vegetation«, die auf jede Tätigkeit verzichtet. Ihre Bemühungen verkehren sich aber ironisch: »der Bierifer«, der Joachim schließlich »desertieren« läßt, scheint genauso vergeblich zu sein wie Settembrinis enzyklopädische Tätigkeit.

Als repräsentative Vertreter der Zauberbergwelt können Madame Chauchat und Krokowski gelten, die infolge ihrer Position und durch ihre suggestiven Eigenschaften ihr Milieu zwar überragen, aber doch dessen Geist vertreten. Die Ironie der Hierarchie macht diesen scheinbaren Widerspruch genau wahrnehmbar. Hans Castorp, der sich von den Durchschnittsfiguren des Sanatoriums ironisch distanziert, überläßt sich bereitwillig dieser Atmosphäre. Eine andere Konfrontationsmöglichkeit bieten die zwei Anreden für Hans Castorp: »joli bourgeois« (497) und »Kamerad« (948), in denen sich die «Ebene» ablehnende und die Zauberbergwelt akzeptierende Gesten sowie die ironische »Mittel- und Mittlerstellung« des Hauptthelden spiegeln. Madame Chauchat verspottet den Bürger der »Ebene« in Hans Castorp, während Krokowski diesen schon als einen zu ihnen gehörenden Patienten betrachtet. Naphta bekräftigt mit seinem mittelalterlichen Mystizismus zwar die Todesatmosphäre des Sanatoriums, seine Vorstellungen beziehen sich aber viel eher auf das »Flachland«. Die Begriffe »neue . . . Revolution« und »der heilige Terror« deuten eine weit über die hermetische Welt hinausgehende politische Ideologie und als solche eine schreckliche Perspektive der »Ebene« an. Daraus folgt, daß er sich um die Patienten des Sanatoriums nicht viel kümmert, deren Welt sich als Nährboden seiner gefährlichen Ideen zwar eignet, aber als Mittel zur Verwirklichung seines radikalen Programms zu schwach ist. Seine »pädagogische Verführung« richtet sich also wie bei Settembrini (nur freilich mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen) auf die »Ebene«. Die ironische Kehrseite seines Schicksals zeigt sich klar in seinem Selbstmord, in der aus ohnmächtiger Wut gegen sich selbst gerichteten Agressivität.

Nicht weniger vertrackt ist die Rolle des Hofrats, die von dem Erzähler als ironische Frage formuliert wird: »Kann befreien, wer selbst unterworfen ist?« (189). Die humanistische Antwort auf dieses Paradoxon gibt die mythologische Anspielung Settembrinis. Er nennt Behrens spöttisch »Minos«, der als Richter der Schattenwelt auf den Befehl Zeus' »nackt«, das heißt tot ist, um den Toten, die auf sein Urteil warten, zu gleichen. Während diese Standesgleichheit im Reich des Hades einen statischen Zustand fixiert, bereiten die »Richter« des Zauberbergs den Weg zum Leben *oder* zum Tod vor. In diesem Sinne aber macht »die Kameradschaft des Arztes mit dem Patienten« (189)

die humane Botschaft des Kampfes gegen den Tod mit dem zynischen Versprechen des Lebens zum Bediener des Schattenreiches. Das heißt: Eine Wahrheit gilt für den Hades und eine andere für das Leben. Minos kann »nackt« sein, weil sein Urteil eine tote Wahrheit ist. Dem Leben dienen kann man aber nur in einer Form: voreingenommen für das Leben.

Das tragikomische Paradoxon im Schicksal von Peeperkorn, das ironisch betont wird, liegt darin, daß diese »Urkraft«[8] gezwungen ist, vor den »heiligen, weiblichen Anforderungen des Lebens« (800) zu kapitulieren, daß seine Lebenslust zum Tod führt. Seine Vitalität entstammt zwar der »Ebene«, aber die Dekadenz seiner Lebensform macht ihn doch zum echten Bewohner des Zauberbergs.

Die Positionen der Hauptgestalten befinden sich in einem ironischen Gleichgewicht. Während der Einfluß von Madame Chauchat auf Hans Castorp bis zur Walpurgisnacht immer größer wird, und ihre offenen oder heimlichen Gegner dementsprechend eine gesteigerte aktive Rolle in Hans Castorps Leben spielen, ändern sich diese Positionen gleich proportional bei der Verringerung von Clawdias Einfluß. Sobald aus der von dem Hauptthelden bewunderten Frau selbst ein Verehrer wird, erscheinen an der Seite Peeperkorns auch Settembrini und Naphta als Zwerge. Vor dem Auftritt der dionysischen Gestalt besitzt Naphta die Position Clawdias, und so wird der einseitige Einfluß Settembrinis relativiert. Nach dem Tod von Peeperkorn und Naphta hält Krokowski den Schützling Settembrinis in seinem Bannkreis.

Die hier ganz schematisch skizzierte Kontrapunkt-Technik ist motivisch vollkommen nuanciert. Die einzelnen Motive haben gleichzeitig ihre ferneren Zusammenhänge auch in anderen Werken Thomas Manns und bilden ein Beziehungssystem, durch dessen Analyse wesentliche Züge des dichterischen Weltbildes beleuchtet werden können. Wir erwähnen nur zwei Beispiele davon.

Schon im Kapiteltitel »Fragwürdigstes« (926) spielt der Erzähler auf die letzten Folgen der psychoanalytischen Tätigkeit von Krokowski an. Die zum Mittel erniedrigte Wehrlosigkeit, das beinahe der Perversität ausgelieferte »Medium«, in der Person Elly Brands, zeigt eindeutig die Unmenschlichkeit hinter der Maske der Wissenschaft. In dieser Hinsicht kann die Rolle des Arztes als motivische Vorwegnahme der Suggestion Cipollas betrachtet werden, wie es die Parallele der Gesten beweist: die die Zauberei aufhebende, protestierende Geste Hans Castorps und der Pistolenschuß des aus der Hypnose erwachten Mario. Der Unterschied des Erzählstils versinnbildlicht zugleich auch die proportionale Verschiedenheit in den zwei Werken. Bei Hans Castorp ist der Protest ironisch bemildert, darauf hinweisend, daß der Hauptheld in dieser Situation eine durchaus nicht unschuldige Rolle spielt, während das Pathos des Endkapitels in der Novelle *Mario und der Zauberer* von der eindeutigen Parteinahme des Erzählers zeugt.

Die das Gebären imitierende und es qualvoll erlebende Geste der Elly Brand wiederholt sich in dem rituellen Gebären von Rahel mit einem humorvollen ironischen Nebenton. Es handelt sich in beiden Fällen um eine groteske Imitation — nur mit einer ganz anderen Bedeutung. Der von Krokowski suggerierte Trancezustand entstellt und verhöhnt die Mutterschaft in Ellys Mädchenleib, während Rahel — die Geburtsschmerzen Bilhas imitierend — mit dem Warten auf das Wunder der Mutterschaft, die ihren Schoß öffnet, den Gesten des Ritus folgt. In der Konfrontation dieser Situationen sind die ironischen Gesten und ihre »Ergebnisse« auch symbolisch zu deuten, was aber die Richtung des Weges vom »Zauberberg« bis zur Welt des »humanisierten Mythos« angibt. Zu Elly gehört die Geistergestalt von Joachim, Rahel hingegen wird Joseph gebären, den zukünftigen »Ernäher«. Der Gespensterspuk besänftigt sich hier, in dieser symbolischen Parallele der Ironie, zum Versprechen des Lebens.

4. »Der epische Geist« der Geschichte

Die Position des Erzählers an der Spitzenstelle der Hierarchie wird nicht durch dichterische Willkür, sondern durch die fiktive Rollenfunktion bestimmt. Damit wollen wir sagen, daß der Erzähler genauso zu der fiktiven Welt des Romans gehört wie die anderen Gestalten der Geschichte.[9] Zum Beweis zitieren wir einen der erzählerischen Kommentare:

»Sehen wir uns unter diesen Verhältnissen nach Hans Castorp um, so finden wir ihn im Schreib- und Lesezimmer, jenem Gesellschaftsraum, wo ihm einst (dies Einst ist vage; Erzähler, Held und Leser sind nicht mehr ganz im klaren über seinen Vergangenheitsgrad) . . .« (787).

Die ironische Klammer ist eine absichtliche Irreführung und zugleich eine Selbstentlarvung. Denn die dichterische Bewußtheit, die unter anderem eben bei der Zeitkomposition des Werkes festgestellt werden kann, ist dem Leser schon wohlbekannt. Wenn wir aber den Wahrheitsgehalt dieser Einschaltung nicht ernst nehmen dürfen, ließe sie sich nur für ironisches Spiel halten, dem ein jeder Nichteingeweihte zum Opfer fallen kann. Also sogar der Erzähler selbst! Daß neben der Selbstironie auch eine »freigestellte Rolle« des Erzählers vorausgesetzt wird, rechtfertigt die Funktion dieser Rolle vor allem. Daß der Verfasser zwischen sich und der dargestellten Welt noch einen fiktiven Erzähler einschaltet, seine Rolle quasi verdoppelt und sich »verfremdet«, ermöglicht jene Objektivität, die Thomas Mann »die Kunst der Epik«, den »Geist der Ironie« genannt hat. Denn »Objektivität ist Ironie und der epische Kunstgeist ist der Geist der Ironie« (XI, 461).

Die ironische Position des Erzählers, die Objektivität des »Außerhalbstehenden« neutralisieren also das Verhältnis des Verfassers zu seiner geschaffenen Welt keineswegs, es wird bloß darin im weiten Hegelschen Sinne auf-

gehoben. Die Maske der Rolle hebt so die Einseitigkeit des Subjektivismus auf. Der Erzähler betrachtet nun seine Helden von der Position der »Allmacht« mit einer absoluten Überlegenheit, die aber gleichzeitig nicht ohne Selbstironie ist, und der epische Kommentar bildet folglich den organischen Teil der ironischen Komposition, die sowohl die Positionen der Hauptgestalten als auch die einzelnen Schichten der hierarchischen Romanstruktur gegenseitig relativiert.[10]

Der Zauberberg deutet das Gleichgewicht des individuellen und kollektiven Schicksals an, in dem die historisch aktuelle und dringende Frage zusammen mit ihren mythisch-symbolischen Perspektiven zu finden ist, und wo die Ironie ebenso die tiefste und persönlichste Nostalgie wie die die Zukunft suchende, weise Erwägung ausdrückt. In dieser Stellung zwischen den schon überholten und den noch nicht erreichten Ideen zeugen die Spannung und die »apollonische Heiterkeit« der neuen Horizonte von dem Reichtum der Möglichkeiten der ironischen Darstellungsweise.

Sie erfüllt — ihr Wesen widerspiegelnd — ihre »apollonische« und ihre »Hermes«-Rolle und wird zum Ausdruck einer Vergangenheit und Zukunft auch innerhalb des Gesamtwerkes verbindenden Humanität.

ANMERKUNGEN

(Zitiert wird nach der zwölfbändigen Ausgabe: Thomas Mann: *Gesammelte Werke*, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin und Weimar, 1965. Nach den Zitaten aus dem Werk *Der Zauberberg* — *Gesammelte Werke*, zweiter Band — wurde nur die Seitenzahl angegeben.)

[1] Szendi, Z.: Thomas Mann iróniája az iróniaelmélet tükrében, Bölcsészdoktori értekezés.
(Die Ironie von Thomas Mann im Spiegel der Theorie der Ironie, Inauguraldissertation), Pécs, 1979.

[2] Vgl. zu diesem Thema die Feststellung Hans Mayers: »Schon unten im Flachland waren sie krank, kranke Glieder des gesellschaftlichen Lebens.« (Thomas Mann, *Werk und Entwicklung*, Berlin, 1950. S. 151.)

[3] Was die einheitliche Welt des Romans betrifft, schließen wir uns der Meinung von Georges Fourrier an: » On a reproché à l'auteur de n'avoir pas indiqué les bases sociales de terrible monument du temps «. On a oublié que c'est une histoire intérieure et que, tout de même, il est allusion à la société dans laquelle Castorp a grandi . . . « *(Thomas Mann. Le Message d'un artiste-bourgeois*, Paris, 1960. S. 342.)

[4] Zur Funktion der magischen Atmosphäre siehe noch: Lukács Gy.: Thomas Mann. In: *Világirodalom*, Budapest, 1970. Bd. 2. S. 143.

[5] Vgl. zu dieser Frage die Abhandlung von Előd Halász: Az idő funkciója a Varázshegyben *(Die Funktion der Zeit im Roman »Der Zauberberg«)*, Budapest, 1959.

[6] Vgl. dazu: Maier, H. A.: *Der dritte Humanismus im Werke Stefan Georges und Thomas Manns*, Bern, 1938. S. 37.

[7] Heftrich, E.: *Zauberbergmusik. Über Thomas Mann*, Frankfurt am Main, 1975. S. 179.

[8] Halász, E.: *A német irodalom története* (Die Geschichte der deutschen Literatur), Budapest, 1971. Bd. 2. S. 334.

[9] Vgl. zu dieser Frage: Baumgart, R.: *Das Ironische und die Ironie in den Werken Thomas Manns*, München, 1964. S. 56. und Burkert, G.: *Der fiktive Icherzähler im Werk Thomas Manns*, München, 1968.

[10] Siehe: "omnipresence of the author" — Weigand, H. J.: *The Magic Mountain. A study of Thomas Mann's novel "Der Zauberberg"*, Chapel Hill, 1964. S. 68.

The Poetry of the Ukrainian "New Wave"

GYULA BALLA

I. Herderian prophecies, czarist proclamations

For those who are getting to be acquainted with the literatures of Eastern Europa nowadays, to speak and write about *Ukrainian literature* as such, or, as regards our subject-matter, about *Ukrainian poetry* seems a given fact. Nevertheless, no more than two centuries have passed since this newer designation has gained ground in place of those *Little Russian* or *Ruthenian*, and has been used as a neologism, while at the same time being of political, historical significance as well. This rechristening did not come out of shere freak, it was the historical events affecting the life of language and of people that gave enough reason for this change. In this case, we come across quite a rare situation, in other words, when it is not the ethnic name from what the names of the country and of the state are derived, but they are called into life from a later version of a regional name through artificial derivation.

Suffice it to say that the Ukrainian literature, as to its special way of development, occupies a rather distinguished position even in the rank of Eastern European cultures. Its advance was hindered not only by the retardation of social development, The Ukrainian people being divided and hampered in growing into a coherent nation, or by the want of the framework of national existence but by those theories as well that denied the very existence of the Ukrainian people and language as a whole.

Herder's prophecy on the future of the Hungarian nation, that is, "following a few centuries, Hungarians, enclosed between other nations, and small in number, will possibly lose even their language" had to be taken notice as a sordid fact by the Ukrainians, with a four times larger population, and accepted in the form of the czar's autocratic measures. Gottfried Herder's devastating though awakening remark that stirred the mind of the best of the Hungarian intellectuals, was merely the private opinion of a great European thinker, based on his own, highly respectable, mental achievements, while the czar's proclamations, which openly disclaimed the existence of the Ukrainian nation, were guarded by the oppressive bureaucratic organs of a powerful empire. It may have seemed incredible to a European in the second half of the 19th century to hear the czar saying at the arrest of Shev-

chenko: "I inhibit him from any kind of writing and painting." Had his guards acted upon this restriction in the strict sense of the word, the career of this great poet would have come to an abrupt end. What is more, what the best of the Ukrainian intellectuals could have felt when the czar Alexander II denies the existence of their national language as such: "Most of the Little Russians, very exhaustively, testify to the fact that no particular language of them has ever existed, does not at present exist, and will never exist and that the dialect used by the lower classes is merely the Ukrainian Russian notwithstanding deteriorated by the Polish influence. Furthermore, the common language of the Russians can be understood by the Little Russians the same way as by the Great Russians by being much more comprehensible than the so-called Ukrainian language just conceived by some Little Russians, and especially, by the Polish people."

The above lines might still be taken for the arbitrary logical fallacy of a tyrant with philologist inclinations, yet the later measures of the czar sounded more threatening as to the future of the Ukrainian culture and language as a whole. Let us quote here some of them: "1. Importing any books or papers written in Little Russian dialect, and published abroad, into the territory of the Empire, is not in the least permitted, except the special clearance of the public relations office. 2. It is forbidden to reprint and publish those works written in dialect on the territory of the Empire with the exception of a) historical records, b) literary works, under the condition that the spelling of the original text has to be maintained when reprinting the historical documents and no departure is permitted in case if literary products as well from the generally accepted Russian ortography, furthermore that the public relations office will give the permission necessary for printing these literary texts only after having revised the manuscripts themselves. 3. It is forbidden to put into stage any kind of theatrical performances or lectures, or to print the text of any songs written in Little Russian dialect."

All this was put forward in Eastern Europe, in the second half of the 19th century. By that time the formation of national states had been finished, or became accelerated. However, Ukrainian culture and language survived, and such œuvres were born as those of Ivan Franko, Lesya Ukrainka. This can be due to the relatively more liberal conditions prevailing in Galicia and Bucovina, by being attached to the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, where the Ukrainian writers could work without linguistic restrictions.

II. What is a poet worth when re-established in public esteem?

Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, after the confusion of civil war and the short period of political and ideological uncertainties had passed, when it was, for a while again, the very existence of the Ukrainian

nation and language that was jeopardised, following this hard times, highly prolific years ensued in the Ukrainian literature. It was mainly the immense impetus of lyrical movements, their colourful whirl that substantiated in the most captivating and convincing manner the vigour and self-dependence of the Ukrainian poetic language. The visionary power and abundance of avant-garde unfolded the by thét time unexplored resources of the language, any by the impetus of these poetic movements, added to its flexibility, musicality, complexity, in other words, to those traits Ukrainian poetry had been noted for. The rainbow what the best Ukrainian poets drew onto the sky of literature in the twenties, was arching over from symbolism to futurism. To put it in other terms, it was the period when Ukrainian literature and, above all, poetry was able to enter into contact with the European poetic movements, not to reckon with some private connexions as those of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko. This time exceptionally, Ukrainian culture could make up for its loss of time, by overcoming the same difficulties as any countries in Eastern Europe.

By the end of the twenties or by the beginning of the thirties, this enormous upswing in the Ukrainian poetry had come to a sudden halt. As on many other occasions in the course of history, it was not the "logic of poetry" (just to quote one of our best poets, Attila József) that affected the current of events, or, according to another of our great poets, "the self-indulgence of poetry was put an end". When thoroughly reading the biographical notes of the up-to-now most complete anthology of the Ukrainian literature, embracing all the stages of its development from the beginnings to our contemporaries, edited by Sára Karig, we will come across 17 times the sentence as follows: "He had fallen victim to the unlawful acts of personality cult. Following the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party he was rehabilitated."

To say nothing of the poets who were reduced to silence "only", or of those who wrote their poems to ease, at least in art, the artistic and personal tribulations they met with in the exile. All this supports the opinion of those literary scholars in the Ukraine who, accordingly, consider the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party as a marked caesura in both cultural and social life. As a consequence, not only the imposing poetic achievements of the twenties are thus revalued, and are again available but we may witness the initial steps of the youngest generation of the Ukrainian poetry, which was capable of recovering from its heavy losses.

III. "On the dried up shoulders of the Ukraine"

A group of young poets, called the "*sixties*" burst into the Ukrainian poetry as the twin-brother of the Russian "new wave". They found their equals in the movement of Vozniesenski and his companions, as regards their

poetic power, bold outspokenness, and considering their adherence to tradition as well as their innovative aspirations. By now it has become a commonplace of the history of literature that the members of this young generation reached poetic maturity in the cultural upswing following the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party when they had to shoulder the responsibility of restoring the respectability of poetry. Lina Kostenko, Volodimir Luchuk, Vitali Korotich, Mikola Vinkhranovski, Ivan Drach, and Vasil Simonenko who so fatally died in the meantime, at that time the leader of the group, brought new life to the Ukrainian poetry, which had suffered so heavy losses in the course of the cult of personality. True as it is, their names did not attract masses that could fill up stadiums and sport halls, nevertheless, their frank confessions and passionate lyrical arguments gave life to such a poetic movement that, as to its aftermath, can be compared to the avantgarde of the 20ies. They announced their preoccupation with this heritage with the same emphasis as the group of Jevtushenko did.

It is the "thematic" credibility, the kinship of poetic motives that can be detected in all of their, none the less individually proportioned, poems. Let us enlist here the most typical examples. The way as these poets, one by one, turn, with the exalted fever of a confessioning lover, to their motherland, the Ukraine, to the landscape with its rivers, to objects that embody historical continuity and everyday intimacy, would seem a little bit anachronistic without the full knowledge of the preceding historical events. "I need nothing else but / your magnificiant meadows / — your fertile lap, your body" — writes in his poem *The Ukraine* Vitali Korotich. "Tell me, tell me Dnieper, where the blowing winds swell / calling me to distance through the prairies?" — turns Vinkhranovski to the river that has ever represented the Ukrainians' lot as such. We may come across a more confessional tone when reading the lines of Simonenko: "Clouds burst with thunder, sharp as showers the swords / Cutting the ancient beauty of your fields; / I go to die, your name my last word, / Telling your name rise up again" (To the Ukraine).

Within the bounds of this paper it seems impossible to analyse the career of each poet one by one, therefore I set myself to write, in the following, about the poems of the most accomplished member of this group of poets, Ivan Drach.

By the seventies, just like the "new wave" of Jevtushenko's group, the movement of the "sixties" had settled down, while Ivan Drach's poetic orientation had undergone a similar transformation. In place of his poems pretentious and publicistic in tone, the more meditative and philosophical ones came to the fore. However, in the meantime, Drach's peculiar attitude with the balladistic overtones of his poems, by making use of the particular and general characteristics of folk-poetry as well as crafted with the most current poetic skills, had remained unchanged. This poetic approach proved

to be rather fruitful in Hungarian poetry as well. We may quote here as the best example of this artistic mentality, Drach's collection of poems published in Hungarian in 1977, entitled *A Ballad on the Cybernetic Cathedral* that represents the best pieces of his 15 years' creative work.

In Ivan Drach's poetry, we can witness a peculiar interpretation and renewal of the balladistic form that transcends the genre as it is. All this can be due to the fact, beyond the inspiration of folklore, so wide-spread in modern poetry, that Ivan Drach chose the more international type of ballads known in Europe, as a means of his poetic stylization in place of their particularly Ukrainian form, called *duma* (the long epic poem of the Ukrainian folk-poetry).

Now let us enumerate here a brief list on the topics of Drach's ballads. He wrote ballads on the kinds' jumping hoops, on the bucket, on the lost words, on the open eyes of children, on restlessness, on the old woman, on creativity, on the genes, on Karmalyuk, on the peasant leader, on the three belts etc, and, as a matter of course, on the cybernetic cathedral.

We may conclude, even from the above-listed semi-titles that Drach's ballads are not, in the least, uniform, kept within the narrow bounds of a genre, either from the point of view of their subject-matter or from the aspect of form. We may also add that the traditional, thus expected, epic element is also missing from the so-called ballads of Drach. He displays a lot of his poetic intentions in one of his ballads that can be interpreted as his creed:

> Cone, cut as I am. My contents is infinite finite.
> I don't care what is thrown in me,
> Melon, or horse-radish, wheeled with ray-spokes,
> Or just the metal-stringed leaf of beet.
> My form is that of zinc. How could my contents depend but on me?!
> It is time that shapes my form, a container according to need.
> There are days that want nothing.
> I take my rest then, besprinkled with sky full to the brim.
>
> *(Ballad on the Bucket)*

Ivan Drach is a true Eastern European poet. What is it that lends him this title? For example, his views on history, his search for the universal values in the events of his people's past. In fact, his investigations into past are not guided by a yearn for adventures but only by the poet's search for the connecting link between the present and the past, thus showing up the continuity of human existence:

> Whom, straying in space, for two hundred years,
> I met Skovoroda on a tram today,
> putting off his furred hat, he hopes, he claimed:
> to the sun his fire-greeting I convey.
>
> *(A Knife in the Sun)*

A more indirect proof of his Eastern European roots is his intellectual eagerness to incorporate the heritage of world literature into his poems, enriching his scope of impressions and developing his poetic skills, thereby widening the horizon of the Ukrainian poetry as well. It merits here to enlist the names of those who, among others, like Hemingway and Beethoven, Picasso and Socrates, Whitman and Mondrian, showed the way to his poetic imagination. All these attachments and sympathies tried not only the poetic abilities of Ivan Drach's but the capacity of the Ukrainian poetry as well as, over and over again, that of the Ukrainian language itself. The secret of success this time lied in the supreme talent of Ivan Drach.

In fact, we can find more direct proofs of his Eastern European origin. Within the scope of the poet's above-mentioned preoccupation with folk-poetry, these are, for example, his adherence to popular tradition, his quest into the resources of the people's creative imagination, thus following in the wake of a sort of human experience having crystallized from folklore through the centuries. The consciousness and evidence of all this can be detected in each line of his poems. We may further add that most of the Ukrainian poets among his announced predecessors, from Shevchenko to Tichina and Malishko, followed the same track. Here we refer back to the first passages of our paper, according to which, while the more lucky nations in Eastern Europe could develop their culture under more settled conditions of the language, the proclamations of the czar contested the rights of the Ukrainians even to cultivate their own language. As a consequence, the methodical exploitation of the Ukrainian folklore by the Ukrainian poets and by Ivan Drach as well, cannot only be considered as a passing fashion but is one of the basic element of a poetic model, in fact, the most efficient one, up to the present day. That is the reason why Ivan Drach himself could also build a philosophical poem, with a topic, comprehensive in significance, on the seemingly commonplace wisdom of popular ditties and proverbs, or present real personal and national tragedies by making use of the bewailing flatness and monotony of death-songs *(A Lament to Pavlo Tichina)*. Moreover, we can discover the delicious lucidity of folklore in all of Ivan Drach's philosophical poems. If the poet glances into the "open eyes of children", he tells from them a warning to the adults:

> Grown-ups ! ! Do gently with dimensions, it is written:
> The eagles look into the sun with open eyes,
> And do see the children in their dreams !
>
> *(Ballad on the Open Eyes of Children)*

Apart from his Eastern European origin, while being rooted in the national tradition as well, Ivan Drach is unequivocally the poet of his age. He feels, just like his contemporaries, threatened by the dangers of civilization,

and takes refuge from the alienation and mechanization of culture in nature. He declares:

Oh, world, world of wonders,
yet we have to live,
for in the freezing trouble,
when our heads rise no more from the snow,
when reason is dead also,
somebody comes from far afar,
and tears off from his heart, yet,
enlacing in chains, yet,
just from mere idleness,
the poppy, the poppy.

(A Well on the Winter Fields)

IV. When the pipe has six prongs . .

Gyula Illyés's metaphorical definition that Hungarian literature resembles to a pipe with five prongs, puts forward with the certainty of maxims the geographic distribution of Hungarian literature, being shaped through the centuries. In fact, the Hungarian readers who watch the products of both the classic and modern Ukrainian literature and follow the course of literary trends in Eastern Europe as well, may be aware of the fact, from their own experience, that in the Ukraine, quite the same conditions prevail, albeit, scarse hint, if any, has been dropped on it in our competent forums and periodicals. Nevertheless, besides the Soviet-Ukrainian literature, it is worth and necessary getting acquainted with the Ukrainian literature flourishing in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in Rumania, in the Voivodeship, and in the Western countries as well; in the latter case we refer to the Ukrainian poets who live in the United States and in Canada. The greatest upswing in the poetry of national minorities could also be observed at the end of the fifties and in the course of the sixties.

It was the Ukrainians living in Slovakia whose cultural life underwent the most striking development. Parallel with the movement of the "sixties", even accepting a sort of kinship with the group of Simonenko, a number of young poets gave ample evidence of their talents. This group of young poets, mostly assembled in Eperjes, is hallmarked by such names as those of Josif Zbikhlei, Stepan Khostinak, Miroslav Nemet.

As regards the abundance of its heritage and its poetic power, it was the Ukrainian literature of Poland that offered the most accomplished œuvres. Furthermore, it is this branch of the Ukrainian literature that stands closest to the sources of the national culture. At the same time, it is this literature of the Ukrainian minorities where the influence of the majority's culture — the Polish — can most strongly be felt. The œuvres of Ostap Lapski, Ievkhen Samovkhalenko and of Ivan Zlatokudr can up to now be distinguished as prominent in this branch of the Ukrainian poetry. These poets are also noted for being the translators of the Polish literature.

The Ruthenian minority of the Voivodeship — it is they who cling to this designation arosen in the course of history — got also into the public eye in the sixties. Confessions combined with free associations gained ground, first of all, in the poetry of Miroslav Striber. It was the poetry of the tragic-lived Ankhela Prokop that first indicated the timeliness of modern poetic ideas in the Ruthenian literature.

The Ukrainian poetry of Rumania has made constant efforts, with more or less success, to avoid the dangers of provincialism, and lately, of schematism. Among these poets, Ivan Kovach proved to be the most successful, by borrowing, to a great extent, from the folklore.

We could gather but a scarse information on the Ukrainian literature prevailing in the West, thus it seems impossible to evaluate it at present. Above all, it is their fundamental achievements in the field of linguistics and philology that deserve attention. Like, for example, the etymological dictionary compiled by Rudnitski.

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The Croatian Jeans Prose

PÉTER MILOSEVITS

Jeans is a rejuvenating charm, giving eternal youth to its wearers. Moreover, its magic power reacts upon itself as well, since it is jeans that has ostentatiously represented youth for nearly three decades. An article of fashion, which has been prevailing for such a long while, is, at the same time, the reverse of itself, it implies something more than a simple wearing. In fact, there are and there were always other ways of displaying youth as such. However, jeans demonstrates the self-consiousness of the younger generation, on which base they distinguish themselves from "those who are no longer young". Jeans has indicated the same for a series of generations, from Marlon Brando up to the punks of today, nevertheless preserving its unconventional qualities. It has not become accepted by civil, official or administrative circles. It is put on by the elders, by the rich, by the snobs, by the fobs, by the staid men and by the clerks. Yet it still can be used to annoy exactly these people.

Its endurance that could keep up with the changes of fashion, its emblematic qualities handed down through generations, turned it, from an appropriate approach, into a technical term of literary scholarship. It was used by Aleksander Flaker, an academician from Zagrab, in the title of his monograph written on the contemporary Croation prose *(Hrvatska proza u trapericama)*. Flaker's another essay on this topic was published in the Hungarian "Helikon" (1979, No. 4), while Miklós Szabolcsi wrote about the German publication of Flaker's book in "Nagyvilág" (Great World, 1977, No. 10). This review referred to some current phenomena in Hungarian literature, parallel with those of the Croatian prose.

Flaker does not fail to give a precise definition of the term invented by him, and used in a metaphorical sense rather properly: "I call that sort of narrative a jeans prose, the young protagonist of which, either in first person, or in third person singular, forms his own peculiar style following the spoken language of the urban youth, while he rejects the traditional, conventional social and cultural institutions. It was Salinger who created the model of this prose by his paradigmatic novel *The Catcher in the Rye* in the United States, which spread all over the European literatures with a number of individual variants."

In Croatian literature, this new type of prose gained ground in the mid-fifties, at the time when in the other Yugoslav republics, it was in the field of poetry where the schematism of the after-war years could be outdone. In Croatian literature, this literary renewal presented itself as the jeans prose. This literary trend came into being under the influence of world literature (In fact, the at the time young writers gathered around the periodical "Krugovi" quite intensely turned toward the various literatures of the world, even as translators as well.) However, the peculiar traits of the Croatian version of this prose were formed as to reflect on the *hic et nunc* circumstances. This prose was a chronicle of a generation at the time of cold war, in a socialist country, who, stepping out of adolescence, just had become grown-ups then. The youthful ardour, naivety, and idealism of this generation were spoiled, and the buds of their spring-time knocked against the concrete walls of technocracy, voluntarism, and bureaucracy that necessarily dominated in a country, ruined by the war, the rebuilding of which had just begun. The result of this confrontation was the retreat of the weaker party, in other words, of these young persons who had to give up their aspirations. As a reaction, they did not adopt a sentimental but a defiant, revolting, biting or ironic attitude. Their enthusiasm turned into quite the reverse, resignation. It was all this that shaped the views and conduct of the protagonist of the jeans prose, the language and style of this narrative, the writers of which rather consciously applied the form of the first person singular. By doing so, they identified themselves with their protagonists. This literary trend, in its transformations, imitated the orderly stages of the ontogenesis of the genre as such. In the mid-fifties, the movement came out mainly with short stories, while at the beginning of the sixties the short novel gained the upper hand. By now, it is the novel that has come to the fore.

The peculiar attitude and life-style of the jeans prose protagonists revolting against a conventionalized, overorganized world, can be classified into three categories. On the extreme, we may place hooligans who protest against the prevailing norms and order by producing criminal cases. Since, this sort of behaviour, even from the point of view of sociology is rather extreme, its representation in the Croatian prose is but of marginal occurrence. Perhaps the novels of Alojz Majetić deserve our added attention.

The next stage is the, milder, protestation of the lost generation of young dissipated fellows against consolidation. We can come across such figures in the novels of Zvonimir Majdak. They are drifted on the verge of underworld though not stepping through its threshold. Those young persons who cram the undergrounds of today's urban life are directly descended from them.

The most carefully elaborated, and the most wide-spread figure in the Croatian prose is the third type of our classification. He is a non-conformist, out-of-work intellectual (We may cell these youngs intellectuals only in the

broad sense of the word, by judging according to their aptitude rather than their qualification. For example the protagonist of the jeans prose who unfolds the story in first person singular, is never a "writer", never a professional. The opposite is true of some cases of the current Hungarian prose, notwithstanding following similar lines. Such is the story written by Géza Bereményi, entitled *A kiadónál* [At the Publishing House], or the respective parts of Péter Esterházy's *Termelési regény* [Production Novel]. Once in his novel, Esterházy, by a Garamond, thick type typography, lays added emphasis on the phrase "a writer's farmer", by which he alludes to the metaphorical connotations of this article of dress.)

These non-conformist young people, above all, in the novels of Antun Šoljan and of Ivan Slamnig, seek their personality, and by taking the unrestricted freedom of the inner life out to the world, they attempt to convert this freedom into an unbroken idleness. They reject all the forms and norms of a conventionalized, over-organized world (work, material goods, love, family, home). They try to find for themselves the possibility of a way of life that knows no bonds, no conventions, by declaring the anti-norms of informality, hoboism, bands, sex and being chummy with the others, etc. All of them come from city life fed up with civilization. From this point of view, the Croatian jeans prose bears marked traits of urban life. Nevertheless, in most of these novels, the story is embedded in a non-urban medium, still untouched by civilization, the scenes of these novels being mostly located on the Adriatic seaside. It is here, close to the elements, in the ancient, small towns and in the fishermen's pubs where these youngs are in search for a new Arcadia and the Island of freedom (both symbols are created by Šoljan).

Another key-word of this prose is the "outing" (we again borrow this word from Šoljan's short novel, entitled, *A Short Outing*). Nothing but keeping on the move constitutes the life of these young persons who live in the vagueness of a permanent vacation, in the paradoxical state of temporariness. It is paradoxical thinking that guides their moods, and lends a peculiar atmosphere to this sort of prose. In these novels, we find together the appeal of a free vacation, the grief about temporariness, as well as the sceptical awareness of an untenable situation. "There is nothing in the end . . . The point is being on the move . . . You cannot have any other choise than to run the risk. Nothing else than to justify in the end that there is nothing to be found" (Šoljan: *A Short Outing*).

There is some duality in the human relations; love, friendship, and chummy connexions as well. The paths of hikers cross one another, however, they keep going on alone so that somewhere else another casual band would assemble. "Everyone takes his own course. And our ways, for a while, overlap. That is all" (Šoljan, op. cit.). All these are nothing but the attractiveness of chance encounters, of new acquaintances and connections, the pleasant exci-

tation and the poetry of adventures, together with the sorrow for parting one another. The ties of such a band, formed merely to pass the summer together, are loosened automatically, since a variety of customs and behavioural patterns are being established in them owing to the limited range of activities (bathing, drinking alcohol, playing cards, making love). The toy-balloon of freedom is distended by boredom, and bursts into pieces. If, in any case, some of these youngs establish a more endurable relationship, if they fall in love with each other, then they withdraw from the band, found a family, whereby they get over to the other side and turn into *Traitors*, as Šoljan puts it in the title of his novel. Their further lot does no more remain in the field of the jeans prose.

The protagonists of this sort of prose, apart from the peculiarities of how to shape the figures of these novels or how to plot their stories, use their very special vocabulary, so characteristic of the jeans prose. This tendency is marked by turning to the colloquial language of the urban youth. Majetić and Majdak, for example, use slang elements without any stylization, and do not in the least shun obscenities. All this brought about getting rid of any taboos with regard to all layers of vocabulary referring to sex. In Hungarian literature, one can come across these words rather sporadically (for example, in the writings of Miklós Munkácsi). If so, they will, for the time being, rouse the indignation of the Hungarian readers. It was this situation that Péter Esterházy, in his *Termelési regény* (Production Novel), took advantage of, when replacing a word that could have been taken for obscene, by another, improper one, which was notwithstanding neutral. Thus he applied the very comical phrase "he willowed her on the nose".

Not like Majetić and Majdak, Šoljan and Slamnig make attempts to stylize the slang, rough as it is. Rather than pouring these sort of words, without restaint, onto their texts, they are aware of the benefits of selection and timing. Thereby they can maintain the freshness and striking effect of this stylistic layer. (Majdak, for example, fails to succeed.) Slamnig probes into, while playing upon, the potentialities of language, he compiles different stylistic versions, travesties and parodies. (We can detect the same creative method in Bereményi's *Legendárium* [Legendry] as well.) It was Šoljan who has found the ideal mixture of slang and standard literary language, whereby the style of his writings is elevated not only into the "distinct" language of the jeans prose but into a language that can even be canonized in contemporary Croatian literature. That is why we can come across, in Šoljan's texts, reflective elements, characteristic of an essay, rather than a novel. The same seems impossible, for example, in the case of Majdak.

By borrowing from the slang, the writers made their protests against the bureaucratic, official language of the mass media, and against those who constructed this language. A more direct form of protestation is when both stylistic layers are put together, which gives rise to a satirical tone, of course,

at the expense of bureaucratic language. As in the novel of Majdak (*Kužiš, stari moj* [Can you Grasp, Old Chap], 1970): "And in the evening, off the is in the street, and marches toward his permanent working-place — the drinking-den — he says, he has to, on the very spot, enter into the possession of some data on the way of life of proletariat in socialism. This guy is a wretched fellow indeed, what is more, he is reactionary, we may also add that he is a rotten lier since he declares that proletariat as such does exist over here, which, by the way, constitutes the subject of his scientific investigations . . . How on earth could such a free birdie who I am be a proletarian? The proletarians used to unite, but I do not wish to unite even with a woman . . . save, pardon me, if nature demands it, which is stronger than us, isn't it?"

One can find sometimes in the Croatian jeans prose the imitation of an infantile mentality, similar in function with that of the slang. The child's soul represents the unaffected innocence and truth as opposed to the false ideas that the alienated, overorganized world of the adults set forth. The infantile tone serves as a contrast to the sculdubbery of adult ideas. This creative method is, on several occasions, applied by Slamnig as well as by Šoljan, furthermore by the Hungarian Géza Bereményi in his *Legendárium* (Legendry), and Péter Esterházy in the "first piece" of his *Fancsikó és Pinta* (Fancsikó and Pinta). Bereményi, just like the others, mixes rather consciously, in his novel opposite elements; he sets beside schoolish sentences the distorted phrases of official language. Nevertheless, the main difference of the contemporary Hungarian prose from the Croatian jeans prose lies in that for the young Hungarian writers the artistic representation of their childhood serves to face the era of the fifties, a tendency being but incidental in the Croatian prose of today.

In the original, pure form of the jeans prose, the protagonist who narrates the story, keeps within the bounds of the horizon that the story can offer. Thus facts and their artistic representation seem to coincide. To some extent, it is the creed of the jeans prose, which Šoljan puts forward in his *Traitors* as follows: "The past seems so perfectly simple and clear. While as far as the present is concerned, it is so complicated, intricate and obscure that I can no loner believe in anything. For the very reason I cannot at all guarantee any credibility of this story. Albeit it is me who puts it into action, yet I was but a simple observer of the events, so I can give an account of nothing else just what I have witnessed." All this adds to the jeans prose its fresh overtones, which, in the beginning, seemed the greatest achievement of this sort of prose. However, in the long run, this empiricism, having exhausted its not too ample resources, turned into the dullness of repetition, which was realized, first of all, by the authors themselves. As early as the beginning of the sixties, a variety of attempts were made to exceed empiricism.

The aestheticism of Šoljan's texts lends them a quality, which is quite the reverse that his previous creed might suggest. The essayistic elements are

embedded in the story in an organical way rather than being abstract comments on the events. For example, the empirical motive of a permanent outing can be interpreted in the wider context of pursuer-pursued relations: "We suddenly realized that we are not simply on the move but we run for our life. The runaway does not ponder over where to reach but is haunted by the question how, and of what, to escape. What may seem, for a witness, an aimless vagrancy on chance and intricate paths, is actually nothing else but the only possible way out, a conscious escape from the permanent persecutions that don't give us any peace" *(Traitors)*.

Transcending empiricism is assured in this prose, just like once in naturalism, by the incorporation of symbols and metaphors into the texts (for example, those of Arcadia, of the Island, of jeans, of the runaways, of circus and clowns). Šoljan mixes essayistic and symbolistic elements, for example, in the following: "But how could we live on, without believing in that there must be somewhere, in the unknown, endless sea, the island, haunted by miracles (*Otok* – The Island, 1963).

The next, quite dangerous, step toward a more abstract prose was to turn to parable. Albeit it relieved the jeans prose of the burden of empiricism and of the false consciousness of a generation, it could not offer anything in return but an obviously artificial universality. It was only Šoljan who, in his parables, could avoid these dangers, and establish a prose with higher literary qualities. And if the essayistic, symbolistic, or, metaphorical elements still enriched the original pattern of the jeans prose, the use of parable was the beginning of its deterioration. As a consequence, the model as such was decomposed, while its functioning elements were assimilated into other, more comprehensive, and endurable literary structures.

Thus the story of Majdak's novel, *Marko na mukama* (The Torture of Marko, 1977) is plotted mainly on a village scene, and is put forward in a traditional narrative form, moreover, borrowing from the vernacular as well. Slamnig, in his *Bolja polovica hrabrosti* (The Better Part of our Courage) enriched his previous method — to combine various stylistic layers by way of montage — with the dimension of depth psychology. While Šoljan, in his novel *Luka* (The Harbour, 1974) embedded the previously used elements of the jeans prose in the topsyturvy pattern of production novels.

The story of Šoljan's novel is plotted on an enormous industrial enterprise. By depicting the building of a sea harbour, the writer gives an overall picture of society, which could have been impossible in the original model of the jeans prose. In *The Harbour* the protagonist is no more an out-of-work young person but is a middle-aged engineer. While focussing on his protagonist, Šoljan enumerates the typical figures of today's socialism. To offer an overall survey, beside workers and peasants, party leaders and clerks,

family members and other relatives, the writer presents the figure of a young person with jeans, this time that of a girl.

According to Flaker, in this novel, Šoljan created quite the reverse of production novels. In fact, when applying the stylistic means of the genre, the writer demonstrated the opposite of what production novels originally meant to suggest. In his novel, he unfolded the failure of a mammoth enterprise based on voluntaristic ideas. Moreover, we may detect in this novel the overtones of a parable, with the same teaching that Šoljan's short story, *Pet stotina stuba* (500 Stairsteps, 1964) has already put forward. According to this moral teaching, an idea fancied by its creator, when put into reality, will lose its meaning, and the intentions of the artist will turn against him.

The engineer is brooding on the idea of the Great Work, and aspires toward the synthesis of ethics and aesthetics. The building up of the harbour would meet all his heart's desires, and so he could also reach his Harbour. Yet when putting his ideas into practice, he has to face the elementary power of the "second nature"; he gets into so many troublesome, humiliating situations, which break his spine, and is confronted with so many insoluble moral problems that in the end all his hopes vanish. He has to realize as the thread of his life is slipping out of his hands. Here a whole, overorganized world is outlined from the point of view of the jeans prose. The engineer has to knock against the wall of the sordid facts in this world, the exclusive terms of which he can, by no means, accept. It is his unrestrained, careerist wife who would drive him into corruption, to quote she, on behalf of the family.

As a counterpoint to this pushing, money-grubbing woman, dressed in a chamber suit, there appears a girl with her jeans. She attracts the engineer who is clumsily wriggling in the world of bureaucratic connections and of corrupt careers with her jeans type freedom and informality. She, against this unfriendly, restrictive world of technocracy, sets a slang mockery, an openly displayed sex life, freedom, straightforwardness, all the values, sought for by the jeans youngs: "Don't play the fool!! — she said. — The whole thing is a shit. I'd like to have fun till I'm young. I want to go out to dens, to dance, to be on the move, and to meet new and new people. What else can we do, damned as it is?!"

In the beginning the engineer refuses her mentality, since he still believes in intellect, he himself possessing a passionate creative mind. However, as he is being pushed out of the world of careers, so is he drifted closer and closer to the girl, and everything that she represents. Their encounter and happiness can only be temporary. For the girl, the jeans life-style, the mentality of "the whole thing is a shit", does not at all mean to give up her personality and desires but "the only possible way out", it is *something*, form and matter together. For the engineer all this would be equal to give up his previous life, and to sink in lethargy and nihilism. That is why, in the end of the novel the

girl leaves the, for the time being, constantly drunk engineer, in his miserable condition, and joins a band, which is on an outing on the seaside. The disillusioned callous engineer remains alone among the ruins of the building, in the barred Harbour of his dreams. The end of the novel proves quite well that the jeans rebell cannot be equalled to nihilism, even if these youngs cannot actually offer anything real, anything palpable, except slang, Arcadia, except the Island. Except the everlasting jeans.

Šoljan's *Harbour* represents the criticism of his generation directed toward the production novels, exactly at the time of their decline, just when this young generation of writers sprang forth, or at least, as it took place in Yugoslavia. In Hungary this kind of criticism was put forward only two generations later. Thus the principal differences between *The Harbour* and the *Production Novel* lies in the delay of the Hungarian literature. The topsyturvy production novel written by Šoljan is not at all a parody (and is lacking any sort of humour). However, through the disapproval of his jeans youngs, represented in this novel by only a figure of minor importance, Šoljan puts forward his own criticism, which is at the same time the inner criticism of the genre. Moreover, his novel amounted to the parable of the genre, the inner world of which turned quite the reverse. While Esterházy, in the first part of his *Production Novel* gave a travesty but on the outer traits of the genre, which in the end elevated into the satire of the inner world of the genre as such, as happened quite frequently in the history of the novel. That is the reason why one can find nothing in the first part of Esterházy's novel that would bear any resemblance to the jeans prose (except the travesty of the bureaucratic idioms). Yet these elements, one by one, appear in the second part of the novel.

Apart from the most fundamental and striking differences, these two novels are bound together by the fact that albeit they do not follow the original pattern of the jeans prose, yet it is this model that affects their tone. At the same time, the main difference of these novels lies in that while Šoljan, at the beginning of his career, shaped the pure model of the jeans prose, the traits of which underwent various transformations in his *Harbour*, Péter Esterházy has never written anything that would follow the pure form of the model.

In Hungarian literature, among others, István Császár, Miklós Munkácsi, György Asperján, Péter Dobai can be enlisted as representatives of this trend, while Géza Beréményi and Péter Esterházy have transcended the model. Although Šoljan is older than they are, from the aspect of his artistic attitude, he became the contemporary of the jeans prose generation. Owing to the rejuvenating magic power of the jeans. All what we have been said above substantiates that jeans prose, in its pure and altered form alike, is not merely a transient phenomenon that will soon go out of fashion but is an organic and marked trend of contemporary literature.

Ferenc Bizonfy und Schopenhauer

Nicht nur die Bücher – auch die Autoren haben ihr Schicksal. Wer kennt heute Bizonfy's Namen? Sogar die ungarischen Sprachwissenschaftler sollen sich nicht ihrer Unwissenheit schämen. Obgleich dieser Name um die Jahrhundertwende weitreichend bekannt war, wie der Name der heutigen Lexikographen allgemein bekannt ist. Ferenc [Franz] Bizonfy ist der Autor des ersten vollständigen englisch-ungarischen und ungarisch-englischen Wörterbuches.[1] Die Wörterbücher veralten verhältnismäßig schnell, — von der kaum glaublichen Lebenskraft des Werkes von Bizonfy zeugt, daß es bis heute in unveränderter Ausgabe in den Vereinigten Staaten zu bekommen und gebräuchlich ist.

Wir haben aber nicht vor, das Andenken des erfolgreichen Lexikographen heraufzubeschwören, sondern das eines vierundzwanzigjährigen Jungen — des ersten und meines Wissens einzigen Ungarn –, der mit Schopenhauer in persönliche Verbindung kam. Die Begegnung war für Bizonfy's Denken, für seine in Vergessenheit versunkene philosophische und belletristische Tätigkeit von geringem Umfange entscheidend.

Bevor wir von all dem und dem romanhaften Leben Bizonfy's sprächen, sei es an die Wirkung erinnert werden, die Schopenhauer auf die ungarische Lyrik vom Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts ausgeübt hat. Béla Pukánszky untersucht die Wirkung auf die Dichter Vajda, Reviczky, Komjáthy[2] ohne aufzuwerfen, wann und auf wessen Anregung der deutsche Denker in den Kreislauf der ungarischen Dichtung geraten ist. Auf Grund der Bildung der drei Dichter kann man ohne weiteres annehmen, daß sie Schopenhauer ohne Vermittlung für sich entdeckt haben. Doch darf man nicht die Rolle von Hugo v. Meltzl[3] in der Bekanntmachung von Schopenhauer in Ungarn vernachlässigen. Meltzl, der Bahnbrecher der ungarischen Komparatistik, war 1864, gleichzeitig mit Nietzsche, den er persönlich kannte, Student der Leipziger Universität. Damals hat er die Philosophie Schopenhauer's kennengelernt, die neben Petőfi's Dichtung sein tiefstes geistiges Erlebnis wurde, das seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit angespornt hat. 1872 wurde Meltzl zum Professor der Universität zu Kolozsvár [Klausenburg] ernannt. Von 1873 an hat er mit dem Freundeskreis Schopenhauer's Briefe gewechselt.[4] Er hat eine Eötvös-Stiftung gegründet, unter anderem zum Studium Schopenhauer's. An der Universität zu Kolozsvár war sein Student Ferdinand Laban, der eine Schopenhauer-Bibliographie zusammengestellt hat.[5] Im Geiste seines Ideals Schopenhauer hat Meltzl selbst Aphorismen geschrieben.[6] Auf all dies halten wir für nötig hinzuweisen, weil es sich denken läßt: dieser unermüdliche Apostel Schopenhauer's soll eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle darin gespielt haben, daß sich die modernen ungarischen Dichter mit einem regen Interesse zum deutschen Denker wandten. In dieser Beziehung kann man auch an den Freund des Dichters Vajda, Menyhért (Melchior) Palágyi, den hervorragenden Literaturkritiker denken, an den später in Deutschland angesessenen, weltberühmt gewordenen vitalistischen Philosophen.

Die persönliche Bekanntschaft Bizonfy's mit Schopenhauer geht zehn Jahre der Leipziger Studentenzeit Meltzl's voran. Es ist kaum vorstellbar, daß die beiden Germanisten,Schwärmer des deutschen Denkers, gleichfalls Sonderlinge, nicht voneinander gewußt haben.[7]

Wir können auf die kurze Darlegung des gar nicht alltäglichen Lebens von Bizonfy keineswegs verzichten. Ferenc Bizonfy (1828–1912) war kroatischen Ursprungs. Er wollte die ärztliche Laufbahn ergreifen. Als 21-jähriger Honvédoffizier nahm er am Freiheitskrieg 1848–1849 teil. Nach dem Zusammenbruch floh er nach Ausland und wirkte als Lehrer im Militärinstitut, das für die jungen Honvedoffiziere in London errichtet wurde. Nach dem Aufheben des Institutes setzte er seine medizinischen und juristischen Studien an den Universitäten von Leipzig, Berlin, Heidelberg und Zürich fort. Währenddessen hat er eine Reihe von hervorragenden Persönlichkeiten, vor allem Heine und Schopenhauer kennengelernt; der Letzteren Sympathie hat er besonders gewonnen. Er hat eine enge Freundschaft mit dem Dichter der deutschen Revolution, Georg Herwegh geschlossen (wovon die Textveröffentlichung Endre Csatkai's zeugt) und stand dem sich auch in der Schweizer Emigration aufhaltenden Richard Wagner nahe.

Für eine Zeit kehrte er nach England zurück. Seine Artikel hauptsächlich bildungsgeschichtlichen Inhaltes erschienen in den Zeitungen Times und Star. In London verkehrte er mit deutschen Emigranten (wir haben die Spuren einer eventuellen Begegnung mit Marx in der Gesamtausgabe vergebens gesucht). Er hat die Tochter einer deutschen Emigrantenfamilie geheiratet. 1868 ist er nach Ungarn heimgekehrt, aber der einstige Freiheitskämpfer fand nicht seinen Platz. Er hat sich in Düsseldorf niedergelassen, wo er eine Zeitung redigierte. Ende der 70-er Jahre ist er für immer heimgekehrt und lebte zurückgezogen bis zu seinem Tode in Kismarton (Eisenstadt). Der hochgebildete Polyhistor unterrichtete die Kinder der dortigen Patrizier (u. a. des Bürgermeisters Franz Grüßner, des Bürgerschuldirektors Josef Kramer). Einer seiner Lieblingsschüler war der Sohn des Großhändlers Ignác Wolf, Sándor (Alexander), der spätere Weingroßhändler und Mäzen. (1938 emigrierte er vor dem Nazismus nach Amerika und starb 1946 in Haifa.) In seinen Besitz geriet Bizonfy's Bibliothek mit seinem handschriftlichen Nachlaß. Das wurde der Kern des Museums von Eisenstadt. Der Stoff Bizonfy ist großenteils nicht inventiert; was zugänglich ist, ist uninteressant. Ich habe die äußerst wertvollen Briefe, die an ihn gerichtet wurden, vergebens gesucht. Dr. Peter Krajasich teilte mir mit, daß die Zürcher Fischer-Galerie zwischen 1954 und 1956 den für sie interessanten Stoff (die wertesten Briefe) gekauft und in der Schweiz versteigert hat. Das war wirklich ein Attentat gegen die Kultur.

Bizonfy blieb aber auch nach dem Zurücktreten ins Privatleben nicht untätig. Neben seinen sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschungen erschienen von ihm zwei dünne Bändchen: *Bizonfy's Aperçus und Reflexionen* (Pest, 1871. Ludwig Aigner) und *Klänge aus der Jugendzeit* (Leipzig, 1882). Das Aphorismen enthaltende, von Schopenhauer inspirierte frühere Heftchen gehört zu den seltenen Raritäten; in der Ungarischen Nationalbibliothek Széchényi ist es zu finden. Wie es verschollen ist, illustriert folgende Geschichte: Anfang der 70-er Jahre geriet das Heft *Aperçus* in die Hände des Fürsten von Württemberg. Er las es entzückt und wollte um jeden Preis für seine Bibliothek verschaffen. Vergebens ließ er den Autor in Pest suchen, sogar der in der zeitgenössischen ungarischen Literatur sehr bewanderte Kertbeny wußte nichts von ihm. Sein späteres Bändchen hat sogar die Internationale Ausleiheabteilung der Ungarischen Nationalbibliothek vergebens gesucht. Ich habe nur den Katalogzettel des Werkes in der Berliner Deutschen Bibliothek gesehen, das Buch konnte aber nicht präsentiert werden.

Unsere Quellen, vor allem Endre Csatkai, weisen nur auf die Bekanntschaft von Bizonfy und Schopenhauer hin. Man hat aber Bizonfy's Brief an Schopenhauer, die

sympathisierenden Äußerungen des deutschen Denkers über den jungen Ungarn in den Briefen, die er an seine Freunde gerichtet hat, abgesehen vom Briefe Bizonfy's an József Budenz, in dem er auch über seine Begegnung mit Schopenhauer berichtet, nicht gekannt.[8]

Ende 1854 schreibt Bizonfy an Schopenhauer den folgenden Brief:

Zürich, Seefeldstraße, Neuhof. Den 4. 12. 54
Geehrter Herr!

Meine Tante, die Frau Wüstenfeld, hat sich bey ihrer Durchreise durch Frankfurt das Vergnügen gemacht, Sie aufzusuchen und zu sprechen und hat Ihnen, so viel ich weiß, bey dieser Gelegenheit erzählt, mit welch lebhaftem Interesse ich mich seit längerer Zeit dem Studium Ihrer Philosophie hingegeben. — Ergo, Sie wissen, daß ich existire und werden meinen von Zürich datirten Brief nicht als vom Himmel gefallen betrachten. Der Zweck meines Schreibens? Lange schon hege ich den Wunsch, Ihre persönliche Bekanntschaft zu machen u würde gewiß nicht gesäumt haben zu diesem Ende nach Frankfurt zu reisen, wären meine Verhältnisse nicht leider derart, daß ich es nicht gut riskiren kann, Deutschlands Boden zu betreten. Es bleibt mir also nur übrig, Sie, geehrt[er] Herr, recht herzlich zu bitten, zu uns nach Zürich einige Tage oder Wochen herzukommen. Ich sage zu uns, denn nicht ich allein bin es, der Sie kennen zu lernen und sprechen zu können wünscht. Herr Jörg Herwegh, der von Vielen gelästerte von Wenigen gekannte cidevant Poêt (dem es, entre nous, an Adel der Gesinnung sicher nicht fehlt und der mehr Licht im Kopfe hat als eine ganze deutsche Universität), der berühmte Musikant resp. Componist Wagner, ebenfalls ein ganz intelligentes Haupt und noch andere Leute, an denen Sie mehr Freude haben werden, als an allen Professoren zweyer Jahrhunderte, vereinigen ihre Bitte mit der meinen und leben in der Erwartung, Sie nächstens in Zürich zu sehen. — Ich hoffe, daß Sie mir die Freude nicht versagen werden, für die Dauer Ihres Aufenthalts dahier, mit meiner bescheidnen Wohnung vorlieb zu nehmen. Wer ich eigentlich bin in Hinsicht auf meinen bürgerlichen Charakter? Gar Nichts, Ihnen zu dienen.

Hab Jura studiert, dann Medicin und fand beyde Wissenschaften dumm und unverschämt. Mit Liebe hab ich mich dann in letzterer Zeit mit Philologie beschäftigt, natürlich nicht mit klassischer. Der indoeuropäische Sprachstamm hat meine besondere Aufmerksamkeit erregt und meinem Geist mehr Nahrung geboten, als er auf irgend einem andern Gebiet des Forschens hätte finden können. Um in die Originalwerke der budhaistischen Religion eindringen zu können, warf ich mich auch auf das Studium der Tibetischen und Mongolischen Sprache, die uns in neuerer Zeit beyde durch Schmidt in Petersburg zugänglich geworden sind. Das britische Museum ist im Besitz von einer ungeheuern Menge von Sanskrit-, Zend-, Parsi-, tibetischen etc etc Manuscripten, dort wollte ich mich unter den Folianten begraben. Lust und Liebe zu aller Wissenschaft ist mir nun aber durch ein trauriges Ereigniß für immer vergangen. Nur par usage, par depit, & par ennui beschäftige ich mich noch manchmal mit all dem dummen Zeug. — Doch lassen wir dies dahingestellt; ich könnte auf Dinge zu sprechen kommen auf die ich schriftlich — das foltert mich zu lange — nicht zu sprechen kommen will.

Das Eine muß ich Ihnen noch sagen, wie ich mit Ihrer Philosophie bekannt geworden. Eines Tages, es mag vor einem Jahre gewesen seyn, kam mir auf der Stadtbibliothek zufällig Ihr Hauptwerk W. als W. & V. [Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung — *B. L.*] in die Hand. Ich blätterte darin und fand im zweyten Theil den Artikel Metaph. der Geschlechtsliebe. Ich las und las meinen Artikel und konnte nicht aufhören bis ich ihn zu Ende gelesen hatte. Es wurde mir ganz unheimlich; ich hatte mich selber gelesen. Ich sah nach, wann das Buch gedruckt worden: es stand darin 844 und mein Manuscript «Geschichte der Geschlechtsliebe» war höchstens zwey Jahr alt. Wäre mein Manuscript gedruckt worden, Sie hätten mich für den unverschämtesten Plagiator der Welt erklärt und mit Unrecht. Aus denselben Prinzipien alles hergeleitet; meine Lebewuth war Ihr Wille zum Leben. Abgesehen davon, daß ich meinen Gegenstand nicht allein von metaphysischer Seite betrachtete, war in den beyden Schriften nicht nur ganz dasselbe, sondern theilweise sogar mit denselben Worten gesagt. — Ich ging zu meinem Freund Herwegh, dem einzigen Menschen, der mein Manuscript kannte und

theilte dem mein Erstaunen mit. Was ich gar nicht begreifen konnte, war daß ich, von den Weden, den Kings etc bis zur Tageslitteratur unserer Zeit herab, alles Namhafte zu kennen glaubte, von Ihnen und Ihren Schriften nie was gehört hatte. Was Einem doch in der Welt alles passiren kann!! Sie werden verstehn, daß ich nun Grund genug hatte, mich für Ihre Schriften zu interessiren. In Ihren Schriften hab ich mich zum erstenmal in meinem Leben selbst gefunden. Soll ich offen seyn, ich habe Thränen der Freude geweint beym Lesen. Dafür kam ich aber auch in eine ordentliche Wuth bey solchen Stellen, wo ich mich auf einmal von Ihnen verlassen sah. Daß der Donner den alten Kant, daß er es nicht wagte ganz ehrlich sich selbst und andern zu seyn, daß er dem Staat und dem Altherkömmlichen zu Lieb jene grandiose Sophisterei erfunden, durch die er die moralische Freyheit neben der Notwendigkeit bestehn lassen kann. Und o, mit welch eminentem Scharfsinn, mit welch bewundernswerther Logik haben erst Sie diesen Nonsens begründet. Man möchte beynahe meinen, daß Sie wirklich recht hätten. Diese verdammte Thatsache des Bewußtseyns, dieses Bedlam, wo man alles hineinstecken kann, was man eben darin braucht, diese sichere Schutzmauer gegen alles noch so trifftige Raisonement, wie eckelt sie mich an! Wir haben ja das Gefühl der Verantwortlichkeit. Ja wohl, wenn es uns nur nicht angewöhnt und angelernt wäre! Mein Hund hat es auch, wenn er nicht folgsam gewesen; aber nur darum, weil er weiß, daß er Prügel bekommt. Köstlicher Witz das mit der transcendentalen Freyheit, die außer dem Raum und der Zeit (liegt? steht? sitzt? ist? also meinetwegen) ist, und doch wieder in Raum und Zeit und in der Erscheinung sich als Thatsache des Bewußtseyns, als Gefühl der Verantwortlichkeit gelten macht. Es ist doch zum crepiren!

O anbethungswerthe transcendentale Freyheit! Wie schön sagt uns Herr Schopenhauer in seiner vf [vierfachen- *B. L.*] Wurzel vom Satz des zureichenden Grundes, daß die Formen von Zeit, Raum und Kausalität die Bedingungen alles Vorstellens und alles Denkens sind. Ich will noch hinzufügen, daß derjenige im vollsten Ernste ins Narrenhaus gehört, der da behaupten wollte, daß ohne diese Formen oder über dieselben hinaus, es ein Denken und Erkennen geben könne. Wie klar sagt H. Schopenhauer in seinem W. a. W. u. V. B. 2. K. 50: Die allgemeinste Form unseres Intellects ist, der Satz vom Grunde, der aber eben deshalb, nur auf die Erscheinung Anwendung findet. Eben daselbst ferner: Die Erkennbarkeit mit ihrer wesentlichsten, d a h e r s t e t s n o t h w e n d i g e n F o r m von Subiect und Obiect gehört blos der Erscheinung an, nicht dem Wesen an sich der Dinge. Wo Erkenntniß, mithin Vorstellung ist, da ist auch nur Erscheinung und wir stehen daselbst schon auf dem Gebiete der Erscheinung. Sehr richtig, Herr Schopenhauer, man müßte aus Bedlam entsprungen seyn, um daran zu zweifeln. Aber, aber — mit welchem Instrument hat man sie denn entdeckt, die Freyheit, die transcendentale, d. h. nicht in die Erscheinung tretende, sondern nur in sofern vorhandene, als wir von der Erscheinung und all ihren Formen abstrahiren (sic!), um zu dem zu gelangen, was außer aller Zeit, als das innere Wesen des Menschen an sich selbst zu denken (sic!) ist? Ethik p. 95 Da, wo die »Schuld liegt, muß auch die Verantwortlichkeit liegen und da diese das alleinige Datum ist, welches auf moralische Freyheit zu schließen berechtigt, so muß auch die Freyheit ebendaselbst liegen, also im Character des Menschen«. Bon! Zuerst möchte ich wissen, was denn die absolute Schuld sey, wenn ich mir bey alledem was denken soll können. Ist das etwa die absolute Schuld, wenn Hinz sagt: »er ist ein Spitzbube«? Zur selben Zeit derselben That wegen verehrt mich Kunz und nennt mich einen edlen Menschen. Und wenn mich der Eine schuldig und der Andere unschuldig nennt, so haben die Herren beyde recht: die Welt ist meine Vorstellung. Wie könnt ich mir im Ernste anmaßen, einen Menschen anders, als in seiner Beziehung zu mir beurtheilen, verehren oder verdammen zu wollen?! Eben weil die Welt meine Vorstellung ist und somit über den Werth oder Unwerth, über die Schuld oder Unschuld eines Menschen fast jeder anders denken wird, eben darum kann und darf ich über den Andern ein Urtheil fällen, könnte und dürfte es aber von dem Moment an nicht mehr, wenn ich dies absolute, diesen Deus ex machina, dies undenkbare Unding, daß Sie mit Kant da aufstellen, für Etwas Anderes als ein hohles Wort nähme. Zudem könnte ja nach diesem intelligiblem Charakter und dieser transcendentalen Freyheit die Schuld erst anfangen, wo die Erscheinung aufhört. Natürlich ist die Welt mit Individuen und somit Varietäten angefüllt, da Sie mir aber nicht sagen können, wie tief, im Wesen der Welt an sich, die Wurzeln der Individualität gehn (W. als W. u V. B 2. p. 635),

so ist Ihr Deus ex machina eben ein solcher. Schieben wir, Madam Freyheit vom Transcendental, sonst bekomme ich noch Krämpfe ! Ethik p. 90 wird mir ohnehin gesagt, daß mein roher Verstand hier incompetent ist. Danke schön !

Nun, ich schmeichle mir, daß ich nächstens das Vergnügen haben werde über dies und noch manch Anderes von Ihnen mündliche Belehrung u Aufklärung zu erhalten. Mit einer Hochschätzung, wie sie dem größten Denker des Jahrhunderts gebührt

bin ich Ihr Diener Bizonfy[9]

Packend ist diese jugendliche Begeisterung, das naive Selbstbekenntnis; für sein Alter überraschend, wie er sich in den verwickelten Gedankengängen der philosophischen Systeme auskennt; ergreifend sein polemischer Jugendmut. Bildungsgeschichtlich interessant sind Bizonfy's Mitteilungen von seinem Freundeskreis, von Herwegh und Wagner, die sich für Schopenhauer gleich ihm begeisterten. Man kann sich vorstellen, wie Schopenhauer die selbstbewußten, kämpferischen und zugleich begeisterten Zeilen des den Flegeljahren kaum entwachsenen Jungen gelesen hat.

Er schreibt am 30-sten Dezember 1854 an Frauenstädt:

> ... Einliegend 2 kuriöse Huldigungsschreiben. Der Ungar [Bizonfy — *B. L.*] nebst einer ganzen Cotterie schöner Geister, die gebannt sind (aus Deutschland) verlangen im Ernst, ich sollte im D e c e m b e r nach Z ü r i c h reisen, ihre Neugier zu befriedigen ! Habe höflich, freundlich und kurz geantwortet, daß ich auf schriftliche Controverse nicht eingehen könnte und gar nicht mehr reisete. Darauf ist erfolgt ein Buch von Richard Wagner, welches nicht im Buchhandel, sondern bloß für Freunde gedruckt ist, auf süperbem dickem Papier und sauber gebunden: es heißt »der Ring der Niebelungen«, ist eine Folge von 4 Opern, die er einst komponiren will, wohl das eigentliche Kunstwerk der Zukunft: scheint sehr phantastisch zu sein: habe erst das Vorspiel gelesen: werde weiter sehn. Kein Brief dabei, sondern bloß eingeschrieben: »aus Verehrung und Dankbarkeit.«[10]

Dem anderen Freunde, v. Doß teilt er am 10-ten Januar 1855 mit:

> ... Ich habe Ihnen noch meinen Dank für Ihre freundliche Einladung abzustatten. Aber ich bin ein Pilz, der fest sitzt: ohne Not reise ich nicht. Im Dec[r] hielt ich eine ähnliche Einladung nach Zürich: daselbst sitzt eine ganze Kotterie schöner, aber gebannter Geister, d. h. die den deutschen Boden nicht betreten, also nicht herkommen dürfen, mich zu sehn, daher sie mich zu sich einluden: Richd Wagner, Herweg, ein für meine Phil schwärmender Ungar, als Wortführer, u. a. m. — Das wäre etwas für mich ! im Dec[r] nach Zürich ![11]

Leider kennen wir nicht die an Bizonfy gerichtete ablehnende Antwort; falls sie während der vergangenen stürmischen Jahrzehnte nicht zunichte gegangen ist, kann sie irgendwo stecken; es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß der Brief an der erwähnten Zürcher Auktion versteigert worden ist.

Bizonfy gab aber seinen Entschluß, Schopenhauer zu begegnen, nicht auf. Vor der Gefahr der Verhaftung nicht zurückschreckend, reiste er nach Frankfurt.

Davon berichtet Schopenhauer in seinem Briefe an Frauenstädt vom 29-sten Juni 1855:

> ... Hier gewesen ist Bizonfy, hat, unter falschem Namen sich hier einen Tag versteckt gehalten, um im wohlverschlossenem Wagen, mit Zagen, mich zu besuchen. Ein schöner, sehr großer junger Mann; scheint wirklich Kenntnisse zu haben, in orientalischen Sprachen; sagt, er wolle in Zürich meine Philosophie dociren: ist vielleicht Wind. Beim Abschied küßte er mir die Hand ! worüber ich vor Schreck laut aufschrie.[12]

Es gibt kein ähnliches Dokument, das einen gleich tiefen Einblick in das geplagte Leben, in die bittere Seele des alten, enttäuschten, rückgezogenen, gescheiterten romantischen Romanhelden, wie der in der Akademiebibliothek bewahrte, unveröffentlichte,

zwanzigseitige Brief Bizonfy's an Josef Budenz, den er am 13-ten Juni 1885 an ihn gerichtet hat. (*Nyelvtudomány* [Sprachwissenschaft] 4—r. 153/2—c.) Er berichtet Budenz von seinen sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschungen, seiner Zurücksetzung. Er hielt sich für einen besseren Germanisten als Gusztáv Heinrich, der zum Professor der Germanistik ernannt wurde. Er bittet Budenz, um einen Vortrag von seinen etymologischen Forschungen an der Akademie halten zu können. Er legt dem Brief seinen Aufsatz, datiert 1871 bei: *Bizonfy's Notizen über die Verwandtschaft des Magyarischen mit dem Sanskrit. Ein Beitrag zur Etymologie der ungarischen Sprache.* Offensichtlich wollte er diesen 14-seitigen Aufsatz an der Akademie vortragen. Es bedarf keines Beweises, daß diese Forschungsrichtung Bizonfy's unwissenschaftlich war, aber seine Außerachtlassung war doch unrecht.

Wir erlauben uns, seine äußerst interessante Mitteilung vom Besuche bei Schopenhauer (an der 18-ten Seite des Briefes) wortwörtlich zu zitieren:

> . . . — Und selbst Arthur Schopenhauer, der bekanntlich über Alles und alle Leute, seine besten Freunde nicht ausgenommen, zu spotten pflegte, sagte mir mit Thränen in den Augen: «in tiefstem Herzen rührt mich die Selbstverleugnung, die der edele Kőrösi von Anfang bis zu Ende im Interesse der Wissenschaft bewiesen». Als ich darauf bemerkte, daß Kőrösi doch auf dem Holzweg gewesen, fuhr er mich mit Heftigkeit an: «Wie in aller Welt können Sie doch so albern reden ! Der Mann hat Blei gesucht und hat Gold gefunden. Und was noch mehr ist, er hatte, wie seine Darstellungen buddhaistischer Anschauungen darthun, den Werth des edelen Metalles sehr wohl erkannt.» So sprachen große Männer, deren Namen nie untergehen werden von einem großen Mann, dessen Andenken fortleben wird, wenn wir längst alle vergessen sind.

Die obigen Mitteilungen sind von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten beachtenswert: sie zeugen von einem überraschend frühen Kontakt eines Ungarn mit Schopenhauer; interessant sind die philosophischen Reflexionen und die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen des talentierten aber gescheiterten ungarischen Philologen; mit einem wohligen Gefühl nehmen wir zur Kenntnis, wie Schopenhauer Kőrösi Csoma Achtung erweist.

Béla Lengyel

[1] Von der lexikographischen und anderen Tätigkeit und dem Leben Bizonfy's s.: Magay, Tamás: *Angol—magyar és magyar—angol szótárak hazánkban 1945 előtt* [Englisch-ungarische und ungarisch-englische Wörterbücher in unserer Heimat vor 1945]. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967. S. 25–35. — Das englisch-ungarische Wörterbuch ist das erste Mal 1878, das ungarisch-englische 1881 erschienen; das Konversationsbuch Bizonfy's wurde 1885 herausgegeben.

[2] Schopenhauer és a századvégi magyar líra [Sch. und die ungarische Lyrik vom Ende des Jahrhunderts]. *Minerva*, 1. Jg. (1922.) Nr. 4–7. S. 241–251.

[3] Von seinem Leben und seiner Tätigkeit s.: Kerekes, Sándor: *Lomnitzi Meltzl Hugó* (1846–1908). Budapest, Minerva-Könyvtár. 1937, Nr. 107.

[4] S.: Frühm, Thomas: Unbekanntes aus dem Schopenhauer-Kreise: Der Briefwechsel Hugo von Meltzl's mit Julius Frauenstädt und Wilhelm von Gwinner. *Siebzehntes Jahrbuch der Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft*, 1930. S. 189–270.

[5] *Die Schopenhauer-Literatur*. Leipzig, 1880. Brockhaus. — Aus der Bibliographie erweist es sich, daß zu gleicher Zeit, als Meltzl als Student Schopenhauer kennengelernt hat, wurde der deutsche Denker in der ungarischen Fachliteratur bekannt, wie in der Schrift von Télfy, János: *Ethika, vagy bölcsészeti erkölcstan* (Ethik oder Philosophische Morallehre). Pest, 1864. S. 29–30.; Almási Balogh, Sámuel: Schopenhauer Arthur philosophiájáról. Értekezés (Über die Philosophie A. Sch.'s. Abhandlung). *Magyar Akadémiai Értesítő. Philosophiai, törvény és történettudományi osztályok közlönye* [Mitteilungen der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bulletin der philosophischen, rechts- und geschichtwissenschaftlichen Abteilungen). 5. Bd. Pest, 1865. S. 250–294). Vergl.: *A Ma-*

gyar Tudományos Akadémia Jegyzőkönyvei (Protokolle der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften). 3. Bd. Pest, 1865. S. 168.

[6] *Aphorismen im Geiste Schopenhauers.* Klausenburg, 1878, Joh. Stein.

[7] Der Briefwechsel von Meltzl geriet in den Besitz seines Studenten, des Gymnasiallehrers von Beszterce, Thomas Frühm. Meltzl's Briefe an Frauenstädt und Gwinner (wie es erwähnt wurde) hat die Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft veröffentlicht. Der größte Teil seines Briefwechsels ist unveröffentlicht. S.: Kerekes: zit. Werk. S. 86.

[8] Unsere Quellen: Bizonfy von sich selbst, im Vorwort des Englisch-ungarischen Wörterbuches (1878). — Szinnyei, József: *Magyar írók élete és munkái* (Leben und Werke ungarischer Schriftsteller). 1. Bd., Bp. 1891. Hornyánszky, Viktor Akadémiai Könyvkereskedése. S. 1094. — Szinnyei hat in seinem unveröffentlichten Briefe vom 8-en Juli 1890 um die biographischen Daten und das Verzeichnis seiner Tätigkeit von Bizonfy gebeten. MTA Kézirattár [Handschriftensammlung der Akademiebibliothek] 796/335. Vom Aufenthaltsort oder dem Dasein der Antwort wissen wir nichts. — *A Pallas Nagy Lexikona* [Das Große Lexikon Pallas]. III. Bd. Budapest, Pallas, 1893. S. 342. — Vom Leben Bizonfy's handeln vor allem die Artikel von Endre Csatkai. — Über ihn: Gulyás, Pál: *Magyar írók élete és munkái. Új sorozat* [Leben und Werke ungarischer Schriftsteller. Neue Reihe]. IV. Bd. Bp., 1942. Magyar Könyvtárosok és Levéltárosok Egyesülete. Spalten 700–701. Es ist interessant, daß die von mir behandelten Schriften Csatkai's über Bizonfy der Aufmerksamkeit von Gulyás entgingen. — Die Publikationen Csatkai's: *Séta a kismartoni temetőben. Schopenhauer magyar barátja* [Spaziergang im Friedhof von Kismarton. Sch.'s ungarischer Freund.] [Anonym veröffentlicht]. Sopronvármegye, 2. 10. 1927. Nr. 220.; Franz Bizonfy, ein Eisenstädter Gelehrter (1828–1912). *Mitteilungen des Burgenländischen Heimatvereins*, 1928. S. 63–64.; Aus dem Briefwechsel Franz Bizonfys (Briefe von Georg und Emma Herwegh und Franz Deák.) *Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatsblätter*, 1931. S. 326–331. — *Új Idők Lexikona.* IV. Bd. Budapest, Singer és Wolfner, 1936. S. 949. — Gulyás, Pál: *Magyar írók élete és munkái.* Új sorozat. III. Bd. Budapest, 1941. S. 470. — Magay, Tamás: id. mű. [zit. Werk]. — Bizonfy kiadatlan levele Budenz Józsefnek [Bizonfy's unveröffentlichter Brief an Josef Budenz] (13. 6. 1885.). Handschriftensammlung der Akademiebibliothek. *Nyelvtudomány* [Sprachwissenschaft] 4-r. 153/2-c. — Mündliche Mitteilung von Dr. Peter Krajasich (Wissenschaftlicher Rat der Burgenländischen Landesregierung im Landesmuseum Eisenstadt).

[9] *Der Briefwechsel Arthur Schopenhauers.* München, R. Piper & Co. Verlag 1933,. 2. Bd. S. 349–354. Brief 537.

[10] Daselbst. S. 358. Brief 541.

[11] Daselbst. S. 370. Brief 545.

[12] Daselbst. S. 391. Brief 556.

Ungarische Literatur in Schweden

Die in Schweden unlängst erschienene Bibliographie der ungarischen Literatur in schwedischer Übersetzung «Ungersk skönlitteratur i svensk översättning 1845–1978«, zusammengestellt von Maria Müller und Thomas Kertész, erfaßt die in den Jahren 1845–1978 publizierte Übersetzungsliteratur und strebt eine mögliche Vollkommenheit an. Die Bibliographie zählt vor allem die in Buchform erschienenen Einzelwerke und Anthologien auf, gibt aber gleichzeitig auch ein detailliertes Bild von den in verschiedenen periodischen Schriften veröffentlichten Übertragungen von Gedichten und Prosawerken. Die Verfasser widmen ein besonderes Kapitel den umfassenden Zeitungsartikeln und Studien, die sich mit der ungarischen Literatur auf essayistische oder wissenschaftliche Weise beschäftigen. Im Anhang (ca. 40 Seiten) findet man die Aufzählung jener ungarischen Theaterstücke, die auf schwedischen Bühnen aufgeführt oder im Rundfunk gesendet wurden, bzw. das Verzeichnis der ungarischen Romane und Novellen, die in Schweden verfilmt worden sind. Im Schlußkapitel stellen die Verfasser einige in Schweden lebende Schriftsteller und Übersetzer ungarischer Abstammung kurz vor.

Der interessanteste Teil der umfangreichen Einführungsstudie der Bibliographie untersucht das Verhältnis der in schwedischer Sprache publizierten ungarischen Werke zur gesamten ungarischen Literatur. Die statistischen Daten sind zwar nicht imstande, literarische Werte mit Vollkommenheit zu widerspiegeln, können aber mit wichtigen Informationen dienen. Der Hauptteil der Bibliographie enthält 427 Titel, davon sind 136 selbständige Publikationen (5) Anthologien und 131 Werke von einzelnen Autoren.) Die Beilagen enthalten 82, 10 bzw. 106, also insgesamt 198 Titel.

Das erste in schwedischer Sprache erschienene ungarische Werk ist *Stibor vajda* (Woiwode Stibor), ein Drama von Károly Kisfaludy (1788–1830). Das im Jahre 1845 in Prosa-Dialogform übersetzte Drama wurde in Schweden mit großem Interesse aufgenommen. Es ist eines der ersten Dramen, das die heikle Frage der damaligen ungarischen Gesellschaft, die sehr verspätete Abschaffung der Leibeigenschaft in ernster, mahnender Form aufwirft.

Der größte Teil der übersetzten Literatur gehört in das Gebiet der Lyrik. Diese in der ungarischen Literatur besonders dominierende Gattung reagierte am schnellsten und eindeutigsten auf die historischen und politischen Ereignisse bzw. auf die eintretenden gesellschaftlichen und sozialen Veränderungen. Gedichte der ungarischen Nationaldichter von weltliterarischem Rang, wie Sándor Petőfi (1823–1849), Endre Ady (1877–1919), Attila József (1905–1937), wurden in schwedischer Übersetzung mehrmals verlegt, das schwedische Publikum hatte aber auch Gelegenheit, die Dichtung von Bálint Balassi (1554–1594), Mihály Csokonai Vitéz (1773–1805), János Arany (1817–1882) u. a. kennenzulernen. Die Lyrik des 20. Jahrhunderts ist ebenfalls vielseitig vertreten. Die nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg auftretende Dichtergeneration, deren bedeutendste Repräsentanten heute bereits zu den Klassikern zählen, wurde dank der anspruchsvollen Übersetzungen in Schweden authentisch vorgestellt. Die Gedichte von Lőrinc Szabó (1900–1957), László Nagy (1925–1978), Sándor Weöres (1913–), Gyula Illyés (1902–1983) und Ferenc Juhász (1928–) lassen den Lesern in einige, mit hohem künstlerischen Anspruch geschilderten charakteristischen Momente der ungarischen Wirklichkeit der jüngsten Vergangenheit Einblick gewinnen.

Man kann mit Recht feststellen, daß in den Anthologien und in den selbständigen Gedichtsammlungen tatsächlich die besten Werke, die Perlen, der ungarischen Lyrik übertragen wurden. Es sind aber auch auffallende Mängel zu verzeichnen. So wurde der reichen, bunten und wirklich vielseitigen Dichtung von Attila József bis heute noch kein Band gewidmet. Den zweifellos schmerzlichsten und zugleich unerklärlichen Mangel sehen wir darin, daß die ansonsten ausgezeichnete Übersetzer bisher kein einziges Gedicht von Miklós Radnóti (1909–1944) übertragen haben, obwohl ohne seine zarte, innerhalb des tödlichen Lärms des zweiten Weltkrieges leise, aber bis in die Tiefe der menschlichen Seele dringende Lyrik, die moderne ungarische Poesie eingentlich unvollstellbar ist.

Das Drama ist die am schwächsten vertretene literarische Gattung in der Bibliographie, was wiederum die treue Widerspiegelung der realen Situation der ungarischen Literatur ist. Diese Gattung ist in keiner Periode der ungarischen Literatur dominant gewesen. Das bedeutet jedoch bei weitem nicht, daß außer Imre Madáchs (1823–1864) «*Tragödie des Menschen*», die bereits 1936 in schwedischer Sprache zugänglich war, in erster Linie Lajos Dóczis (1845–1919) *Der Kuß* und *Das Pferd* von Gyula Háy (1900–1975) die ungarische Dramenliteratur repräsentieren dürften.

Die Prosaliteratur, die in schwedischer Sprache veröffentlicht wurde, bietet ein Bild, daß viel charakteristischer, beruhigender ist und den eigenen ungarischen Wertbegriffen mehr entspricht, trotz der Tatsache, daß die vom Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts stammende Übersetzungsliteratur nicht immer die Hauptrichtung, sondern eher eine konservative, was ihren Wert anbelangt, zweitrangige Linie verfolgt. Die Namen und

Werke von Ferenc Herczeg (1863–1954), Zsolt Harsányi (1887–1943), Lajos Bíró (1880–1948), Jenő Heltai (1871–1957) Lajos Zilahy (1891–1974) kennzeichnen diese Richtung.

Der gelesenste ungarische Prosaschriftsteller ist auch in Schweden, wie im übrigen Ausland bis heute Mór Jókai (1825–1904). Romane und Novellensammlungen von ihm wurden in 22 Bänden veröffentlicht. Dieser auffallend große Erfolg ist seiner dynamischen, fesselnden Schreibweise und nicht zuletzt der Vielseitigkeit der von ihm geschilderten ungarischen Wirklichkeit zuzuschreiben, die von dem Publikum in ganz Skandinavien (die Behauptung bezieht sich also nicht nur auf Schweden) auch heute noch als eine «exotische» Welt betrachtet wird.

Es ist mit Freude zu begrüßen, daß die Romane *Gólyakalifa* (Storchkalif) von Mihály Babits (1883–1941) und *Ének a búzamezőkről* (Gesang von den Weizenfeldern) von Ferenc Móra (1879–1943), *Gyász* (Trauer) und *Iszony* (Abscheu) von László Németh (1901–1975) für den schwedischen Leser in seiner Muttersprache zugänglich sind. Auch die schönsten Stücke der Novellenkunst von Zsigmond Móricz (1879–1942) und das eigenartig humoristische Werk von Frigyes Karinthy (1887–1938) «Utazás a koponyám körül» (Reise rund um meinen Schädel), das sich besonders schwer zu übersetzen läßt, liegen in schwedischer Sprache vor.

Die Übertragung der modernen ungarischen Prosa erfolgt im schnellsten Tempo. An der Spitze der Liste steht die auch in Ungarn besonders populäre Schriftstellerin Magda Szabó (1917–) mit sechs ins Schwedische übersetzten Romanen, uzw. mit *Freskó* (Fresco), *Pilatus*, *Katalin utca* (Katalin Straße), *Az őz* (Rotwild), *A szemlélők* (Zuschauer) und *Mózes egy, huszonkettő* (Moses 1, 22.). Tibor Déry (1894–1977) folgt ihr mit seinen Romanen *A kiközösítő* (Der Exkommunizierende), *Kedves bóper* (Lieber Bóper) und *Niki, egy kutya története* (Niki, die Geschichte eines Hundes). Die zur jüngeren Erzählergeneration gehörenden Verfasser, Endre Fejes (1923–), Sándor Somogyi Tóth (1923–), Ákos Kertész (1923–), György Kardos (1925–), Géza Ottlik (1912–) und István Örkény (1912–1979) sind mit je einem Roman vertreten, die mit der hohen Qualität ihrer Werke zum Gesamtwert der Übersetzungsliteratur wesentlich beitragen.

Der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur wird in der Bibliographie nur eine relativ unbedeutende Rolle beigemessen. Der Grund dafür ist in der niedrigen Anzahl der vorhandenen Übersetzungen zu suchen. Die klassischen und modernen Werke dieser Literatur sind in Schweden eigentlich unbekannt. Außerdem ist der schwedische Büchermarkt mit den einheimischen Kinder- und Jugendbüchern von hoher Qualität in so hohem Grade versehen, daß das Interesse für Übersetzungen geringer ist, als auf dem Gebiet der Literatur für Erwachsenen. *A Pál utcai fiúk* (Die Jungen von der Paulstraße) von Ferenc Molnár (1878–1952) und fünf Bücher von Éva Janikovszky (1926–), geschrieben für Kinder im Alter von 5–10, repräsentieren diesen sich in letzter Zeit in Ungarn erfreulich schnell entwickelnde Zweig der Literatur.

Mit Hilfe der Bibliographie können wir über die bedeutendsten Übersetzer wichtige Informationen erhalten, die aus dem Originaltext, also vom Ungarischen ins Schwedische unmittelbar übersetzt haben bzw. übersetzen. Birger Schöldström (Mit seinem Namen verbindet man die besten Petőfi-Übersetzungen) und Valdemar Langlet (er war von 1942 bis 1944 Lektor für schwedische Sprache an der Technischen Universität Budapest) haben vielleicht das meiste für die adäquate Vermittlung der ungarischen Literatur in Schweden geleistet. M. Müller und T. Kertész führen auch einige in Schweden lebenden Übersetzer ungarischer Abstammung an. Hier müssen in erster Linie die Namen von Béla Leffler und seiner Frau, Signe Liljenkranz genannt werden, deren literarische Geschmack sich im wesentlichen nach den konservativen Tendenzen richtete. (Damit ist die hohe Anzahl der zu diesem Typ gehörenden ungarischen Werke zu erklären.)

Cálmán de Pándy und Hans Eric Stenborg haben die Gedichte der Anthologie «Ungersk dikt» übersetzt. Die Anthologie wurde 1944 veröffentlicht und enthält eine repräsentative Auswahl der ungarischen Poesie. Von der Generation, die in den Jahren 1956–57 nach Schweden kam, sind vor allem die Namen von Géza Thinsz und der aus einer slowakisch-ungarischen Familie stammenden Maria Ortman zu erwähnen. Beide haben mit ihren Prosa- und Lyrik-Übersetzungen zur Verbreitung der ungarischen Literatur einen wertvollen Beitrag geleistet. Weitere Übersetzer bleiben zwar in der Quantität zurück, aber auch sie haben auf hohem Niveau zur Verbreitung der ungarischen Literatur in Schweden beigetragen. János Csatlós, Miklós Gulyás, Péter Kádár sind die bekanntesten unter ihnen. Diese Übersetzer haben gleichzeitig mit ihren Zeitungsartikeln, Studien und Kritiken in der schwedischen Publizistik und in Fachzeitschriften für die Popularisierung der ungarischen Literatur in Schweden bedeutendes geleistet.

Es gilt als Tatsache, daß das schwedische Leserpublikum, auch im Vergleich zu anderen europäischen Völkern, lückenhafte Informationen über die ungarische Literatur besitzt, was vor allem auf praktische Gründe zurückzuführen ist. Der größte Teil der Übersetzungen wurde in Mangel an ungarischen Sprachkenntnissen mit Hilfe einer vermittelnden Sprache angefertigt, also nicht auf Grund der Originalsprache, deshalb ist der Wert des übersetzten Werkes in vielen Fällen mit dem Originaltext nicht identisch und auch störende Mißverständnisse bzw. Fehler sind nicht selten in den Übersetzungen zu finden.

Wenn wir die Bibliographie als Ganzes beurteilen wollen, können wir aber doch mit Freude feststellen, daß die bisher in schwedischer Übersetzung erschienenen Werke den realen Durchschnitt der ungarischen Literatur wiedergeben, und ein vielseitiges, farbenreiches Bild bieten.

Die Arbeit wurde vor allem für den Gebrauch in Schweden zusammengestellt (die Titelaufnahme folgt der Regel der in Schweden üblichen Katalogisierung), aber die Übersetzung der wichtigsten Fachausdrücke ins Ungarische ermöglicht es, daß die Bibliographie auch für den die schwedische Sprache nicht beherrschenden ungarischen Leser von großem Nutzen verwendet werden kann.

Hilda Merkl

Miklós Radnóti em Português

Miklós Radnóti acaba de merecer, em Portugal, uma antologia de 28 poemas, entre os quais alguns dos seus textos mais conhecidos. Lançada pela editora O Oiro do Dia, da cidade do Porto, coube a responsabilidade da tradução a Teresa Balté, que partiu de versões literais do professor Zoltán Rózsa, fundador do departamento de Português na universidade ELTE. Um retrato do autor, assinado por Armando Alves, acompanha a edição.

As relações luso-húngaras têm sido muito fracas ao longo dos séculos; por vezes, fica-se com a sensação de que Hungria e Portugal nada têm que oferecer um ao outro. Concorre para isso o afastamento geográfico e, nesta segunda metade do século XX, a sua integração em sistemas sociais e políticos diferentes. Acrescentaria: em sistemas linguísticos diferentes, igualmente.

É este, por certo, um dos maiores obstáculos ao intercâmbio cultural. A Hungria, sendo um país de tradutores — e aqui a necessidade deu lugar a uma tradição —, ainda

não se consciencializou de que a língua portuguesa tem, hoje, uns 150 milhões de falantes e, segundo os especialistas, é a que mais se desenvolve no mundo.

Presente em todos os continentes, por força da epopeia que constituíram os Descobrimentos no século XV, destacam-se Portugal continental e ilhas, o Brasil e os cinco países de expressão portuguesa em África. Diremos, então, que o domínio político de língua portuguesa abrange 10.686.145 km², sendo apenas superada pelo chinês, inglês, russo e espanhol.

A explosão, todavia, do português, como língua e cultura, foi atrasada por vários factores, sobretudo pelo isolamento que o país viveu por força do regime fascista, até 1974. Assim, as literaturas africanas confrontavam-se com a censura e os seus autores estavam ou incarcerados ou no exílio; a literatura brasileira vingava à base de dois ou três nomes, nomeadamente Jorge Amado; quanto à portuguesa, e no quadro das relações com a Hungria, pode dividir-se em duas fases.

Na primeira, é o fenómeno Camões. Zoltán Rózsa pôde, nestas mesmas páginas, fazer o balanço da recepção, na Hungria, deste autor, situando em 1800 (hoje diríamos em 1796) o conhecimento daquele por parte dos intelectuais húngaros. Figura romântica por excelência, depois romantizada, pelo percurso acidentado da sua vida, Camões era mais um exemplo de cantor independentista a opor à dominação austríaca.

A segunda fase emerge só após a Segunda Guerra, em 1952, altura em que alguns dos mais representativos ficcionistas começam a ser traduzidos. Se acrescentarmos o mesmo para Fernando Pessoa e uma antologia de poetas desde a Idade-Média, e ainda textos políticos, fácil é concluir que a parte portuguesa está em dívida para com a Hungria.

Não é que os ritmos de produção editorial sejam menores em Portugal. Em número de títulos devem ser maiores, devido a uma inflação de pequenas, médias e grandes editoras, incluindo as estatais; serão menores em tiragens, sendo uma das razões o alto nível de analfabetismo ainda existente. Mas, de qualquer forma, os países da Europa Central despertam pouco interesse, salvo se existem, no imediato, motivações políticas. Como não dão garantias de best-sellers e, depois, as línguas são refractárias ao sistema indo-europeu, podemos gritar milagre se os abstáculos se vencem e lemos, em português, um Tibor Déry, selecções de contos e pouco mais.

Daí que, neste momento, tudo se clarifique; estabeleceram-se ligações diplomáticas; desde 1977, estuda-se português em Budapeste; os contactos pessoais têm aumentando; sabemos que a edição húngara prevê reforçar-se com obras na língua de Camões. Que uma obra como *O Crime do Padre Amaro*, de Eça de Queirós, alcance uma terceira edição, isso é significativo.

Nas margens do Atlântico, só agora se começa. Quer dizer: às obras antes traduzidas, e creio bem que nunca directamente do húngaro, irão juntar-se outras, directamente desta língua, tão suave quanto intrigante. Está neste caso *Poemas de Miklós Radnóti*, que assim inagura um novo ciclo, esperemos que frutuoso. A indiciá-lo, acrescentaria uma outra antologia, esta de poetas húngaros, a sair no momento em que escrevo esta crónica, com selecção de Zoltán Rózsa, que a si agregou alguns dos melhores poetas portugueses e vai de Arany János a nomes da actualidade. Eu próprio tenho dado a conhecer, em notas sobre a literatura magiar, publicadas em jornais, autores como Janus Pannonius ou Csokonai Vitéz, além de traduções de "contos de um minuto", de István Örkény.

Que dizer, então, de Radnóti, que o leitor conhecerá melhor do que o articulista? Já tive oportunidade de escrever ser ele, eminentemente, um poeta antifascista, na premonição do destino, seu e do homem ocidental, bem como na estratégia clássica que adopta de combate à besta hitleriana.

Para o leitor conhecedor da poesia portuguesa, a primeira novidade em Radnóti é quando ele opta pela mediação clássica. Visceralmente pesquisadores linguísticos, os

poetas lusos autonomizam os seus meios de produção de sentido e, assim, nem sempre este sai intacto, derivando, e ainda bem na maioria dos casos, para uma multiplicidade de significações.

A mediação clássica — radicada, mesmo, em Horácio ou Vergílio — como recurso a formas, quer estróficas, quer verbais, originárias e purificadas, não atrai o autor português contemporâneo. Pessoa, com o seu heterónimo Ricardo Reis, tentou, por exemplo, a ode, mas, se deixou um que outro discípulo, não fez escola.

A par disto — Radnóti obrigado, numa situação-limite, a dar conta dos valores humanistas da civilização ocidental, preservando-os do modo mais clássico e seguro —, ressalta a *voz* do autor.

Incapaz de ser profeta, ele recusa, pois, o grito, e dá-nos o presente, opondo aos horrores da guerra a efemeridade das belezas intemporais. Não existe paradoxo entre efémero e intemporal, pelo simples facto de a consciência individual do poeta estar ligada ao universo das consciências livres, e intemporais, que ficam com a responsabilidade de aniquilar a ignominosa besta.

É importante que um dos valores, desse e de todos os presentes, que ele nos transmite, por vezes na maneira lírica de um Garcia Lorca, seja a capacidade de amar, trazida e transcendida por imagens simples do real quotidiano.

Essas duas características — opção do clássico e voz quase coloquial, que é mais dramática em quem não sofreu a fogosidade do futurismo — continuarão a assegurar a presença de Radnóti. Em Portugal, desde agora. E em breve outras vozes da poesia húngara lhe farão companhia.

Para terminar, algumas palavras sobre a tradução. Comparando com as versões em outras línguas, sente-se na portuguesa uma maior fidelidade ao original, na procura, sobretudo, da estrutura clássico-latinizante. Nesta, o verso respira livremente e mal se concebe que, à base de encavalgamentos, o amputemos no seu ritmo e lhe retiremos, assim, o fôlego indispensável.

Um exemplo. A "Quarta Écloga" dá, em português, 50 versos. Em italiano, na versão de Folco Tempesti (*Lirici ungheresi*, 1950), temos 79 versos. Na primeira estrofe, a relação é de 6 para 11 versos ! Uma poesia a pretender-se sóbria — que julga poder preservar valores em perigo — não deve ser traduzida em formas leves. Corre um espírito, ou um sentido, nos alexandrinos de Baudelaire, que, passado à redondilha maior ou menor, se volatiliza. O mesmo se passa com Radnóti.

Esta necessidade, ou a obediência a uma "razão disciplinada", foi já sentida pelos tradutores de "Carta à Esposa", que, salvo no caso francês, respeitaram a construção em oitavas. O mais difícil, porém, era dar o jogo de rimas emparelhadas. E este exercício parece-me interessante para definir, e dividir, as opõçes e a força dos vários tradutores. Ver um extracto da adaptação de Julia Reix, em *Histoire de la littérature hongroise des origines à nos jours*, Bp. Corvina, 1980, p. 457: ficamo-nos pelas rimas interiores; ver Umberto Albini, *Poeti ungheresi del' 900*, 1976, p. 117: sem rima, de métrica áspera. Melhor é já a versão espanhola, em *Antología de la poesía húngara*, Bp. Corvina, 1981, p. 254, com rimas perfeitas. A solução portuguesa é extremamente moderna: não despreza a música interior — como é sempre a do desejo ardente que o poemas integra —, nem quer, sob o risco de se tornar artificial, a rima pura. Sendo um texto de expectativa, é, também, de evocação: dos tempos que foram e hão-de vir. A proposta ideal, creio, é enveredar por uma dupla rima, toante e aliterante, excelentemente conseguida por Teresa Balté. Ou: o compromisso entre a perfeição rimática—impossível, como é impossível recuperar a mocidade — e a esperanca do regresso, para continuar a perseguir a paixão da mocidade. Num poema assim, a solução formal, sobretudo na rima, tem de ser evocativa. Para melhor acompanhar o drama de uma vida que o texto reflecte.

Ernesto José Rodrigues

Al. Roman's Publicistic Activity in Budapest

Al. Roman (1826–1897) — one of the initiators of Rumanian philology in Hungary — may be considered a prominent representative of the generation of 1848. Although he did not accomplish great feats, he acted in accordance with the ideas and endeavours of the revolution. He is mentioned by many as a successor to leading personalities of the "Transylvanian School" (Şcoala ardeleană), along with Aug. Treboniu Laurian, Ioan Maiorescu, Andrei Şaguna, Nicolae Popea, Ioan Ardeleanu, Vincenţiu Babeş and Atanasie Marienescu.[1]

He was the politician of national minorities and did much for the cultural development of native Rumanians, and for the strengthening of Hungarian-Rumanian bonds. In 1865, he was elected Member of Parliament for the Magyarcséke district of County Bihar. His parliamentary speeches prove that Roman was greatly imbued with a deep, perhaps even biased love and a readiness to sacrifice for his nation. First of all he kept in view interests of the Rumanians. One of his contemporaries described him thus: "he loves his nation madly", "he fights and spares no quater on his nation's behalf".[2] As a representative he wrote "The Plea of a Member of Parliament, in the Debate on the Secondary School Bill, in the Parliament of Hungary" (Discursul deputatului dietal — rostit cu ocasiunea desbaterei asupra proiectului de lege despre şcoalele secundare în casa deputaţilor Ungariei, Szeben, 1883).

He conscientiously fulfilled his calling as a teacher too. First, he taught at the secondary school in Belényes, then in Nagyvárad. "He was the soul of the pupils' reading circle at Nagyvárad, founded in 1852 . . ."[3] In 1863, when teaching of the Romance language started in Budapest, Al. Roman was appointed the first official associate professor, who "undertook the mission of educating the youth, as well as the whole Rumanian public, with solicitous care."[4] He was one of the presidents of the Rumanian students' political forum, the "Petru Maior Society" (Societatea Petru Maior), founded in 1868, and he turned against dualism. From this position "he made efforts to rouse holy ideas and an eagerness for the struggle in the hearts of the young, the struggle which they would have to fight for their language, their law and the interests of their nation, as former members of this society, after leaving school".[5]

In 1867, Roman became a member of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest, which at that time was called "The Rumanian Literary Society" (Societatea literară română). He took part in the activities of several committees, and he was a liaison between the Rumanian and the Hungarian Academies of Sciences. He made efforts to ensure that the proceedings of the Bucharest Academy reached Budapest. He himself made copies of numerous publications of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the Bucharest Academy.

One of the most comprehensive and complex of Al. Roman's activities developed in the sphere of publicism. He was an associate on many cultural and political magazines, these being: *Bucovina*, *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (The Transylvanian Magazine), *Naţionalul (Naţional)*, *Familia*, *Concordia* (Concord), *Federaţiunea* (Federation) and *Tribuna*.

As is known, the first printed Rumanian newspaper in Budapest was the *Biblioteca românească întocmită în 12 părţi* (Rumanian Book-series Compiled in Twelve Parts). Zaharia Carcalechi, publisher and vendor, issued it in 1821, while later in 1834, it was published in full print, namely "in the famous 'royal printing house' in Buda, where enlightened people, like Samuil Klein, Şincai, Maior and Teodorovici, were the proofreaders and 'accountants'".[6] The goal of Carcalechi's magazine was to rouse affection for the Romance language. One contributor was Damschin Bojincă, a historian. It printed

historical articles, as well as light prose and information, although individual poems could not be found on its pages.

From the Rumanian magazines published in Budapest, it is *Amicul Poporului* (People's Friend), which appeared in 1848, that is worth mentioning. It was a propaganda magazine, written in the clear style of folk anecdotes. In 1849, the magazine "Democrația" appeared.

After experiencing the destruction of the 1848 revolution, the social existence of the Rumanians in Hungary changed, too. The policy which developed, was more organized, and enriched itself with a great deal of active representatives coming from Rumanian and German schools. Pest once more became a small Rumanian centre.

In 1861, *Gura satului* (The Mouth of the Village) was published and, in 1865, Iosif Vulcan's magazine, the "Familia" came into existence. At the same time, Sigismund Pop, Al. Roman and Vincențiu Babeș — all politicians — published *Concordia* and the *Albina* (Bee). This is the epoch of open-minded Ferenc Deák, when the activities of nationalities were not checked so severely. Around Gojdu, Babeș, Vlad, Popa and other representatives, there amassed whole squads of combative young people.

Concordia was published on August 3, 1861, in Pest, from the press of I. Beimel and Vasile Cosma. It embodied political and literary goals, and was published twice a week.[7]

Its appearance was an important event in the history of Rumanian culture. It was the first Rumanian newspaper that was printed entirely in Latin. In 1848, its publisher, Sigismund Pop, was a representative in Hungarian parliament. Later, he changed his views and, abandoning the Rumanian national movement, he turned to the "opportunist" camp. Pop was the leader of the "Concord" (Concordia) in name only, as, in reality, it was Partenie Cosma, Ioachim Mureșan, Iosif Vulcan and, last but not least, Al. Roman who edited it.

In 1862, Roman married Sigismund Pop's daughter, Ida Victoria, and from that time onwards, he took over completely the management of the magazine.

On the pages of *Concordia*, Al. Roman kept an eye on Rumanian political life. He favoured the diplomatic recognition of Rumania. He advocated Prince Cuza's progressive policy,[9] and reproved the Boyars, who always "insinuated themselves into the strangers' favour, and were the servants to the then tyrants of the Rumanian people,[10] who wanted a new monarch, and who wanted to hand over the country to foreign intrigues.[11] He regretted provisions directed against the freedom of press, such as the suspension of *Românul* (The Rumanian) and the *Buciumul* (Alphorn). On the basis of one of Al. Papiu Ilarian's letters,[12] Al. Roman wrote an editorial in which he stood up for democracy, freedom and truth. He called the Rumanian government's attention to the fact that, if it directs the press towards its own praise all the time, it will produce mockery and satire. He thought that "the time for the liberation of the press had come".

In Al. Roman's magazine, Iosif Vulcan, among others, published pieces, namely original poems and some short-stories, with one translated from Jókai and a record of a journey. George Barițiu, who also appreciated the magazine, enriched it with his articles for years.

Literature was generally represented by patriotic, and love, poetry, written in folk-metre. Authors who contributed include Al. Papin Ilarian, C. D. Aricescu and Vasile Bumbac, but associates on *Concordia* also comprised of D. Bolintieanu, A. Densușianu, Gr. H. Grandea, T. Cipariu, Ioan Florentin and At. M. Marienescu.

Roman published his work under the name "Catone Censoriul", as he also did later in *Federațiunea* (Federation). He introduced the biographies of Rumanian members of the Hungarian Parliament, from 1863 to 1865. He also fought for the perfection of Rumanian

orthography through this magazine. He represented the standpoint that, in Rumanian orthography, the etymological-phonetic line had to be preserved, because one should deviate little from the original Latin form of Rumanian words.[13]

When he became the editor of *Concordia*, he intended to publish a big daily newspaper. Financial troubles, however, crossed this plan.

Roman opposed the government and denounced "all kinds of privileges and privileged people, all kinds of supremacy and supercilious people" unceasingly, he wanted freedom and equal rights for everybody, both individuals and nations.

Through his political views, he attracted attention, and he had his first libel suit at this magazine. He was imprisoned but finally granted amnesty. In 1865, he wrote an article against a certain Reichenstein, a Transylvanian vice-chancellor. The Budapest Royal Military Court of Law condemned him to four days' imprisonment and fined him 100 Forints, but this sentence was remitted by the emperor.

On June 5th 1865, Roman's wife, Ida, died and, from that time onwards, his differences with S. Pop became increasingly pronounced and irreconcilable. An unrelenting fight starter between editor and publisher: Pop wanted to ensure that Roman did not write articles unfavourable to the government; Roman refused to do this, and, on December 8th, 1866 he retired.

Concordia lost 400 subscribers after Roman's retirement. "This is an interesting and significant fact which highlights both the range of the magatine's circulation and Roman's personal political influence."[14]

The significance of *Concordia*, therefore, takes shape from the aforementioned. Nicolae Iorga describes it as follows: "a magazine, the level of which could not be reached by those from Bucharest and Iaş. Its articles were also noticed by Titu Maiorescu several times, without much tact, when he analysed the style of the "the Rumanian magazines in Austria".[15]

After having retired from this magazine, Roman was encouraged by many prominent Rumanian politicians, for example, I. M. Moldovan, to make preparations for the publication of a political magazine which would oppose the dualistic system. It would stand for the interests of the Rumanians' national rights.

Al. Roman realized that "Rumanian press in Austria needed to be refreshed and stimulated so that it would be capable of mobilizing the masses, whose vital interests are being endangered".[16]

On December 10th, 1867, he published a separate magazine with the title *Invitare la prenumeraţiune la jurnalul politic 'Federaţiunea'* (Invitation for Subscribers to the Political Magazine 'Federation') in which he introduced the programme of his soon-to-be published magazine. He called for the moral support of all Rumanians. He would have liked it, if his magazine could have reached the reading public every day, but this would have meant great financial burdens. The invitation consisted of several columns: here the subscribers had to write their name, address and the time of subscription. It was of interest to people pursuing cultural and political activities, who, at the same time, were commissioned to canvass for subscribers in the town or country in question, and, possibly, to become reporters for the magazine.[17]

The first issue of *Federaţiunea* appeared on January 3rd, 1868, while the last appeared on February 29th, 1876. The name Al. Roman gave to his magazine was a symbol of the policy of which he was a follower: namely, the transformation of the Austrian-Hungarian empire into a federal state. He considered this the only way for all the nations of the Monarchy to gain equal rights. The purpose of *Federaţiunea*, therefore, was basically the same as that of *Concordia*, although the differences emerged in the choice of military means, and the path to be followed.

Roman turned to the father of Rumanian publicism, G. Barițiu, and to I. M. Moldovan, asking them to write articles for his magazine and to help in the organization of subscribers. He intended to publish a magazine that was not only local, but got in the hands of all Rumanians, one which would awaken in people an interest in reading, with a clear and elaborate language.

Federațiunea embraced every moment of Rumanian social life, tracing the national and political movements of the Rumanians living in Hungary and Rumania. Its overt social character was highlighted by the fact that it discerned dualism as the "product" of aristocracy, which set up the "monopoly of civil rights".[18] It categorically refused all kinds of chauvinist manifestation, and preached brotherhood "among the Rumanians, the Hungarians and all nations". Its main endeavour was the dissemination of culture among the people.[19]

As can be seen, he appeared with a complex programme, serving the interests of the Rumanian people, in the inflamed, hostile political amphitheatre of his age. The programme aimed to fulfil three purposes: national, social, and cultural — in a most radical way.

Later, its political powers widened so much, that it was almost more widely read than the *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (Transylvanian Magazine). This fact attracted the attention of the authorities. The *Federațiunea* was one of the first Rumanian publications accused of instigating "against the probity of the Hungarian crown".[20] Therefore, there were eight libel suits brought against it during its existence.

In February, 1868, the press office of the government sent a translation of two articles to Károly Ráth, an attorney, to ascertain whether it was upholding the ninth section of the press laws. The attorney gave a negative answer, and called upon the prime minister, Gyula Andrássy, to urge quickly for an action against the Rumanian magazine at the cabinet meeting. The two articles that served as the pretext for this political action were "From Transylvania, 19th February" (Din Transilvania, 19 faur), signed "Cor"[21] and the editorial "Pest, 19th February/2nd March, 1868" (Pesta 19 faur/2 mart. 1868).[22]

Al. Roman came before an Assize Court on November 7th, 1868. In his speech for the defence, he again pointed out that dualism endangered civil rights and hindered the national development of the Rumanians and other oppressed nations.[23] He also gave utterance to his republican conviction stating that the manifestation of public opinion was punished only in monarchic states, where "liberty had not yet reached the level of development found in republican states."[24] Roman's speech was so impressive that he was acquitted.

On December 30th, 1868, Gyula Andrássy, the prime minister, called Roman, to congretulate him on his acquittal. However, he admonished him, saying that if the again noticed any abuse, Roman should not published it in the magazine, but notify him and he would take the necessary measures. Otherwise, he would again be called to account, and, possibly, convicted.

As was predictable, another libel suit was launched against him, due to the publication of *Pronunciament* (Declaration) in Balázsfalva and the following it gathered. The main demands of this declaration were the restoration of Transylvania's autonomy, and the reinstatement of the laws of the 1863–64 Parliament at Szeben, regarding the justification of the Rumanian nation, the assurance of their religion and the reformation of the Transylvanian parliament.[25]

At the same time, Roman published a 12-point-programme written by the magazine's politicians who dealt with nationalities and expressed his dissatisfaction with the activity of certain Rumanian representatives, "Let them do as they like, but never let

them dare to say they ever represented the country and the nation."[26] It is obvious that Roman, on the pages of *Federaţiunea* intended to attack — although not overtly — Rumanian members of parliament from Transylvania who were advancing on the government.

On March 18th, 1869, he was summoned to appear in front of the Pest Assize Court, was sentenced to one year and fined 500 Forints. His appeal to a higher tribunal was dismissed, and he had to serve his sentence in the jail of Vác from 18th January, 1870 to 18th January, 1871.

Roman felt sympathy and respect for the then Minister of the Interior, Boldizsár Horváth, whom he characterized in a letter as a "generous soul". Horváth did his best for Roman's release. In 1870, he even visited Roman in the jail and suggested he should appeal for mercy, on the appeal for mercy, on the occasion of the emperor's wedding day, April. 24th, 1870. Al. Roman refused to do this and would not give up his former, anti-dualistic principles.

After his release, he faced the law for the third time, due to one of G. Bariţiu's articles, for which he had taken the responsibility, as he had read the despaiting lines: "he has a big family, five children, etc.". István Vidács, member of the opposition, interceded on behalf of Roman, who was then acquitted.

He had further libel suits as the editor of the *Federaţiunea*, but his attitude and viewpoint with regard to power had never changed. In this respect, his activity reminds us of Ion Slavici, who fought against dualism in the "Tribuna" and, like Roman, he lived in capitivity in Vác jail, for his libel.

As can be seen, Al. Roman's protesting and oppositive magazine, had the most radical programme of its age as an aim. This radical orientation — from a national and social point of view — could be realized and preserved, only by the participation of its particularly talented associates. (I. Poruţiu, I. Hodoş, A. Horşa, A. Olariu, G. Bariţiu, I. Raţiu, I. Micu Moldovan, I. C. Drăgescu, A. P. Alexi and others). Al. Papiu Ilarian sent interesting articles, and political writings by Mihai Eminescu were published, under the name of "Varro". In these articles, which were the poet's first works he dealt with the political situation of Rumanian and, other nationalities, in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy.

While Mihai Eminescu's articles were published under the signature "Varro", other reporters also used pseudonyms, due to the severe censorship of the dualist system, e. g. "Iagu", "Aristide", "Publiu", or initials like I. C. D. Roman signed "Catone Censoriul", as he had done in *Concordia*.

The belles-lettres in *Federaţiunea* served the aims of the magazine's political orientation. Poems by Iosif Vulcan, I. S. Bădescu, A. Densuşianu, I. Popfiu, M. Pompiliu and A. P. Alexi were published. One poem each by I. Heliade Rădulescu, V. Alecsandri and Gh. Sion, and some essays by B. P. Hasdeu, C. Bolliac, A. I. Odobescu and G. Dem. Teodorescu were also re-published. Besides Roman, political articles were written by G. Bariţiu, Visarion Roman, Iosif Hodoş and N. Densuşianu; authors of historical and critical articles were I. M. Moldovan, I. Sălăjan, I. C. Drăgescu and A. Densuşianu. I. M. Moldovan and A. Densuşianu debated on the role of criticism in the sphere of Rumanian culture, standing against the "demolishing" criticism of Titu Maiorescu. The famous Rumanian critic sharply criticized (Transylvanian Magazine) *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (Bee) *Albina*, *Telegraful român*, (Rumanian Telegraph), *Transylvania*, *Foaia Societăţii din Cernăuţi* (The Cernăuţ Society's Magazine) and *Federaţiunea*, in his article entitled Limba română în jurnalele din Austria (Rumanian Language in Austrian Magazines) written in 1868.[27] Maiorescu acknowledged the significance of these magazines "in serving Rumanian political interests in Austria", but, at the same time, he was dissatis-

fied with the form through which they wanted to realize this aim. He was worried that "the success in policy will be to the deteriment of language". He condemned "the incomplete originality of Rumanian magazines in Austria", the incorrect usage of neologisms and archaisms.

During the existence of this magazine, Al. Roman had not only to fight against the different measures of the government, but also with his financial troubles, experienced from the year of the magazine's appearance. Roman turned to several Rumanian personalities of politics and culture. Among others, he requested the help of M. Kogălniceanu, C. A. Rosetti, A. G. Golescu, Eug. Carada and the Greek Catholicist Church. Nevertheless, he was not able to save his magazine. Due to these circumstances, the "Federation" (Federațiunea) was last issued in March, 1876, leaving a 10.000 Forints deficit behind and making its editor financially bankrupt. Roman was paying off his debts for 14 years, till 1890.[28]

In conclusion, we can say that *Federațiunea* fulfilled its purpose, for while being mainly against dualism, it had in view the realization of a cultural and mental unity, common to all Rumanians. In this aspect, it surpassed contemporary magazines, primarily through the combative behaviour of its founder, owner and editor. Its combative role in the political life of the Monarchy, surpassing all the other oppositionist magazine, was stressed by Péter Sugár.[29]

In his speeches in Parliament, and in his articles, Al. Roman intended to aid the endeavours of the Rumanian nation, while, at the same time, he invited the Rumanian and Hungarian nations to enter into friendship, concord and cooperation. Sándor Márki, his contemporary, characterized him as follows: "Roman is a man of wit, who treats the language very well and who knows the favourite wishes of his own nation; he wanted to satisfy as an editor maintaining his popularity, without creating special trouble with Hungarians".[30]

Katalin Kese

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[9] *Concordia*, Budapesta, anul IV., 1864, nr. 37 din 7/19 mai, p. 145.

[10] *Concordia*, Budapesta, anul IV., 1864, nr. 25 din 28 martie/3 aprilie, p. 99.

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[20] *Federaţiunea*, Budapesta, anul I., 1868, nr. 173 din 28 noiembrie/10 decembrie, p. 683–684; nr. 174 din 30 noiembrie/13 decembrie p. 687–688.
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[23] *Federaţiunea*, Budapest , anul I., 1868, nr. 179 din 11/23 decembrie. p. 707.
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Die Ausstrahlungen der deutschen Literatur auf Ungarn in der Barockzeit

Sowohl politische als auch konfessionelle Zersplitterung kennzeichnen die Lage von Ungarn im 17. Jahrhundert. Der mittlere Teil des Landes steht unter türkischer Herrschaft, Siebenbürgen wurde ein selbstständiges ungarisches Fürstentum, der nordwestliche Teil ist das sich auf Habsburg orientierende königliche Ungarn. In dem letzteren gewinnt von Anfang des Jahrhunderts an der Katholizismus immer mehr an Bedeutung, aber auch die evangelische Kirche faßt einen festen Boden, in Siebenbürgen und im angrenzenden Teil des Landes setzt sich die helvetische Reformation durch. Diese politische und religiöse Zerspaltung beeinflußt die ungarische Literatur sehr stark und bestimmt auch die Richtung der ungarischen Rezeption der europäischen geistigen und stilistischen Strömungen. Die meist katholischen Schriftsteller des königlichen Ungarns stehen vor allem unter dem Einfluß des italienischen Barocks: Bálint Lépes, Péter Pázmány, György Káldi und Mátyás Vörös Nyéki widmen ihre literarische Tätigkeit dem Dienst der aus Rom strömenden katholischen Restauration und dementsprechend nehmen sie ihre künstlerischen Mittel aus dem stilistischen Arsenal des italenischen Barocks. Die Tätigkeit von Miklós Zrínyi und István Gyöngyösi, den wichtigsten Gestalten des ungarischen weltlichen Barocks zeigt auch italienische Einflüsse, vergebens suchen wir in ihren Werken die Spuren der Kenntnis der deutschen Literatur.

Unsere Untersuchungen in Bezug auf die Ausstrahlungen der deutschen Literatur in Ungarn erzielen bessere Ergebnisse, wenn wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit der protestantischen religiösen Literatur widmen. Im 17. Jahrhundert studieren viele ungarische protestantische Intellektuelle an deutschen Universitäten, meistens in Heidelberg, aber auch in Straßburg, Marburg und Altdorf und sie unterhalten gute Beziehungen zu den ein-

zelnen Vertretern der deutschen protestantischen Literatur. So ist es auch u. a. bei Albert Molnár Szenci (1574–1634), der führenden Persönlichkeit der ungarischen kalvinistischen bürgerlichen Literatur, von der die ungarische Literaturgeschichte mit Recht behauptet: »ein lebendiges verbindendes Glied zwischen den ungarischen Prediger-Schriftstellern und den deutschen wissenschaftlichen Zentren.«[1] Ihre Verbindungen mit dem deutschen geistigen Leben wurden in der Fachliteratur schon bearbeitet,[2] in dieser Arbeit erwähnen wir nur die Werke der deutschen Schriftsteller, die von ihm ins Ungarische übertragen wurden. Zuerst sollten seine Psalmübersetzungen erwähnt werden, zu denen er den sehr populären Text Ambrosius Lobwassers zugrunde legte und die einen Höhepunkt der ungarischen protestantischen Gesangdichtung bilden. Mehrere seiner Prosawerke sind deutschen Ursprung, z. B. das Traktat *Discursus de summo bono*. Er übersetzte die deutsche Übersetzung von Josquinus Betuleius, deren Grundlage das lateinische Werk Georg Zieglers bildete. Szencis schriftstellerische Tätigkeit und Übersetzungsarbeit sowie seine Rolle in der Verbreitung der protestantischen Kultur wurde auch von Martin Opitz hochgeschätzt. Die hervorragende Persönlichkeit der deutschen Dichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts schreibt 1630 aus Paris in einem Brief an den Pressburger Márton Schödel, daß die Ungarn Szenci für seine wertvolle literarische Tätigkeit nicht dankbar genug sein können. Dieser Brief ist ein wertvolles Dokument, das die Verbindung zwischen den zeitgenössischen deutschen und ungarischen Schriftstellern beweist. Es lohnt sich die innigen Worte von Opitz zu zitieren: »In Klausenburg ist Alber Molnár ein gelehrter Mann, dem Ungarn am meisten von allen dort lebenden Literaten zu Dank verpflichtet ist. Wenn die Eurigen überlegen, durch welch große Arbeit er der Kirche und den Schulen half, setzen sie sein bisher wankendes Glück auf festen Boden.«[3]

Opitz würdigt und hält Szencis Verdienste in Evidenz auch an anderen Stellen, z. B. in der Vorrede seines Psalmbuches, in der er Lobwasser kritisiert und in der Szencis Name unter den besten Psalmübersetzern erwähnt wird.[4] All das bedeutet, daß sich Opitz mit Interesse dem ungarischen literarischen Leben zuwendet, auf jeden Fall muß er Szencis Tätigkeit sehr gut gekannt haben. Sein Interesse wird auch durch die ungarischen Beziehungen seines Lebenslaufes bestätigt. Es ist allgemein bekannt, daß er 1622–23 in Gyulafehérvár (deutsch: Weißenburg), an der Akademie von Gábor Bethlen unterrichtete und seine Erlebnisse in dem Gedicht *Zlatna* zusammenfaßte.[5] Trotz der barocken Elemente im Stil von Opitz vermuten wir aus diesem Gedicht das Naturerlebnis des Renaissance-Menschen und das historisch-ethnographische Interesse des Späthumanisten, herauszuhören, wir halten es nicht für zufällig, daß er von den Werten der ungarischen Literatur die Tätigkeit Szencis, des protestantischen Späthumanisten in Evidenz hielt und nicht die Werke der katholischen Barockliteratur.

All das gilt auch umgekehrt: im Ungarn des 17. Jahrhunderts kennen in erster Linie protestantische Schriftsteller Werke von Opitz. Außer Molnár Szenci kann János Csere Apáczai, der hervorragende Schüler und später Lehrer des Kollegiums in Gyulafehérvár auch einige Werke seines Lehrervorgängers gelesen haben, obwohl die Forschung in seinen literarischen Werken die Wirkung von Opitz nicht entdeckt hat.[6] Die ungarischen Protestanten können mehrere Opitz-Ausgaben gelesen haben. Darauf weist die Tatsache hin, daß auch in der Bibliothek des Debrecener Reformierten Kollegiums eine Danziger Edition aus dem Jahre 1637 von Opitz' deutschen Psalmen zu finden ist.[7] Außer diesen spärlichen Angaben kann nicht bewiesen werden, daß der deutsche Dichter auf die ungarische Literatur des Jahrhunderts bedeutenden Einfluß ausgeübt hat.

Ebenso wie bei Opitz gibt es auch von Grimmelshausens zeitgenössischer Rezeption keine Spur im Ungarn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Die Kriegsverhältnisse des Jahrhunderts und die widrige Lage des in drei Teile gespaltenen Landes boten genug Stoff zum barocken Roman, der nach dem Vorbild von Simplizissimus geschrieben, picareske Züge enthält,

aber in unserer Literatur gab es keinen Schriftsteller, der in dieser Hinsicht Grimmelshausen gefolgt wäre. Diese Möglichkeit wurde von Daniel Speer, dem nach Ungarn gekommenen Wandermusiker deutscher Abstammung ausgenützt, der von Grimmelshausen beeinflußt den Abenteuerroman Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus 1683 schrieb.

Hoffmannswaldau und Lohenstein finden nicht einmal einen ähnlichen Anklang in Ungarn, ihre Werke werden nicht ins Ungarische übersetzt, von ihren damaligen Kenntnissen haben wir keine Angaben. Gryphius aber war gut bekannt in den ungarischen protestantischen Kreisen. Sein Papinianus-Drama (Grossmüthiger Rechts Gelehrter oder Sterbender Aemilius Paulus Papinianus, 1659) wurde von Elias Ladiver, Schulrektor in Eperjes ins Lateinische übersetzt, umgearbeitet und kam dort in dem evangelischen Kollegium zur Vorführung. Der Text des Dramas war lateinisch, aber die Zwischenstücke werden auch deutsch, ungarisch und slowakisch vorgetragen.[8]

Ein sehr aktiver Propagator der deutschen Literatur in Ungarn war Daniel Klesch (1619–1697), der vielseitige Schriftsteller, Autor fast 40 deutsch- und lateinischsprachiger literarischen Werken: Schuldramas, Kirchenlieder, Erbauungsschriften Lehrbücher, Predigten, Gelegenheitsgedichte und eine Reihe von biblischen Historien. Er lebte in Nordungarn, in der Zips, und war ein von den bedeutsamsten Gestalten des in Ungarn lebenden deutschen Protestantismus. Später mußte er wegen seiner religiösen Tätigkeit in Deutschland Zuflucht suchen. Als Béla Pukánszky festgestellt hat: »Er war wirklich tätiges Mitglied der deutschen Sprachgesellschaften, nicht nur ‚die Gans unter den Schwanen, ein Ungar unter den deutschen Dichter', wie er sich bescheiden nennt. Sein höchstes Lebensziel ist die Pflege der deutschen Helden-Zucht- und Muttersprache. Als literarische Vorbilder schweben ihm der Grammatiker Clajus, Opitz und Fleming vor.«[9]

Ende des 17. und Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts können wir auf die große ungarische Rezeption von einigen Werken der deutschen lutheranischen Mystik aufmerksam werden. Das zeugt davon, daß István Huszti (1671–1710), der Hofarzt des Siebenbürger Fürsten, Johann Arndts Erbauungsschrift Paradiesgärtlein der Fürstin Frau Apafi Kata Bethlen gewidmet, »aus dem Willen der hochwürdigen Frau« erscheinen läßt und sie 1698 in Klausenburg herausgibt. Arndt ist außerordentlich volkstümlich im Kreise der ungarischen protestantischen Adligen. Szidónia Kata Petrőczi, die erste ungarische Dichterin, übersetzte Teile aus dem Wahren Christentum. Auch die weiteren zwei Erbauungsschriften übersetzte die vielverschlagene Dichterin aus den Werken der führenden Persönlichkeit der deutschen lutheranischen Mystik ins Ungarische. Ihre Wirksamkeit ist ein schönes Beispiel dafür, daß sich die von verschiedenen Schicksalschlägen getroffene protestantische Religiösität »wie gern der sentimental-mystischen Andacht von Arndt zuwendet«.[10] Nach dem Erscheinen von mehreren Teilübersetzungen erschien der ganze ungarische Text des Wahren Christentums 1741 in Jena als Ergebnis der gemeinsamen Arbeit von drei ungarischen evangelischen Geistlichen Márton Vázsonyi, György Bárány Szenicei und János Szabó Sartorius.

Außer Arndt ist in Ungarn auch die Wirkung seines Schülers Johann Gerhard, eines Jenaer Theologieprofessors, sehr groß. Boldizsár Perinna Zólyomi, Prediger in Sempte, übersetzte schon 1616 fünfzig Betrachtungen und das Gebetbuch Gerhards ins Ungarische. Kennzeichnend für ihre große Popularität ist, daß sie Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts mehrmals erneut herausgegeben wurden, so z. B. 1710 von Mihály Ács, der unter dem Einfluß des Pietismus steht, dann übersetzte sie in den dreißiger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts aufs neue József Inczédi, Richter in Nagyvárad. (Sie erschienen 1745 in Nagyszeben und 1754 in Nagyenyed.) Inczédi betont in der Vorrede seiner Übersetzung, das Werk, das seine Lieblingslektüre war und ihm Seelentrost spendete, ihn zu der neuen Übertragung inspirierte.

Bereits in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts war Márton Madarász, Pastor in Eperjes, ein begeisterter Popularisator der deutschen evangelischen Erbauungsschriften. Er übersetzte eine Schrift von Gerhard unter dem Titel Die Übung des frommen Lebens sowie zwei Reflexionensammlungen Balthasar Meisners (1587–1626), der als Wittenberger Theologe Vorbote der deutschen Reformorthodoxie und des Pietismus (Lőcse, 1635 und 1641) war. Die letzteren widmete er Zsigmond Prépostvári, dem königlichen Rat von Ferdinand III, was darauf hinzeigt, daß die Empfänglichkeit für den evangelischen Mystizismus auch in der Umgebung des Königs bekannt war.

Der sich in dem letzteren Viertel des 17. Jahrhunderts entfaltende deutsche Pietismus beeinflußte das ungarische geistige Leben und unsere Literatur in sehr großem Maße. Die Bewegung, die 1675 der Dresdener Pastor Jakab Spener in Bewegung setzte und von August Herman Francke in breiten Kreisen verbreitet wurde, fand Ende des Jahrhunderts und Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts viele Anhänger.

Das ungarische geistige Leben kennend, ist es keinesfalls überraschend, weil die besten Denker der ungarischen herrschenden Klasse, Katholiker, Evangeliker und Reformierte zugleich, der immer mehr erstarrenden und konsolidierenden Orthodoxie gegenüber die Wege der innigeren Religiösität suchten. Teils das deutschsprachige teils das evangelische Bürgertum von ungarischem Ethnikum, das in enger Beziehung zur Hallenser Universität und selbst zu Francke steht, nahm den Pietismus auf. Die Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in Ungarn hält in den Jahren um die Jahrhundertwende viele deutschsprachige literarische Werke aus Siebenbürgen und Nordungarn in Evidenz.[11] Wir deuten aber nur auf die bedeutendsten ungarischen Werke hin, die unter deutschem Einfluß entstanden, da vor allem diese die heimatliche Rezeption der deutschen geistigen und stilistischen Strömungen kennzeichnen.

Viele Werke August Herman Franckes wurden Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts übersetzt und bearbeitet. Zwischen 1700 und 1714 hatte nämlich die pietistische Universität in Halle 112 Studenten aus Ungarn, die den berühmten deutschen Theologen für ihren geistigen Führer hielten.[12] Márton Vázsonyi (1688–1724), Direktor einer Schule in Győr übersetzt zwei Bücher von Francke *(Kurze Anleitung von Francke bzw. die Regeln des Lebens nach der Heiligen Schrift,* Halle, 1711). Er stellt hier die Gestalt des idealisierten Pastor des Pietismus dar und stellt ihn den ungarischen Evangelikern vor. Das berühmte pädagogische Werk George Franckes betitelt Kurzer und einfältiger Unterricht übersetzt er ins Ungarische und veröffentlicht es ebenso in Halle (1711). Die ungarischen Pietisten erwähnen die deutsche Stadt »als Haus der wahren Wissenschaft und Erbauung«, der ungarische Adel schickt immer mehr Studenten, die studieren möchten, nach Halle. Es ist kennzeichnend, daß sogar der reformierte Gelehrte in Nagyenyed, Ferenc Páriz Pápai seinen Sohn dorthin schickt, damit man ihn an der Hallenser Universität zu einem ausgezeichneten Fachmann für das Unterrichtswesen erzieht. Francke selbst empfängt die Ungarn sehr herzlich, einer seiner besten Schüler war nämlich, Mátyás Bél, sein Beispiel sehend äußerte er sich so: «Ich nehme gern alle Jungen aus Ungarn auf.»[13]

Unter den ungarischen Städten steht Preßburg an erster Stelle in der Rezeption der pietistischen Bewegung, deshalb bezeichnen es die Zeitgenossen als »kleines Halle«. Außer den Städten von Nordungarn und einigen Städten von Transdanubien nehmen auch die Siebenbürger Sachsen die sich aus der deutschen Universität ausstrahlenden Ideen auf. Der wichtigste Verbreiter des Siebenbürger Pietismus ist András Teutsch (1669–1730), Bürgermeister in Nagyszeben, Graf der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Er studierte in Wittenberg, Utrecht und Jena, dann verkündet er im Geiste von Spener die evangelische Reformbewegung. Mit Francke steht er in einem lebhaften Briefwechsel und lenkt das geistige Leben der Siebenbürger Lutheranen nach dem Vorbild von Halle. Er schrieb

mehrere deutschsprachige Erbauungsschriften und gab eine Psalmensammlung Davidische Harfen (Hermannstadt, 1707) heraus, die nach dem Vorbild von Freylighausen in Halle zusammengestellt wurde.[14]

Die deutschen Kirchenlieder von mystischem und pietistischem Geist tauchen in zahlreichen in Ungarn erscheinenden deutschsprachigen Gesangbüchern Ende des Jahrhunderts auf. Besonders *Das neuvermehrte und verbesserte christliche Gesangbuch* (Lőcse, 1686) bietet wertvolles Material, das viele Gedichte Paul Gerhards, der hervorragenden Gestalt der deutschen barocken kirchlichen Lyrik und seiner Zeitgenossen, enthält. Bald erscheint auch die große Sammlung der pietistischen Lieder in ungarischer Sprache *Zöngedező mennyei kar* (Lőcse, 1696), die von Mihály Ács (1631–1708), einem evangelischen Geistlichen, zusammengestellt wurde, er übersetzte die meisten Lieder aus dem Deutschen. Die musikgeschichtliche Forschung führt auch die Melodie von 36 Liedern aus dieser Sammlung auf deutschen Ursprung zurück.[15] Besonders das Lied, Jesu meine Freude, das mit dem Text Johann Francks und mit der barocken Melodie von Crüger verbreitete, wurde in Ungarn so sehr populär, daß es auch von katholischen und kalvinistischen Gesangbüchern übernommen wurden. Der deutsche Text zeigt die charakteristischen Züge der evangelischen Mystik:

Jesu meine Freude, meines Herzens Weide,
Jesu meine Zier!
Ach wie lang, ach lange ist dem Herzen lange
Und verlangt nach dir!
Gottes Lamm, mein Bräutigam,
Ausser dir soll mir auf Erden,
Nichts sonst liebers werden.

Die ungarische Übersetzung:

Jézus életemnek, öröme szívemnek,
Oh mint óhajt lelkem!
Kíván belső részem, én édességem
Én édes reményem!
Istennek áldott Fija, Te kívüled senki nintsen,
Szívem kit szeressen!

Der ungarische Text folgt getreu dem originalen und erscheint im 18. Jahrhundert in zahlreichen Gesangbüchern. Die ungarische Pietisten gaben mehrere erweiterte Ausgaben der Sammlung Zöngedező mennyei kar im 18. heraus, die umfangreichste von ihnen entstand unter der Leitung von József Torkos, Rektor in Győr. Die Sammlung *Uj zöngedező mennyei kar* (Frankfurt, 1743) enthält mehr als 600 Lieder.

Während sich Mihály Ács der ältere durch die Übersetzung deutscher Lieder und Gebete von pietistischer Gesinnung auszeichnete, arbeitete sein Sohn, Mihály Ács der jüngere (1672–1711) an der ungarischen Herausgabe der wichtigsten Werke der pietistischen Theologie. Für den jüngeren Ács setzte sich Spener selbst bei Francke ein, damit er in Halle studieren konnte. Von dort heimgekehrt, ist er Pastor in verschiedenen nordungarischen Städten und später evangelischer Prediger des Fürstenhofes von Ferenc Rákóczi II. Er veröffentlichte aufs neue die Gerhard-Übersetzung Perinna Zólyomis (Bártfa, 1710), die ein Jahrhundert früher entstand. Dann übersetzte er das Werk Positiva theologia von Johann Friedrich König, dem deutschen orthodoxen Theologen und gab ihm den Titel *Magyar theologia* (Bártfa, 1709). In der Vorrede des Werkes widmet Mihály Ács seine Arbeit dem Grafen Miklós Bercsényi und seiner Frau, und erörtert, daß bedauerlicherweise die Werke der älteren Doktoren der Theologie, Hunnius Aegidius, Hafenreffer, Johann Gerhard, Johann Arndt und anderer größtenteils vergriffen sind,

deshalb braucht man die Herausgabe eines neuen theologischen Handbuches. Das Werk ist nicht so sehr die Übersetzung der orthodoxen Ansichten von König, sondern vielmehr ihre Bearbeitung, ihre Annäherung zur pietistischen Gesinnung und dies zeugt auch von der Empfänglichkeit für den Pietismus seitens des Auftraggebers, der Familie Bercsényi, welche eine der bedeutendsten Familien in Ungarn ist.

Um die Jahrhundertwende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert bildeten also das städtische Bürgertum und der evangelische Adel die gesellschaftliche Basis des in Ungarn sehr verbreiteten Pietismus. Die Siebenbürger Sachsen und die oberländischen deutschen städtischen Bürger, besonders in der Zips, genossen eine verhältnismäßig große Autonomie, sie bewahrten eifersüchtig ihre Privilegien und erlaubten nicht gern, daß sich Fremde innerhalb der Stadtmauern niederlassen. Die immer stärkere Gegenreformation und die sich Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts entfaltende Rekatholisierung brachte auch sie den ungarischen Evangelikern näher, und so brachten teils die in Ungarn lebenden Deutschen teils an deutschen Universitäten studierenden ungarischen Jugendlichen die religiöse Literatur der zwei Völker in eine engere Verbindung denn je.

Es kann letzten Endes festgestellt werden, daß sich die Ausstrahlung der deutschen Literatur auf Ungarn im 17. Jahrhundert auf die Werke der protestantischen religiösen Literatur beschränkt und vor allem auf diejenigen pietistischen religiösen Lieder, die Manfred Windfuhr in seiner ausgezeichneten Monographie über die barocke Bildlichkeit als eine späte, sich umwandelnde Phase des barocken Metaphorismus bezeichnet.[16]

Sowohl die katholische Literatur als auch die weltliche ungarische Barockliteratur (Pázmány, Lépes, Káldi bzw. Zrínyi und Gyöngyösi) orientieren sich aufs Italenische,[17] die protestantischen Erbauungsschriften aber haben viele Beziehungen zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur. Die frühen mystisch-asketischen Schriftsteller (Arndt, Gerhard) sowie die Vertreter des Pietismus (Spener, Francke) trugen mit ihren Werken dazu bei, daß das Bild der ungarischen Literatur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert durch die geistigen und stilistischen Elemente, die aus ihrer Arbeit entsteht, mannigfaltiger und bunter wird.

István Bitskey

[1] *A magyar irodalom története* (Die Geschichte der ungarischen Literatur) I. Szerk. Klaniczay Tibor. Budapest 1964. 67. und Handbuch der ungarischen Literatur. Hrg. Klaniczay, T. Budapest, 1977. S. 69–70.

[2] *Turóczi-Trostler, József: Albert Szenci Molnár in Heidelberg. Studien zur Geschichte der deutsch-ungarischen literarischen Beziehungen.* Berlin, 1969. S. 70–99.

[3] *Szenci Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai* (Tagebuch, Briefe und Schrifte von A. Szenci Molnár), Hrg. L. Dézsi. Budapest, 1898. S. 396–398. Bán Imre: *Apácai Csere János.* Budapest 1958. 62. Discursus de summo bono. Hrg. *Vásárhelyi, J.* In: Régi Magyar Prózai Emlékek IV. Budapest, 1975. S. 19.

[4] Die Psalmen Davids nach den französischen Weisen gesetzt durch Martin Opitzen. Dantzig, 1637. Vorrede.

[5] Szyrocki, Marian: *Martin Opitz.* Berlin, 1956. S. 52–58. Jakab, Béla: *Opitz Márton a gyulafehérvári Bethlen-iskolánál* (Opitz in der Bethlen-Schule von Gyulafehérvár). Pécs, 1909. Gragger, Robert: Martin Opitz und Siebenbürgen. *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 1926. S. 313–320. Komor, Ilona: Tanulmányok a XVII. századi német—magyar kulturális érintkezések köréből (Studien über die ungarisch-deutschen kulturellen Wechselbeziehungen im XVII. Jht.) I. *Filológiai Közlöny* 1955. S. 543–544.

[6] Siehe Bán: Op. cit. S. 47 und 470.

[7] Siehe Not. 4.

[8] Angyal, Dávid: Gryphius A. magyar színpadon (Gryphius auf ungarischer Bühne) In: *Philologiai dolgozatok a magyar—német érintkezésekről.* Szerk. Gragger R. Budapest, 1912. S. 75–76.

[9] Pukánszky, Béla: Geschichte des deutschen Schrifttums in Ungarn. *Deutschtum und Ausland* 34/36. Heft. Münster in Westphalen, 1931, S. 246–250.

[10] Szentiványi, Béla: A pietizmus Magyarországon (Pietismus in Ungarn), *Századok* 1935, S. 36.

[11] Pukánszky: Op. cit. 245–341. und Nachdrucke deutscher Erbauungsschriften aus ungarländischen Offizinen des 17. Jhts. *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1931, S. 244–251.

[12] Feyl, Othmar: Die führende Stellung der Ungarländer in der internazionalen Geistesgeschichte der Universität Jena. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena—Tübingen*, 1953–54. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Heft 4–5, S. 401–445. Jügelt, Karl-Heinz: Ungarische Gelegenheitsdichtung des 17. und 18. Jhts in der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena. *Studien zur Geschichte der deutsch-ungarischen literarischen Beziehungen*, Berlin, 1969, S. 100–112.

[13] Szentiványi: Op. cit. S. 159.

[14] Szinnyei, József: *Magyar írók élete és munkái* (Leben und Werke ungarischer Schriftsteller), Budapest, 1914, S. 58.

[15] Papp, Géza: *A XVII. század énekelt dallamai* (Die Melodien des XVII. Jhts), Budapest, 1970, S. 30 und 172.

[16] Windfuhr, Manfred: *Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker. Stilhaltungen in der deutschen Literatur des XVII. und XVIII.* Jhts, Stuttgart, 1966, S. 440.

[17] Es gibt natürlich einige Ausnahmen; vgl. Holl, Béla: Tasi Gáspár. *Acta Hist. Litt. Hung.* X—XI. Szeged, 1971, S. 99–106.

Eine Goethe-Feier

Im Rahmen einer für das Fachpublikum und interessierte breitere Kreise veranstalteten Konferenz huldigte die Ungarische Gesellschaft für Literaturgeschichte (e. V.) in Nagykőrös dem Andenken zweier Jubilare: János Arany und Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Der erstere, vor 100 Jahren gestorben, ist neben Alexander Petőfi einer der meistgeschätzten Dichter der Ungarn; zur Goethe-Feier gab einen Anlaß das Goether-Jahr.

Im Zentrum jenes Teils der Varanstaltung, der dem Andenken Goethes gewidmet war, standen drei Vorträge profunder Kenner des Dichterfürsten, die mit großer Aufmerksamkeit aufgenommen wurden.

Professor Előd Halász, Ordinarius in Szeged (Szegedin) sprach zur Rezeption Goethes in Ungarn. Einleitend stellte er fest, daß die Art der Rezeption von der empfangenden Seite bestimmt wurde, indem das Werk bzw. Teile des Goetheschen Werkes organisch in die Bildung und das kulturelle Leben Ungarns integriert wurden. Vor und um 1832 wirkte vornehmlich die lebendige Gestalt des Dichters durch seine Autorität und allseitige Ausstrahlung. Als erste Periode seines geistigen Weiterlebens dürften wir die ersten fünfzig Jahre nach seinem Tod bezeichnen. Am breitesten habe er durch die höhere Schule und im zunächst deutschsprachigen, später deutschkundigen Handels- und Gewerbebürgertum gewirkt, und zugleich galt sein Werk als integrierender Teil der »einzig zeitgemäßen gültigen Bildung«, er sei neben Heine der meistgelesene ausländische Lyriker gewesen. Das bedeutete andererseits ein Goethe-Bild des gediegen bürgerlichen Ethos, versinnbildlicht in erster Linie durch *Hermann und Dorothea* und den *Schatzgräber*, ein Goethe-Bild einer den Buddenbrooks auf einer etwas niedrigeren Stufe verwandten Atmosphäre. Gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts sei er durch den Abwehrmechanismus der nationalen und nationalistischen Kulturtendenzen etwas in den Hintergrund gerückt worden, in der Zeit zwischen ben beiden Weltkriegen spielte das bürgerliche Element bei seiner Aufnahme eine geringere Rolle, er war zumeist im Kreise des jüdischen Bildungsbürgertums eine gewissermaßen familiäre Pflichtlektüre. Darüber hinaus wirkte er in der Bildungsstruktur bürgerlich-humanistischer Observanz zunächst durch die

Vergleiche mit der *Tragödie des Menschen* des Ungarn Imre Madách, durch die Iphigenie-Übersetzung von Michael Babits, einem der führenden Poeten der Periode, des weiteren vermittelt durch die essayistischen Schriften des späteren Opfers des Faschismus, Antal Szerb, nicht zuletzt jedoch auch indirekt über die Leitfigur der humanistisch-liberalen Intelligenz, Thomas Mann *(Lotte in Weimar)*. Nach 1945 hätte man den kämpferischen Humanisten in den Vordergrund gestellt, vorherrschend wäre die übergreifende Wirkung der Goethe-Studien von Georg Lukács' gewesen. Später seien die wichtigsten Monumente der Goethe-Verehrung die Faust-Übersetzungen (vornehmlich die von László Kálnoky), die großangelegten Auswahl-Ausgaben (u. a. die sechsbändige, ausgewählt und eingeleitet von Előd Halász — eine Bemerkung des Berichterstatters) und die Goethe-Monographie von György Walkó. Nicht unerwähnt dürfe die allgemeine Wirkung und Integrierung in die Gesamtbildung bleiben, was durch die Aufnahme seines Werkes bei Tausenden ausgebildeter und auszubildender ungarischen Germanisten gefördert wäre, in deren Studienprogramm Goethes Schaffen breiten Raum einnehme.

Lajos Pók, namhafter Germanist und leitender Mitarbeiter eines Verlags für populärwissenschaftliche Sachbücher sowie Verfasser gewichtiger Goethe-Studien, sprach unter dem Titel »Wozu Goethe? Varianten auf ein Thema« von verschiedenen Aspekten der inkommensurablen Erscheinung Goethe. Einleitend betonte er seine Universalität und Harmonie, die Einheit von Kunst, Wissenschaft und Praxis in seinem Leben. Im weiteren konturierte er zunächst den jungen Goethe, insbesondere sein Bekenntnis zu einem auf neue Art begriffenen Griechentum und seine Neuentdeckung Shakespeares, dann Goethe, den »Detektiv der Erkenntnis«, d. h. den Mann der vielfältigsten wissenschaftlichen Interessen. Eine besondere Betonung erhielten seine Auffassungen über den Zusammenhang von Kunst und Natur, über den Primat des Weltbürgertums gegenüber der nationalen Enge und über die Einheit des Gedankens und der Tat. Zum Abschluß stellte der Redner fest, daß Goethes Wirkung in den verschiedenen Varianten des Realismus des 19. Jahrhunderts weiterlebte.

György Walkó, einer der bekanntesten und berufensten Germanisten, Redakteur von *Nagyvilág*, der Budapester Zeitschrift für ausländische Literatur, nicht zuletzt Verfasser einer weit verbreiteten Monographie über Goethe, sprach ein »Nachwort zum Goethe-Jahr«. Mit der Abwandlung einer ungarischen Dichter-Frage (»Haben die Bücher der Welt einen Fortschritt gebracht?«) »Hat Goethe . . .?« wies er auf die genialen Irrtümer des Dichterfürsten hin (wie z. B. in seiner Farbenlehre), die zwar vor der exakten Spezialwissenschaft nicht bestehen können, einer tieferen, dialektischen Wahrheit aber näherkommen als die Thesen der letzteren. Der Redner fesselte im weiteren Verlauf seine Zuhörer mit der Kundgabe einiger eigener Forschungsergebnisse, z. B. mit Indizien für den Einfluß Goethes auf Vörösmarty, den größten Dichter der ungarischen Romantik (von dem übrigens auch das abgewandelte Zitat stammt), und mit dem Bericht über die als Sensation geltenden Resultate der Goethe-Forschung der jüngsten Zeit.

Die Goethe-Sektion der Tagung fand mit den Schlußworten des Vorsitzenden der Gesellschaft, Professor Gábor Tolnai, in würdiger Weise ihren Abschluß.

Miklós Salyámosy

Remembering János Arany on the 100th Anniversary of his Death

Representatives of the Hungarian intellectual elite have paid hommage to the life-work of a faithful, bashful genius of impeccable character, in Nagykőrös on the 100th anniversary of the death of János Arany.

Arany's literary culture and poetic practice were deeply and intimately rooted in old Hungarian literature.

Already in the home of his parents he had become acquainted with local myth, tales, legends, songs, and historical memoires. During his student years in Nagyszalonta and Debrecen he read with eagerness the works of Hungarian literature before the language reform: from Miklós Zrínyi to István Gyöngyösi, from the triple history of János Haller to the popular book called Fortunatus.

Helped by his knowledge of Greek, Latin, German, English, French, Italian, he came into the possession of a tremendous amount of knowledge of world literature. He read the works of Homer, Sophocles, Vergil, Shakespeare, Tasso in the original as the outstanding works of the world literature of his time. His translation of Aristophanes and Shakespeare are truly brilliant. The life-work of János Arany is a peak, a summary of the literary process of many centuries. Moreover, this is against the background of his exceptionally reach familiarity with foreign literatures. His work combines Hungarian and European elements. He was a universal genius whose talent could only be measured by universal yardstick.

Arany was born in Nagyszalonta, on the 2nd of March, 1817, into a family of impoverished nobility. His splendid career, rich in outside recognition, celebration as well as inner torment, started in this environment. It was the appearance of *Toldi* (1847) that made him an acknowledged poet of the nation. Moreover, this work brought him the friendship of Petőfi, who made a profound impression on his poetry and entire way of thinking and who also decisively influenced his attitudes to the war of independence of 1848/49. After the productive years in Nagykőrös Arany moved to Pest (1860); where he became director of the Kisfaludy Society and, subsequently, Secretary General of the Academy.

The sensitive poet, having moved from patriarchal, rural Nagykőrös to Pest which was about to become a big city, not only sensed the political and social changes, the storms of the human soul but experienced them so deeply that at the twilight of his life, in the cycle *Őszikék* (Meadow Saffron), he probes poetry's paths into the future. On October 22nd, 1882, Arany breathed his last.

His life-work had become a national force. A long series of generations have felt, as we do today, "as if his poetry would be mother nature itself, inhabited by the human community with its past, present and future". At the same time, this œuvre has always stood in the cross-fire of literary-aesthetic disputes. Each generation formed its own Arany-image: now his lyrics, now his epics were given a priority, now the folk roots of his poetry has been doubted or over-stressed, now his participation was ignored in 48/49.

For Hungarian researchers of the present the critical edition of the poet's works, published by the Academy Publishing House, provides a secure point of departure.

It's heartening that the research of the totality and its single phases, takes place simultaneously, in different literary-scholarly workshops, with diverse methods, by partly diverse approaches; this research work proceeds fruitfully and promisingly. With regard to the analysis of individual Arany poems and their interpretation we can also report an

increasing refinement of methods. More and more, Arany scholars operate within the system of co-ordinates of the phenomena of world literature.

These tendencies were reflected in the scholarly remembrance session held in Nagykőrös, between october 15 and 17, 1982, organized by the Language and Literary Science Division of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Society of Hungarian Literary History, the Literary Committee of the Scientific Educational Society, the city council of Nagykőrös and the Arany János Society.

The nearly ten productive years (1851–1860) spent by János Arany in Nagykőrös as teacher at the protestant high school marked culturally the Golden Age of this provincial town. There were so many eminent, nationally known and recognized scholars among the faculty of the school that the contemporaries could justly say "half of the Academy is in Nagykőrös".

The program began by a visit of the János Arany memorial exhibition. The opening Speech was made by Professor Dr Antal Wéber. László Novák, director of the János Arany Museum gave a lecture about the Arany-cult in Nagykőrös and about the links between the poet and the city.

Of the historical, literary-theoretical and aesthetic problems of the œuvre the following have been discussed at the session: the two periods of Arany: questions of popular epics and the new initiatives of the 50-s (dr József Mezei, professor), the moral of the self-portrait poems (dr Judit Kiczenkó, assistant professor), new possibilities of approaches to *Toldi's love* (dr Miklós Csűrös, assistant professor); analysis of Arany's Bánk bán studies (dr Miklós Nagy, associate professor); Arany-image of the generation grouping around the magazine *Nyugat* (dr Kálmán Pálmai, associate professor); Arany's relation to Tasso: historical fidelity by Arany and Tasso, lyric and epic credit (Gábor Tolnai, academician; Arany's search for path, elements of Arany's poetry pointing to the future (István Sőtér, academician), the Arany image of present Hungarian lyricists (dr Károly Alexa, assistant professor).

The lectures and the discussions that proceeded in their wake under the chairmanship of dr Mihály Czine professor and Gábor Tolnai, academician, represented the most important trends in the Arany research, and, in the wider sense, also of XIXth century Hungarian letters. They have helped to a better, deeper knowledge of the Arany-œuvre.

Márton Tarnóc

The Centenary of the Kner Printing-house in Gyoma

The Kner printing-house, in the middle of the Great Plain was founded in June, 1882, and still plays a leading role in the continuing history of Hungarian book printing, which began in 1473. The printing-house, which used modest equipment and had a narrow circle of customers, arose with the help of the founder's, Izidor Kner (1860–1935), organizing ability and high professional demands. At the turn of the century Izidor Kner was aided in his enterprise by his publishing of inventive and modern administrative forms. Between 1902 and 1910, he extended his factory to such point that, before World War I, he had some 150 employees. His son, Imre Kner (1890–1945), who studied in Leipzig,

entered his father's factory in 1907 as a technical manager. The reformation of the Hungarian book style is linked mainly with their names: on the basis of the economic and technical innovations Izidor Kner introduced, Imre Kner realized a publishing and artistic programme which joined the progressive trends of Hungarian intellectual life. His endeavours were supported by family members and the experts at the factory who worked at a high level, had a better than average salary and special social services.

The centenary of the existence of Kner's printing-house was celebrated in Budapest and in Gyomaendrőd, (on account of an administrative fusion Gyoma is now a part of it) as a most significant anniversary in both Hungarian typography and cultural history. The programmes were prepared by a commemorative committee made up from representatives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Department of the Science of Language and Literature; the Hungarian Applied Arts School, Department of Typographics; the Technical Society of the Paper and Printing Industry; the Kner Printing-house in Békéscsaba — including the workshop in Gyoma — and other experts. At the celebrations, the members of the family were received with distinguished honour, especially Erzsébet Kner, the only living child of the founder, who made her mark in artistic book-binding.

The first part of the series of programmes, all linked by content, was held on Sept 23rd, 1982, at Budapest in the ceremonial hall of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The presidential opening speech of Miklós Szabolcsi, academician, stressed the example of the Kner's œuvre to the present generation. Then three lectures were held.

Professor Gábor Tolnai, academician, Head of Department at Loránd Eötvös University and Chairman of the 'Kner Commemorial Committee' outlined the role of the Kners in Hungarian cultural history, in his lecture "The Poet of Letters". He compared their activity with the struggles of the prominent 17th century typographist, Miklós Tótfalusi Kis, who conscientiously served national education. Gábor Tolnai was the friend and theoretical comrade of Imre Kner who died a martyr in the fascist pogrom. He was a member of the Leftist intellectual group "Artistic College of the Szeged Youth", founded at the beginning of the 1930's together with György Buday, Gyula Ortutay and Miklós Radnóti. He introduced the most characteristic features of Kner's personality, creative behaviour and Weltanschauung with the help of personal letters and memories. Imre Kner, gifted with great will-power, diligence and respect for work from early youth, solved his provincial isolation through intercourse with progressive intellectual minds in Budapest and Szeged. Besides his temporary journeys, he joined these progressive circles through strong and professional, but still far-flung and friendly correspondence. His responsible and anti-Fascist Hungarian character, professed before and during the war, was formed by his European knowledge and humanitarian philosophy. Imre Kner — as Gábor Tolnai proved thoroughly — was deeply attached to his country and identified himself with the Hungarian people's culture after the inactment of the anti-Jewish laws. He began strengthening the progressive traditions against fascism. He wanted the same in typography as Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály did in music. (Imre Kner's wife was Béla Bartók's pupil and his daughter was Zoltán Kodály's student at the Budapest Academy of Music.) More publications from Imre Kner's last period prove his concern with the mentioned purposes; he published a leaflet by Béla Zsolt in defence of Karl von Ossietzky, winner of the Noble Prize for Peace, who was arrested by the Nazis; he published Miklós Radnóti's volume of poems, the libretto of Zoltán Kodály's Psalmus Hungaricus, Miklós Tótfalusi Kis' autobiography "Excuse" and Ferenc Kölcsey's "National Traditions", from 1826. Gábor Tolnai extensively participated in the programme-like publication of "The Excuse" (he wrote the postscript) and recalled, as a contemporary witness, Imre Kner's exemplary and professionally perfect work, the effect of the book in 1940, in the year of publication and Kodály's essay on the volume.

Professor György Haiman, Head of Department of Hungarian Applied Arts School, the initiator of the Kner-research, introduced the role of the Gyoma typographers in the reformation of Hungarian printing art in his lecture ("The Kners in the Applied Arts Movements of Their Age). At the time of the Kner printing-house's foundation, Hungarian printing had arrived at the epoch of stronger industrialization, so its handicraft features had weakened. Despite eclectic letter material from Vienna and Germany and the historic ornaments, monotony characterized the prints. Izidor Kner utilizes early on the modern trends in typography coming through from Germany. His small printing-house had already published its book of type specimens in 1895 following Japanese forms, following the so-called "free trend". In 1900, he issued a magazine, *Röpke Lapok* (Fleeting Leaflets) professing conscious art and, in the name of secessionism, he charged contemporary, well-known Hungarian draughtsmen with designing casual prints (for example, invitations to balls). Imre Kner's first books were also published in the seccessionist style, but, in 1911, he tries a publication without any external ornaments which subordinated form to utility. The influence of English typography, with William Morris, touched Imre Kner only in 1911–1912.

Imre Kner's independent purposes in book art formed between 1914–1920. On the basis of the Leipzig exhibition of Deutscher Buchgewerbeverein in 1914, he broke away from secessionism. Following Béla Balázs's progressive literary endeavours, Imre Kner wished to combine noble traditions with the introduction and acceptance of machine-made mass-books – carefully produced average goods with particular contents. He considered modern applied arts to be one of the most important means for qualitative production. In the first period of realization (1920–1927), Imre Kner's comrade-in-arms was Lajos Kozma, an architect. With ornaments and wood-prints based on the Baroque style, Kner published a significant series in 1921–22 (Kner Classics, Monumenta Literarum) from the very best of Hungarian and world literature.

Ornaments designed by Kozma were superseded in Kner's books from 1928 onwards, after Kner had surveyed the situation of European typography in the Leipzig and Köln international exhibitions of printing art in 1927 and 1928 respectively.

After several attempts, Imre Kner was given a leading role in more professional organizations within Hungarian printing, book and advertizing art. He held effective lectures and organized exhibitions for the sake of "the noblement of machine-made books". In the second half of the 1920's, his interest definitely turned towards classicistic letters and typography and he created nationally traditional books in a classical style; this style characterized the last period of his œuvre. As a follower of this reformed style, he opposed the usage of Jan Tschichold and C. H. Klenkens' letters in Hungary.

The third lecturer of the commemorative meeting was Imre Bata, literary historian, Editor-in-chief of the magazine *Élet és Irodalom* (Life and Literature). In his lecture "The Kner Printinghouse and Writers" he first analyzed Imre Kner's study "Society and Individual Culture", written in 1921. This work summarized the Kners' views on the realization of unity between mass books produced on a high level and printing traditions. Later, Imre Bata drew attention to the important people, professionals and friends, who played a leading role in the completion of connections between well-fabricated books and modern printing techniques. In the Baroque epoch of the first half of the 1920's, besides architect and artist-craftsman Lajos Kozma, György Király, the prominent literary historian, was Kner's fellow-worker, while later Lajos Fülep,the excellent art historian and philosopher gave him advice. Kozma, Király and Fülep were all followers of the 1918–1919 Hungarian revolutions, and they were given professorships during the Soviet Republic. The Horthy regime deprived them all of their university-chairs, because they would not refute their convictions. In 1919, Imre Kner became a member

of the state management of Culture in the proletarian dictatorship, where he found he had some sympathy. He was looking for progressive social powers at the "Szeged Youth" group in the 1930's: supporting them, he tackled the publication of "The Excuse" and "National Traditions" in the first period of World War II. The lecturer recalled that at the owners' book-presenting auction, between 1936–1941, some thirty thousand volumes generously were sent to workers and provincial people's libraries.

The commemorative meeting continued in Gyomaendrőd, on September 24th, with an informal introductory speech by Lénárd Pál, academician, Secretary General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

At the seat of the celebrating printinghouse, three lectures were held. Ferenc Szabó, the director of museums in County Békés, surveyed the regional historical background and the effect of the printing-house's establishment in his lecture "County Békés and the Kner Printing-house". Besides family connections (Izidor Kner's father was also a book-binder in Gyoma), the main reasons for the foundation of the printing-house there were that Gyoma was unprovided with printed products, while at the same time being near the railway, it had significant trade, and the inhabitants were progressive-minded. Gyoma was part of an upswinging epoch from the second half of the 1880's and its citizens were becoming stronger although the manufacturing industry failed to be established. The lecturer introduced the patriarchal atmosphere in the printing-house, the harmony of professional demands and the defence of the workers, the coexistence of the Kners and organized labour. He sketched Izidor Kner's many-sided role in public life in Gyoma and County Békés and the appreciation of the printing-house in the country. Between the two World Wars, this printing-house was the only significant industrial factory in Gyoma that, in spite of the economic recession of the territory, remained on the side of the exemplary workers policy. During the pogroms, numerous administrative leaders in Gyoma and County Békés took the Kners under their protection.

Mrs. Botond Lévai, Deputy Manager of the Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen, studied Izidor and Imre Kner's publishing activity in the light of their era's literary endeavours in her lecture entitled "The Intellectual Connections of the Kner Printing-house". She, as the bibliographer of the Kner publications between 1882—1944, outlined the formation of the authors, speaking of the 566 independent Kner books published to order or as internal issues. In the first two decades, he mainly published the volumes of less important writers and poets of the territory; then, the authors' books gathering round the humorous Budapest weekly, *Borsszem Jankó* (Tom Thumb). Imre Kner's connections with the prominent writers and poets of Hungarian progressive civil literature formed around 1910 and from this time on, he published their new works. He remained faithful to this group between the two wars and he maintained his connections with several groups of Leftist intellectuals, especially those who were able to help him in the re-publication of valuable classic pieces from Hungarian and European literature, and also in the reformation of traditions.

Károly Petőcz, Art Manager of the present Kner printing-house, manager of the Gyoma printing-house for almost two decades and book-designer, summarized professional traditions and the experiences of a typographer who knows present book-producing technology thoroughly, in his lecture "Tradition and Book Producing". He told how they had succeeded in the recreation of book production, following the Kners' traditions, among new circumstances after an initial temporary set-back — i.e. from the beginning of the 1960's. Artistic mass books can be produced with a modern, highly productive technique — said Károly Petőcz — if the view, the professional self-regard and self-control of the printers can be developed and strengthened. He stressed the important

moral of the Kners' era: the right selection of technique to work in accordance with the most adequate, economic and appropriate organization of processes and marketing.

Following the lectures, Pál Háromszéki, General Manager of the Kner printing-house, awarded orders and medals, then a film was presented "The Confession of the Printer" made on the occasion of the centenary about the past and present of the factory.

On September 25th, near the first situation of the printing-house in Gyomaendrőd, Pál Gyulavári, Town-President in County Békés, unveiled Izidor and Imre Kner's memorial stone. On the monument of András Kiss Nagy, sculptor, Izidor Kner is seen as the pioneer of Hungarian industry and Imre Kner as the reformer of Hungarian printing art.

On the same day, there took place the opening of the re-organized permanent exhibition of the Kner Printing-house Museum which was set up in 1970, but then temporarily closed due to the complete renovation of the building. The Museum, which is in Imre Kner and his family's house, (which was itself designed by Lajos Kozma and built in 1925) was inaugurated by Imre Győri, President of the National Public Educational Council and a former worker of the printing-house. Imre Győri, who was working with Imre Kner for years, commemorated warmly the traditions of the democratic atmosphere and the high level, professional standards within the factory.

Expanded press and broadcasting reports drew attention to the printing-house. Three significant publications were issued on the centenary: Mrs. Botond Lévai—György Haiman; *The Kner Printing-house in the Light of its Pubtications 1882–1944*, Vols I–II (Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1982); Miklós Balog (Ed.); *Within the Boundary of a Century, The History of the Gyoma and Békéscsaba Factories* (Kner Printing-house, Békéscsaba, 1982); *Monumenta Literarum* I–II — a facsimile publication of the 24 booklets published in 1921–1922 (Magyar Helikon Publishing House, Budapest, 1982).

Ferenc Szabó

Festivities for Babits

On 5 August 1956, *Gábor Tolnai* published a Babits' poem in *Szabad Nép (Free People)* which started like this: *We saw him, the Antichrist rise.* It was an important and symbolic moment in the poet's post-life. With the fact of the publication of the poem the forum publishing it indicated that the supervision of the cultural-political conception which excluded Mihály Babits, Imre Madách, and to a certain degree János Arany, has started, and the publication itself indicated: the silence, which centered around Babits' character since 1948, was broken.

There was mainly a political reason for this silence. The new social system developing after 1948, naturally turned to the radical moments of history when it looked for its mental forerunners. It felt that its real forebears were those who had pointed at the socialist-like societies. That is why Bohn Lilburne of the 17th century, Jean Meslier and Morelly of the French 18th century stood in the limelight, who either anticipated the later philosophical and political development or were the spokesmen of rational socialism at their age. And Gabriel Mably's philosophy of the communist-like society, and Robespierre, Tchernisevsky, and Maiakovsky from Russian cultural history, Batsányi, Petőfi and Attila József from the Hungarian past were also in the limelight. In the exclusion of Babits there was (apparently) a political-personal aspect besides the political-ideological aspects. People who took part, though not equally, in the formulation of the cultural-political conception after 1948, observed the post's role between the two wars from emigration. The poet József Révai, the aesthetician György Lukács, who

were in a professional connection with Babits at the beginning of their career, before 1919, compared their own direct, unconditional attitude in the end of the 1910s to the possibilities of a period of the 1930s they did not know, with the poet's gestures wishing/wanting demarcation; and from this they reached the conclusion, related to the beginning of the 1950s, that Babits' time has not arrived yet. It was stated by József Révai in front of Gyula Illyés.

There were also aesthetic reasons for Babits' neglect. The revolutionary changes of the 20th century recalled the romantic poet-ideal, the validity of the people's tribune and prophet all over the world. The typical meditating character of Heine and Gorky, the Yesenin-like longing to get off, uncertainty, and undulating faith, and the poesy which is mainly sensitive to private life, realized by Ahmatova were pushed into the background. The undoubtedly greater poetic quality could be replaced with the reflection of the social change without transposition. Babits with this weighing moralizing view did not seem to meet the desirable poet-ideal either. This repreference of the romantic poet-ideal in art also meant the priority of experience, orientation to the present and the wish of genuineness.

Two kind of poet-ideals come up against each other: Petőfi's ideal, who fulfilled all these demands, and János Arany's ideal according to whom the main feature of great poetry is a new kind of combination of details. Babits, who denied the experimental lyric poetry of the century, and waited for new colour and music from the poems, who deliberately did not publish and denied his early poems, forming Sándor Endrődi and Emil Makkai, considered Arany's poem model as a standard.

The poet's reception, started in 1956, was furtherly hindered by the development of history. Although a two-volume selection of his works was published in 1959, and it was followed by Dezső Keresztury's long study, but the number of copies which did not satisfy the readers' demand; the offical reaction to the study, and also to István Sőtér's essay, published in the same year, which had reservations, led to the conclusion: the political and aesthetic problem which made the Renaissance of Babits impossible, have not ceased to exist yet.

That is why Babits' philology could not really blossom till the middle of the 1970s. While the poets: Lajos Kassák, Gyula Illyés, Ágnes Nemes Nagy, Ferenc Jankovich, György Rába, Sándor Weöres and others echoed Lőrinc Szabó's words in poems (namely that mankind had only twenty or thirty geniuses like Babits during some thousand years), the studies could only undertake the registration of one part or work but these writings — mainly Lóránt Basch's, Imre Bata's, György Belia's, Zoltán Éder's, István Gál's, Lajos Pók's, Tamás Ungvári's, works fulfilled very important functions. On one hand they secured the continuity of the research, one the other hand they solved a series of part problems in a way, that their results could be exactly built in Babits' picture becoming more and more complete in the synthesis-creating age of the reception, that is the second half of the 1970s.

This last period of the Babits-research, going on even today, was started by four studies and part monographs: the writings of Béla Németh G., István Király, Gábor Tolnai and György Rába's two dissertations *(About the Self Addressing Verse-Type* and the *Similarity, Similitude, Parable)* from 1968, István Király's academic inaugural, the comparison of one of Ady's and one of Babits' poems in 1972, marked the desirable direction of the further research by the poetic and ideal-historical approach of the works, Gábor Tolnai' study, the *Distressing Yourself*..... from 1975, turned the attention towards the importance of the more tinged cognition of the age, towards the authentic, and not excluding interpretation of Babits' role, and towards the necessity of this kind of interpretation. György Rába's book, the *Beautiful Unfaithful People*

from 1969, showed the validity of Babits' theory of poems and translations could only be composed by the comparative view which examines European poetic practice.

So the most important aim and content of the centennary festival in 1983, was the polemic with the former picture, and the summary and building evaluation / evolution / development further of the results of the new research era. This program was realised especially by an itinerary congress and a scientific session besides all publishing activities of the jubilee year: the publication of György Rába's small monograph, György Belia's book registrating the years of the studies, the collection of the most important studies following his career under the title of *Babits' Hundred Years*, and besides the different local publications, the memorial copies or papers and magazines, and commemorations. The first congress was organized by the Department of Linguistic and Literary Sciences at the MTA (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), the Hungarian Society of the History of Literature, the national committee of TIT (Society for the Dissemination of Knowledge) and its organisation in Baranya county, the Council of Baranya County and Pécs, the second one was organized by the Department of Linguistic and Literary Sciences of the MTA, the Hungarian Writers' Society, and the organization of the Hungarian Society of the History of Literature.

The itinerary congress and the session had some common characteristics. Their most apparent feature was unanimous opinion of literary historicians', aestheticians, poets — of the dramatists about Babits' values. The formers placed Babits into a European prospect, proved his importance by aesthetic arguments, never qualifying his career in opposition to social practice, but — remaining in the authentic aesthetic system — appreciated him in the history of the development of Hungarian lyric poetry, besides the European one, the latter ones, many of whose, with the beautiful word of Ágnes Nemes Nagy, streams that had their sources from a hill called Mihály Babits, did not only undertook to confess the determining feature of the tradition in poems but also told their opinion by mixing the methods of literary science and private confession during the course of the analysis of his whole career, a part problem, or a work.

The lectures, which were not cut off from polemics, could be characterized by competence. The lecturers did not speak about their reading-experiences, they did not use the means of popularizing journalism, they did not make up theories, separated from the work. They did not appreciate the poet and the philosophers important for him and the era according to the point of view of the present. They identified themselves with Goethe's thought as Béla Németh G. referred to it in the presidential final speech of the session, they considered the multiple-meaning of the great works as a starting point. They enforced the point of view of historic-quality. For example they examined what Nietzsche meant for the debuting Babits besides for the start of Gyula Juhász and Ady, what the secret of his liberating effect was, and not the fact how the philosopher's system of thoughts was compromised later. Starting from the acceptance of the principle of multiple-meaning, and not from the realization of the non-aesthetic facts which leads us to confusing, disturbing and false tracks, they put certain problems into new connections and did not deal with some that seemed to be important, sometimes even decisive earlier. For example they did not speak about his being the curator of the Baumgarten-prize, about Babits' and Attila József's relation, they did not examine the connection of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and the poet in the antinomy of acceptance and denial, but in the relation of the whole career, in the system of co-ordinates of the development of the personality.

The two conferences were also characterized by the difference of the approaches.

The unchangingly effective quality of *philological methods* was shown by József Nagy's dissertation, registrating Babits' connections in Pécs, Lóránt Kabdebó's lecture,

Attractions and Choices. Mihály Babits, Lőrinc Szabó, Gyula Illyés, Gábor Tolnai's lecture, *Three Mosaics to Babits' Portray*, and by Előd Halász' lecture *About the History of European Literature*. In their practice philology was real "philology", the one Aristotle, Theophrastos, Aristoxenos and their companions considered their specialized branch of science. That is: hermeneutics, glossography, biography, and the combination of all these things, which sees the selected theme in the thorough knowledge of the whole life-work and the era. Lóránt Kabdebó summarized the friendship of Babits and the two poets belonging to the next generation, in his work (which perhaps will be the first chapter of a future book, dealing with relation history). With the exact interpretation of the facts he put the history of their meeting, friendship (and in Lőrinc Szabó's case: parting) into words in a way that the aesthetic, historical reasons and the reason of the history of mentality, appeared in the decisions, determining their relation, with equal forces. In his *Three Mosaics* Gábor Tolnai wrote about Mihály Babits and Italy, the background of *The Book of Jonah*, the history of the origin of the poem starting in the following way: *It is strange to go to the South*. The study which is an important part of the Babits-philology and of the Hungarian—Italian relation history, which is the author's self-characterisation at the same time, perhaps tells us the most important things from the point ot view of *The Book of Jonah*. Before this time the history of literature, following György Lukács, considered this work contradictious, opposed to and somehow denying the poet's oeuvre. Later he placed it into the general process of European literature, into the line which went on from Margit Kaffka's planned novel about Josephus Flavius to Thomas Mann's Joseph Novel, which tried to grasp the completeness of life in the religious-historical (later and at other authors: the popular) myth. Thinking of the work, there was little to prove from the point of view of Babits' career. The general mythical inspiration seemed the most probable. Gábor Tolnai presented a new history of origin based on his personal memories, the supervision of these memories, and on the flashing of the probable sources. As a matter of fact he put the whole work into a little different context with the enumeration of the "additional materials". The *History of European Literature*, this "lay history of literature", as Babits called his work, rarely got a comment which fitted to its mental value earlier. The title of Gábor Halász' study, *The Portray of a Palate-Form* received a latently condemning meaning in the book. Speaking about the book Előd Halász found an extraordinarily productive and exciting way of approach. He confronted the process which was experienced by Babits who received literature with the condition which he as the writer of the book experienced. From the confrontation of the process and the condition, and from the enumeration of the facts indicating confrontation, a possibility opened for reaching convincing conclusions.

The reports of Péter Balassa's *Babits The Autobiographer* György Bodnár's *Babits' View of Literature*, Lóránt Kabdebó's *Babits and the Conservatives*, György Poszler's *The Self-Portrait of an Aesthetic Philosopher*, and *Side Notes to the Speaking Exercisebooks* and Miklós Szabó's *Babits' Conception of the Nation* presented an analysis of the history of ideas. For example György Bodnár has considered the positivist concepts, appearing in *Petőfi and Arany*, the *Two Vörösmartys*, and in *Hungarian Literature* and proved that the use of these concepts and impressionist criticism argued with each other a little bit, and finally he proved how the poet found his method "the selective positivism", he believed to be valid in his youth in genetic principle (used with reservations). But between the two wars — György Bodnár proved — the method of history of ideas did not seem to exist without problems. On one hand the poet sympathized with its summarizing demand, intellectualism, historical point of view, on the other hand he watched carefully its probable separation from the facts. To release his double foar, he turned back to the

works and to their analyses. Miklós Szabó also undertook the job of surveying the whole career from the point of view of history of ideas. The intepretation of the nation, which he dealt with was always one of the central categories of Hungarian public thinking: the author dealt with the characteristic features which made Babits' ideas to approach the civil radicals, and those ones, which made him alienated from them.

He showed very interestingly how "non-activity" got different evaluation in the studies of the 1910s and 1938—1939. Lóránt Kabdebó, Péter Balassa, and György Poszler seemed to stick to an era. Lóránt Kabdebó sticked to the period after 1919, taking the changing relation systems of Babits, Gyula Szekfű, and the Hungarian conservatism into consideration, Péter Balassa sticked to the later autobiographies (collecting their internal and poetic characteristics, metaphors), György Poszler — according to the title of his study — dealt with the last period, with the history of the man struggling with cancer of the larynx, the poet writing The *Book of Jonah* Babits translating the Oidipos drama, with the confrontation of the clear faith of Augustus and the clear doubt of Anatole France. But all the three authors dealt with an individual aspect of the history of ideas of the whole career (at least with references).

Several variation of *analysing a work* were realized at the conferences. In the course of Antal Wéber's analysis the levels of meaning of *Sons of Death* blossomed out in a new way, mainly by the tinged interpretation of Nelli's role. In László Rónay's lecture about the *Stork-Caliph* the quality of Bergson's and Freud's inspiration, the foreshadowing of Jaspers' idea, the meeting of the thoughts of the novel appearing in the poems as well got a greater stress. During the analysis of the *Six-Acres of Rose Garden* Zsuzsa Váróczy asserted the new methods of analysing a short story, showing the system of references in the work.

Kálmán Pálmai looked for the motives of the *Old Gipsy* in the other parts of Babits' poetry, and set the whole poem into the history of the development of Hungarian literature, not by the help of the poet but by Berzsenyi's and Vörösmarty's allusions. In the analysis of *Green, Red, Yellow, Brown* László Bárdos decided for the opposite direction. Utilizing the evidences of other works mainly implicitly, he uncovered the fact of ontological search realized in the poem with an imposing certainty using a comprehensive approach which has several points of view.

The exposition of one or other minor details also seemed to be very productive. *G. F.* Cushing and Zsigmond Ritoók interpreted the role of antique traditions in Babits' career. The professor of the University of London proved with a rich and fascinating argumentation how the poet, who wanted to depart from the poetry of experiences fluorishing at the beginning of the century, found the poem-ideal, authentic for him in Victorian English poetry, and that how he got into touch with Greek lyric in the refractions of this poetry. Analysing the *Odysseus and the Sirens*, outlining the two possible ways of interpreting the ancient times, Zsigmond Ritoók gave reasons for the fact, why Babits did not start from the detailed, static explanation of the ancient times as the German classical philology suggested, why he tried his own interpretation following Nietzsche, Bergson, Freud. László Lator's and Balázs Lengyel's undertakings were also productive "details", as they interpreted the role of "material" in Babits' poems, respectively they dealt with the question of sense and intuition.

The lectures on the itinerary congress and on the session showed the importance of some of the works more emphatically. Based on what we heard, we can see late autobiographic writings. *The Six Acres of Rose Garden, The Book of Jonah* and *Laodameia* in different dimensions. The development of meaning of the two latter ones seems to be especially important. The development of meaning in *The Book of Jonah* seems to be important because the meaning—summarizing function of the work, beyond interpreta-

tion of the poet's role only became really authentic in the system of thoughts expounded by György Poszler, and that of *Laodameia* seems to be important because it showed that the works are of the same value in Babits' career. *Laodameia* was only evaluated from the point of view of external form by the contemporaries and the following generations. Menyhért Lengyel could also realize only after several readings that the work is an "excellent tragedy", the noble simplicity of which is not stressed but hidden by the linguistic formation. Miklós Hubay showed out interestingly that Babits as a matter of fact, wanted to be a dramatist. He collected dramaturgic acquirements as a university student, he experienced the catalyzing elements of dramae stablishing conflicts in lyric poetry, he was not only able to wake up the feeling of tragedy, but to make them move in his works. Because he had tragic vision, as he saw everything in unity, — as Gábor Devecseri told.

The summarizing lectures of the congresses expressed new points of views valid for the whole career. Béla Németh G., speaking about Babits' lyric poetry, confronted two artistic approaches of the past.

One of them comes from the world of mother tongue, he felt the roles of "natural genius", the "talent" and the "prophet", the poet-ideal imbibed into Hungary society were important, the other one felt that what is really important is missing from the Hungarian poetry: the master poet, the doctus need, the poetic practise, which could receive a wider spectrum from the past, selecting the social and literary spheres. In Babits, who was connected to the past with several strings (according to his artistic approach) we can honour the liberator, with the creative reception of whom we can establish exactly the new identification. Dezső Keresztury wrote about the poet who consummated the roles. The role in its interpretation is not false, but it is something which emphasizes, unifies and makes things more precise. Babits realized three main roles: the roles of the master, the prophetic and of the whole personality. Ágnes Nemes Nagy marked the "experience of height" as the essence of Babits' poetry, István Sőtér, speaking about the novels, interpreted and proved that poetry and prose suppose, complement, and explain each other. György Rába adjusted Babits' poetry first into the Hungarian, and then into the world's lyric poetry of the 20th century.

Speaking about home poetry he proved the especially important incentive — liberating effect of this poetry and in his comparison to the lyric poetry of the world he spoke about of the connection of the first poems with the last wave of symbolism in details, and he detailed the expressionist organization of the poems of the era before the war, and the mixing of the film-like vision and the realistic details after 1920. Babits' importance in world literature is shown by the names mentioned in connection with the poet: Baudelaire, Poe, Rilke, Superville, the Browning-couple, Swinburne, Pirandello, Wilde, Thackeray, Proust, Eliot.

Of course the lectures did not only argue with the earlier Babits' picture, but also with each other. There was a little difference in the estimation of the novels, in the interpretation of the appearance or lack of Husserl, Heidegger, and existentialism, and concerning the limits of the value- and importance-developing effect of the reference-system, appearing in the works. And one of the possible programs of the future research was undoubtedly outlined. The lectures inspired that we have to find the exact connection between the philosophical, political, historical thoughts, public thinking after 1920 and the career. We have to clarify the connection-system which fastened *Nyugat* (the *West)* and Babits to the era after 1920 to describe the fact Lóránt Kabdedó referred to, how the importance of the periodical increased after 1933, how Babits performed the role of the national poet, which Gyula Illyés made him aware of, how, this status changed, how much this responsibility loaded-formed him; the responsibility which is due to the Hungarian poets since Petőfi.

Lajos Sipos

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Publications About the Hundred Years Old Kner Press

The events in the autumn of 1982 are outstanding in the history of books and printing. The friends of beautiful books celebrated an anniversary: the centenary of the foundation of the Kner Press.

The recent history of Hungarian bookprinting which goes back to a tradition of 500 years cannot be imagined without information about the activity of the Kner Press. The founder of the Press celebrating its hundred years anniversary was Isidor Kner (1860–1935) who wrote about the first years as follows: "In June, 1882 I — as an amateur without money, skill and experience — established a press at a place where this profession not only failed to produce any illusions for the future but did not even raise hope for a living".

The owner, Izidor Kner, came from a family that had been connected with books for a remarkably long time as both his father and grandfather were bookbinders. At that time when Izidor Kner established hist first workshop in a southern corner of the Great Hungarian Plain he had already been trained in bookbinding, printing and typesetting though he was only little more than 22 years old. With the primitive workshop and a beginner's skill he had to struggle hard to reach the status of one of the most important printing and publishing houses in the country from a press founded as the tenth in the country and it was the last one in rank, too. The establishment of the publishing house was the result of a primary economic pressure. Izidor Kner soon realized that in the strong concurrence of presses he could not make an economic basis for recovery because of the low demands of the customers. Independent publishing prooved to be the only way out. The Kner Press went to meet the customer and its first step was making a harmony between the printed material needed in public administration and the supply produced by the press. The official prints were followed by invitation cards and similar shorter materials which demonstrated a keen aesthetic sense. The next step was the publishing of calendars and almanacs. Unfortunately, we know the first books published by Kner only from their typographic description, no samples of them survived. During the first eight years of the press until 1890, 24 books were printed in Gyoma and the major part of them were religious publications. Another group of the works included school books and publications in school- and local history. Publishing fiction appeared only sporadically until the century turn and they served only local interest. The first book having an importance in the history of literature was the volume of Zoltán Thury, an outstanding shortstory writer at the end of the century, published in 1901. Without going into details of publishing by the Kner Press we have to mention some exceptional publications from those years, too. Hungarian readers paid attention to the new trends in literature which is proved by the publication of one of Gorki's works in 1902 and two antologies edited by Izidor Kner: *Hungarian Short Stories* (1901) and *Spikes and Sheaves* (1902) which already celebrated the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the press. Izidor Kner worked not only in the practical fields of publishing but published his professional experiences as essays in periodicals as well as his jokes and anecdotes in comic papers like the *Borsszem Jankó*. Then the publisher's interest turned towards works by young, modern authors and the illustrations and decorations by modern Hungarian graphic artists. At that time, Imre Kner (1890–1944), son of Izidor Kner and also the technical manager of the press since 1907, has already collaborated in his father's enterprise joining the publishing business in 1911. The young Imre Kner soon

began to publish technical articles and he summarized the results of his publishing activity in 1919 as follows: "We want seriousness also in the appearance so that the relatively cheap books which have a wide circulation and thus a large audience from the different strata of society could also satisfy higher artistic demands by the natural and plain facilities of printing techniques." After the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic and the tragic events that followed father and son could return to their printing activities only in 1920. But the period between 1920 and 1944 became one of the most important and interesting eras not only in the history of the Kner Publishing House but also in the history of 20th century Hungarian publishing and printing.

This era is characterized by the collaboration of Imre Kner, Lajos Kozma (1884–1948) and György Király (1887–1922). Lajos Kozma, a graphic artist and illustrator got acquianted with Imre Kner in the club called "Sunday Circle" which brought together the progressive stratum of the Hungarian intelligentsia. György Király, literary historian, by his knowledge in various fields and expertise in publishing helped to realize valuable series of books as the literary advisor of the publishing office. The most important publications in this period are the so-called *Three Lace-Book* (Három csepke könyv), the *Kner Classics* in 12 volumes and the 24 booklets of the *Monumenta Literarum*. The latter contained shorter, long-forgotten or little-appreciated masterpieces from Hungarian and world literature illustrated with artistic drawings. The complete facsimile issue of the *Monumenta Literarum* appeared for the centenary of the press as a result of the generous activity of Magvető Publishing House to the true delight of the friends of attractive books.

The summary of the artistic efforts of the period is given in the Almanac of 1922 under the title *Our Efforts* by György Király, Lajos Kozma and Imre Kner. The quotation of a sentence from each essay characterizes this collective work. György Király: "All valuable works of ancient literature should be found, discovered to maintain the connection between past and present and make people conscious of it for ever and also to give impetus to present activities." Lajos Kozma wrote: "It is our turn who want not only the new but also the solution of the problem to put the artist back into his real place, to the workshop". Imre Kner wrote the following: "We have to find the way in which the book will not be a piece of fine workmanship for the pleasure of the eyes, an aimless fancy article, but an appropriate cover of its contents."

But the press-experiment marked by the names Kner—Király—Kozma has gained its real importance only today, then it was a mere economic failure. This failure had decisive consequences in two fields: independent publishing was to be given up and in book-design they began to follow 18–19th century puritan simplicity, thus realizing the book-ideal of Classicism instead of the Baroque-like decorations applied by Lajos Kozma. One of its practical signs was that Imre Kner returned to the earlier, already known Bodoni-letters and following the letter-types of this great representative of Classicism he realized the simple harmony of design and lucidity in his publications. But these editions were not made fort the public at large but by order, they were mainly the publications of the Hungarian Bibliophile Society. An outstanding publication of the independent Kner Press was the Goethe-Antology in 3 volumes issued in 1932 for the hundred's anniversary of Goethe's death.

Imre Kner, however, did not give up publishing his professional articles which had started in his youth. He was not only a master of bookprinting, an artist of book-design but also an expert of the theory and practice of publishing who wrote his name into the history of Hungarian publishing. Among his early publications *A Book About The Book* from 1912 and *The Art of the Book*, his broadcasts from 1940 could deserve attention. His posthumus essay (also entitled *The Art of the Book*) published in 1972 and a bibliophile issue of the series Bibliotheca Bekesiensis: *Imre Kner's Thoughts about Life, Literature and the Art of Bookmaking* (1970) are available even today although it is a bit difficult to get them. Finally, we have to mention a collection entitled *The Master of the Book* that includes Imre Kner's correspondence with contemporary poets, writers, artists and scientists. The significance of the book does not lie only in the fact that it gives a taste of Imre Kner's connections with the masters of the Hungarian literary life, it is also the justification of the artistic values by the most personal manifestations of a rich career.

Flipping through the pages a representative list of names comes to light which includes almost all active personalities of the Hungarian literary scene between the two World Wars: poets and writers such as Lőrinc Szabó, Zsigmond Móricz, Dezső

Szabó, Milán Füst, Péter Veres; literary historians like Gyula Földesy, Lajos Fülep, József Fitz, Gyula Ortutay, Gábor Tolnai; composers as Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. And this volume is only an example from the very rich correspondence the greater part of which is still unpublished but hiding in archives it is waiting to be discovered. The lot of Imre Kner reaching the zenith of his career is one of the big tragedies of Hungarian book-printing and the art of the book. A career rich in achievements and promising much was broken first only by the discrimination laws, then by physical sufferings and the final tragedy in 1944. In his letter to Lőrinc Szabó from 1941 he already forecasts the bitterness and the loss that is to follow in the intellectual life of Hungary with his disappearance: "I feel at almost each letter of mine that "moriturus te salutat", and I also have a slight feeling that my annihilation would be very unreasonable, that I still could serve the Hungarian cause, however, faint is the echo of what I have done." The re-organization of the Kner Press after the Liberation in 1945 is already a new chapter and not an easy period either, but with an ever stronger belief that it should be worthy to improve the Kner-initiations and to apply the traditions and modern facilities.

Cherishing the memory of Izidor and Imre Kner and the maintenance of the Kner-tradition was represented in the celebrations at the hundred years anniversary of the establishment of the Press.

Among the festival events there were sessions at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and at the seat of the Press, at Gyomaendrőd. But beside the lectures, re-collections and inauguration of a memorial stone (the work of András Kiss Nagy) the most appropriate celebration was the book itself: for the exceptional occasion books were published, which beside being suitable, due commemorations, can set examples for the research in history of printing.

The book entitled *On the Border of a Century* is the work by three authors and was published as a special publication of the Kner Press. The New Aurora Workshop which has an increasingly important role in the spiritual life of the southern part of the Hungarian Plain also had an active part in its completion at Békéscsaba. The title of the volume refers to the work of Izidor Kner who wrote his book *On the Border of Half a Century* at the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the press. The authors of the present book, József Malatyinszki, Károly Petőcz and Ferenc Szabó wrote the history of the Békéscsaba and Gyoma workshops of the Kner Press starting with its establishment and finishing with an information about its present-day output. Their work is based on a rich archive material as well as their experience in relating the changes in institution and technology and in the alternatives of its role in the Hungarian printing industry. Not only skill but also a creative responsibility for the press are radiating from the richly illustrated book, thus setting an example to the establishment of workshop-history on a high level.

A two-volume work was published by the Akademia Publishing House for the centenary of the Kner Press: the work of György Haiman and Mrs Botond Lévay: *In the Mirror of the Publications of the Kner Press*. Their work is unique among the related Hungarian publications, we have no other press — even if we go back as far as the 16th century — which has been a subject of such a rich, many-folded scientific research. György Haiman, a talented descendant of the Kner-family serving worthy aims with his talent during his activity has made a lot to give detailed account of the history of the press which claims a decisive position in Hungarian publishing and for using traditions to serve modern life. His work *The Kner-Family and the Art of the Book in Hungary from 1882 to 1944* which provoked a large-scale interest appeared in 1979, but beside it he wrote several studies and shorter occasional publications about one or other details of the activity of the Kner Press. The recent work gives a much wider view about the history of the press and publishes more data about its publications than ever before. After the introductory study of György Haiman in the first volume we can read the bibliography of the publications of the Kner Press as a result of the hard work of Mrs Botond Lévay. The specialized grouping and within them each entry of the cronological bibliography aimed at a maximum amount of details in describing the knowledge of the field fulfilling all demands of modern bibliography. To meet all demands of applicability it has a name- and register index. The second volume will be a necessary handbook for the examiners of the history of printing as well as a beautiful picture-book for laymen. This volume includes a whole-scale reconstruction of the entire letter-series of the Kner Press and with the reproduction of type-specimens-books issued in different eras and of book-decorations it represents with unique richness the self-sacrificing work and artistic activity indicating an un-

paralleled aesthetic sense, the work of the most important Publishing Houses up to the present. Izidor Kner's type specimens-sheet of 1890 is published in a facsimile edition as an appendix to the book.

The work of György Haiman and Mrs Botond Lévay is not simply a salutation to the Kner-family's activity but also a methodical example and an indispensable text-book for men of arts and masters dealing with the Hungarian and world history of printing and the art of the book.

S. Katalin Németh

Admittance to World Literature? (Books on Hungarian Authors Published by Twaynes of Boston)

World Authors Series, an ambitious undertaking of Twaynes of Boston, is relatively little known in Hungary, although the number of volumes included in the series is already in excess of six hundred. The series features a special form of presenting world literature, i.e., instead of providing a description of literary currents and historical connections, each volume contains the full portrait of one single author. This method seems to have found favour with readers and specialists alike. Comprehensive books on literary history are difficult to handle for reasons of size and their prohibitive price puts them out of reach for ordinary readers. Moreover, this series has the welcome policy of not confining itself to the literature written in the most important languages: in accordance with modern views on world literature and in opposition with previous practice, it gives room to the literature of smaller languages which have been more or less isolated up to the present moment because of linguistic barriers. Monographs have appeared in this series on important authors of 30 countries: besides those of the U. S. and Great Britain, there have been volumes dealing with European, African, Asian, Australian, Canadian, Latin American and Middle Eastern writers.

Owing to this modern attitude a Hungarian section was created in the series, apparently with success, as the first monograph (on Kálmán Mikszáth, 1977) was followed in 1980 by three further works concerning Hungarian authors, namely, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, Sándor Petőfi and Ferenc Molnár while a further volume on Imre Madách came out in 1981.

Besides its general and theoretical importance, this enterprise is of specific interest to Hungarians, as it widens the range of possibilities for introducing Hungarian literature to foreign readers. From now on, Hungarian literature will not be represented by sporadic and virtually random translations only. Readers are now provided with an expert guide which functions on more than one level: it helps the general reader to organize his reading experience, it complements the data acquired during the reading process and helps in its evaluation, or it may stir up interest in potential readers who have not yet had any direct contact with Hungarian literature. Moreover, it is also useful to those with an interest in comparative literature who wish to assimilate relevant literary facts and features they had not been able to get acquainted with before, because of lack of knowledge of the language concerned. The series fulfills a very special and particularly valuable role in the case of second- and third-generation Hungarians living in America who are provided with a way of maintaining a link with the culture of their forefathers even if they do not speak the language themselves. Last but not least, monographs appearing on Hungarian literature in important languages also signify that Hungarian studies as a discipline may break out of its isolation and become a branch of the humanities cultivated on an international level.

This plurality of functions sets a quite complex task to the editor of the series and especially to the authors who have to reconcile the popular quality of their work with more specialist considerations. But the heterogeneous composition of the potential readership makes even popularization itself quite difficult. There will be obviously those for whom the presented Hungarian writer is a mere name, but there will be also some people who are more or less familiar with him, those who have read some or the other of his works. The greatest difficulty is clearly the linguistic barrier, as most readers obviously do not know the language, which means that the monograph will have to compensate for the lack of knowledge of the original text or that it can only rely on some incidental and probably inadequate translation. This difficulty is most obvious in the case of poetry — Anna Katona, author of the

monograph presenting Csokonai repeatedly bemoans this fact — where neither reluctantly used translations, nor literary translations that hardly reflect the whole referential system of the original poems, nor even the most inspired commentary can replace the experience of the original reading.

Knowing the complexity of the problem, we can only congratulate the authors of the volumes who succedded in solving it. This is partly accounted for by their privileged position, as all but one of them were educated in a Hungarian cultural environment, but at the same time their familiarity with foreign cultures allowed them to view and present features of Hungarian literature in a wider perspective, from a point of view somewhat more complex than that of most Hungarian specialists. The authors of the monographs rely mainly on Hungarian experts but they also reflect foreign viewpoints, interpretations and judgements, also allotting space to present the reception of the Hungarian authors abroad and their possible influence on other national literatures. All this has the happy effect of presenting to the reader portraits that can be incorporated into a European context.

Though policy of the editor of the series, Enikő Molnár Basa, can be followed throughout the volumes, the authors of the individual monographs organize their material according to their own points of view. Every portrait is introduced by a sketch of the historical, social and cultural background, with special emphasis on the literary situation. This background material is of help in approaching the literary works themselves as well as giving valuable information on cultural history to those unfamiliar with Hungary. At the beginning of each volume, there is a short chronological biography introducing the *œuvre* of the author. The chapters either follow a chronological order or are organized thematically.

From a certain point of view, Klára Györgyey, author of the monograph on Ferenc Molnár, was in the easiest position. At first glance, it might be difficult to understand why Ferenc Molnár was chosen as the second author introduced in the series, when there are so many Hungarian writers and poets whose rank, value and importance far outweigh his. Still, the explanation is quite reasonable: Molnár is perhaps the most international of Hungarian writers, well-known in his second home, the United States; his works and his themes are quite international (with a few exceptions), his language is easily transposed, his books are available to, and appreciated by, foreign readers without much difficulty. In this respect, the choice of Molnár is fairly acceptable as an "introduction" to Hungarian literature. On the other hand, Klára Györgyey had to accomplish a rather complex task: she was faced with a subject which had barely been touched upon, as very few works were published on Molnár before. Literature on Molnár consists mainly of occasional critical reviews, essays, partial studies; no monograph has been written on him to this day (apart from Irén Vecsei's tentative and uneven book). Klára Györgyey's work is a pioneering one, making up for an old neglect in Hungarian literary studies. (In this respect one might add that a similarly comprehensive and objective monograph would be welcome in Hungarian too.)

Speaking in detail of the merits and defects of the book, we must mention that in outlining Hungarian history between the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867) and World War I, it relies chiefly on American and *emigré* Hungarian sources; in consequence, the resulting historical background is rather one-sided and somewhat distorted. On the other hand, use of American sources was very profitable in other respects: the book provides numerous valuable data on Molnár's reception in America, on the subsequent fate of his works, on the reviews of his plays, on their adaptation into English, on the films made of them. The author was very successful, when speaking of the journalistic career of Molnár, in sketching the special atmosphere of Pest around the turn of the century as well as in presenting the Hungarian press of the time and the unique literary life of the Budapest cafés. In the relatively short passage concerning Molnár the novelist, the emphasis is laid on *A Pál utcai fiúk* (The Boys from Paul Street), which the author compares to Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*. In choosing and presenting some of Molnár's short stories, Klára Györgyey really makes one want to read them. But she concentrates naturally on Molnár as a playwright. She discusses all the plays written by Molnár, including those of his later works which remained unknown in Hungary because they were never performed or published. Each play is analyzed carefully and according to various aspects, the better and the less successful ones alike, the author showing their merits and defects without prejudice. Klára Györgyey proves here that it is possible to make a good analysis of a bad work. A separate chapter

is devoted to *Liliom*, which she considers the summit of Molnár's achievement as a playwright. The importance of Molnár is shown as the link between Hungarian and Western European theatre, as a durable "international alloy" of Hungarian tradition and Western influence. In this respect the author mentions not only those Western authors who influenced Molnár, but also Pirandello, as an example of an author who was influenced by Molnár. Finally, in the last chapter, that of the conclusions, Molnár's status, his place in the history of literature and theatre is defined for the sake of the Anglo-Saxon readers by wittily calling him the "Hungarian Noel Coward".

The author of the other volume dealing with a dramatist (Imre Madách), Dieter P. Lotze, set himself a considerably more difficult task and it should be added that he managed it very successfully. He was much helped by the fact that he had at his disposal the results of a large bulk of Hungarian research; moreover, he is very well acquainted with the œuvre of Madách, having written his doctor's thesis on the same subject at the University of Innsbruck and published, since that time, a number of studies (of which two appeared in *Neohelicon*) dealing with the relation of Madách's *Az ember tragédiája* (The Tragedy of Man) and European romanticism in a comparative viewpoint. In the foreword, the author declares that his objective in writing the monograph was to obtain wider recognition for Madách's principal work which he says has still not achieved the position it deserves in world literature.

Lotze bases his conception on three points he intends to prove: first, that Madách is the author of one single outstanding work; second, that Madách's œuvre was largely influenced by personal experience and by the events affecting his nation; third, that "Madách was the representative of Hungarian patriotism and national culture and at the same time the inheritor of the idea of the Citizen of the world and European tradition". In this light, the author touches lightly on the poetry, prose, early and later plays of Madách, laying special emphasis on the *Tragedy*, as a "unique mixture of Hungarian and European componets".

In his analysis of the *Tragedy*, Lotze draws heavily on the points supported by the critical literature on Madách: taking into consideration every important view and interpretation from contemporary reviews to the latest Hungarian studies, he offers his own interpretation of the *Tragedy*. Thus his work is not merely a "progress report" written with outstanding erudition and a wide knowledge of the subject, but also a new and valuable contribution to the literature on Madách.

In the interpretation of the *Tragedy*, the crucial point is the optimistic or pessimistic attitude of the play and Lotze attempts to solve the problem through his own conception. In the structure of the play, he distinguishes three independent, although closely interrelated levels: 1) the tragedy of Adam as an individual; 2) the drama of the history of mankind, connected to Adam *as the representative of mankind*; 3) the metaphysical level, i.e., the conflict between the notions of Good and Evil taking place above the human level, on that of supranatural forces. Having examined all three levels, he draws the final conclusion that the defeat suffered by the negative force on the metaphysical level has the eventual effect of changing the pessimistic outcome of the other two levels into the positive. Step by step the author elaborates his theory in detail, according to which the confronting forces reach a compromise. It certainly sounds attractive, even though the text itself does not entirely support the idea of the dual function of Adam and thus of the separation of his tragedy into an individual and a collective one.

Further chapters cover standard questions, as the effect of 18th century philosophy on Madách and the relation between the *Tragedy* and *Faust*. Then, in two excellent chapters, Lotze finds a place for *The Tragedy of Man* in the stream of European romanticism and demonstrates its relation to the *poème d'humanité* cultivated by European romantics. Finally, after a short outline of Hungarian romanticism, he suggests that the *Tragedy* is the summit, "the glowing sunset" of Hungarian romanticism. This extremely thorough and inventive monograph, valuable not only as a popular work but also as a specialist one, concludes with a notice on the fate of Madách's works after his death in Hungary and abroad and the stage history of the *Tragedy*, emphasizing the fact that the relatively little fame and prestige enjoyed by play is mostly due barely adequate English translations.

One of the authors of the series, Steven C. Scheer, has produced here his first book (on Kálmán Mikszáth), with the *élan* and ambition characteristic of the neophyte. Although taking into consideration the interests of non-specialist readers — mainly manifested in a detailed paraphrase of Mikszáth's writings — he intends to

produce a work of specialist value. In his analysis, he uses structuralist methods and, shedding new light on Mikszáth's much discussed realism, he improves on previous results.

Whereas chapter one, providing a short biography of Mikszáth enlivened with a series of anecdotes, serves the purpose of catching the interest of casual readers, the chapter describing Mikszáth's career as an author shows already an independent viewpoint opposing and correcting "conventional" ideas. For instance, Scheer rejects the view according to which Mikszáth's *œuvre* can be divided into periods — thus distinguishing an idyllic, an ironic and a realist period — on the basis that "... these (periods) represent different degrees of the same basic perception rather than distinct phases ... all these degrees are present from the beginning to the end".

When discussing Mikszáth's works, Scheer starts from the peculiarities of Mikszáth's narrative method and more precisely from the attitude and the function of the narrator. He thinks that the basic quality of the narrator created by Mikszáth is his total lack of identification with the characters and that this impartial narrative attitude suggests to the reader that he, in turn, should identify himself with the narrator rather than with any of the characters, that he should "look upon himself as an extension of the conscience and the observations of the narrator". He even sees *Prakovszky, a süket kovács* (Prakovszky, the Deaf Blacksmith) as an example of the point-of-view technique devised by Henry James. He feels that the central theme of Mikszáth's writings (novels and short stories) is the conflict between appearance and reality and proves the presence of this conflict through the subtle analysis of a number of writings from *Az a fekete folt* (That Black Stain) to *A Noszty fiú* (Young Noszty). In this way, he brings to the surface many latent traits of Mikszáth's works, giving thereby a convincing demonstration of the virtues of the modern study of narrative in discovering features chiefly ignored by the so-called "traditional" literary studies. The use of the method becomes however questionable when the author attempts to utilize it for a purpose that is outside the competence of such a procedure and draws false or self-evident conclusions. This is the case with his argument in connection with the "metafictional themes" of Mikszáth's writings. According to this, "the theme of fiction, the theme of self-generated illusions is one of the favourite subjects of Mikszáth". To put it more clearly, this means that many of Mikszáth's characters live in a world of illusions created by themselves, i.e., in the world of their own fictions, and when Mikszáth builds these fictions into a work of art, he is in fact writing metafiction. This observation is perfectly acceptable. But Scheer takes the idea further by calling the characters' fiction, ie., the novels' "unreal" elements romantic, and the "real" elements, i. e., those not created by the characters themselves but supposed to be objectively existing in the framework of the novel, realist, and he attempts to determine on this basis the romantic or realist character of Mikszáth's novels and short stories. Thereby he commits a double mistake: first he uses one of the categories of literary ontology (fiction and reality) as a criterion of stylistic history; then he does not make a distinction between the fictional world of the novel and the objective world existing outside the novel. In fact, it is obvious that the realist or non-realist quality of a literary work is not determined by the "real" and "unreal" elements appearing inside the fictional world of the novel but by the relationship between the whole fictional world, i.e., the fictions of both the author and his characters, and the reality outside the novel, or to use a term borrowed from linguistics, the relation between the world of the novel as *signifiant* and the objective world as *signifié*.

After a scrupulous discussion of some well-chosen representative novels and short stories, a separate chapter sums up the conclusions drawn from the individual analyses under the title *Mikszáth's realism in perspective*. At this point, the author gives a short outline of the standpoint of Hungarian literary studies on the question and criticizes it because, he says, in the evaluation of Mikszáth's life-work it only takes into consideration elements of content (mainly the social criticism of Mikszáth resulting from his political attitude) when defining Mikszáth's position and on this basis it forces upon him the role of a critical realist. Summing up his own observations, he feels that "romantic realist" would be the most adequate term but he proposes rather that of "fabulator" as one that expresses best Mikszáth's particular narrative style based on metafiction.

The final chapter attempts to place Mikszáth in the stream of world literature — in the company of Gogol, Thomas Hardy and Mark Twain — registering the influences affecting Mikszáth and his

effect on the generation of Hungarian writers that followed him. Finally, he advances a rather bold and hardly sustainable theory by saying that had not Hungary persisted in favouring one-sidedly socialist realism after world war II, Mikszáth's durable influence could have led to works similar to the French *nouveau roman* or to Nabokov and John Barth's quasi-solipsist fiction. Scheer's aim is obviously to stress Mikszáth's modernity with this somewhat far-fetched conjectural statement. Nevertheless — notwithstanding certain exaggerations — Scheer's study unquestionably does not only make excellent service to Mikszáth's reputation abroad but it also adds to the literature on Mikszáth, owing to observations based on a new approach.

When judging Enikő Molnár Basa's monograph on Petőfi and that of Anna Katona on Csokonai, one must first acknowledge the authors' intentions — which does not mean the results are not worthy of praise. Both authors consider it as a cultural mission to make these Hungarian poets known to the world: Petőfi is not totally unknown abroad, but judgment on him is far from authentic, whereas Csokonai's name does not mean anything to English and American readers. Enikő Molnár Basa, showing an impressing degree of knowledge of the specialist literature, gives a detailed picture of Petőfi the man and the poet stressing his innovative role and his importance as the forerunner of modern Hungarian poetry. She uses a large number of references to demonstrate the European roots of Petőfi's poetry. In order to illustrate the career of the poet, she lays special emphasis on the poems she finds most revealing of the poet's different periods. She gives us a number of very good interpretations and even a couple of truly excellent ones, as in the case of *Reszket a bokor* (The bush is trembling) and *Szeptember végén* (At the end of September). She devotes most of her attention to the images and metaphors, the metric and prosodic features of the poems, thus revealing in their complexity the aesthetic qualities embodied in these. Her method has, however, an inherent and unavoidable shortcoming, i.e., the meaning and the images of the poems are either illustrated by a paraphrase in prose or by an accurate literal translation and thus the observations concerning rhyme, rhythm and metre are left unsustained, the whole system of the poems' connotations is lost. Foreign readers are not helped either by the original text included by Enikő Molnár Basa and not much would have changed if she had given in an appendix the literary translations of the corresponding poems (if there exists any). We do not know what sort of an image is formed in readers who do not know Hungarian but we are convinced that the author has tried all she could to make the monograph an adequate, convincing and attractive presentation of the poet. For us, the most interesting chapter is *Petőfi Abroad* which offers us glimpses of the image of Petőfi in other countries, of the traceable influence of Petőfi on German literature and of the German and English translations of his poems.

Anna Katona's monograph is especially enlivened by the author's particularly close relation to her subject. As a Debrecen patriot herself, she clearly aims to gain fame and recognition for the poet of her native town. With this object in mind, she uses the excellent results of the research on Csokonai, her own wide knowledge of world literature and her ability to interpret poems — not diminished by the fact that she has to face the same difficulties we have already suggested when speaking about the monograph on Petőfi.

The book, which presents with precision and in every detail Csokonai's whole carreer and writings, concentrates mainly on the elucidation of two points: the origins of Csokonai's eclecticism, arising from both personal and literary factors; and the poet's political views. In dealing with the first question, Anna Katona points out, in Csokonai's poetry, elements of Hungarian folk poetry as well as those of contemporary *rococo*, classicist and sentimental styles and the affinities to earlier mannerism and baroque, while also calling attention to modernist motifs, foreshadowing 20th-century poetry in Csokonai's work. The way she places Csokonai's poetry in the frame of world literary (mainly English) references is very convincing: her parallel discussion of *Újesztendei gondolatok* (Thoughts on the New Year) and Andrew Marvell's mannerist poem *To His Coy Mistress* is very interesting and instructive. On the other hand, there is a detectable uncertainty about the differentiation between baroque, romantic and pre-existentialist traits: it looks as if some identical or similar elements of thought or atmosphere were described in some places as baroque and in other instances as romantic or existentialist. Her observations on Csokonai's political views are largely supported by quotations from the poet's letters. On the basis of these, she refutes the idea of Csokonai's radicalism we often find emphasized

in specialist literature and proves that he was a nationalist poet whose humanist ideas were rooted in the early period or Enlightenment, reconciling progress with patriotism.

The considerable value of the volumes published so far entitles Hungarian readers to look forward to further issues with hopeful expectations.

Anna Mária H. Szász

Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript

(New Brunswick, N. Y., Rutgers University Press 1981)

Radically new ideas are presented about the Anglo-Saxon epic poem *Beowulf* in Kevin S. Kiernan's book *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*. The author proposes — disagreeing with earlier views which place the composition of *Beowulf* to the 7th or 8th c. — that the *Beowulf* manuscript, usually dated 975–1025, is contemporary with the composition of the poem.

The bulk of Kiernan's evidence is gathered from a very careful paleographical and codicological analysis of the codex containing the *Beowulf* manuscript (B. L. Cotton Vitellius A XV.), the like of which has not been attempted before, and the lack of which has been felt by *Beowulf* scholars for a long time. In addition linguistic and historical proofs are also called in.

It is easily conceivable, as Kiernan suggests, that within the above time period the reign of Cnut the Great (1016–1035) would be the most likely time during which the composition of the poem praising the Scyldings could take place, since Cnut was the last king of this Danish dynasty and ruled in England in relative peace and quiet. Thus we are able to avoid the difficulty of explaining of how a poem favoring the Vikings could manage to be preserved through a basically hostile age of at least two hundred years.

In the author's view the strongest previous evidences of an early composition, i.e. those of linguistic character, have always been exaggerated. On the one hand all late West-Saxon texts preserve a mixture of forms, earlier ones among them, and on the other, Anglo-Saxon poetry in its special diction consciously employed archaic phrases. Moreover, Kiernan shows that the presence of the earlier forms in the text is many times the result of restoration and emendation, sometimes for the sake of regularising the verse pattern.

The assumption of a late composition restores the authority of the MS as numerous transcriptions need not be presumed This made it worthwhile for Kiernan to make a full description and detailed analysis of the whole codex with special attention paid to the part containing *Beowulf*.

He shows that both MSS originally constituting B. L. Cotton Vitellius A XV. are in themselves composite codices, and the analysis of the pattern of the hair and flesh sides of the vellum leaves makes it possible to assume that the poem *Beowulf* was started in a new gathering and thus may at one time have been an independent MS which was later bound together with the prose texts and to which the *Judith* fragment was added, the last page of *Beowulf* torn off to serve as a cover leaf.

Another merit of the description is that it establishes a new foliation based on the present state of the MS.

The author makes an effort at reconstructing the pattern of the work of the two scribes who contributed to the *Beowulf* MS showing with very convincing paleographical evidence that they took extreme care when copying the MS, both proofread previous parts (although not any of the prose texts!). The second scribe must have had the MS in his possession for a longer period of time and returned to it later in his career, not only emending the text of the first scribe but at times altering one part in particular, making the palimpsest leaf of fol. 179. Kiernan's opinion is, that the need for this may have come from the desire of the scribe to make a smoother transition to the dragon episode. The author argues here that this need is a proof that two previously existing poems were for the first time combined in the present MS. He warns though that his intention is not dissecting the epic and resurrecting earlier theories but pointing to an "artistic fusion" of two separate stories, which was brought about by artistic talent and the recognition of the possible establisment of a higher unity by the combination.

So ultimately what we now have is an unifinished draft of a poem in the last stages of its composition.

Kiernan concludes that "Paleographically and codicologically, at least, all of the facts converge to support the theory that *Beowulf* is an 11th c. composite poem, and the *Beowulf* MS is the archetype of the epic as we now have it" (pp. 277–78).

The case presented in this study is very strong. However, we would be afraid to call *Beowulf* an 11th c. poem on the basis of evidence which tells only about the final phase(s) of its composition. Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition survived the Viking age. It could only do so in the form of poems preserved in collective memory in a written or oral form. It is practically impossible to disprove that one of these was Beowulf or parts of it, one needs only to refer to the historical events or figures in it. Therefore the greater part of the shaping of the epic must have taken place earlier, i.e. before and during the Viking age. We would prefer to call *this* the composition of the poem rather than the final step witnessed by Kiernan in the MS.

The merit of the book, which is great, is to be found much rather in the careful description of the MS than in the author's novel views. He provides an invaluable source of reference prepared with great care, knowledge and the newest technology. We fully agree with Kiernan's own summary of his own work, "All previous investigations of the MS are equally subjective and far less descriptive" (p. 270).

Katalin Halácsy

Antal Mádl: Auf Lenaus Spuren. Beiträge zur österreichischen Literatur.

Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest, Osterreichischer Bundesverlag, Wien 1982. 334 S.

»Wie kommst Du auf den seltsamen Irrtum«, tadelt der in Wien weilende Friedrich Schlegel 1819 seine Frau, »als ob Wien in Deutschland läge oder mit Deutschland irgend etwas zu schaffen hätte? Da liegen ganze Weltteile dazwischen, und es gibt kaum etwas Entgegengesetzteres.« Es wurde seitdem unzählige Male auf die Tatsache hingewiesen, daß die österreichische Literatur nicht einfach als Teil einer einheitlichen deutschen Literatur, sondern ein eigenständiges Gebildte anzusehen ist, denn unter anderen historischen, politischen und gesellschaftlichen Umständen müssen — ungeachtet der gemeinsamen Sprache — zwangsläufig andere Aspekte der Literaturentwicklung in den Vordergrund rücken.

Antal Mádl (Jahrgang 1929), Leiter des Germanistischen Instituts der Eötvös-Universität Budapest, gehört zu den Wissenschaftlern, die seit Jahrzehnten mit Erfolg um eine genauere Erschließung der österreichischen Literatur bemüht sind. Sein 1969 erschienenes Buch *Politische Dichtung in Österreich 1830–1848* zählt zu den allerseits zitierten Standardwerken; auch seinen wissenschaftsorganisatorischen Leistungen (Konferenzen, Sammelbänden, Sonderheften von Zeitschriften u. ä.) begegnet man immer wieder. Neunzehn Vorträge und Aufsätze Mádls zur österreichischen Literatur wurden nun als Gemeinschaftsausgabe des Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest und des Österreichischen Bundesverlages Wien in Buchform veröffentlicht.

Man darf annehmen, daß dieses Buch bald zum unumgänglichen Fonds der Austriaca-Forschung gehören wird. Soviel man nämlich auch über österreichische Literatur schreibt und spricht, ihre Characteristica specifica sind bis heute nicht zufriedenstellend ermittelt. Österreich-Forscher begrüßen also mit Vorliebe Werke, die exakte Belege zu heuristisch längst erkannten Thesen liefern. So war es mit dem Buch *Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur* von Claudio Magris, das die ständige Auseinandersetzung der Österreicher mit der Habsburger-Herrschaft erforschte, sowie mit Alfred Dopplers *Wirklichkeit im Spiegel der Sprache*, wo Wesentliches zur Sprachproblematik bei modernen österreichischen Autoren ausgesagt wurde. Die Grundthese von Mádl besteht nun darin, daß das jahrhundertelange Zusammenleben von verschiedenen Völkern im Habsburgerstaat unübersehbare literarisch-kulturelle Spuren hinterließ. Aspekte dieser These, konkretisiert auf die Beziehung zwischen Österreich und Ungarn, werden vom Verfasser, dessen Authentizität wohl außer Zweifel steht, eingehend untersucht.

»Auf Lenaus Spuren« macht er sich an die Arbeit, und diese Entscheidung ist in mehrfacher Hinsicht glücklich. Der aus Ungarn stammende und den Österreich-

Begriff — etwa im Gegensatz zu Grillparzer und dessen Nachfolgern — weit fassende Dichter ist ja, wie Mádl überzeugend nachweist, einer der Archetypen der österreichischen Dichtung und zugleich — man denke an die 1964 gegründete Internationale Lenau-Gesellschaft — das Symbol ihrer völkerverbindenden Möglichkeiten.

Diversen Fragen des Lenauschen Lebenswerks gelten die Beiträge *Das Ungarnerlebnis Lenaus, Lenau und die Romantik, Lyrik des österreichischen Vormärz, Grillparzer und Lenau. Möglichkeiten der Geschichtsbetrachtung im österreichischen Vormärz, Drei Dichter — drei artes poeticae (Heine, Lenau, Petőfi), Lenau und die Folgen* sowie *Von Nikolaus Lenau zu Ödön von Horváth.*

Einen größeren konzentrischen Kreis um Lenaus monumentale Gestalt bilden die Aufsätze *Die Gründung der Internationalen Lenau-Gesellschaft und der Stand der Lenau-Forschung in Ungarn, Die deutsche Romantik und Wien, Petőfi und der Vormärz, Karl Beck. Ein Vermittler zwischen ungarischer, österreichischer und deutscher Literatur* und *Ungarische Motive in den Werken Ödön von Horváth.*

Studien, die sich mit allgemeinen Tendenzen der österreichischen Literaturentwicklung befassen, bilden den weitesten Kreis: *Wien im literarischen und kulturellen Spannungsfeld zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa, Zu den literarischen Beziehungen im Donauraum, Die österreichische Jahrhundertwende* sowie *Literatur und Literaturgeschichte in Österreich.*

Die Arbeiten *Ein österreichischer Roman* (über ein Werk von Gerhard Fritsch, dessen Gedenken der ganze Band gewidmet ist), *Kafka und »Kafkanien«* und *Österreichische Lyrik in ungarischer Sprache* behandeln in diesem Zusammenhang vielleicht etwas marginale Themen. Überraschend ist das Fehlen eines Registers, und gewisse Überschneidungen der einzelnen Aufsätze hätte der Verfasser vielleicht vermeiden können.

Überzeugen die Arbeiten der ersten beiden thematischen Gruppen vor allem durch präzises philologisches Beweismaterial zu ost-mittel-europäischen Verbindungen der österreichischen Literatur, so dominiert in den Aufsätzen über allgemeine Züge der österreichischen Literatur neben der klaren Schilderung von Entwicklungstendenzen die feinfühlige Erfassung der aktuellen Aufgaben literarhistorischer Forschung. Nicht zufällig beruft sich Mádl an zwei Stellen des Bandes auf die berühmten Abschlußworte der *Albigenser* Lenaus — es steht tatsächlich vieles noch aus.

János Szabó

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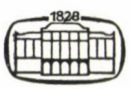

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[1] Faas, Egbert: Toward a New American Poetics. Santa Barbara, Black Sparrow Press, 1978. p. 62.

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

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