

ACTA NEOPHILOLOGICA

TINE KURENT

DIE DARSTELLUNG DES SEPHIROTH IN
GOETHES FAUST I UND BEI DUERER

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TERLICHEN SLOWENIEN

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DIE DARSTELLUNG DER SEPHIROTH IN GOETHES *FAUST I* UND
BEI DÜRER

Tine Kurent

Die zehn hebräischen Zahlen — die Sephiroth¹ — die sowohl den Kosmos wie auch die Welt des Menschen darstellen, erscheinen in der europäischen Kunst als ein Motiv in den bildenen Künsten und in der Poesie. Ich denke hier an einige Reliefs auf den Grabdenkmälern der Bogumilen (»stećci«), an das Hexen-Einmal-Eins in Goethes *Faust*, und an den Schild von Dürers Pilger.

Auf dem Relief des bogumilischen Grabdenkmales (»stećak«)² aus Mokro, nahe Lištica, kommt eine Form vor, die bisher unter »nicht klassifizierte Motive« eingereiht wurde.³ Erst vor kurzem wurde sie als Sephiroth identifiziert.⁴ Die einzelnen Knotenpunkte⁵ dieser Komposition stellen folgende Punkte dar:

Sephira 1	= die Krone
Sephiroth 2 und 3	= Das Verständniss, die Weisheit
Sephiroth 3, 4 und 6	= Das Urteil, die Schönheit und die Gnade
Sephiroth 7 und 8	= der Ruhm und der Sieg, die beide mit den Flügeln gekennzeichnet sind. Der Ruhm und der Sieg haben immer Flügel, nur Nike Apteros hat keine. ⁶

¹ Das hebräische Wort Sephiroth erscheint gewöhnlich in seiner Pluralform (also Sephiroth), die Singularform (Sephira) kommt selten vor. Ich finde dieses Wort weder in Grimms Wörterbuch, noch in irgendeinem grösseren modernen Wörterbuche der neuhochdeutschen Sprache. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (vol. IX, Oxford 1933) gibt die folgende Definition der Sephiroth: In the philosophy of the Cabbala, the ten hypostatized attributes or emanations, by means of which the Infinite (e n soph) enters into relation with the finite.

² Die Bogumilen waren eine der mittelalterlichen Sekten, die sich aus dem Manichäismus entwickelte. Sie haben in Bosnien und Herzegowina, wie auch in den benachbarten Gebieten, zahlreiche Nekropolen aus dem XIII bis XVI Jahrhundert hinterlassen. Stećak (pl. stećci) ist ein bogumilisches Grabdenkmal, welches gewöhnlich mit Reliefs, die symbolische Motive darstellen, dekoriert, ist.

³ Vgl. Marian Wenzel: *Ukrasni motivi na stećcima, Ornamental Motifs on Tombstones from Mediaeval Bosnia and Surrounding Regions*. Verlag Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo 1965. Die Tafel CXIV gibt »unclassified motifs«, die eigentlich die Sephiroth-Schemen darstellen.

⁴ Tine Kurent: *Sephirot ili drvo života (Die Sephiroth oder der Lebensbaum)* Mostar (Mostar, Jugoslawien), 60, 1985.

⁵ Auf dem Bilde der gegenwärtigen Studie sind die Zahlen 4 und 5, wie auch 8 und 9, wie sie in der Zeitschrift *Most* abgebildet wurden, umgesetzt, um sie so in Einklang mit Goethes Text zu bringen.

⁶ Nike ist die griechische Personifizierung des Sieges. Der Tempel der Nike Apteros, der Göttin des Sieges ohne Flügel, befindet sich auf der Akropolis von Athen.

Sephira 9
Sephira 10

= der Grund
= das Königreich

In Goethes Faust I⁷ — in den enigmatischen Worten der Hexe in der Szene mit der Hexenküche — sind einzelne Zahlen entsprechend ihrer Stellen in der Komposition Sephiroth aufgezählt, die letzte Sephira fällt jedoch als Mond aus. Faust hört zu, wie die Hexe, die das Verjüngungselixir mischt, ihre Zahlen rezitiert:

DU MUSST VERSTEHN!

= Die Worte der Hexe können nicht leicht verstanden werden

AUS EINS MACH' ZEHN

= Die Komposition Sephiroth dehnt sich von 1 bis 10

UND ZWEI LASS GEHN

= Die Sephira 2 fällt in die neue Kolonne

UND DREI MACH' GLEICH

= Und ebenfalls die Sephira 3

SO BIST DU REICH

= Vgl. das Sprichwort: Alle guten Dinge sind drei

VERLIER' DIE VIER

= Die Sephira 4 befindet sich nicht auf dem erwarteten Platze, sie ist verloren gegangen

AUS FÜNF UND SECHS

SO SAGT DIE HEX'

MACH' SIEBEN UND ACHT

= In den Kolonnen unter der Sephiroth 5 und 6 befinden sich die Sephiroth 7 und 8

SO IST'S VOLLBRACHT

= Auf diese Weise sind die äusseren Kolonnen zu Ende

UND NEUN IST EINS

= Die Sephira 9 steht in der Kolonne unter der Sephira 1

UND ZEHN IST KEINS

= Die Sephira 10 symbolisiert den Mond. Die Hexe jedoch arbeitet nur während der Nächte ohne Mondschein

DAS IST DAS HEXEN-EINMAL-EINS.

Die Sephiroth werden auch als Lebensbaum dargestellt: in diesem Sinne wurden sie auf den Grabdenkmälern der Bogumilen⁸ aufgefasst, und Goethe benutzt sie natürlich bei der Transformation von Fausts Leben.

Die Komposition Sephiroth wurde auch von Albrecht Dürer als eine bildliche Darstellung des Weltalls auf dem Schild, getragen von seinem Pilger, benutzt.

Die ersten drei Sephiroths, wie sie von Goethes Hexe numeriert werden, also die Planeten Neptun, Uran und Saturn, wurden von Dürer als drei sechszackige Sterne im oberen Teile des Schildes abgebildet. Die Flügel stellen

⁷ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: *Faust* I, Szene: die Hexenküche, Verse 2540—2552.

⁸ Soviel mir bekannt ist, haben die Goethe-Forscher bisher nicht festgestellt, dass die Verse des Hexen-Einmal-Eins eigentlich die Sephiroth umschreiben. Man hat statt dessen angenommen, dass die Hexe mit ihren Versen das magische Quadrat wiedergibt:

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

In diesem Quadrat gibt es tatsächlich keine Zahl 10, das ist jedoch auch der einzige Punkt wo Goethes Verse und das magische Quadrat übereinstimmen. Vgl.: »Anhang. Das Hexen-Einmaleins in Goethes Faust, I. Theil (Hexenküchenszene)« im Werke: *Die geistigen Grundlagen der Zahlen*, Verlag Freies Geistesleben, Stuttgart 1977.

jedoch offenbar die Zahlen 7 und 8 dar, das sind der Ruhm und der Sieg des Mikrokosmos, oder Venera und Merkur des Makrokosmos. Die Zahlen 5 und 6, Jupiter und Mars, sind auf diese Weise die Sterne am unteren Rande des Schildes. Offenbar hat Dürer die Plätze der Zahlen 5 und 6 mit den Plätzen der Zahlen 7 und 8 umgetauscht. Die Zahlen 4, 9 und 10 symbolisieren endlich in der mittleren Kolonne die Sonne, die Erde und den Mond.⁹

Die Sephiroth erscheinen demzufolge auf den steinernen Reliefs des mittelalterlichen Bosniens,¹⁰ auf Dürers Holzschnitt und in Goethes Faust.

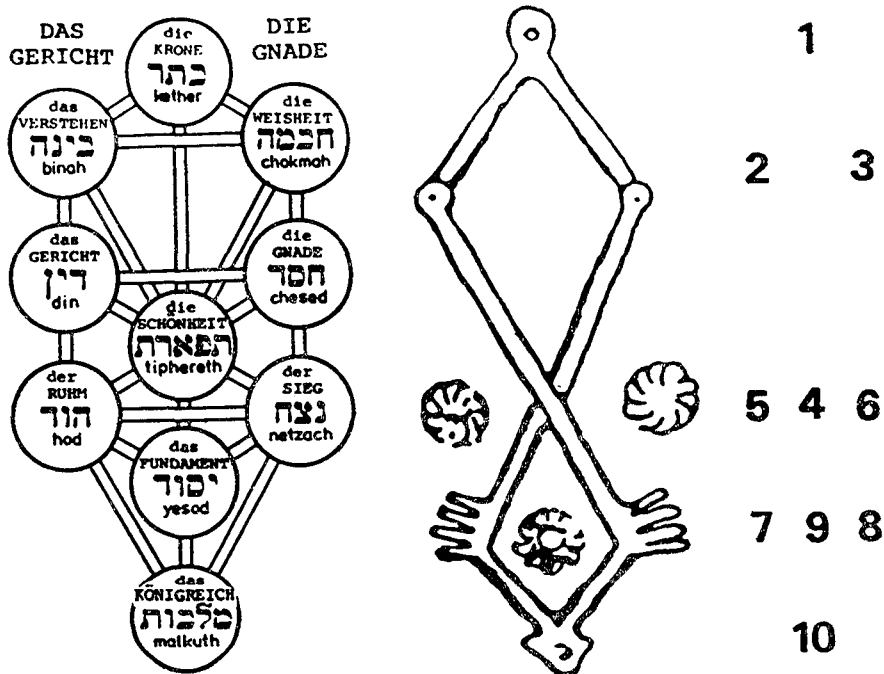


Bild 1: Ein Vergleich der Komposition Sephirot, die die Elemente aus der Welt des Menschen darstellen, mit der analogen Komposition im Relief auf dem bogumilischen Grabdenkmal (stećak) aus Mokro, nahe Lištica in Herzegowina.

⁹ Der Holzschnitt *Gerson der Pilger* von Albrecht Dürer, Grösse 23,3 cm × 14,9 cm, stammt aus dem Jahre 1494. Er ist im Deutschen Nationalmuseum unter No. H 7486 aufbewahrt.

¹⁰ Vgl. Tine Kurent: Simboli vasiona na stećcima (Die Symbole des Kosmos auf den bogumilischen Grabdenkmälern), *Most* (Mostar, Jugoslawien), 60 (1985),

Du mußt verstehn!
 Aus Eins mach' Zehn,
 Und Zwei laß gehn,
 Und Drei mach' gleich,
 So bist du reich.
 Verlier' die Vier, —
 Aus Fünf und Sechs,
 So sagt die Hex',
 Mach' Sieben und Acht,
 So ist's vollbracht;
 Und Neun ist Eins,
 Und Zehn ist keins.
 Das ist das Hexen-Einmal-Eins.

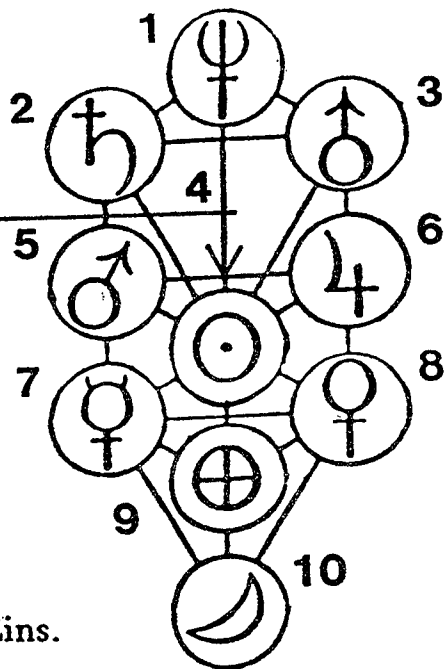


Bild 2: Goethes Hexen-Einmal-Eins umschreibt die Komposition der zehn Zahlen der Sephiroth.

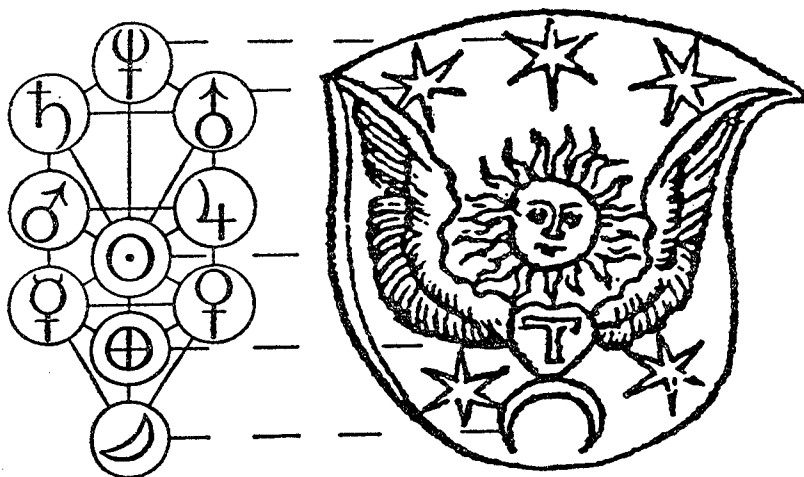


Bild 3: Die Uebereinkunft einzelner Sephiroth mit den Himmelskörpern auf dem Schild von Dürers Pilger.



Bild 4: Dürers Pilger trägt in seiner Hand den Schild in welchem der Kosmos symbolisch mit der Sephiroth dargestellt ist.

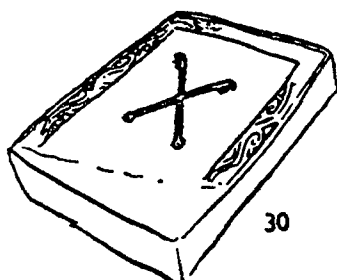
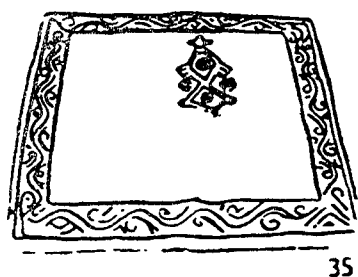
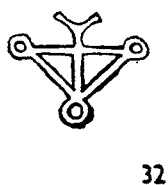
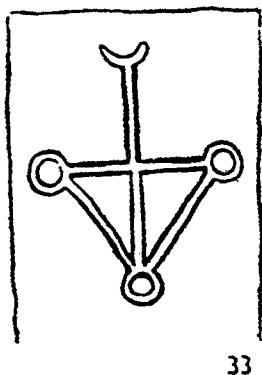
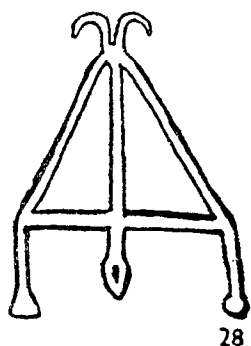


TABLA CXIV
NEKLASIFICIRANI MOTIVI / UNCLASSIFIED MOTIFS

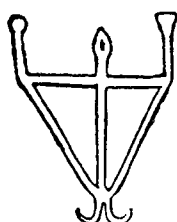
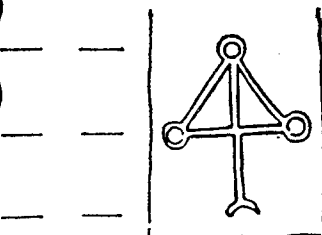
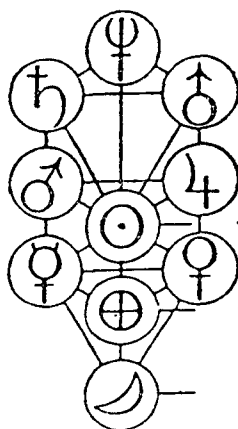


Bild 5: Die »nicht klassifizierten« Motive auf der Tafel CXIV, im Buch von Mariane Wenzel, die das Ganze oder Teile des Symbols Sephiroths (die inneren Planete) darstellen. Alle Abbildungen sind auf den Kopf gestellt.

DIE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR IM MITTELALTERLICHEN SLOWENIEN

Janez Stanonik

Mit der Studie über die deutsche Literatur im mittelalterlichen Slowenien wünsche ich zwei Ziele zu verfolgen: erstens, eine Übersicht über den heutigen Stand unserer Kenntnisse dieses Problemes zu geben; und zweitens, insbesondere auf die noch zahlreichen offenen Probleme in diesem Gebiete hinzuweisen. Je länger ich mich für diesen Fragenkomplex interessiere, desto mehr sehe ich, dass es hier sehr wichtige Probleme gibt, die bisher ungenügend untersucht oder überhaupt noch nicht angetastet wurden, derer Lösung vielleicht schwer, jedoch nicht unmöglich ist. Diese grosse Zahl der noch offenen Probleme scheint bei der heutigen Entwicklung der Germanistik fast anachronistisch zu sein.

Das bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass es bisher kein Interesse für dieses Problemgebiet gegeben hat. Es gibt einzelne bedeutende Spezialuntersuchungen, wie auch allgemeine Übersichten dieses Fragenkomplexes. Vor allem wäre erwünscht wenn hier eine grössere Zahl von Spezialuntersuchungen vorhanden wären. Allgemeine Untersuchungen gibt es jedoch wenigstens schon seit der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts. Fast alle solche Untersuchungen näherten sich dem Problem im geographischen Rahmen der Länder Krain und Steiermark, und nur wenige beziehen sich auf das Gebiet von Slowenien, wie es mit den Staatsgrenzen bestimmt ist. Schon in der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts versuchte Joseph Kalasanz Erberg eine Literaturgeschichte von Krain zu verfassen, die jedoch nur handschriftlich erhalten ist.¹ Die erste gedruckte Studie stammt von Eduard Samhaber und wurde im Jahre 1891 im Werke *Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, Band Krain, veröffentlicht.² Bald darauf, in 1899, folgte eine ähnliche Studie von Peter Radics, die in der Nagl-Zeidlerschen *Deutsch-österreichischen Literaturgeschichte* erschienen ist.³ Zwischen den zwei Weltkriegen schrieb Jakob Kelemina eine Übersicht über die deutsch-slowenischen Bezie-

¹ Milena Uršič, *Jožef Kalasanc Erberg in njegov poskus osnutka za literarno zgodovino Kranjske (Joseph Kalasanz Erberg und sein Versuch eines Entwurfes der Literaturgeschichte Krains)*, Ljubljana 1975, Dela SAZU — Die Veröffentlichungen der Slowenischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste, Klasse für Philologie und Literaturwissenschaften 28., Inst. f. slow. Literatur u. Literaturwissenschaften 6. — Vgl. auch *Slovenski biografski leksikon*, Ljubljana 1925 ff, Bd. I. S. 162—166, sub Erberg. J. K.

² *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, Band Kärnten und Krain, Wien 1891; Vgl. S. 410—416.

³ J. W. Nagl-Jakob Zeidler: *Deutsch-österreichische Literaturgeschichte*, Band I, Wien, Leipzig, O. D., Vgl. S. 314—315.

hungen im Mittelalter, die im Jahre 1937 in der Zeitschrift *Strani pregled* publiziert wurde.⁴ Im Jahre 1943 verteidigte Karl Pivk an der Wiener Universität seine Doktorarbeit über die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters in Krain; diese Doktorarbeit ist jedoch nie gedruckt worden.⁵ Und zuletzt wurde im Jahre 1953 meine Doktorarbeit *Die Überreste der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur in Krain* von der Universität Ljubljana approbiert.⁶ Die Studie von Professor Alfred Kracher, Mittelalterliche Literatur und Dichtung in der Steiermark, die im Jahre 1976 im Sammelband *Literatur in der Steiermark* erschienen ist, gibt eine ausgezeichnete Übersicht aller bisherigen Arbeiten in diesem Gebiet auch für den slowenischen Teil der Steiermark.⁷

Wir wissen sehr wenig über den Zustand der Bibliotheken während des Mittelalters in Slowenien. Vor allem gab es Klosterbibliotheken, die für 24 Klöster in Slowenien nachgewiesen sind.⁸ Die meisten Handschriften in diesen Bibliotheken waren natürlich religiösen Inhaltes und fast ausschliesslich lateinisch. Die deutschen Handschriften erscheinen in diesen Bibliotheken etwas zahlreicher erst im XV. Jahrhundert. Einige dieser Klosterbibliotheken waren sehr alt und schon während des Mittelalters auch sehr reich an Büchern. Nach Angabe von Santonino besass die Klosterbibliothek von Žiče (Seitz), nördlich von Celje, am Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts ungefähr 2.000 Handschriften.⁹ Andere reiche alte Klosterbibliotheken waren in Gornji grad (Oberburg), Stična (Sittich), Bistra (Freudenthal), Jurkloster (Gairach), Kostanjevica (Landstrass) und im Kloster der Dominikaner in Ptuj. Mehrere dieser Klöster hatten auch ganz bedeutende Skriptoria, namentlich Stična. Einzelne dieser Klöster sind schon früh aufgehoben worden, die meisten jedoch waren am Ende des XVIII. Jahrhunderts durch die Josephinischen Reformen aufgelöst.¹⁰ Die Bücher aus diesen Bibliotheken wurden dann in die Landes- bzw. Universitätsbibliotheken in Graz und Ljubljana überführt. Es bestehen Verzeichnisse der Handschriften, die sich in den Universitätsbibliotheken in Ljubljana¹¹ und Graz befinden.¹² Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass einzelne Handschriften aus Slowenien auch in andere Bibliotheken in

⁴ Jakob Kelemina: Slovensko-nemački kulturni odnosi u srednjem veku (Die slowenisch-deutschen Kulturbeziehungen im Mittelalter), *Strani pregled* 1937, S. 30.

⁵ Karl W. Pivk: *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters in Krain. Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Literaturgeschichte der österreichischen Alpenländer*. Diss. Wien 1943. Maschinenschrift.

⁶ Janez Stanonik: *Ostanki srednjeveškega nemškega slovstva na Kranjskem* (Die Überreste der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur in Krain). Diss. Ljubljana 1957, S. 60.

⁷ Alfred Kracher: *Mittelalterliche Literatur und Dichtung in der Steiermark, Literatur in der Steiermark*, Graz 1976, Vlg. Steiermärkische Landesregierung; vgl. S. 9–42.

⁸ Melitta Pivec-Stele: *Srednjeveške knjižnice v Sloveniji* (Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken in Slowenien), *Knjižnica* XV (1971), 87–97.

⁹ *Itinerario di Paolo Santonino in Carintia, e Carniola negli anni 1485–1487*, ed. G. Vale, Città del Vaticano 1943 (Studi e testi, 103), S. 183 und 257.

¹⁰ S. Laschitzer: Die Verordnungen über die Bibliotheken und Archive der aufgehobenen Klöster in Oesterreich, *MIÖG* II (1881), 401–440.

¹¹ Milko Kos — Fr. Stele: *Srednjeveški rokopisi v Sloveniji — Codices aetatis mediae manu scripti qui in Slovenia reperiuntur*, Ljubljana 1931 (Vlg. Umetnostno-zgodovinsko društvo).

¹² Anton Kern: *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*. Band 1, Leipzig 1939–1942 (Verzeichnis der Handschriften im deutschen Reich 2); Band 2, Wien 1956; Band 3, Nachträge und Register zusammengestellt von Maria Mairold, Wien 1967 (Handschriftenverzeichnisse österreichischer Bibliotheken, Steiermark).

Europa irgendwie den Weg gefunden haben. Wir wissen, dass mit der Bibliothek von Flaccius Illyricus einzelne Handschriften aus Stična sogar nach Wolfenbüttel gekommen sind.¹³ Die Handschriften aus dem Kloster Žiče befinden sich heutzutage nicht nur in Graz und Ljubljana, sondern auch in Wien, Budapest, und in der Bibliothek des British Museum.¹⁴

Neben den Klosterbibliotheken gab es im Mittelalter noch zwei kirchliche Bibliotheken in Slowenien: die Kapitelbibliothek in Novo mesto und die Bibliothek im Pfarrarchiv der Stadt Kranj. Eine kleine Bibliothek vermutet man auch im Pfarramte der Stadt Ljubljana während des Mittelalters.

Die grösste mittelalterliche Privatbibliothek in Slowenien, und die einzige von welcher wir etwas wissen, ist die der Auersperge. Sie entstand wahrscheinlich während des XIV. Jh. und hat sich während der folgenden Jahrhunderte immer mehr bereichert. Im XIX. Jh. befand sich diese Bibliothek im sogenannten Fürstenhofe in Ljubljana, an derselben Stelle, wo jetzt die Universitätsbibliothek steht. Nach dem Erdbeben im Jahre 1895, welches grossen Schaden in der Stadt Ljubljana verursachte, wurde die Bibliothek nach dem Schlosse Losensteinleithen in Oberösterreich überführt. Nach dem zweiten Weltkriege wurde diese Bibliothek wenigstens teilweise nach Amerika abtransportiert. Die letzte verlässliche Nachricht ist vom amerikanischen Professor Gerard F. Schmidt aus dem Jahre 1961, der eine Handschrift aus dieser Sammlung in Paysandu in Uruguay, noch im Bestize der Auersperge fand. Nach unverlässlichen Angaben wurde diese Bibliothek von der Kongressbibliothek in Washington abgekauft.¹⁵

Die grosse Bedeutung der Bibliothek, der Auersperge wird ersichtlich, wenn wir nur einige der wichtigsten Texte, die hier in mittelalterlichen Handschriften aufbewahrt sind erwähnen. Genaue Kenntnisse besitzen wir von

¹³ Wolfgang Milde: The Library of Wolfenbüttel, from 1530 to 1618, *Modern Language Review* LXVI (1971), 102—112. — Milde macht die falsche Angabe, Sittich sei in Kärnten. Das Kloster Stična, deutsch Sittich, liegt südlich von Ljubljana. Aus diesem Kloster stammen einige der schönsten mittelalterlichen Handschriften, die sich heute in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek befinden.

¹⁴ Primož Simoniti: *Humanizem na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1979, S. 54, Anm. 5

¹⁵ Es herrscht eine völlige Unsicherheit über den heutigen Aufbewahrungsort der Handschriften aus der Bibliothek der Auersperge. Die wichtigste Quelle für diese Bibliothek ist noch immer Peter Radics: Die Fürst Carlos Auersperg'sche Hausbibliothek im Laibacher Fürstenhofe. *Österreichische Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und öffentliches Leben*, 1863, Teil II, S. 624 ff. Die Handschriften aus dieser Bibliothek sind in dem Handschriftenarchiv der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin im Katalog nicht beschrieben. Ueber die Anwesenheit der auerspergischen Handschriften in Paysandu, Uruguay, berichtet Gerard F. Schmidt in seiner Ausgabe *Das Schachzabelbuch des Jacobus de Cessolis*, O. P. in *mittelhochdeutscher Prosaübersetzung*, Berlin, Erich Schmidt Vlg. 1961 (Texte des späten Mittelalters, Heft 13), S. 15. — Die wahrscheinlich unverlässliche Angabe, dass die auerspergischen Handschriften an die Kongressbibliothek verkauft wurden, findet man bei Lino Legiša und France Tomšič im Sammelwerk *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva* (*Die Geschichte der slowenischen Literatur*), hgg. von Slovenska Matica, Ljubljana 1956 ff, Band I, S. 179—180. — Nach einer jüngst erhaltenen Privatmeldung wurde vor kurzem (?) ein grosser Teil dieser Bibliothek bei Sotheby in London durch Auktion ausverkauft. Im Katalog des Hauses Sotheby steht dabei die Nachricht, dass die angebotenen Bücher aus der Privatbibliothek von »Señor D. German Mailhoz und Señora Da Johanna Auersperg de Mailhoz, of Montevideo, Uruguay« gekommen sind. — Vorerst wäre jedenfalls nützlich festzustellen welche Handschriften und Archive sich noch immer im Besitze der Auersperge im Schlosse Losensteinleithen befinden.

drei Handschriften des *Schwabenspiegels*¹⁶ und einer Handschrift vorwiegend religiösen Inhaltes, die unter anderem die Fabeln des Cyrillus de Guidone *Speculum Sapientiae* und ein Gedicht von Otto Rasp, *Die Ansprache des Teuffels gegen unseren Herrn* enthält. Der Inhalt dieses Gedichtes ist uns aus einer Studie von Anton Schönbach, die im Jahre 1898 in den *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereines für Steiermark* veröffentlicht wurde, bekannt.¹⁷ Das Gedicht ist eine Nachahmung der mittelalterlichen Streitgedichte, speziell des *Processus Sathanae* aus dem Anfange des XV. Jh. In unserem Text klagt Sathan den Christus vor dem Richter Gott, dass Christus ihm die Seelen der Vorfahren entführe. Im Prozess erscheinen auch die Erzengel Gabriel und Michael, die die Anklage Sathans verneinen. Das ganze Gedicht hat 2438 Verse und ist gedichtet in nicht besonders geschickten Reimpaaren. Der Autor ist nicht ohne einen Sinn für Humor. Das Ende des Gedichtes von ungefähr 200 Versen fehlt. Das Gedicht entstand in der Mitte des XIV. Jh. Der Autor Otto Rasp war wahrscheinlich ein gebürtiger Friesacher, er lebte eine Zeit am Hofe des Patriarchen in Aquileia, und wurde zuletzt Priester in Vellach in Kärnten. Als Schönbach seine Studie über diesen Text vorbereitete, machte er eine vollständige Abschrift des Textes, die sich wahrscheinlich noch unter seinem Nachlasse befindet. Es wäre nützlich, diese Abschrift noch einmal zu untersuchen um festzustellen ob der Text nicht wert wäre voll publiziert zu werden.

Eine weitere Handschrift, die interessant sein könnte, ist eine rhythmische Bearbeitung des Buches *Genesis*. Die Handschrift stammt aus dem XIV. Jh. Andere Angaben fehlen. In Anbetracht der grossen Bedeutung die die *Genesis*-Texte in der österreichischen Literatur des Mittelalters haben, könnte dieser zwar etwas später Text für die Geschichte der *Genesis*-Tradition in Österreich von nicht kleiner Bedeutung sein.¹⁸

Neben diesen Texten gibt es in der auerspergischen Bibliothek noch weitere deutsche Handschriften, von denen wir jedoch sehr wenig wissen, unter anderem deutsche Predigten aus dem XIV. Jh., dem Inhalte nach wahrscheinlich ins XIII. Jh. gehörig, da darin der Mongoleneinfall von 1241 als eben geschehen erwähnt wird; deutsche Übersetzungen der Evangelien, der Psalmen, usw. Nur der Text des *Schachzabelbuches* des Jakobus de Cessolis aus dieser Sammlung wurde bisher genauer untersucht. Alles das beweist, dass diese Bibliothek nicht nur für die Landesgeschichte, sondern für die deutsche Literatur, speziell in Österreich, von nicht kleiner Bedeutung ist. Es wäre deswegen notwendig den heutigen Aufbewahrungsort zu identifizieren und alle dort befindlichen Handschriften sorgfältig zu untersuchen.

Über andere Privatbibliotheken im späten Mittelalter in Slowenien wissen wir eigentlich nichts. Man könnte vermuten, dass sich doch eine Sammlung von handschriftlichen Texten im Besitze der Grafen von Celje befand. Mit der zunehmenden politischen Bedeutung der Grafen von Celje wuchs auch die Bedeutung der Stadt Celje als ein Kulturzentrum. Beziehungen zu Celje können bei einer ganzen Reihe von deutschen Dichtern nach-

¹⁶ G. Homeyer: *Die deutschen Rechtsbücher des Mittelalters und ihre Handschriften*, neu bearb. von Conrad Borchling, Karl August Eckhardt und Julius von Gierke, Weimar 1931/1934, S. 165, Nos. 729, 730 und 731

¹⁷ Anton Schönbach: *Miscellen aus Grazer Handschriften*, *MHVS* XLVI (1898), 3—70, vgl. S. 32 ff.

¹⁸ Ehrismann II/I S. 217 und die dort angeführte Literatur

gewiesen werden, so bei Wolfram von Eschenbach, Oswald von Wolkenstein¹⁹ und Peter Suchenwirt.²⁰ Der anonyme Autor der *Cillier Chronik* aus der Mitte des XV. Jh. war ein mittelalterlich gebildeter Mann, also hatte er die entsprechenden Texte zur Verfügung. Schon in der Mitte des XV. Jh. sind in Celje auch Spuren des Frühhumanismus identifizierbar. Nach dem Absterben der Familie der Grafen von Celje sind am Ende des Jahrhunderts mehrere sehr interessante Persönlichkeiten aus der Umgebung von Celje gekommen, die als Humanisten eine bedeutende Rolle im zentralen Europa hatten, so Thomas de Cilia, Kanzler der Wiener Universität, Erzieher des Kaisers Maximilian und zuletzt Bischof von Konstanz;²¹ Michael Tiffernus, Erzieher des württembergischen Herzogs Christoph;²² Briccius Preprost, Rektor der Wiener Universität;²³ und Augustinus Tyffernus, Architekt und Archäologe, der auch in Wien tätig war.²⁴ Man kann sich kaum vorstellen, dass eine solche Zahl von angehenden jungen Leuten, die fast gleichzeitig aus einer Gegend kam, ein Produkt einer Gesellschaft ohne eigene Kulturtradition sein könnte. Aus Celje haben wir aus dem späten Mittelalter den Beweis eines deutschen literarischen Textes, und zwar des *Physiologus* in Prosa, der in zwei reliefartigen Inschriften in der gotischen Kapelle der dortigen Pfarrkirche erhalten ist.²⁵

Auf Grund unserer Kenntnisse über den Zustand der Bibliotheken im späten Mittelalter in Slowenien können wir jedenfalls sagen, dass Slowenien in dieser Zeit keine unentwickelte Kulturprovinz war. Die wichtigsten mittelalterlichen Texte im Gebiete der Theologie und Philosophie waren reich vorhanden. Etwas weniger zahlreich waren die rein literarischen Texte, obgleich auch ihre Anwesenheit nachgewiesen werden kann.²⁶

¹⁹ Anton Schwob: *Oswald von Wolkenstein*, Bozen 1979 (Vlg. Athesia), S. 272 f, 279.

²⁰ *Slovenski biografski leksikon* III, 541

²¹ Primož Simoniti: *Humanizem na Slovenskem in slovenski humanisti do srede XVI. stoletja (Der Humanismus in Slowenien und slowenische Humanisten bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts)*, Ljubljana 1979 (Vlg. Slovenska Matica), S. 147—154; *Slovenski biografski leksikon* IV, 79—81

²² Simoniti, op. cit. S. 204—209; SBL IV, 84—86

²³ Simoniti, op. cit. S. 142—147; SBL II, 497—498.

²⁴ Simoniti, op. cit. S. 83—222; SBL IV, 262—265

²⁵ Emilijan Cevc: *Srednjeveška plastika na Slovenskem (Die mittelalterliche Plastik in Slowenien)*, Ljubljana 1963 (Vlg. Slovenska Matica), S. 98, 99, 363 f. Anm 30; Nikolaus Henkel: *Studien zum Physiologus im Mittelalter*, Tübingen 1976 (Niemeyer Vlg), S. 104 ff.

²⁶ Es ist in der letzten Zeit eine ganze Reihe von bedeutenden monographischen Werken, die verschiedene Kunstgattungen aus dem späten Mittelalter in Slowenien behandeln erschienen, auf die man hier hinweisen kann: Dragotin Cvetko: *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1958—1960, vgl. Band I; Primož Kuret: *Glasbeni instrumenti na srednjeveških freskah na Slovenskem (Die Musikinstrumente auf den mittelalterlichen Fresken in Slowenien)*, Ljubljana 1973 (Vlg. Slovenska Matica), 170 S.; Marjan Zadnikar: *Romanika v Sloveniji: tipologija in morfologija sakralne arhitekture (Die Romanik in Slowenien: die Typologie und Morphologie der Sakralarchitektur)*, Ljubljana 1982 (Vlg. Državna založba Slovenije), 657 S.; Marijan Zadnikar: *Stična in zgodnja arhitektura cistercijanov (Stična und die frühe Baukunst der Zisterzienser)*, Ljubljana 1957 (Vlg. Državna založba Slovenije), 285 S.; Marijan Zadnikar: *Srednjeveška arhitektura kartuzijanov in slovenske kartuzije (Die mittelalterliche Architektur der Kartäuser und die slowenischen Kartausen)*, Ljubljana 1972 (Vlg. Državna založba Slovenije), 434 S.; Ivan Komelj: *Gotska arhitektura na Slovenskem. Razvoj stavbnih členov in cerkvenega prostora (Die gotische Architektur in Slowenien. Die Entwicklung*

Wenn wir von dem eigentlichen literarischen Schaffen im Lande sprechen wollen, so müssen wir zunächst feststellen, dass wir von der mittelalterlichen slowenischen Literatur sehr wenig wissen, da uns aus dieser Zeit nur wenige Texte in slowenischer Sprache bekannt sind. Im Mittelalter gab es bestimmt schon slowenische religiöse Gedichte und Volkslieder.²⁷ Allem Anschein nach gab es ein Interesse für ein höheres literarisches Schaffen in slowenischer Sprache sogar unter den feudalen Kreisen. Das beweisen Bruchstücke aus den Gedichten von Ulrich von Liechtenstein und Oswald von Wolkenstein. Obgleich in der slowenischen Literatur des Mittelalters diese zwei Autoren stets erwähnt werden, besteht, so viel ich weiss, bisher keine einzige tiefere analytische Studie dieser zwei Autoren von einem slowenischen Literaturhistoriker, und das ist bestimmt überraschend. Ein kurzer slowenischer Text aus einer auerspergischen Handschrift beweist, dass es auch wenigstens Versuche des Minnesanges in slowenischer Sprache gab.²⁸

Unter den lateinischen Autoren aus mittelalterlichem Slowenien ist bestimmt der interessanteste Hermannus de Carinthia, der auch unter dem Namen Hermannus Slavus und Hermannus Dalmata bekannt ist.²⁹ Nach seiner eigenen Beschreibung seines Heimatlandes stammte er fast bestimmt aus dem heutigen Slowenien. Er studierte in der ersten Hälfte des XII. Jh. in Südfrankreich in Chartres, wo sein Lehrer der Philosophie der berühmte Thierry de Chartres war. Dann lebte er in Spanien, wo er sich zu einem der frühesten europäischen Arabisten entwickelte. Er machte die erste lateinische Übersetzung des *Korans* und übersetzte ebenfalls aus der arabischen Sprache Ptolemäus's *Planisphaerium*, welches uns nur durch diese Übersetzung erhalten geblieben ist. Er selbst schrieb im Jahre 1132 ein philosophisches Werk, *De essentiis*, die eine Synthese des Platonismus, wie er in Chartres entwickelt wurde, mit dem mittelalterlichen Neophythagorismus ist.³⁰ — Andere lateinische Autoren aus dem Lande in dieser Zeit sind jedoch nur von lokaler Bedeutung, Ihre Anzahl wächst mit dem XV. Jh. zusammen mit dem Erwachen des Humanismus. Ein wichtiges Zentrum, wie schon erwähnt, war dabei die Stadt Celje. Über die Bestrebungen der Humanisten aus Slowenien in lateinischer Sprache haben wir jetzt eine gute Übersicht in der Doktorarbeit von Primož Simoniti, *Humanizem na Slovenskem (Der Humanismus in Slowenien)* aus dem Jahre 1975.³¹

Für die deutsche Literaturgeschichte im Lande gibt es mehrere interessante Namen, über welche uns schon zahlreiche und gründliche Studien zur

der Bauteile und des Kirchenraumes), Ljubljana 1973 (Vlg. Slovenska Matica), 322 S.; Jože Milarič: *Kartuzija Pleterje 1403—1585 (Die Kartause Pleterje 1403—1595)*, Ljubljana 1982 (Vlg. Slovenska Matica), 322 S.; France Stele: *Slikarstvo v Sloveniji od XII. do srede XVI. stoletja (Die Malerei in Slowenien vom XII. bis in die Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts)*, Ljubljana 1969 (2. Auflage, Vlg. Slovenska Matica) 361 S.

²⁷ Einen Versuch der Geschichte des slowenischen Volksliedes im Mittelalter findet man bei Ivan Grafenauer: *Kratka zgodovina starejšega slovenskega slovstva (Kurze Geschichte der älteren slowenischen Literatur)*, Celje 1973 (Vlg. Mohorjeva družba).

²⁸ *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva (Die Geschichte der slowenischen Literatur)*, Vlg. Slovenska Matica, Band I, Ljubljana 1956, S. 179—180.

²⁹ Ch. H. Haskins: *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Cambridge 1924, S. 43—68; Kajetan Gantar: *Herman de Carinthia, Jezik in slovstvo X* (1965), 225—232.

³⁰ Neudruck: Herman de Carinthia: *De essentiis*. Edición preparada y anotada por el P. Manuel Alonso, Santander 1946.

³¹ Vgl. Anm. 21

Verfügung stehen. In der Mitte des XIII. Jh. dichtete der von Obernburg seine Minnelieder, die uns in der Manessischen Handschrift überliefert sind. (No. 98) Wie uns Professor Kracher³² mit seiner gründlichen Analyse der Texte dieses Dichters bewiesen hat, dürfte es sich dabei um einen Dichter aus dem Städtchen Oberburg, Gornji grad, im oberen Sanntale, vielleicht einem Mönch im dortigen Kloster oder einem Dienstmann aus dessen Umgebung handeln. Ein anderer Minnesinger, der uns ebenfalls aus der Manessischen Handschrift (No. 60) unter dem Namen der von Sounege bekannt ist, kam wahrscheinlich von Schlosse Sanneck, auf slowenisch Žovnek, ebenfalls nahe dem oberen Sanntale.³³ Der Dichter ist vielleicht Konrad I., der in der Mitte des XIII. Jh. nachgewiesen ist. Es handelt sich dabei also um einen der Ahnen der Grafen von Celje. Ein dritter Minnesinger der in der Manessischen Handschrift vorkommt war Der von Scharpfenberg (No. 61). vermutlich aus dem Schlosse Scharpfenberg nahe Radeče, südlich von der Mündung des Flusses Savinja (Sann) in den Fluss Sava. Als religiöser Dichter ist berühmt Bruder Philipp aus dem Kloster Žiče, Seitz, der Autor eines umfangreichen *Marienlebens* aus dem Anfange des XIV. Jh. Dieses Gedicht war weit verbreitet und ist in zahlreichen Handschriften erhalten. Bruder Philipp stammte jedoch nicht aus Slowenien, sondern höchstwahrscheinlich aus Mittelfranken, und lebte in der Kartäuse Žiče-Seitz bis er um ;316 nach Mauerbach bei Wien umsiedelte.

Wenn wir nun zuletzt zu einer thematischen Übersicht der deutschen Texte aus dem mittelalterlichen Slowenien übergehen, so finden wir, wie gewöhnlich, die Glossen am Anfange der Tradition. Aus dem XII. Jh. stammen Auszüge aus dem *Liber glossarum*, die in Ljubljana erhalten sind und die schon Steinmayer und Sievers bekannt waren.³⁵ Ein anderes umfangreicheres Glossar aus dem XIV. Jh., das bestimmt eine Abschrift eines althochdeutschen Glossars ist, ist deswegen interessant, weil in ihm ungewöhnlich viele griechische Lehnwörter vorkommen.³⁶ Neben diesen Glossaren gibt es noch weitere kürzere Glossarfragmente.

Von der weltlichen Literatur finden wir die Anwesenheit der grossen Zyklen der mittelalterlichen Rittersagen, den britischen Zyklus vom König Arthur, den französischen Zyklus vom Karl dem Grossen, und den römischen Zyklus verhältnismässig gut dokumentiert. Die Rittersagen vom König Arthur, von Roland, und vom König Alexander dem Grossen waren in Slowenien seit der Mitte des XIII. Jh. ziemlich weit bekannt. Das beweisen schon die Personennamen aus dieser Zeit. Eine ausführliche Untersuchung dieses Problems für Slowenien wurde bisher nicht gemacht; ich vermute, dass auch für österreichische Länder solche Untersuchungen fehlen. Der Name

³² Alfred Kracher: Der von Obernburg — ein Steirer? *Festschrift f. Dietrich Kralik*, 1954, S. 162—182.

³³ *Die deutsche Lit. im Mittelalter, Verfasserlexikon*, hgg von Karl Langosch Band IV. 1953., S. 342—343 (Der von Suneck)

^{33a} ib. Band IV, 1953.

³⁴ ib. Band III, 1943, S. 879—891 (Philipp, Bruder).

³⁵ Elias Steinmeyer und Eduard Sievers: *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, Berlin 1895, Hand IV, S. 473—474; Josef Sorn: Glossarienfragmente des städtischen Archivs zu Laibach, *Mittheilungen des Musealvereines für Krain* V (1892), 100—117.

³⁶ Janez Stanonik: Althochdeutsche Glossen aus Ljubljanaer Handschriften, *Acta Neophilologica* VI (1973), 3—24.

Artusius erscheint in Ljubljana schon in der Mitte des XIII. Jh.,³⁷ dann noch öfters im XIV. Jh. Die Namen Ysolde, Tristan und Roland sind insbesondere zahlreich an der italienischen Sprachgrenze, in Gorica, Trieste, Piran und in Istrien. Der anonyme Berichterstatter über die Reise von Sir Richard Guildford aus dem Jahre 1506 nennt das römische Amphiteater in Pula Rolandsburg. Solche Personennamen beweisen, dass diese Traditionen auch unter den bürgerlichen Kreisen bekannt waren, vielleicht sogar unter der Bevölkerung auf dem Lande, denn die slowenische Sage vom Kralj Matjaž (König Matthias) hat in ihren wesentlichen Zügen zahlreiche Parallelen zum Arthuszyklus, so dass sie leicht aus diesem abgeleitet werden könnte. Diese Parallelen hat man bisher von diesem Standpunkte nicht untersucht. Dass es deutsche Bearbeitungen des Arthuszyklus im mittelalterlichen Slowenien gab, beweisen die erhaltenen Fragmente von Wolfram von Eschenbachs *Parzival*³⁹ und die Fragmente von *Wigalois* von Wirnt von Gravenberg.⁴⁰ Die *Wigalois* Fragmente stammen aus dem Nachlasse der Auersperge, der im slowenischen Nationalmuseum aufbewahrt ist, und waren wahrscheinlich schon lange im Besitze der Auersperge, da die Tradition des *Wigalois* bei den Auerspergen schon ins Mittelalter zurückreicht. Einen *Wiguleus Auersperg* erwähnt Valvasor schon für das XV. Jh.⁴¹ Aus dem antiken Sagenkreis war im Lande Seifriets *Alexandreis* bekannt.⁴² Sie ist nachgewiesen in einer Handschrift aus dem XV. Jh., die im Schlosse Podgora bei Gorica war, doch verschwand diese Handschrift während des ersten Weltkrieges. Die Handschrift wurde im Jahre 1456 von Hermann Tallner aus Trebnje im Krainer Unterlande für den Herrn Ludvik Kozjak abgeschrieben.

Die religiöse Literatur war natürlich vorwiegend in lateinischer Sprache. Einige deutsche Texte habe ich schon in der einleitenden Übersicht der Bibliotheken angeführt, so die Texte aus der auerspergischen Bibliothek das Gedicht *Die Ansprache des Teuffels gegen unseren Herrn* von Otto Rasp aus dem XIV. Jh. und die *Genesis* aus dem XV. Jh., sowie die Predigten, wahrscheinlich aus dem XIII. Jh. Ein Text, den ich bisher nicht erwähnt habe, ist eine *Marienklage*, die in Ljubljana fragmentarisch erhalten ist. Fragmente derselben *Marienklage*, aber aus einer anderen Handschrift und mit teilweise anderen Textteilen, sind auch aus Graz bekannt.⁴³ Man hat erst vor kurzem festgestellt, dass auf diesen Fragmenten teile des Textes der sogenannten *Klosterneuburger Marienklage* erhalten sind.^{43a} Interessant ist auch

³⁷ Artusius: 1261. Vgl. Franz Schumi: *Urkunden und Regestenbuch des Herzogthums Krain*, Band II, Laibach 1884—1887.

³⁸ Anon.: *The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, S. 78.

³⁹ Janez Stanonik: *Ostanki...*, S. 19—26.

⁴⁰ Anton Janko: Zwei *Wigalois*-Fragmente aus Ljubljana, *Acta Neophilologica* XV (1982), 3—15.

⁴¹ J. W. Valvasor: *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, Laybach 1689, XV. Buch, S. 348 (Ritter und Knechte, No. 4).

⁴² P. Jereke: *Seifriets Alexander aus der Strassburger Handschrift*, Berlin 1932 Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, Band 36).

⁴³ Janez Stanonik: *Ostanki...*, S. 27—30.

^{43a} Max Siller: Die »Krainer Marienklage«. Fragmente des »Klosterneuburger Evengelienwerks« im Nationalarchiv von Laibach (Collectanea I), *Jugoslawien-Österreich Literarische Nachbarschaft*, hgg von Johann Holzner und Wolfgang Wiesmüller, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Germanistische Reihe Band 28, Innsbruck 1986, vgl. S. 219—232. — Achim Masser und Max Siller: *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in spätmittelalterlicher deutscher Prosa*, Texte, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg 1987, vgl. S. 96—99.

ein gereimter Kalender, der sogenannte *Cisiojanus*, der auch aus Graz bekannt ist.⁴⁴ Insbesondere aus dem XV. Jh. gibt es eine grössere Anzahl kürzerer religiöser Gedichte und Lieder in deutscher Sprache. Meist handelt es sich dabei um Texte, die schon sonst bekannt sind. Zahlreich erhalten sind auch Zaubersprüche, die in mehreren Handschriften vorkommen. Teilweise handelt es sich dabei um späte Niederschriften sehr alter versifiziert deutscher Segen.⁴⁵

Unter der religiösen Literatur müssen wir besonders die Texte des Totentanzes aus Slowenien hervorheben. Es besteht eine fast ununterbrochene Tradition des Totentanzes vom XV. bis ins XVIII. Jh. Die wichtigste mittelalterliche Darstellung des Totentanzes, aus dem XV. Jh., finden wir unter den Gemälden, mit welchen die Wände des kleinen Dorfkirchleins in Hrastovje reich geschmückt sind.⁴⁶ Das ist eine der schönsten Darstellungen des Totentanzes, die uns als Wandmalerei aus dem mittelalterlichen Europa erhalten ist. Der Maler dieses Totentanzes war Johannes aus Kastav in Istrien. Das Dörflein Hrastovje liegt ungefähr 5 Minuten Autofahrt von der Hauptstrasse entfernt, die von Ljubljana nach Koper führt, und zwar dort wo die Strasse von dem Karstplateau zur Seebene nahe Koper niedersteigt und wo die Strasse den Fluss Rižana erreicht. Aus dem XV. Jh. sind in den Handschriften aus Slowenien auch zwei deutsche Totentanztexte erhalten.⁴⁷ Einer von diesen Texten ist wahrscheinlich in der deutschen Literatur sonst unbekannt. In diesem dramatisch aufgebauten Text mahnen Gott, die Engel und der Priester den Sünder zur Büsse, der Teufel hingegen wünscht den Sünder zu verführen. Am Ende erscheint der Tod, der den Sünder mit dem Pfeil erschiesst. Der andere erhaltene Text ist ein Teil des oberdeutschen vierzeiligen Totentanztextes, der als Vorlage für das nicht mehr erhaltene Totentanzgemälde in dem Kloster der Dominikaner in Basel diente. Aus dem Jahre 1682 haben wir Valvasors Buch *Theatrum mortis humanae* mit bildlichen Darstellungen, die teilweise unter dem Einfluss Holbeins stehen, und mit den begleitenden lateinischen und deutschen Versen.⁴⁸ Aus dem XVIII. Jh. stammt ein slowenischer Text in welchem der Totentanz wieder dramatisch aufgebaut wurde, und zwar als eine Prozession, die in Škofja Loka aufgeführt wurde.⁴⁹ In der Prozession reitet ganz vorne der Tod auf einem weissen Pferd. Der Tod hat einen Lorbeerkranz auf dem Kopfe und trägt den Pfeil in der Hand. Dem Tode folgen Vertreter verschiedener Stände, ebenfalls auf Pferden, so der Papst, der Kardinal, Bischof, Kaplan, Kaiser, König, Bürgermeister und die Bürger, Bauer, und Bettler. Am Ende der Prozession gehen die Leibeigenen zu Fuss. Der Tod und seine Nachfolger rezitieren Verse, die aus mittelalterlichen Totentanztexten entnommen wurden.

Am Ende des Mittelalters müssen wir noch die Chroniken erwähnen. Die einzige grössere Chronik, die im späten Mittelalter aus Slowenien stammt, ist

⁴⁴ ib. S. 38—40; K. H. E. Krause: Zu dem Grazer Cisiojanus, *Germania* 22, 286 ff.

⁴⁵ J. Stanonik, *Ostanki*... 36—37, 53—55, Segen: ib. 41—52

⁴⁶ Marijan Zadnikar: *Hrastovlje*, Maribor 1973 (Vlg. Obzorja), 38 S.

⁴⁷ J. Stanonik, *Ostanki*... S. 31—35.

⁴⁸ Joannes Weichardus Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, Laybach 1682. Neudruck mit slowenischer Uebersetzung: Janez Vajkard Valvasor: *Prizorišče človeške smrti*, Maribor 1969 (Vlg. Obzorja).

⁴⁹ Die Handschrift dieser Totentanzprozession wurde publiziert in einer Faksimile Ausgabe: Romuald-Lovrenc Marušič: *Škofjeloški pasijon (Die Passion von Škofja Loka)*, Ljubljana 1972 (*Monumenta letterarum Slovenicarum*, 11).

die *Cillier Chronik*.⁵⁰ In einer Abschrift aus Slowenien gab es auch die *Oesterreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*.⁵¹ Sie befand sich in derselben Handschrift in welcher auch Seifrieds *Alexandreis* vorkam und wurde ebenfalls von Hermann Tallner aus Trebnje im Krainer Unterlande abgeschrieben. Wie schon erwähnt verschwand diese Handschrift während des ersten Weltkrieges. Neben diesen zwei grösseren Texten gibt es nur noch kürzere chronologische Notizen, die in mehreren Handschriften vorkommen.⁵²

Wenn ich am Ende dieses Berichtes über die deutsche Literatur im mittelalterlichen Slowenien eine Synthese der bisherigen Beobachtungen versuche, so wäre meine erste Feststellung, dass trotz der bisherigen wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten sehr viele Fragen in diesem Problemgebiet noch offen geblieben sind; zweitens, dass weitere Untersuchungen hier auch zu neuen, wenig bekannten Texten führen könnten; drittens, dass die wesentlichen Grundformen der deutschen, und überhaupt europäischen, Literatur des späten Mittelalters (Glossen, Ritterepos, religiöse Gedichte, Chroniken) ihre Entsprechungen auch in Slowenien gefunden haben; und viertens, dass mehrere bedeutende deutsche Autoren des späten Mittelalters (Wolfram von Eschenbach, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Oswald von Wolkenstein, Peter Suchenwirt, und der Mittelfranke Bruder Philipp) an einzelnen Stellen ihrer Werke Beziehungen zu Slowenien widerspiegeln. Die Manessische Handschrift bezeugt für das XIII Jahrhundert auch drei deutsche Minnesänger (Der von Suonegge, Der von Obernburg, Der von Scharpfenberg), die im östlichen Teile Sloweniens (im Sanntale-Savinjska dolina) tätig waren.

⁵⁰ Franz Krones: *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli*, Graz 1883; — *Kronika grofov celjskih*. Übersetzt ins Slowenische und kommentiert von L. H. Golia, Maribor 1972.

⁵¹ J. Seemüller: *Oesterreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, Monumenta Germaniae historica 6, Deutsche Chroniken 6, Hannover Leipzig 1909. Bei seiner Ausgabe benützte Seemüller auch den Text der Handschrift aus Podgora.

⁵² J. Stanonik, *Ostanki...*, S. 15.

LA VOCE DI TRUBAR E LA SUA ECO ALLE PORTE D'ITALIA

Atilij Rakar

A Lubiana, centro culturale delle regioni situate al confine orientale dell'Italia, un nucleo di aderenti alla Riforma s'era fatto notare già negli anni venti del sedicesimo secolo e fin dall'inizio del decennio seguente la causa della Riforma ebbe il sostegno di larghi strati della nobiltà e della borghesia. Gli stati provinciali della Stiria, Carinzia e Carniola furono, come si sa, presto in grado di estorcere all'arciduca Carlo la promessa della libertà religiosa che permise la più larga diffusione delle idee protestanti ed il costituirsi di istituzioni atte a mantenere in vita e favorire uno sviluppo organico e rigoglioso della nuova chiesa che ebbe in Primož Trubar il suo fondatore e indefesso apostolo. Primož Trubar, chiamato «il Lutero della Carniola», seppe promuovere anche una imponente attività pubblicistica, che, a partire dalla metà del Cinquecento in poi, era in grado di fornire alla nuova chiesa e alla scuola protestante anche i testi necessari al loro funzionamento. Ai protestanti sloveni non manca dal 1564 in poi neanche una *Cerkovna ordninga*,¹ che rappresenta lo statuto della nuova chiesa, per tacere dei titoli di manuali, destinati alla più larga diffusione, di traduzioni dalla Bibbia, di canti sacri e di testi destinati alla scuola, alla quale veniva dedicata particolare attenzione. Il mezzo principale della propagazione del verbo evangelico rimase tuttavia sempre la predica. Non per nulla si ebbe in sloveno il termine «predikant» riferito proprio ai diffusori del protestantesimo e caduto in disuso quando si spense la memoria delle controversie religiose a cui era associato. Sintomatica si rivela la stessa frequenza di voci come «pridigar», «pridiguje», «pridigujoč» e altre che hanno da fare con la predica nel lessico trubariano. Ed è dai suoi scritti che meglio risulta l'alto concetto che Trubar ebbe della predicazione e la cura che vi portava. In veste di predicatore costretto all'esilio, anzi con una predica, si presenta Trubar già nel *Catechismus* del 1550² che è la sua prima opera. Ma dove più salta agli occhi l'abito del predicatore, così pronunciato nell'immagine con cui il riformatore slove-

¹ Quest'opera di Trubar, edita a Tubinga nel 1564, riguarda nella seconda parte anche direttamente la predicazione.

² L'autore, irriconoscibile dallo pseudonimo Philopatridus Illiricus, riportato dal frontespizio del libro, si tradisce proprio con la nota che accompagna la predica e dice: «E una predica spesso pronunciata da Primož Trubar...» Si veda l'antologia *Slovenski protestantski pisci*, curata da Mirko Rupel, II edizione, Ljubljana, 1966, p. 58. Di M. Rupel vanno indicati anche i saggi *Reformacija e Protireformacija in barok* in *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva*, I, Ljubljana, 1956, pp. 185—325.

no è passato nella storia, sono le lettere³ nelle quali l'infaticabile propagatore del nuovo verbo riferisce del proprio operato. E accanto alla disponibilità di Trubar a predicare in ogni occasione e la cura di assicurarsi ovunque «una chiesa dove poter pubblicamente predicare senza essere impedito»⁴ colpisce l'attenzione anche la presenza di un pubblico entusiasta, capace magari di seguire il venerato predicatore da una chiesa, dove non gli è permesso di predicare, in altra sede, dove può farlo.

Per quanto riguarda l'atteggiamento dei cattolici nei confronti della predicazione nel periodo della Controriforma (gli inizi risalgono agli inizi della Riforma stessa) bisogna partire dalla premessa che questi non potevano non reagire alla sfida dei protestanti ricorrendo anche loro all'«arma apostolica». Nè potevano ignorare la presenza dei testi di cui disponevano i predicatori protestanti, e non servirsene, dato che di proprii non ne avevano. Si spiega comunque l'attenzione del patriarca Barbaro per i libri protestanti che trovava un pò dovunque in Slovenia durante la sua visitazione compiuta nel 1593.⁵ E l'uso dei testi protestanti da parte dei cattolici poteva essere anche maggiore di quello che sembrava supporre il visitatore, rasserenato dalla polvere che vi trovava sopra.⁶ Da un attento esame che delle glosse conservatesi nei manuali allora in uso fece il Kidrič⁷ risulta comunque che, salvo eccezioni, traducendo dal latino i sacerdoti cattolici si servivano di versioni protestanti. A fare uso del ricco repertorio protestante è dunque anche la parte impegnata nella causa cattolica che non disponendo di pubblicazioni proprie ricorre a quelle degli avversari. Perfino un manuale così indispensabile come gli *Evangelia inu Lystuvi* si lascerà attendere e non verrà alla luce che nel 1613. L'assenza di una traduzione cattolica della Bibbia renderà necessaria anche una tolleranza ufficiale della versione di Dalmatin: un fatto questo che di per sé dimostra i legami che continuano a intercorrere fra l'imponente eredità protestante e l'omiletica dei cattolici sloveni.

Ma è nel rapporto coll'intensa attività dei protestanti che vanno visti soprattutto gli inizi della Controriforma. Riportati nel contesto storico, anche fenomeni che a prima vista fanno del paradossale possono rivelarsi meno incredibili. Così si capisce la sorpresa del patriarca Barbaro al vedere che i preti delle regioni visitate, per quanto lasciassero molto desiderare non solo i loro costumi ma anche la loro istruzione, si dimostrassero ottimi predicatori,⁸ ma visto nell'acceso clima di un'intensa agitazione anche un

³ Le lettere di Trubar sono state raccolte e pubblicate da Theodor Elze (*Primus Trubers Briefe*, Tübingen 1897).

⁴ Cfr. *Slovenski protestantski pisci*, op. cit., p. 288.

⁵ Nella *Relazione della visita apostolica in Carniola, Stiria e Carinzia fatta da Francesco Barbaro patriarca eletto d'Aquileja l'anno 1593 e presentata a papa Clemente VIII*, Udine, 1862, si ripetono passi che denunciano la presenza di «libri proibiti» (p. 11), anzi di «una grandissima quantità di libri eretici» (p. 27) con la spiegazione che «il commercio in quelle parti con gli eretici è assai ordinario» (p. 11).

⁶ Il visitatore apostolico infatti riferisce che «si è trovata in molte case de'sacerdoti gran quantità di libri eretici sepolti però nella polvere, che ci ha dato indizio che non erano da loro studiati» (*Relazione della visita apostolica*, op. cit., p. 39).

⁷ F. Kidrič, *Doneski za zgodovino slovenskega lekcionarja in slovenske pridige, Bogoslovni vestnik*, III (Ljubljana, 1923), pp. 149—169.

⁸ «Sono li Sacerdoti di queste parti li più ignoranti delle cose necessarie alla professione loro... Con tutto ciò tutti predicano con tanta efficacia, che è uno stupore udirli...» (*Relazione della visita apostolica*, op. cit., p. 39).

fenomeno come questo si presenta meno paradossale di quanto poteva sembrare ad un osservatore estraneo che li guardava dal di fuori.

La predicazione cattolica, spesso attaccata da Trubar, e in termini che non si limitano alla denuncia della sua presenza, poteva presto gloriarsi anche di un nome destinato a passare nella memoria storica locale come »Cicerone della Carniola«: è in questi termini che viene ricordato da Valvasor il predicatore del duomo di Lubiana Baltazar Radlič,⁹ vissuto dal 1533 al 1579, uomo di alta cultura, che non ha bisogno di ricorrere alle versioni protestanti quando ha da tradurre dal latino in sloveno. Ma in un'attività come l'omiletica non vanno visti solo i nomi che emergono: è l'istituzione stessa col suo funzionamento e con la sua portata a garantire determinati effetti. Dice qualcosa anche un manuale come un *Dizionario italiano e schiavo*, edito a Udine nel 1607,¹⁰ nel quale non mancano le formule dell'inizio e della conclusione della predica in sloveno.

Allo sviluppo della predicazione cattolica contribuiscono naturalmente in maniera sempre più efficace anche le sollecitazioni del Concilio Tridentino che, come si sa, fin dal suo inizio, nella quinta sessione, celebrata il 17 giugno del 1546, aveva emanato un decreto di fondamentale importanza per la predicazione. Partendo dalla premessa che »Christianae reipublicae non minus necessaria est praedicatio evangelii quam lectio«,¹¹ il Concilio imponeva agli ecclesiastici che hanno la cura delle anime l'obbligo della predicazione tutte le domeniche e le feste solenni, prevedendo immediati provvedimenti nei confronti di coloro che mancassero a questo dovere. L'applicazione dei decreti conciliari procedeva a stenti, eppure anche le relazioni per altro pessimiste dei prelati cattolici lasciano intravedere qualche nota di sollievo quando toccano l'argomento della predicazione, come abbiamo visto. Significativa è soprattutto la sempre maggiore veemenza con cui Trubar inveisce contro i »preti« cattolici incitando le autorità a cacciarli sostituendoli con predicatori della »fede giusta«.¹² La lotta per il pulpito veniva inasprendosi sempre più. Dalle vicendevoli denunce si può desumere anche la sempre maggiore preoccupazione con cui negli anni sessanta le due parti seguono ogni mossa dell'avversario.

Così un'immagine dell'attività che Primož Trubar svolge nella metà degli anni sessanta raggiungendo anche il Goriziano la si può meglio dedurre dalle contemporanee denunce dei cattolici preoccupati anche dal diffondersi dell'eresia alle porte dell'Italia. Il patriarca Giovanni Grimani in una lettera del 20 gennaio del 1565 all'arciduca Carlo si lamentava di avere informazioni precise del suo vicario che a Gorizia »Primosio... si arrogò il diritto apostolico di predicare e cominciò man mano a vomitare a Gorizia il pessimo veleno di eresie«.¹³ Che l'informazione giunta al patriarca rispondeva al vero

⁹ Cfr. J. W. Valvasor, *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain*, Laybach, 1689, II Theil, VIII Buch, p. 666. Anche il suo epitaffio dice che Radlič era »Slavice dicendi Peritissimus« (Cit. da I. Orožen, *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant*, II. Theil/2. Marburg, 1877, p. 22). La raccolta manoscritta delle prediche di Radlič (scritte in latino, con una pericope slovena) si conserva nella biblioteca nazionale slovena di Lubiana (Slovenska narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ms. 76).

¹⁰ Fra Gregorio Alasia da Sommaripa, *Vocabolario Italiano e Schiavo*, Udine, 1607.

¹¹ *Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici Concilii Tridentini*, Ratisbonae, 1888, p. 21.

¹² *Slovenski protestantski pisci*, op. cit., p. 174.

¹³ P. Paschini, *Eresia e riforma cattolica al confine orientale d'Italia*, Roma, 1951, p. 47.

lo prova l'epistolario di Trubar stesso, dalle cui lettere scritte al conte Giorgio della Torre ed al barone Hans Ungnad¹⁴ sappiamo che si era in effetti recato per quindici giorni a Gorizia e che vi aveva predicato in tedesco, sloveno e italiano.

Per quanto riguarda la predicazione protestante nel Goriziano, che «è in diretto collegamento con quella che si svolgeva nella Carniola», come osserva il Paschini,¹⁵ non è accusato solo Trubar, «quel nefando disseminatore di veleno e distruttore della pace pubblica»,¹⁶ come lo definisce il mandato di cattura; nel gennaio dello stesso anno il nunzio di Venezia informava Roma che «a Gorizia, terra dell'imperatore, ma diocesi di Aquileia sono capitati alcuni predicatori eretici». ¹⁷ Come prototipo del predicatore protestante, la cui comparsa non poteva non venir registrata, resta tuttavia il nostro Primosio, che qui a Gorizia poi non si limitò a predicare in sloveno e in tedesco ma predicò anche in italiano, lingua in cui il discepolo e famigliare di Bonomo era in grado di esprimersi con la stessa efficacia.

«La propaganda fatta nella lingua del popolo dal Trubar non poteva non destare preoccupazione nelle persone avezze a considerare seriamente i fatti», scrive il Paschini¹⁸ ricordando come in una lettera scritta da Vienna nel 1564 il nunzio Delfino faceva presente al cardinale Borromeo il caso della Francia che aveva resistito all'eresia finché questa veniva divulgata in lingua straniera, la resistenza incominciava però a cedere, nel momento in cui da Ginevra era incominciata a divulgarsi in francese. Della portata che poteva avere la predicazione nella lingua del popolo si avvidero per primi gli stessi propagatori della Riforma: Pier Paolo Vergerio non avvertiva solo «che, per smascherare ed abbattere la superstizione sia necessario innanzi tutto che noi predichiamo»,¹⁹ ma in ogni occasione che gli si offriva insisteva sulla necessità di farsi intendere anche dal popolo, anche da «quegli che ancora deboli et rozzi sono»,²⁰ come scrisse nella prefazione ad un libro edito a Ginevra nel 1550, lo stesso anno della pubblicazione del primo libro di Trubar. È a questa convinzione che si collega non soltanto il particolare affetto che l'illustre umanista nutriva per la lingua italiana che chiamava «imperatrice delle lingue»,²¹ ma anche l'amorosa cura dimostrata per la lingua degli sloveni, a favore della quale l'ex vescovo di Capodistria, come già Bonomo, che era in grado anche di parlarla, si impegnò per farla progredire appoggiando l'opera di Trubar in una fase decisiva per la nascita del libro sloveno.

Ad una zona di confine come la nostra, aperta alla marea ormai dilagante dell'eresia che minacciava di espandersi anche in Italia, si dedicava particolare attenzione anche a Roma. Nell'elogio che Gregorio XIII fa nell'aprile del 1574 del candidato che propone alla cattedra vescovile di Trieste, lodando

¹⁴ Nella lettera a Hans Ungnad del 9 dicembre 1563 Trubar dice anche da chi ha ricevuto l'invito e dove ha predicato. Scrive di essersi fermato anche a Sveti Križ dove era accorsa tutta la popolazione della Valle di Vipacco per ascoltarlo ed esprime il progetto di pubblicare in tutte tre le lingue (in sloveno, in italiano e in tedesco) la predica qui tenuta che piacque perfino ai sacerdoti.

¹⁵ *Eresia e riforma cattolica al confine orientale d'Italia*, op. cit., p. 47.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Ivi, p. 48.

¹⁸ Ivi, p. 50.

¹⁹ Cit. da E. Comba, *I nostri protestanti*, II, Firenze, 1897, p. 458.

²⁰ Ivi, p. 459.

²¹ Ivi, p. 458.

la sua dottrina fa presente all'arciduca Carlo che se questa »è desiderabile in ogni vescovo è necessaria nel vescovo di quella chiesa...«²² Ma il diplomatico Delfino aveva avvertito anche l'importanza che aveva per l'Italia il retroterra di Trieste: nella già menzionata lettera aveva fatto presente alla curia di Roma che »Quasi tutti i ferri che usa il regno di Napoli vengono di Stiria e Carinthia, e quei legni che portano nel Regno, riportano indietro olio; perciò ha con Trieste il Regno Commercio notabile«²³

Seppure negli ultimi decenni del Cinquecento sempre più contrastato, e in qualche zona, come nel Goriziano, anche con successo, oltre il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia il protestantesimo non dava segni di lasciarsi intimidire neanche quando la condotta dell'arciduca Carlo veniva dimostrandosi sempre più minacciosa nei suoi confronti. Dalla relazione che il patriarca Barbaro presentò a Clemente VIII sulla *Visita apostolica in Carniola, Stiria e Carinzia* fatta nel 1593 la posizione dei cattolici in queste terre risulta tutt'altro che incoraggiante: »Nella Carniola tutti li Nobili sono eretici, de'cittadini pochi sono Cattolici«,²⁴ qui solo li contadini, »restano tutti fermi nella S. Fede... nella Carintia li Nobili e li cittadini con la maggior parte de'contadini sono eretici«,²⁵ deplorabile poi lo stato delle istituzioni su cui basava la difesa della causa cattolica. Senza l'intervento del potere politico in queste regioni il fronte cattolico difficilmente avrebbe resistito alla pressione delle forze protestanti.

A decidere nello scontro fra le due chiese fu anche qui il principe. Come noto, appena le condizioni lo permisero gli Asburgo non tardarono a dare il loro pieno appoggio alla parte cattolica, dalla quale si promettevano un sostegno nel consolidamento del potere assoluto. Con l'ascesa al potere dell'arciduca Ferdinando e la messa in atto di provvedimenti ben più radicali di quelli che avevano osato promuovere i suoi predecessori, l'esito del conflitto fra le due parti si delineava chiaro. Alla fine del tormentato secolo la rivincita dell'ortodossia nelle terre degli Asburgo poteva dirsi avviata alla conclusione.

Dato il peso che nello scontro fra le due chiese finisce per avere l'intervento del potere politico, tutte le forme di impegno non riducibili all'azione repressiva potrebbero sembrare di poca o nessuna importanza, di poca importanza anche la predica su cui tanto si contava da ambo le parti. Eppure un ragionamento del genere si rivelerebbe presto come una semplificazione inutile, incapace di comprendere un processo storico come quello definitosi nella lotta fra la Riforma e la Controriforma. Per quanto di per sé decisivo, l'intervento del braccio secolare procedeva in funzione di un progetto che non poteva essere portato a termine senza una paziente e duratura opera di educazione in cui dovevano impegnarsi tutte le istituzioni in grado di esercitarla.

Per quanto riguarda l'importanza attribuita alla predicazione da parte dei promotori dell'intervento destinato ad essere decisivo, è significativo lo stesso piano di questo intervento e la sua messa in atto. Nel memorandum presentato all'arciduca Ferdinando nel 1598 dal vescovo Stabaeus viene pro-

²² P. Paschini, *Eresia e riforma cattolica al confine orientale d'Italia*, op. cit., p. 30.

²³ Ivi, p. 50.

²⁴ Relazione della visita apostolica, op. cit., p. 35.

²⁵ Ibidem.

posto come primo provvedimento da prendere in considerazione l'espulsione immediata dei predicatori protestanti. E quando nello stesso anno l'arciduca passa all'azione i primi ad essere colpiti saranno in effetti i predicatori eterodossi che dovranno abbandonare definitivamente il paese per essere poi, coll'aiuto dell'imperatore, allontanati perfino dalle regioni confinanti con la Innerösterreich e costretti a rompere anche gli ultimi contatti che in una zona di confine riuscivano ancora a mantenere con il paese lasciato.

Il procedere delle commissioni di ricatolizzazione aveva da offrire poi scene forse più spettacolari, ma l'allontanamento dei predicatori che continuavano l'opera di Trubar, il quale aveva portato il verbo della Riforma fino alle porte d'Italia,²⁶ segnava di per sé l'inizio dell'estinzione del protestantesimo sloveno

²⁶ Cfr. P. Paschini, *Eresia e riforma cattolica al confine orientale d'Italia*, op. cit., e il bel saggio di S. Cavazza, Primož Trubar e le origini del luteranesimo nella Contea di Gorizia (1563—1565), *Studi Goriziani*, volume LXI (1985), pp. 7—25. Un'esauriente informazione bibliografica su questo argomento offre poi B. Marušič, *Še o Primožu Trubarju ter o reformaciji na Goriškem*, *Primorska srečanja*, avgust 1986, številka 63, leto X., pp. 301—302.

LETTERS OF MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS FROM
COLONIAL AMERICA II

Janez Stanonik

The letter of Marcus Antonius Kappus (1657—1717) from the Canary Islands, dated July 10, 1687, which we publish in the present study, is the earliest known letter by Kappus. We reprint it here in its Latin original and English translation. As an introduction we give very briefly a general background to the Jesuit travels to New Spain. Kappus's letter from the Canary Islands is now published for the first time.¹

I.

In Spanish colonies the state and the Church worked closely together for the christianization of its population. With the bull *Inter Caetera*, issued in May 1493 by Pope Alexander VI — who himself, as a member of the family Borja (italianized into Borgia) was of Spanish descent — Spain was given, at the request of Ferdinand and Isabella, all lands one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands which on December 25, 1492, had not been governed by a Christian ruler. The position of Spanish monarchs in ecclesiastical matters was quite exceptionally strengthened by the bull *Universalis Ecclesiae*, promulgated in 1508 by Pope Julius II, and by a series of related documents, which gave to Spanish monarch extensive rights in church affairs in Spain and in its colonies, including a decisive influence in the selection of candidates for all churchly offices, from the lowliest curate up to the archbishops. At the same time Spain took the responsibility for the christianization of the newly discovered regions in her rapidly growing empire.

In 1519, with an expedition of an unbelievable daring, Hernando Cortés conquered the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan, now known as Mexico City. Although forced to leave the town in 1520, he reconquered it definitely for the Spanish crown in 1521. The town almost at once developed into the capital of the new Spanish empire in Central America, at that time called Nueva España, which in the period of its greatest expansion covered the area from Panama City up to Monterey in California. Already in the following

¹ The present contribution is a continuation to the study: Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), 33—56. The earlier study gave the biography of Kappus, as much as it can be reconstructed, and the bibliography of works dealing with Kappus's life and work.

year, in 1522, the town Mexico was chartered as a city and its first council (cabildo) recognized. In 1524, in Madrid, the Council of the Indies was created which held the supreme judicial, legislative, and executive powers for the Spanish colonies in America and in the Pacific. In 1528 Juan de Zumárraga became the first bishop of Mexico. In 1529 Antonio de Mendoza was appointed the first viceroy of Mexico, which office he covered very successfully from 1535—1550. In 1539 Juan Cromberger started to work in Mexico as the first printer in America. In 1543 the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza sent López de Villalobos to the Philippines (so called by him in honour of the Spanish king Philipp) and in this way laid the foundations for the Spanish colonization of the Pacific. Mexico became an important transit area for the Spanish trade with the Philippines, with China, and with the Spanish colonies along the Pacific coast in Central and South Americas. The town Acapulco became the main Mexican harbour on the Pacific coast. In 1551 the University of Mexico was founded. In 1573 the building of the Cathedral of Mexico was begun; it was completed in 1667. All these data show an extremely rapid progress of Spanish colonization in Central America, much earlier and in many ways different from the British colonization of New England.²

The first missionaries who worked among the Indians of New Spain were Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians; the Jesuits came later (the Jesuit order was established only in 1534). In 1566 King Philipp II wrote to Franciscus Borgia, formerly the Duke of Gandia and viceroy of Catalonia, now the third General of the Jesuit Order, asking him to send Jesuits as missionaries to New Spain. Similar demands were also expressed by various ecclesiastical authorities in Mexico. The first Jesuits came to work in New Spain in 1572, by way of Florida, led by P. Pedro Sanchez, who became the first *Padre Provincial* of Mexico. Initially the Jesuits in Mexico worked in urban districts, among Spaniards and christianized Indians. In 1591, however, PP. Gonzalvo de Tapia and Martin Perez were sent to Sinaloa as first Jesuit missionaries among pagan Indians, and in this way northwestern Mexico became the central sphere of the missionary work of Jesuits in New Spain. The line running north from Zacatecas to El Paso on the Rio Grande River was determined as the border between regions covered by Jesuits and the Franciscans: east of this line worked the Franciscans, west of it the Jesuits. The Jesuit missionaries became one of the most important factors in the spreading of the Spanish colonial system into the northwestern area of the present day Mexico. They laid foundations also for the Spanish expansion into Alta California: after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish colonies, in 1767, their work was continued by the Franciscans, who in collaboration with Spanish civil servants, and led by Fray Junípero Serra finally reached the Golden Gate and established there the Mission of San Francisco, the beginning of the town of San Francisco.³

² William H. Prescott: *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 1843; José Bravo Ugarte: *Historia de México*, 3 vols., Mexico City 1941—44.

³ Out of the enormous literature covering the subject of this paragraph I wish to quote here: Francisco Javier Alegre: *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, first ed. in three vols., edited by Carlos Bustamante, Mexico 1841—42; a new ed. by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J. and Félix Zubillaga, S.J., 4 vols., Rome and St. Louis, 1956—1960. John Francis Bannon: *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier 1555—1821*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque 1974.

The coast of the northwestern Mexico and of California was of an exceptional importance for Spaniards: from it they could protect their trade with the Philippines and with China. In 1529 Nuño de Guzman crossed the Sierra Madre Occidental and in the area of the present day provinces of Sinaloa and Jalisco founded the state of Nueva Galicia — a name which did not last long — with the capital Culiacán, which he established in 1531. In 1562 Francisco de Ibarra was sent into this area as its governor by the viceroy Luis de Velasco. The province was now renamed into Nueva Vizcaya. It covered the present provinces Sinaloa, Sonora, and the central plateau. During the subsequent decennia the colonization moved steadily to the river Yaqui, thus reaching the border of the present Sonora. As already stated the Jesuits played in this expansion a leading role. In the late 1620's the first Jesuit missionaries entered the area of Sonora and here they rapidly progressed with their work along the main rivers of Sonora which flow here from north southwards into the Gulf of Mexico. In the late 1630's conditions were ripe to create Sonora as a new province, independent from Sinaloa, yet a part of Nueva Vizcaya. Its first governor, Don Pedro de Perea, came to Sonora in 1641 and established Real de San Juan Bautista as its capital. Ecclesiastically (until the middle of the XVIIIth century) the whole northwestern Mexico belonged to the bishopric of Durango.⁴

II.

Originally almost all Jesuits who worked in Spanish colonies were born Spaniards. The reason for this was above all political, the exclusionism of the Spanish colonial system which locked with suspicion on all foreigners. Nevertheless, there were even in the XVIth century a few exceptions from this general rule: a few Jesuitic missionaries came from Portugal (Portugal was since 1581 in personal union with Spain), from Holland (due to the Dutch background of Charles V), from Italy (there were large Spanish possessions in Italy) and even from Ireland. By the beginning of the XVIIth century, however, it became increasingly clear that Spain could no longer provide all the personnel for the religious work in her enormous colonial empire in America and in the Pacific (besides Mexico also in Peru, Chile, New Granada, Paraguay, Mariannas Islands, the Philippines). It was therefore logical that in June 1650 the following proposal was made by the XIIth Provincial Congregation (of the Jesuit Order) of Mexico:

A los padres congregados les pareció unánimemente, que se representare a nuestro padre general, para que interpusiese su autoridad con el rey católico y con el Consejo real de las Indias, para que permitan que de los países europeos que están bajo el dominio de España, vengan religiosos de Nuestra Compañía a la Nueva España.⁵

⁴ John Francis Bannon: *The Jesuits in Sonora 1620—1687*, doctoral dissertation at the University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley 1939, typescript. Published in New York 1955.

⁵ Francisco Zambrano, S.J. *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, 16 vols., Editorial Jus, Mexico 1961 f., Cf. Vol. VI, p. 571.

After repeated demands expressed in Mexico by a number of church officials and addressed to the General of the Jesuit Order in Rome, a positive decision was finally reached and in 1664 the General of the Order Gian Paolo Oliva informed the Provincials in Germany, Austria and Bohemia that one quarter of the missionaries in Spanish colonies could from now on be »subjects of the Catholic King, and also of the Emperor, and of any of the provinces of the House of Austria«. This opened the possibility for missionaries to work in Spanish America and in the Pacific who came from Austria, Bohemia, the Belgian provinces, a part of Upper Germany, and perhaps even from parts of Germany ruled by princes that were allied with the House of Austria.⁶

In 1680 the first group of missionaries from Central Europe was ready in Sevilla to depart for America. At that time the only Spanish harbour from which the ships sailed for America was Cádiz which in the middle of that century had replaced the harbour of Sevilla. Cádiz was a better harbour than Sevilla, yet dangerous. The missionaries who came to Sevilla from Austria or Bohemia usually went by land route from Vienna, travelling through Graz, Ljubljana, Trieste, and then across the northern Italian plain, visiting the towns of Venice, Padua, Milan, and Pavia, to Genoa. They journeyed usually in small groups, using coaches. Genoa was in almost all cases the Italian port of departure for Cádiz. In Genoa the missionaries waited until a sufficient number of them gathered there and then they took a British or a Genoese ship with which they went to Cádiz. Frequently such ships made stops at Alicante or Cartagena. From Cádiz they went usually to Sevilla, sometimes to Puerto de Santa María (near Cádiz) where they waited for an opportunity to leave for America. Such waiting could last from one to six years.⁷

From Cádiz two fleets went yearly to America.⁸ They were escorted by two ships: in front went the so-called *Capitana* whose Captain commanded the whole fleet; in the rear was the second escort ship, called the *Almiranta*. The fleet consisted of twenty to thirty ships. They sailed usually to the Canary Islands, and from there, without making a stop at the Canary Islands, they crossed the Atlantic. In America they first visited one of the harbours of the Greater Antilles: Puerto Rico (now called San Juan), Aguada, or Santo Domingo. They entered Mexico at Vera Cruz. The part of the journey from Cádiz to the Canary Islands was considered as the most dangerous. Besides the fleet also individual merchant vessels maintained traffic between Spain and Mexico. The missionaries, however, usually travelled with the fleet, because such a travel was safer and cheaper.⁹

The first group which was ready to depart for America in summer 1680 from Cádiz consisted of 23 missionaries: 7 came from the Bohemian

⁶ Anton Huonder: *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1899, cf. pp. 21, 111.

⁷ Theodore Edward Treutlein: *Jesuit Travel to America as Recorded in the Travel Diaries of German Jesuits*, doctoral dissertation at the University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley 1934, typescript.

⁸ Clarence Henry Haring: *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs*, Cambridge 1918.

⁹ Theodore Edward Treutlein, op. cit.

Jesuitic Province,¹⁰ 4 from the Austrian Province,¹¹ 2 from Tyrol,¹² 2 from Italy,¹³ and 2 from Spain.¹⁴ The missionaries had been selected for work in America, on the Philippines and on the Mariannas Islands. For the time of the journey, Didacus Zarzosa, before that Minister in the College at Cádiz, was nominated their Superior.

This journey nearly ended in disaster.¹⁵ On July 7, 1680, they boarded the ship the *Nazareno*. The fleet waited for several days in the harbour, then on July 11 the ships finally pulled themselves out of the harbour, using — because of the lack of wind — their anchors, boats, and ropes. The pilot of the ship the *Nazareno*, however, wished to avoid a submarine cliff at the entrance into the harbour, called *El Diamante*, he steered his ship too far into the opposite direction, and ran the ship on a rocky bar. Soon the ship was thrown on another cliff and began to leak water. The ship was considered lost, and the passengers feared the death by drowning. Nevertheless they were all saved by various boats which came to their aid, yet they had lost all their belongings. They returned to their College in Cádiz. Soon after midnight, in stark darkness, however, they went, led by the *Padre*

¹⁰ These were Joannes Strobach, Simon Boruhradsky, Wenceslaus Christman, Mathias Cuculinus, Josephus Neumann (actually born in Brussels in 1648), Joannes Tilpe, and Paulus Klein. The Bohemian Province of the Jesuit Order was founded in 1623. It covered Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, with the headquarters the palace Clementinum in Prague. Cf. Otakar Odložilík: Czech Missionaries in New Spain, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* XXV (1945), 428—454.

¹¹ From the Austrian Province came Carolus Borango, Andreas Mancker, Thomas Revell (originally from Holland), and Joannes Ratkay. The Austrian Province covered at that time the eastern part of the present Republic of Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Croatia and Slovenia. Croatia and Slovenia constitute now the northwestern part of Yugoslavia.

¹² From Tyrol came Eusebius Franciscus Chino (later renamed into Kino) and Antonius Kerschbaumer. Tyrol at that time belonged to the Upper German Province.

¹³ From Italy came Carolus Calvanese and Theophilus de Angelis. The latter was a member of the family Piccolomini from Naples.

¹⁴ From Spain came Franciscus Borgia and Didacus Zarzosa.

¹⁵ There are five reports on the disaster in the Cádiz harbour, the best can be found in the letter written by Adam Gerstl to his father, a state official in Vordernberg in Upper Styria, Austria, published by Joseph Stöcklein: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. I, p. 90—102 under No. 31. Other reports on this disaster are: Letter of Andreas Mancker to the Vienna Procurator Constantinus Schiell, cf. Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. I, p. 85—90 under No. 30. — Letter of Joannes Ratkay to the Austrian Provincial Nicolaus Avancinus, Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. I, p. 77—81, No. 25. — Letter of Eusebius Franciscus Kino to the Duchess of Averio y Arcos, Cádiz, August 18, 1680. Original of Kino's letter is in Huntington Library. Cf. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York 1936, p. 55 note 1. Bolton in his book does not mention Mancker's letter.

The full title of Stöcklein's collection is: On the first front page: *Der neue Welt-Bott mit Allerhand Nachrichten derer Missionariorum Soc. Jesu*. On the second title page: *Allerhand So Lehr-als Geist-reiche Brief, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu aus Beyden Indien, und andern Über Meer gelegenen Ländern, Seit An. 1642 biss auf das Jahr 1726 in Europa angelangt seynd. Jetzt zum erstenmal Theils aus Handschriftlichen Urkunden, theils aus denen Französischen Lettres Edifiantes verteuetscht und zusammen getragen von Joseph Stöcklein, gedachter Societät Jesu Priester. Cum Privilegio Caesareo & Superiorum Facultate ac Indice locupletissimo*. Augsburg und Grätz. In Verlag Philipp, Martin, und Johann Veith seel. Erben 1728 ff.

Joseph Stöcklein, the editor of this collection, was born on July 30, 1676, at Oettingen (Bavaria), and died on December 18, 1733, at Graz (Austria). In 1700 he entered the Society in the Austrian Province, he studied theology, later he became

Procurador, in a small boat out of the harbour and back to the fleet, begging the captains of individual ships to accept the stranded missionaries as additional passengers. The captains were reluctant to accept them, their ships being already too much loaded with goods and they had accepted a large number of the passengers, several up to 500.¹⁶ Finally the fleet, consisting of 27 ships, departed, taking with it 11 missionaries (among them Joannes Ratkay, from Slovenia, who boarded the ship *San Diego* together with Theophilo de Angelis — Piccolomini), while the rest had to return to Sevilla to wait for another opportunity to get a passage for America. The first — successful — group reached Vera Cruz on September 25, 1680, while the group which was left behind (including Eusebius Franciscus Kino) reached Mexico more than 8 months later: they travelled with another fleet, boarding their ship in Cádiz on January 27, 1681, and arrived at Vera Cruz in early May, after a voyage lasting 96 days.¹⁸

III.

The second group of Jesuits from Central Europe, consisting of two companies, left Cádiz on July 1, 1687, with a fleet consisting of 23 ships and arrived in Vera Cruz on September 15, 1687. Marcus Antonius Kappus was a member of this group. There exist now three letters which give information about their journey across the Atlantic.

The most important description of this voyage was made by Adamus Gilg, from the Bohemian Province, in a letter written at Mexico City on October 8, 1687, and sent to an unnamed Jesuit priest of the Bohemian Province at Prague. The letter was published by Joseph Stöcklein in his collection *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. I, p. 107—110, under No. 33. Gilg's letter gives a detailed description of events during the whole journey, from Cádiz to Vera Cruz and to Mexico City. Among his fellow travellers he mentions P. Johann Baptist Haller, from the Austrian Province, P. Frantz Davi, from the Province of Catalonia, P. Petrus Vantame, from Ghent in Belgium, and P. Superior Wilhelm (Illing). When the group came to Mexico City, Gilg gives an account of the distribution of some of his fellow travellers among various missions, mentioning in this connection also P. Hostinsky, P. Amarel,

Rector of the College at Neustadt. For seven years he worked as army chaplain with Austrian armies fighting against the Turks in Hungary, as such he stood in friendly contacts with Prince Eugen von Savoyen. Finally he worked at Graz as director of the Catechetical Library and at last as Prefect responsible for the publication of books. His collection *Der Neue Welt-Bott* published the letters of Jesuitic missionaries written from various parts of the world in the period from 1642 to 1758. The collection appeared in Augsburg and Graz in the years 1728—1758. Only the initial volumes were in fact published by Stöcklein himself. After his death his work was continued by Franz Keller, Peter Probst, and Karl Meyer. About Joseph Stöcklein cf.: Constant von Wurzbach: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, vol. XXXIX (Wien 1879), p. 99—100; — Augustin et Aloys De Backer and Carlos Sommervogel, S. J.: *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Bruxelles/Paris (reprint), vol. VII. p. 1585—1586.

¹⁶ Cf. Mancker's letter, l. c., p. 85.

¹⁷ Those who remained in Cádiz were: Mathias Cuculinus, Paulus Klein, Wenceslaus Christman, Eusebius Franciscus Kino, Antonius Kerschbaumer, and Thomas Revell.

¹⁸ Cf. Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Rim of Christendom*, New York 1936, p. 72.

P. Gai, and P. Marcus Kappus. Adam Gilg's letter ends with the copy of a letter by Eusebius Franciscus Kino in which Kino describes, writing in Spanish, his first year of work among the Himeris (Pima Indians). In one paragraph Gilg gives also the description of an earthquake in Mexico City.

The second letter covering the same journey across the Atlantic was written by P. Adamus Kaller who, like Gilg, also came from the Bohemian Province and was selected for work on the Mariannas Islands. Kaller wrote his letter in Mexico City on March 8, 1688, and addressed it to P. Joannes Ulke, a Jesuit priest in Prague. The letter was reprinted in Stöcklein's collection *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. II, p. 72—75, under No. 52. P. Kaller is our only source of information about the second company of missionaries, altogether 40, who travelled with the same fleet, yet on another, larger, ship, with the name of *Garayo*. Among his fellow travellers he mentions P. Wilhelm Illing only, who, however, as *Pater Superior* of the whole group travelled on »the other, smaller, ship« (i.e. the *Campechan of San-Roman*). P. Kaller's letter speaks little about the journey itself. He tells us how Spaniards disliked foreigners who could not speak Spanish. Most of his text, however, is devoted to the life of Catharina from Puebla, a woman of great devotion and prophetic power who had recently died in Puebla.

The third letter which has so far been unknown and which we now publish for the first time in transcript and in English translation at the end of the present study, is that by Marcus Antonius Kappus. Kappus wrote it on July 10, 1687, while his ship was passing the Canary Islands, and addressed it to P. Michael Dell Potae, a member of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana. Kappus's letter therefore covers the initial part only of the journey, from Cádiz to the Canary Islands. The letter is a unique example, as it is preserved, sent from the midway in the Atlantic. Among his fellow travellers he mentions P. Haller only.¹⁹ Kappus's letter describes primarily the conditions under which his group travelled on the ship the *Campechan de San-Roman*. As such it is very valuable, because the living conditions of different groups of missionaries who crossed the Atlantic varied greatly.²⁰

IV.

The three letters enable us to reconstruct in considerable detail the voyage of the fleet across the Atlantic Ocean with which traveled also Marcus Antonius Kappus.

The fleet of summer 1687 consisted of 23 ships. The commander of the whole fleet was the Captain of the *Capitana*, Colonel-General Don Ferdinand de Santillan. The missionaries travelled with two ships: 23 missionaries, among them Marcus Antonius Kappus, boarded the ship *Campechan de*

¹⁹ There were, according to the list quoted below, two Hallers with this group: Juan Bautista Haller and Juan Haller. Besides these there was also Adam Kaller.

²⁰ About the conditions under which the Jesuits travelled across the Ocean, cf: Theodore Edward Treutlein: *Jesuit Travel to America as Recorded in the Travel Diaries of German Jesuits*, doctoral dissertation at the University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley 1934., typescript. Cf. especially the chapter IX: »Crossing the Atlantic«.

San-Roman,²¹ with Don Pedro Ignatio Zoructa, a Basque, as its Captain. Some of these missionaries (12?) were selected to work in Mexico, the rest on the Philippines and on the Mariannas Islands. Another group of 40 missionaries, among them Adam Kaller, travelled with the larger ship, the *Garayo*; of these 18 were selected for work on the Philippines and on the Mariannas Islands.²² For the time of the journey Wilhelm Illing, from the Bohemian Province, was nominated *Padre Superior* of the whole group travelling on both ships. He himself boarded the ship *Campechan de San-Roman*. Quite surprising is the information that in this fleet was again the ship the *Nazareno* which was damaged, yet obviously not destroyed, in the accident in Cádiz harbour in July 1680 (see below).

On June 30 the fleet left the Cádiz harbour, yet as soon as they had passed the cliff *El Diamante* they cast anchor and waited until the next day, when the captains »who are always the last ones« (Gilg) boarded their ships. On July 1, the fleet started its journey. The progress of the fleet was somewhat slowed down by two ships bound together (»naves socias«) which had obviously suffered damage already during the initial phase of the journey. On July 10, the fleet reached the first of the Canary Islands. The

²¹ Kappus clearly states that they were 23 missionaries who travelled with the ship *Campechan de San-Roman*. He should have known it best. We must accept this statement as the authoritative information about the number of passengers in this group.

According to a letter by Don Ramiro Sanchez Garcia, Havana 1963 (using the information of the Capuchin Fray Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna) and quoted by Francisco Zambrano, S.J.: *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, vol. VII (México, 1967), p. 225 (sub Goffredo, Esteban), the group consisted of the following missionaries: 1. Adam Gilg, 2. Jorge Hostinsky, 3. Guillermo Illing, 4. Maximiliano Amarell, 5. Juan Bautista Haller, 6. Marcos von Kapp, 7. Leopoldo Müller, 8. Von Name, 9. Domenico Gribeli, 10. Esteban Goffredo, 11. Luis Maria Pinelli, 12. Francisco Ma. Grabina. These 12 missionaries were selected for work in Mexico. The remaining 9 missionaries were selected for work on the Philippines and on the Mariannas Islands: 1. Felipe Nuscat, 2. Rodolfo Beenski, 3. Jorge Hayar, 4. Daniel Prusner, 5. Adam Kahl, 6. Juan Wierdier, 7. Jorge Kamall, 8. Juan Schimaisen. — About this same group, cf. also Zambrano, op. cit., vol. VII, p. 280, sub Adan Kahl.

This list, although very important, must be accepted with considerable caution. The list is obviously not complete: it gives 21 names, and not 23, as was the number of Jesuit passengers on the ship *Campechan de San-Roman*, according to Kappus. The person who made this list had no knowledge of German: the names are distorted, which actually is not too surprising. Marcos von Kapp is in reality Marcus Antonius Kappus. Adam Kahl is obviously Adam Kaller who travelled with the ship *Garayo*. The name »Von Name« is no name at all, it is only a much distorted phrase, meaning »By the name of«.

Adam Gilg gives in his letter, besides some names that occur also in Garcia's list (Juan Bautista Haller, Wilhelm Illing, P. Hostinsky, P. Amarell, P. Marcus Kappus) also three names which are not mentioned by Garcia: Frantz Davi, from the Province in Catalonia, Petrus Wantame, from Ghent in Belgium, and P. Gai.

About the missionaries from this group some biographical data can also be found in: Vicente D. Sierra: *Los Jesuitas germanos en la conquista espiritual de Hispano-America*, Buenos Aires 1944.

About the members of this group who came from the Province of Bohemia, cf. also Otakar Odložilík: Czech Missionaries in New Spain, *The Hispanic-American Historical Review* XXV (1945), 428—454. Odložilík mentions in his study Adam Gilg, Jiří Hostinsky, Maximilian Amarell, Vilém Illing, and Juan Verdier. Most of them worked later among the Tarahumaras.

²² I have no further knowledge about this group of 40 missionaries from the ship *Garayo*.

living conditions under which the missionaries travelled on the ship *Campechan de San-Roman*²³ were very good, with the exception of accommodation: all 23 missionaries had to share one large room in the stern of the ship.²⁴

For the journey from the Canary Islands to Vera Cruz and to Mexico City our only source of information is Adam Gilg's letter which, fortunately enough, gives quite a detailed report. The crossing of the Atlantic was not marked by any unusual event. July 31, the day of St. Ignatius, was celebrated with religious services, with shots of guns, and with the hoisting of flags. In the evening the crew performed a play in which the passengers were called before a mock court of justice which condemned them for their shortcomings to pay penalties. Towards the end of July they saw the first sea-grass and poisonous jellyfish. Tired birds came to sit on the masts of ships. In the night they observed flashes of lighting. All this announced the approach of land. On August 4 they first saw the land in distance. In the evening of August 5 the ships cast their anchors for the night in front of the island of Anguilla in the Lesser Antilles. The fleet had the plan to visit the harbour of Puerto Rico (now San Juan), yet »by a happy mistake« they entered instead the harbour of Aguada.²⁵ Here they took drinking water and other fresh supplies, above all pork. The passengers were allowed to visit the town where they admired the rich southern vegetation and tropical fruits. On August 10, while still in the harbour, they had a whole day of rain. In Aguada PP. Johann Baptist Haller, from the Austrian Province, and Franciscus Davi, from the Catalanian Province, left the group to go to Cuba.

On August 13 the fleet left Aguada and continued its journey along the coast of Hispaniola (Haiti). On August 15, P. Petrus Wantame, from Ghent in Belgium,²⁶ made the profession of four vows. In the region between the islands of Jamaica and Cuba the passengers were awed by the unusual intensity of lightnings. In the distance they saw various ships which they feared could be those of the pirates, and so the fleet continued its journey cautiously. In the sea they saw huge sharks (»Dibarones«) surrounded by swarms of smaller fish. Far in the distance they could discern the Cayman Islands and the Isla de Pinos. Finally they passed the promontories of San Antonio (at the westernmost end of Cuba) and San Juan and entered into the Gulf of Mexico.

Here the progress of the fleet was stopped for six days by a calm during which they caught, for amusement, fish. The calm was followed by a bad storm, with huge waves and dark clouds, with lightning and thunder. The storm scattered the fleet and some ships began to throw their goods into the sea in order to save themselves. The storm continued for eight days.

On September 15 they finally entered the harbour of Vera Cruz. Here »the same unhappy ship, which nine years ago, carrying our Patres, had run

²³ The same of the ship *Campechan de San-Roman*: Campechan means a person or a ship from Campeche. Campeche is a province and a town on the Yucatan peninsula.

²⁴ One minor, yet interesting and unexpected piece of information in Kappus's letter is his statement that he wrote his letter on the board of the dice box. This means that dice were available in the room and that dice could be played as a pastime.

²⁵ Aguada is a small village south of Aguadilla in Aguadilla Bay, western Puerto Rico.

²⁶ Adam Gilg calls him »a Dutchman from Gent«.

in the harbour of Cadiz into the cliff Diamond, was again stranded and began to leak water, but was saved by other ships of the fleet that quickly came to help her, and took her load, thus to free her». ²⁷ As soon as the ships cast anchor in the harbour of Vera Cruz, a boat of the *Padre Rector* arrived and took the missionaries to the shore. They were welcomed in a friendly and courteous manner. After that they started their journey to the Mexico City.

In Puebla they were again kindly received. Padre Provincial came two hours out of the Mexico City to greet them. They were brought in caleshes into the suburbs of Mexico City, and from there into the centre of the town in three splendid coaches. Here P. Gilg learned that he was chosen to go and help P. Eusebio Kino in his work in Sonora. He would go with P. Marcus Antonius Kappus who had been selected to work at »Cucurpe as a successor to P. Josephus de Aquilas.«

V.

Kappus's letter from the Canary Islands is preserved on a single sheet of paper, dimensions 22 × 32 cm. The manuscript can be found in the collection called Dolski arhiv (the Archives from Dol) which is owned by the Archives of Slovenia (Arhiv Slovenije). The collection is called Dolski arhiv after a village, Dol, in the surroundings of Ljubljana, where this collection was first deposited. It is a collection of documents related to the history of the County of Carniola which were brought together by Joseph Kalasanc Erberg (1771—1843), a collector of antiquities and cultural historian. ²⁸

The paper is written on both sides. It was formerly folded in the middle horizontally. At the fold the writing is partly damaged and not easy to read. Damaged is also the right edge of the paper (seen from the front page), which is slightly rolled up, with minute pieces torn off: because of this in one place a short passage, consisting of one or at the most two words, can not be reconstructed. In our transcript we have indicated this passage with three points. Probably the text here stated that the Spanish ships, after they had passed the Canary Islands, have no longer had the fear of... or of the Barbarians as far as Puerto Rico. Yet who was meant here that was dangerous to the Spanish ships, besides the Barbarians, as far as the Canary Islands, can not be said with certainty.

The letter is preserved in copy, while the original is now lost. Judging by the quality of the paper and the type of writing the copy was made soon after Kappus's letter had arrived in Ljubljana, probably in the first half of the XVIIIth century. The writing is comparatively clear and not too difficult to read. The copyist uses occasional abbreviations which in the present transcript have been decoded and the text given in full. The transcript also repro-

²⁷ This can be no other ship that the ship the *Nazareno* which was stranded in the harbour of Cadiz on July 11, 1680, actually seven years before Gilg wrote his letter. Thus the ship the *Nazareno* was not completely destroyed in 1680 as it has been believed so far. The expression »our Patres« can only mean the Padres from Gilg's own Province.

²⁸ About Erberg: cf. *Slovenski biografski leksikon*, Ljubljana 1922 ff, vol. I, p. 162—166, sub Erberg, Jožef Kalasanc.

duces the punctuation of the original, instead of the slant it uses the comma. The punctuation of the original, however, is quite often misleading and distorts the real borders of sentences. Also as regards initials the copy tries to follow the original.

Kappus wrote his letter in haste and under difficult writing conditions. Nevertheless the letter is well constructed and gives in a good systematic order a series of concrete informations about Kappus's voyage from Cádiz to the Canary Islands, which Kappus thought could interest his readers. Kappus was obviously well versed in Latin. He writes Latin with ease and sufficient elegance. He has an excellent mastery also of the more complex verbal forms and sentence structures and a rich vocabulary which enables him to choose the right words from a wide variety of synonyms (cf. his usage of adjectives: bonus, felix, favens, fortunatus, faustus, prosperus). The text opens with a greeting formula known from the classical literature. His language is based on the classical Latin, enriched — necessarily — by new words or words which had obtained a new meaning during the late classical period and during the Middle Ages. Such words are connected with the Christian liturgy (sacrifico, rosarium, sacrum, litaniae), with the new structure of society (secularis, sanctimonialis, cavallier) or with the advancement of knowledge and technology («leuca» for league, «comitiva» for an organized group, convoy, «tormentum bellicum», «fritillus», «tempus» in the sense of weather, climate: Cf. French »Il fait beau temps«, etc.).²⁹

The level of Kappus's mastery of Latin is certainly higher than the level of his written German. This is not surprising for the XVII. century. As we have seen in our previous study,³⁰ his German is more characterized by the needs of daily life, it is more marked by colloquialisms and localisms. This is not the case with his Latin, as shown in the Latin letter:

LITTERAE P. MARCI CAPPUS, CARNIOL. S. J.: IN CANARIJS
10 JULIJ 1687 AD PATREM MICHAELEM DELL POTAE

Quod bonum, felix, faustum, fortunatumque sit,³ cedatque ad Majorem DEI gloriam fauentibus admodum uentis iam Insulas Canarias olim fortunatas, teneamus ducentis et 70 facile Leucis dissitas Gadibus. Nos hic ancoram non iacimus, sed prospero uento iter nostrum prosequimur Americam uersus; Literas duntaxat expedire licuit per reducem Gades nauim nunciam de felici flotae transitu per Canarias. Iter huiusque felicissimum erat, etsi non nisi tribus explicatis velis, uentum fauorabilem excipere fas fuerit. Habemus enim duas in comitiua naues socias, remoras certe omnium aliorum quae 9 et 10 expansis uelis continuò sequuntur; et uix assequuntur unquam, iamque geminatis viribus optimum alias cursum interrumpere, illasque expectare ac succurrere oportuit: quid autem passae fuerint, adhuc ignoramus, quia nondum capitaneam uel admirantiam ita conuenimus, ut de ijs quae acciderant, quaerere potuissemus. Nudius tertius, dum nos sub

²⁹ All these words can be found in Du Cange: *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*. Unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1883—7. Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, Graz 1954.

³⁰ Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), 33—57, cf. p. 52.

³¹ Cf. Cicero: *De Divinatione ad M. Brutum*, I, 45, 102: quod bonum faustvm felix fortvnatvmque esset praefabantur. This formula can repeatedly be found in classical authors.

solis occasum ad recitandum de more rosarium accingeremus, datum erat ab una carum navium signum tormento bellico, et illico a capitanea (: etsi spiraret faventissimus a puppi uentus :) contracta uela: steteruntque ad eius, ut debent, exemplum caeterae; admirantia uero, quae semper solet esse postrema sicut capitanea prima illico uela uertit uersus implorantem suppetias Nauim et post 4 tandem in seram noctem horas rursus explicandi uela signum a Capitanea datum est exoneratis tormentis geminis: forte illam per oceanum, uti, et aliam sui similem relinquemus solam; quia Canarias praeteruetae non est quod... et Barbaris metuunt usque in portum Riccum, quo si ab his ita dantibus liberi erimus appendicibus, ante medium Augustum omnium consensu appellemus fauente Deo. Nostra nauis valde bona, fortis, et Velox est, et a quo Gadibus discessimus semper a sinistris pari cursu cum capitanea caeteras ut plurimum praeuolat, etsi nunquam nisi tria ordinaria uela explicat: comoditas sola dormiendi instar carceris est, alias omnia caetera supra spem, et expectationem nostram, puppis cameram principalem vnacum ambitu toto nos soli viginti tres possidemus, sed quia tam multi sumus angustis opus est ut nos ad quietem componamus: nos decumbimus in ipsa puppi, caeteri alibi, missas per ordinem dicimus singulis diebus 4 uor, et a quo migrauimus ex portu Gaditano quotidie nobis sacrificare licuit, rosarium sub uesperam recitatur ab omnibus publicè, presente nauis Capitanea, et alijs suis quibusdam in Indias pergentibus hospitibus ualde insignibus, inter quos unus Cauallier de S: Jago, qui primae dignitatis sunt in Hispania post aurei Velleris equites, et dein pariter cantatur ab omnibus Salue Regina et Litaniae Lauretae, et hoc quotidie: etiam quotidie aliqui ex secularibus communicant, diebus festis plurimi, proximo die Domenico ego sub meo tauernaculo sacro 19 habui communicandos; Eadem die communicauit Capitaneus Nauis cum filio suo qui etiam uni e nostris confitetur, etsi suum, ut omnes deberit habere naues, Capetanea habeat qui 5 tum quotidie sacrum celebrat. Reficiendi tempus duplex est: mane sub 8uum uel 9um uesperis sub 3cam uel 4 tam hactenus ualde bene habiti sumus, manè 3 uespere 4, uel 5 ferculis, et quidem bene, et sapide paratis, interueniente quotidie saccharo, aut alijs ex saccharo confectis citrinis, et cottanijs etc. Vinum, quoque aquam, et biscotum candidum panem, quantum cupimus, habemus: uespere antequam decumbamus, aquae haustae, et panem, de saccharo nos reficimus Recepto apud Hispanos more, uti, et mane quotidie poculo chocolatae, quod mihi summe mirum uidetur, est. Tempus aeremque per totos hos dies adeo recentem esse, ut palij usu nobis quotidie opus sit, et etsi ita constricti simus noctu tamen non patiamur excessum, sed potius defectum caloris, etsi nunc circa 28 eleuacionis gradum, hoc nempe uentorum frequentia efficit; non deerunt tamen praesertim sub ingressum Americae tortores illi aestus famosissimi, quos uti hoc uernum aërem, ita libenti animo a manu Dei excipiemus gaudentes. Omnes Deo sint iaudes bene ualeamus, primis, et per decursum diebus aliquot male senserunt patrum aliquot Hispani 3, uel 4, duo Itali, unus Pater ex Bohemia, et Pater Haller ex nostra prouincia, qui ante tres dies etiam medico opus habuit, sed nunc iterum melius habet, uti, et caeteri omnes praeter Patrem unum Belgam: cui nimis uidetur inimicum mare, et uix eum aliquando lecto surgere patitur: attamen cum Diuina gratia spero nos omnes saluos, et incolumes ad optatum terminum nostrum deferendos: hoc raptissimè scilicet supra genua sceipta quia dum intelligeremus occasionem expediendi literas: omnes nos ad scribendum accinximus, sed non omnibus suffecit locus: mihi mensae loco seruit fritili tabula genibus super imposita: ita nunc quoque R^{uo} Vestrae ualedico postremum pro hoc anno, si nos Dei bonitas, uti spiramus feliciter deducet Menicum: inde rursus licebit nouum ex Indijs aue mittere: Interim rogatur R^{uo} Vestrae homillimè, dignatur hoc, quo scribo meis Dnis fratribus. P. Zachariae Capucino, et Dominabus Sanctimonialibus Locopolim nunciare, atque una ijs, omnibusque notis salutem sua occasione ex me deponere, quibus ob temporis, et loci defectum scribere, uti cupio non possum. Voleat R^{uo} Vestrae meique in St^{mis} suis Sacrificijs meminisse non obliuiscatur. R. P. Rectorem cum toto Collegio Labacensi reuereor. In Canarijs Insulis 10 Iulij 1687.

Reu^{ae} Vestrae
 Servus in Xto
 Marcus Chappus. S: J:

TRANSLATION

A LETTER OF FATHER MARCUS CAPPUS, CARNIOLANUS, S.J.: IN THE CANARIES, 10. JULY, 1687, TO FATHER MICHAEL DELL POTAE

May it be good, happy, lucky, and fortunate, and may it develop to the major glory of God. With very favourable winds we have already reached the Canary Islands, formerly (called) fortunate³², easily 270 leagues distant from Cádiz. Here we do not cast anchor, but with the prosperous wind we continue our journey towards America. It has only been permitted to send letters by the returning messenger ship from Cádiz about the happy passage of our fleet by the Canaries. And its³³ journey has been most fortunate although we have been allowed to catch the favourable wind with only three spread sails. We have namely in our convoy two ships bound together, certainly obstacles to all others, which they continuously follow with 9 and 10 spread sails, yet hardly ever reach, although it was necessary for others to interrupt with double forces their best course and to wait for them and help them: so far, however, we do not know what they had suffered, because we have not yet approached so much the *Capitana* or the *Admiranta* that we could have asked them what had happened. The day before yesterday, when at the sunset we made ready to recite, as usually, the Rosary, one of those ships gave signal with a war shot, and at once the *Capitana* (although there blew the most favourable wind from the stern) struck sail, and others stood, following — as they must — her example. The *Admiranta*, however, which is always usually the last one, as the *Capitana* is the first, immediately turns her sails towards the ship asking help, and finally, after 4 hours, late at night, the *Capitana* gave signal with the delivered double shots to set sail. Perhaps we shall leave her alone on the Ocean, like the other one resembling her, because when the Canaries are sailed past there is nothing which they fear... and from the Barbarians as far as Puerto Rico where we shall arrive, God willing, according to the consensus of all, before the middle of August if we shall be free from these in this way given appendages. Our ship is very good, strong, and fast, and since we had departed from Cádiz it sails usually ahead of others with the same speed, left of the *Capitana*, although she never sets more than three ordinary sails. Only the sleeping convenience resembles that of a prison, everything else, however, is beyond what we had hoped for and expected. We twenty three possess alone the main room in the stern together with the whole surrounding space, yet because we are so numerous we must adjust ourselves in the narrow place to peace. We sleep in the same stern, others are absent. We read four masses by turns on individual days, and since we had started out from the port of Cádiz we may daily offer the Sacrifice. Towards the evening the Rosary is recited publicly by all, in the presence of the ship *Capitana*, also by her very distinguished guests who travel to the Indies, one of whom is a Cavalier of St. Jago who are in Spain of the highest rank after the knights of the Golden Fleece. Afterwards *Salve Regina* and *Laurentine* litanies are equally sung by all, and that every day; also every day some of the laymen take the communion, on the festive days the majority: the last Sunday I had under my sacred Tabernacle 19 persons receiving Communion. On the same day the Captain of the ship took Communion

³² Canary Islands were called *Insulae fortunatae* by Romans. Canary Islands were probably first discovered by the Phoenicians. A semi-mythological notion of Fortunate Islands, lying somewhere in the Atlantic, can be found in the earliest Greek literature: Homer, *Odyssey* IV, 563 ff; Hesiod, *Erga kai hemérai* 167 ff. First concrete information about the Canary Islands was provided by the seafarers from Cadiz (cf. Plutarch: Sertorius 8), by Iuba from Mauretania and Statius Sebosus (cf. Pliny, *Historia naturalis* VI; Geographer from Ravenna 443 ff; Ptolemy 6, 14). Cf. Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll: *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XIII Halbband, Stuttgart, p. 42—43, sub *Fortunatae Insulae*.

³³ i. e. of the fleet

together with his son who had also confessed to one of us, although the *Capitana* has her own (priest) — as all ships must have — who every day celebrates the fifth mass. There are two times for meals: in the morning about 8 or 9, in the evening about 3 or 4. So far we have been served very well, in the morning with 3, in the evening with 4 or 5 dishes which are prepared well and savorily, and in between sugar, or other citron or fig confections prepared with sugar, etc. We have, as much as we desire, wine as well as water, and twice baked white refresh ourselves in the manner accepted among the Spaniards, and in the morning every day with a cup of chocolate which seems to me most wonderful. During all these days the weather and air are so bracing that we must use every day our coats, and although we are in such a way constrained by night, still we do not suffer because of too much, but rather because of the lack of heat, in spite of the fact that we now travel at approximately 28 degrees of latitude: this is namely caused by the frequency of winds. Especially at the entrance of America, however, the torturers of that most famous heat will not be absent which we shall accept rejoicing from God's hand with the same willing spirit as the present vernal air. All praise be to God, we are well. At first, and after the passage of some days, some fathers fell ill, 3 or 4 Spaniards, two Italians, one Father from Bohemia, and Father Haller from our Province, who three days ago also needed the doctor, but now he is better again, as well as all others, with the exception of a Belgian Father to whom, it seems, the sea is too inimical, and it hardly ever allows him to rise from bed. Nevertheless I hope that with God's grace we shall be brought healthy and undamaged to our desired destination. This has, of course, been written most quickly upon my knees, because when we learned of the occasion to send letters we all made ready to write, but the place did not suffice to all: to me a plate of dice-box placed over my knees served in stead of a table. And thus I greet now Your Reverence the last time for this year if God's goodness brings us, as we hope, happily to Menico: where it will again be possible to send new greetings from the Indies. In the meantime I beg most humbly Your Reverence to deign to inform about what I write my lords brothers, P. Zacharia, the Capuchin, and the ladies nuns at Škofja Loka, and to each of them, and to all I know, to whom I can not write as I wish because of the lack of time and place, give on occasion my greetings. And may Your Reverence not forget to remember me in your most holy Sacrifices. My respect to the Reverend Father Rector and to the whole Collegium of Ljubljana. In the Canary Islands, 10 of July, 1687.

Your Reverence's

Servant in Christ
Marcus Chappus, S. J.

DULCINEA Y SU PAPEL

Ludovik Osterc

Dulcinea representa para la crítica, sobre todo tradicional, el caso más desconcertante e incomprensible de la literatura universal. Es personaje y no lo es, ya que nunca se llega a ver ni a tener noticia certera de su existencia a lo largo de la novela, y, sin embargo, llena de sí toda la obra al punto que sería inconcebible el QUIJOTE sin la presencia de Dulcinea del Toboso.

Muchas son las obras literarias que tienen como protagonista un elemento no humano que, por consiguiente, no se puede considerar como personaje en el sentido propio de la palabra. Es el caso de la selva en la novela *La vorágine* de J. Eustasio Rivera. La jungla indomable es la que hace vibrar el corazón del lector y es la que mueve y domina a los personajes humanos con un poder incontenible y feroz. Otro ejemplo nos lo ofrece *Moby Dick*, obra novelesca cuya figura principal es una ballena asesina. Otros animales, como zorros, gallos, lobos, ranas y leones, son protagonistas de las fábulas de Esopo, Fedro, La Fontaine, Iriarte y otros. Hay obras, además, cuya acción se desarrolla en torno a un personaje humano que aparece fugazmente o del cual se habla y que, no obstante, constituye el eje del suceso narrado, la causa inicial como Helena en *Iliada*, por ejemplo. Otras veces, el protagonista verdadero es un ente abstracto y de ello hay tantos ejemplos que no cabe citar en el marco de un artículo.

Pero el caso de Dulcinea se muy distinto. Y lo es, porque contrariamente a los casos de Rivera, Melville, Esopo y Homero, no es, por así decirlo directa del autor, sino de don Quijote, su personaje principal. Dulcinea no es, por lo tanto, propiamente un personaje, puesto que no es de carne y hueso ni tiene fisonomía, aspecto o identidad bien definidos, fuera de la mente de don Quijote. ¿Quién es, entonces, Dulcinea y qué papel desempeña en la magna obra?

Muchas y muy variadas han sido las respuestas a esta cuestión. A título de ejemplo, mencionaré unas cuantas emitidas por algunos de los más destacados críticos y eruditos. Según N. Díaz de Benjumea, Dulcinea es luz, sabiduría, verdad, libertad. Baldomero Villegas la considera como espíritu liberal y reformador de España. En opinión de Unamuno y Madariaga representa la fama y la gloria. Para Joaquín Casaldueiro es la forma y función barrocas del ideal. Pero, la interpretación más común es, que Dulcinea y el amor que don Quijote le tiene, sirven para hacer burla del amor cortés.

Pues bien, cada uno de estos juicios contiene sólo una parte de la verdad y muy pequeña, por cierto, dado que ni tomados aislada ni conjuntamente, esclarecen todas las figuras y aspectos que toma Dulcinea, ni explican el por

todo extremo importante rol que cumple en la obra. Y ello, en virtud de que la mayoría de dichos glosadores, arrancando de erróneas premisas interpretativas, no ha podido, y otros, sirviendo a los intereses creados, no han querido dilucidar las ideas cervantinas, ni el mensaje de la novela.

¿Entonces, cómo resolver el problema? A mi juicio, analizándolo a la luz del pensamiento cervantino y su finalidad.

Hace tiempo afirmé* que el QUIJOTE constituye en apariencia una parodia de los libros de caballería, pero en realidad una sátira genial de la sociedad feudal en decadencia. Dicho de otro modo: Obligado por razones de seguridad, tanto personal como la de su libro, Cervantes enmascaró el verdadero propósito de su obra con la fingida parodia de los libros de caballería estructurando la novela en varios planos, a saber: el paródico, el satírico y el humanista sirviéndole el primero de encubrimiento de los dos restantes. Y, conforme varían los planos, cambia la figura del protagonista. Efectivamente, el autor lo presenta en la novela bajo cuatro figuras: como hidalgo pobre de aldea, como figura paródica de caballero andante, como caballero andante-soldado y, por último, como portavoz de las ideas humanistas y luchador por una nueva edad de oro. De tal modo, aparece don Quijote como hidalgo Alonso Quijano, vecino de una aldea de la Mancha, al comienzo del libro, donde Cervantes nos revela condición social y su ocupación, y, al final del mismo, en que nos relata las circunstancias de su muerte; bajo la figura burlesca de caballero andante sale en todas las hazañas de carácter paródico a fin de distraer la vigilancia de los argos de la censura inquisitorial, como verbigracia, en la aventura de la batalla con los molinos de viento (I, 8); en la figura de caballero ambulante-soldado lo introduce el autor, para establecer un término de comparación entre su penosa vida de combatiente y la perezosa y regalada de los caballeros cortesanos, como por ejemplo, en la escena con el gentilhombre Vivaldo (I, 13); y, por fin, en su calidad de heraldo de las ideas humanistas, actúa don Quijote, así en los discursos en que explica su elevada misión, como verbigracia, en el famoso sobre la Edad de Oro (I, 11), como en los episodios en que interviene con sus armas para defender a los necesitados y oprimidos, como por ejemplo, en el incidente de la liberación de los galeotes (I, 22).

Ahora bien, a estas figuras del protagonista corresponden diferentes figuras de su dama. Así, cuando nuestro héroe llevaba una vida tranquila y sin riesgos como hidalgo Alonso Quijano en una aldea de la Mancha, estaba algo enamorado de una labradora Aldonza Lorenzo, hija de un vecino suyo; cuando por excesiva lectura de los libros caballerescos, dicho hidalgo se cree caballero andante, encargado de liberar el mundo de los gigantes, endriagos y malos encantadores, Aldonza Lorenzo se convierte en Dulcinea, o sea, dama de sus pensamientos, puesto que no hay caballero andante sin dama a quien servir, según él mismo declara. Por último, en todas las escenas en que don Quijote cumple con su misión principal de luchar por un mundo más feliz, Dulcinea representa LA IDEA DEL BIEN UNIVERSAL Y SÍMBOLO DE LA FE EN UN FUTURO MEJOR.

Pero, el proceso transformativo de una figura en otra no es brusco ni repentino, sino lento y gradual aparte de que no hay límites exactos entre ellas. Veamos: Primero nació don Quijote, y nació cuando la desmesurada lectura de los libros de caballería trastornó el juicio de nuestro hidalgo.

* Ludvik Osterc: *El pensamiento social y político del Quijote*, 2 a. ed., pág. 33.

Al nacer don Quijote se esfumó Alonso Quijano. Dulcinea nació poco después de haber hecho aparición don Quijote. Surgió Dulcinea del corazón del nuevo caballero como Eva de la costilla de Adán conforme a la leyenda bíblica. Mas, Dulcinea no emergió de golpe sino paulatinamente, ya que su figura sólo irá ganando fisonomía poco a poco desprendiéndose de la carne mortal de Aldonza Lorenzo que le dio sustento en sus primeros pasos. Dicho con otras palabras: cambió Alonso Quijano, tenía que cambiar Aldonza. Él se hace caballero andante, y como tal, además de un caballo y de armas, necesitó de una dama. Y recordó que en un lugar cercano al suyo había una labradora de quien alguna vez estuvo enamorado. Ella se llamaba Aldonza y a ésta le pareció bien darle el título de *«señora de sus pensamientos»*, trocándole su antiguo nombre en el de Dulcinea, que él estimaba *«músico, peregrino y significativo»* y que no desdecía mucho del de Aldonza. Cervantes lo manifiesta claramente: *«Limpias, pues, sus armas, hecho del morrión celada, puesto nombre a su rocín y confirmandose a sí mismo, se dio a entender que no le faltaba otra cosa sino buscar una dama de quien enamorarse; porque el caballero andante sin amores era árbol sin hojas y sin fruto y cuerpo sin alma... Y fue, a lo que se cree, que en un lugar cerca del suyo había una moza labradora... de quien él un tiempo anduvo enamorado, aunque, según se entiende, ella jamás se dio cata de ello. Llamábase Aldonza Lorenzo...»* (I, 1)

La nueva figura de la dama carece de relieve todavía. Aparece en la obra haciendo terna con el caballo y con las armas y no es más que un recurso impuesto por exigencias paródicas. Dulcinea del Toboso o la *«sin par Dulcinea»*, *«la emperatriz de la Mancha»*, como la llamará de aquí en adelante es sin duda una parodia de la sin par Oriana, señora del gran Amadís de Gaula. A partir de este momento, Dulcinea estará siempre presente en los labios y en la mente de don Quijote en todas las escenas paródicas: *«Oh, señora de mi alma, Dulcinea, flor de la hermosura, socorred a este vuestro caballero que, por satisfacer a la vuestra mucha bondad en este riguroso trance se halla»*, exclama nuestro héroe durante el duelo con el vizcaíno (I, 8). Oigamos, ahora, a Amadís, el caballero más admirado por don Quijote: *«Oh, mi señora Oriana, de vos me viene a mí todo el esfuerzo y ardimiento; membraos, señora, de mí a esta sazón en que tanto vuestra... membranza me es menester* (II, 44). No obstante, hay fundamental diferencia entre el amor que los protagonistas de los libros de caballería profesan a sus damas y el que don Quijote cultiva por Dulcinea. Mientras el de los primeros es un amor erótico, es decir, carnal, el del caballero andante manchego no es más que platónico. El propio don Quijote así lo afirma: *«... porque mis amores y los suyos han sido siempre platónicos, sin extenderse a más que a un honesto mirar»* (I, 25). Así, Amadís por ejemplo llega a poseer y gozar a Oriana y lo mismo los demás héroes de los libros de caballería, en tanto que don Quijote durante ninguna de sus muchas aventuras corteja a una mujer y menos tiene relaciones maritales con ella.

Como vemos, el amor que don Quijote siente por la dama e sus pensamientos no ha nacido en la vida real, sino en los libros y constituye un impulso imitativo. Don Quijote necesita de una amada igual que precisa de Rocinante para poner en práctica sus caballerías. Además, el amor a Dulcinea es, mirado desde el ángulo del propósito de Cervantes y su obra, un pretexto. El autor nos lo da a entender por boca de don Quijote, cuando éste, contestando la pérfida intromisión del eclesiástico quien, en la mansión de los duques ara-

goneses gobernaba espiritualmente la misma, puntualiza: *»Yo soy enamorado, no más de porque es forzoso que los caballeros andantes lo sean...«* (II, 32). Y en el capítulo 59 de la segunda parte escribe Cervantes que don Quijote actuaba como si verdaderamente fuese enamorado, lo cual implica que no lo era.

Esto viene a patentizarse claramente también en el diálogo que entabla Sancho, cuando sorprendido y desilusionado llega a saber por labios de su señor que su dama es Aldonza Lorenzo, moza labradora hija de su vecino Lorenzo Corchuelo, y no una princesa como él se la imaginaba. Es la ocasión en que don Quijote cuenta a su escudero la historia de una viuda hermosa, libre y rica, y, sobre todo desenvuelta, la cual se enamoró de un fraile feo, gordo y pelón; y al decirle un día el prior de éste: *»Maravillado estoy señora... de que una mujer tan principal, tan hermosa y rica como vuestra merced, se haya prendado de un hombre tan soez, tan bajo y tan ignorante como fulano, habiendo en este monasterio tantos doctores y tantos maestros entre quienes vuestra merced pudiera escoger, como entre peras...«*. ella respondió con mucho donaire: *»Vuestra merced, señor mío, está muy engañado y chapado a la antigua si piensa que que yo he escogido mal en fulano por idiota que le parezca, pues para lo que yo le quiero, tanta filosofía sabe y más que el mismo Aristóteles.«* Después de este cuentecilla no poco atrevido, llevando al plano espiritual amor de la viuda, don Quijote se aplicó la sentencia transponiéndola de esta manera: *»Para lo que yo quiero a Dulcinea, tanto vale como la más alta princesa«* y añade: *»Sí que no todos los poetas que alaban damas debajo de un nombre que ellos a su albedrío les ponen, es verdad que las tienen... No por cierto, sino que las más se las fingen para dar sujeto a sus versos, y porque les tengan por enamorados...«* (I, 25)

Ahora bien, lo dicho por el caballero andante manchego permite descartar en definitiva, no la realidad remota de Aldonza, sino la de Dulcinea como objeto ideal de amor y, sobre todo, la de un sentimiento real experimentado por don Quijote hacia ella. Don Quijote siente afecto de verdad por Sancho y por Rocinante, mas no por Dulcinea, que es, como queda dicho, idéntica al pretexto de los poetas y, el amor declarado mera retórica, como el de muchos poetas, cosa que hay que tener presente en momentos capitales de la narración.

Sin embargo, en honor de la verdad es fuerza reconocer que hay contradicciones en el QUIJOTE respecto de Dulcinea. La obra cumbre de la literatura española es, ya lo he dicho en mi libro precitado, una serie continuada de contrastes y contradicciones, como lo es la vida misma. *»Tú me harás, desesperar Sancho — observa don Quijote a su escudero —. Ven acá, hereje: no te he dicho mil veces que en todos los días de mi vida no he visto a la sin par Dulcinea, ni jamás atravesé los umbrales de su palacio y que sólo estoy enamorado de oídas...«* (II, 2), mientras que en el capítulo 25 de la primera parte dice que *»no la ha visto cuatro veces.«* Pero, no le extrañarán tales contradicciones a quien recuerde y comprenda que es técnica de Cervantes usarlas magistralmente en su libro con el fin de encubrir su pensamiento.

¿Qué es, entonces, Dulcinea y cuál su papel? Hay algunos críticos que le atribuyen la misión de servir a don Quijote de pretexto para rechazar a las mujeres que, según él, se le ofrecen: recordemos a Maritornes, la moza de la venta y a Altisidora del castillo ducal por citar dos casos opuestos. Y es que existen dos cosas en las que no cabe fantasía, y ambas las evita don Quijote

por miedo de que su tremenda realidad lo arrastre y dé al traste con su idealismo y son: una, la del dinero: cuando se ve obligado a llevarlo, lo entrega a Sancho, y allá él, porque el caballero andante no quiere saber nada de la pecunia. La segunda es el amor. Sean quienes fueren las mujeres, plebeya o noble, Maritornes o Altisidora —, yacer con ellas hubiera sido una »realidad« contra la que don Quijote iba bien apercibido.

Tampoco faltan comentadores quienes aplican a este aspecto de la conducta de don Quijote un tratamiento psicoanalítico freudiano. Sin embargo, aparte de que, en su caso, la función de Dulcinea sería la misma, es decir, actuar de pretexto, dichos comentadores olvidan que un hombre que se entrega plenamente a la realización de un ideal o valor espiritual, social y político, suele perder capacidad sensorial, y el amor se le convierte en un modo espiritual de comunicación.

Aquí hemos llegado al momento crucial del problema de Dulcinea, su razón y su función principal. Para entenderlos, he de traer a la memoria lo que hace don Quijote cuando es vencido en el segundo encuentro con el bachiller Carrasco, esta vez disfrazado de Caballero de la Blanca Luna. Este derriba a nuestro caballero andante, va luego sobre él y, poniéndole la lanza sobre la visera, le dice:

»Vencido sois, caballero, y aun muerto, si no confesáis las condiciones de nuestro desafío.«

La condición primera y principal del combate consiste en que el vencido ha de confesar que la dama de su enemigo es sin comparación más hermosa que Dulcinea. ¿Y qué responde don Quijote? Oigámoslo:

»DULCINEA DEL TOBOSO ES LA MAS HERMOSA MUJER DEL MUNDO Y YO EL MAS DESDICHADO CABALLERO DE LA TIERRA y no es bien que mi flaqueza defraude esta verdad.« (II, 64)

¡Notable contraste! Ese hidalgo, perfecto caballero, ese hidalgo que se sabe al dedillo las leyes de la caballería; ese observador escrupuloso de las más nimias prácticas que al honor atañen, sabe perfectamente que el primer deber de un caballero es cumplir la palabra empeñada, que las condiciones de un duelo son leyes sagradas, que la nobleza y la caballería obligan; don Quijote sabe todo esto y, sin embargo, no confiesa a la dama de su adversario, llamada Casildea, y, con la punta de la lanza sobre el rostro a riesgo de su vida, aclama y pronuncia el nombre de Dulcinea como la más hermosa dama en el mundo. ¿Qué quiere decir esto?

Quiere decir, que don Quijote no confesará a Casildea, porque no se trata de damas, sino de principios e ideas, porque no se trata de bellezas físicas, sino de bellezas morales. Y así ocurre en realidad: Dulcinea representa en este lance LA IDEA DEL BIEN UNIVERSAL y EL SÍMBOLO DE LA FE UN FUTURO MEJOR. Dulcinea es el resorte que impulsa a don Quijote en su lucha contra el fraude, la mentira, las injusticias y la opresión; ella le inspira la fe e infunde el ánimo por no desmayar en ella y no claudicar ante los encantadores, alias opresores. Ella es su causa última, móvil y fin a un mismo tiempo. He aquí las palabras de don Quijote que lo corroboran enteramente: *»Ella pelea en mí y yo vivo y respiro en ella y tengo vida y ser«* (I, 30). Don Quijote la crea por una necesidad íntima, pues sus hazañas no servirían de nada, si no tuvieran una noble finalidad, lo cual quiere decir que no hay empresa noble sin ideal ni fe.

Hay un episodio de la gran novela que lo demuestra a las claras. Se trata del encuentro de don Quijote con los mercaderes toledanos, quienes le piden les mostrase algún retrato de Dulcinea para poder confesar que es la más hermosa mujer del mundo, cuando el caballero andante deja ver que se trata de materia de fe, al contestar: *«Si os la mostrara, ¿que hiciérais vosotros en confesar una verdad tan notoria? La importancia está en que verla lo habéis de creer, confesar, afirmar, jurar y defender...»* (I, 4)

Aquí, desde luego, no se trata de fe religiosa, sino de la fe en el hombre y su futuro; un futuro más feliz y más digno de ser vivido. Y no es casual el que Cervantes para este episodio haya escogido precisamente a los comerciantes, pues es generalmente conocida su falta de ideales reduciéndose sus aspiraciones únicamente a acumular dinero y capitales, y, por tanto, no son capaces de levantar su mira más allá de sus bienes materiales.

El mismo Cervantes, el heroico y generoso Cervantes, puso su fe en Dulcinea que lo sostuvo durante los azares y desventuras de su vida. Ella le hizo levantarse con fiebre de la cama para pelear en Lepanto, ella le aconsejó que asumiera la responsabilidad de las fugas planeadas por él y los cautivos en las mazmorras de Argel. Ella lo alentó para que convirtiera la amargura de sus desgracias en la miel de sus libros. Ella le ayudó para que desde los calabozos africanos y las cárceles de Sevilla y Valladolid subiera a las más altas cumbres del genio y para que se realizase el milagro de que tras una vida de continuos fracasos, Cervantes no fuera un fracasado sino un triunfador.

Para don Quijote, Dulcinea significa, además, el propio bien universal. El mismo lo confirma, cuando exclama en la venta: *«¡Oh, mi señora Dulcinea del Toboso, extremo de toda hermosura, fin y remate de la discreción... depósito de la honestidad, y últimamente, IDEA DE TODO LO PROVECHOSO, HONESTO Y DELEITABLE QUE HAY EN EL MUNDO!»* (I, 43)

En este lugar cabe asentar que en la concepción platónica de la idea de belleza ésta está estrechamente ligada a la idea del bien; y cada vez que don Quijote habla en términos ideales de la belleza de su dama, nunca olvida agregar la afirmación de su no menos incomparable virtud: *«Hermosa y honesta.»*

Ahora bien, en mi ensayo *«El pensamiento social y político del Quijote»*, apunté que Cervantes en su vasto arsenal de recursos literarios, introduce personajes que tienen por finalidad apartar a don Quijote de su noble misión y reducirlo a los límites de la vida de una aldehuela donde todo vuelo se acaba, es decir, despojarlo de su ideal y frustrar su realización. Este papel corresponde, en la primera parte, al cura, y en la segunda, al clérigo Sansón Carrasco que en portugués quiere decir: *verdugo*. Y esto no es fortuito, ya que el clero formaba parte de las clases dirigentes y en el campo ideológico-religioso jugaba el papel predominante, y llevaba a cabo una política de cabo a rabo reaccionaria y represiva. Traigamos a colación la todopoderosa Inquisición, sus atrocidades y crímenes. En efecto, es dicho Carrasco quien se disfraza, primero de *Caballero de los Espejos*, y desafiando a don Quijote a un duelo sale vencido. Pero, por la segunda vez, cuando se encubre bajo el nombre de *Caballero de la Blanca Luna*, derrota a don Quijote en la playa de Barcelona. En ambos casos pelea en nombre de su dama que llama *Casildea de Vandalia*, nombre que traducido quiere decir: *batalladora del país de vándalos* con lo que está dicho todo: Mientras que don Quijote lucha

por un mundo, nuevo, lleno de felicidad y bienestar a nombre de *Dulcinea* — la dulce idea del bien — cómo símbolo de la bienaventuranza universal, el clérigo-verdugo pelea por la conservación del mundo basado en la opresión, toda clase de injusticias y discriminaciones así como en el oscurantismo clerical, a nombre de *Casildea*, signo del vandalismo y represión física y espiritual del hombre. En otras palabras, Cervantes opone dos mundos diametralmente opuestos que pugnan entre sí: él del representante de la Iglesia, conservador, oscurantista y ultrarreaccionario y el de don Quijote, humanista, progresista y revolucionario. Y don Quijote, fiel a sus elevadas y nobles ideas, a pesar de su derrota física no confiesa a Casildea como mujer más hermosa, sino que sigue proclamando como tal a su dama Dulcinea del Toboso. De ahí su victoria moral e ideológica.

La misma idea cervantina se desprende de otra aventura de la novela. Tengo en la mente la escena en que don Quijote, egañado por Sancho Pansa quien no quijotizado aún inducido por el cura, encanta a Dulcinea convirtiéndola en una zafia labradora, y en compañía del mismo, busca el palacio de la supuesta princesa en el Toboso, de noche. Pero, lo que encuentran es una iglesia, lo cual hace exclamar a don Quijote: «*Con la Iglesia hemos dado, Sancho.*» (II, 9) — Pues bien, tanto los términos en que se expresa nuestro valeroso caballero andante, como la descripción que el autor hace del ambiente nocturno, cuando escribe: «... *dio con el bulto que hacía la sombra...*», confieren a la escena un tono de profunda desilusión, ya que nuestro caballero, afanoso de ver, por fin, realizado su soñado ideal, topa con aquella mole de piedra, símbolo del oscurantismo medieval — de ahí las expresiones de «bulto» y «sombra» — y símbolo de la hipocresía, la mentira y la opresión material y espiritual, personificadas en la Iglesia católica de aquel entonces. Y para que no cupiera ninguna duda al respecto, Cervantes no titubea en poner en boca de Sancho las siguientes palabras inequívocas: «*Ya lo veo... y plega a Dios que no demos con nuestra sepultura*». Con ello dio a entender que dar con la Iglesia de entonces, es decir, llegar en conflicto con ella, era lo mismo que arriesgar la vida.

En conclusión, Dulcinea como figura principal, representa para don Quijote la encarnación de su ideal moral, social y político, en breve, encarnación de su elevado ideal universal que consiste en una nueva edad dorada del género humano, en la que reinarían la paz, el bienestar, la verdad y la justicia, o sea, la bienaventuranza general. Este ideal está en la cima de sus pensamientos, a él se dedica en cuerpo y alma, por él lucha y vive, sin importarle peligro o escarnio, sin ver a veces el miserable estado en que su ideal se transforma, cuando baja en la realidad o alguien la manipula «encantándola».

Y hay más aún. Dulcinea es para los efectos de este mundo lo mismo o más que Dios para el otro mundo. Mas, Cervantes por razones obvias no expresa esta idea de una manera directa y neta, sino que la deja entrever. Ocurre esto durante la conversación de don Quijote con el gentilhombre Vivaldo sobre las oraciones. A este último le parece mal el que los caballeros andantes, cuando se ven trabados en grandes aventuras en que peligra su vida, nunca en el instante de acometerlas se encomienden primero a Dios, como cada cristiano está obligado a hacer, sino a sus damas. Pero don Quijote defiende esta costumbre caballeresca agregando que no por ello los caballeros

dejan de encomendarse a Dios, pues tiempo y lugar les queda para hacerlo en el transcurso de la contienda.

Sin embargo, su interlocutor insiste en su duda replicando que muchas veces se enzarzan en palabras los caballeros andantes, y de una en otra, se les enciende la cólera, y al volver los caballos, y tomar un buen pedazo del campo, se vuelven a encontrar, y en mitad de la corrida se encomiendan a sus damas. Y lo que suele suceder del encuentro, es que uno cae por las ancas del caballo atravesado con la lanza del contrario de parte a parte y, que por ello no puede imaginarse cómo el muerto tuvo lugar y tiempo para encomendarse a Dios en el curso de tan acelerado combate. Por ello, a su parecer, sería mejor que las palabras que en la carrera gastó encomendándose a su dama las gastara en lo que estaba obligado como cristiano, máxime que no todos los caballeros andantes tienen damas a quienes encomendarse, porque no todos son enamorados. Pero don Quijote se sale por la tangente con la siguiente respuesta: *»Eso no puede ser... digo no puede ser que haya caballero andante sin dama...«* (I, 13).

La mejor prueba de lo correcto de nuestra interpretación la tenemos en el hecho de que la Inquisición portuguesa hizo borrar el pasaje del episodio con los batanes, en el que don Quijote se encomendó primero a su dama y sólo después a Dios (I, 20). Además, el rival de Cervantes y autor del falso Quijote, Avellaneda, se percató de ello, por lo que lo ataca en su obra espuria, presenta a su don Quijote como «desamorado» y desdobla a Dulcinea: por una parte, la reemplaza con la Virgen María, y por la otra, la identifica con una ramera.

Ha muerto Alonso Quijano el Bueno, mas no don Quijote ni su Dulcinea, porque los dos son inmortales. En verdad, mientras exista el género humano, habrá hombres que como don Quijote luchan intrépidamente y sin desmayo contra las tiranías, la opresión y las injusticias, y, en sus corazones vivirá eternamente la sin par Dulcinea, su norte y su guía.

A LETTER OF ANDREAS BERNARDUS SMOLNIKAR TO GEORGE RAPP

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In seinem Buch *Denkwürdige Ereignisse*, welches im Jahre 1838 in Cambridge erschien, stellte sich Smolnikar auf dem Titelblatt wie folgt als Verfasser dem Lesepublikum vor: »zehnjähriger Professor des Bibelstudiums neuen Bundes am k. k. Lyceum zu Klagenfurt in Kärnthen dann Seelsorger der deutschen katholischen Gemeinde in Boston, (Hauptstadt Massachusetts in Nordamerika)«.

Wie ernst ihm die Sache des Weltfriedens war und wie er diese Welt zu überzeugen versuchte, dass sie sich blind ins Verderben zu stürzen bevorstehe, ist heute noch in der Liste seiner Werke dokumentiert, wie wir sie in der Bibliographie der *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* verzeichnet finden. In der Literatur der Vereinigten Staaten hat ihm Longfellow in seinem *Hyperion* das VI. Kapitel mit dem Titel: *The Story of Brother Bernardus*, gewidmet, woraus die Einleitung als weitere Beleuchtung seines Lebens zitiert wird:

»I was born in the city of Stein, in the land of Krain. My pious mother Gertrude sang me psalms and spiritual songs in childhood; and often, when I awoke in the night, I saw her still sitting patiently at her work by the stove, and heard her singing those hymns of heaven, or praying in the midnight darkness when her work was done. It was for me she prayed. Thus, from my earliest childhood, I breathed the breath of pious aspirations. Afterwards I went to Laybach, as a student of theology; and, after the usual course of study, was ordained a priest. I went forth to the care of souls, my own soul filled with the faith that ere long all people would be united in one church.

In einem Brief von Isaac Hecker an Orestes Brownson in 1844 lesen wir: »Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar is a man of remarkable learning and curious genius.«

Profesor Janez Stanonik von der Universität Ljubljana hat Longfellow's Anerkennung von Smolnikar in seinem Artikel *Longfellow and Smolnikar*, in *Acta Neophilologica*, No. 1, 1968, nachgewiesen, Professor Jon Alexander, O. P. und David Williams, haben ihre Forschungen über Smolnikar unter dem Titel: Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar: American Catholic Apostate and Millennial Prophet, in *The American Benedictine Review*, März, 1984, veröffentlicht.

Der deutsche Pionierverein hat seine Tätigkeit während seiner Lebzeit unter dem Titel: *Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar*, von C. F. Huch, in den *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, Sechzehntes Heft, 1910, beschrieben. Die *Acta Neophilologica*, im Jahre 1981, No. XIV, hat seine Beziehungen zu den Nordamerikanischen Christlichen Kommunisten dokumentiert, wo eine der bedeutendsten Schriften Smolnikars ausgelassen wurde, weil sie damals noch nicht entdeckt worden war. Dieses soll nun hier nachgeholt werden, nachdem wir die grosse Bedeutung von Rapp's Harmonie Gesellschaft für Friedrich Engelsens Forschung kurz vor seiner Mitarbeit mit Karl Marx am Kommunistischen Manifest erwiesen haben.

Am 2. Juli des Jahres 1841 schrieb Smolnikar an Georg Rapp, den Leiter der Harmony Society zu Economy, Pennsylvania, um Hilfe zur Verbreitung seiner Friedensarbeit. Er wollte finanzielle Hilfe finden um sein Buch *Eins ist Noth* zu drucken und der verblendeten Welt vorzulegen. Sein Buch entnahm seinen Titel sehr sinnvoll aus der Heiligen Schrift, worin die Begegnung des heute fast vergessenen Lehrers unserer Welt dokumentiert wird. Ich zitiere Luk. X, 42: »Es begab sich aber, da sie wandelten, ging er in einem Markt. Da war ein Weib, mit Namen Martha, die nahm ihn auf in ihr Haus. Und sie hatte eine Schwester, die hiess Maria, die setzte sich zu Jesu Füßen, und hörte seiner Rede zu. Martha aber machte sich viel zu schaffen, ihm zu dienen. Und sie trat hinzu, und sprach: Herr, fragest du nicht darnach, dass mich meine Schwester lässt allein dienen? sage ihr doch, dass sie es auch angreife. Jesus aber antwortete, und sprach zu ihr: Martha, Martha, du hast viele Sorge und Mühe. Eines aber ist Noth. Maria hat das gute Theil erwählet, das soll nicht von ihr genommen werden.« Es handelt sich hier um zwei Personen, die sozusagen unsere gespaltene Welt vertreten, nämlich die auf die materiellen Dinge des Daseins mehr besorgte sowie die auf das seelische besonders besorgte: Maria und Martha. Jesus hört die Klage Marthas an und spricht dagegen: »Eins ist Not«. Er verdammt nicht die Sorge um die materiellen Nöte des Lebens, schliesslich war er obwohl Gottes Sohn, dem Wein nicht abgeneigt, das beweist doch dass er bei der Hochzeit von Cana als der Wein ausging, auch Wein im Überfluss beschaffte ((Joh. II, 1): aber das bessere Teil ist doch das was den Menschen über das rein Materielle hebt, nicht zum Asketen macht, sondern ihn als höheren Menschen kennzeichnet: Eins ist Not. Nun lesen wir Smolnikars Brief und bedenken dabei, dass er zu seiner Zeit die Nordamerikanische Welt so tief beeindruckte wie wir in der Bibliographie seiner Werke in: *The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* ersehen können.

July 21, 1841. Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar to George Rapp.

DAS GOLDENE ZEITALTER ZUR ALLGEMEINEN ERLÖSUNG DER VÖLKER IM GROSSEN ANZUGE.

Es hat den 21. Juni, 1841 die Presse verlassen:

»Eines ist Noth, nämlich die glorreiche Erscheinung unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, wie sie sich in unsern Tagen durch vielfältige Zeichen, deren Erklärung in diesem Buche zu finden ist, zum allgemeinen Frieden für alle Völker wunderbar offenbaret, möglichst weitbekannt zu machen. Geschrieben von Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar, Professor des Bibelstudiums »Neuen Bundes« und Apostel Christi. Philadelphia, mit Stereotypen gedruckt im Jahre 1841.

Es heisst in den »Vorläufigen Bemerkungen« zu diesem Buche: »Der Leser soll versichert sein, dass er durch gehöriges Studium dieses Buches so grosse, von der himmlischen Schar Offenb. 19, 14. unter der Leitung unsers Herrn Jesu Christi vorbereitete und ausgeführte Dinge zum allgemeinen Frieden für alle Völker erfahren werden, als er es unmöglich hätte erwarten können.« Es verkünden schon seit mehreren Jahren Viele diese Erscheinung Christi, und zwar, auf verschiedene Art: Einige verkünden, dass er schon da sei: Andere, dass er sehr nahe sei und bis zum Jahre 1843 offenbar werden müsse. Alle vsuchen, zu erklären, wie er erscheinen werde. Allein davon hat er ihnen nicht mehr eröffnen wollen, ausser, dass die Zeit seiner Erscheinung da sei: Im Übrigen hat er aber von dieser seiner Erscheinung schon durch den Apostel Johannes voraussagen lassen: »Siehe, ich komme wie ein Dieb.« Offenb. 16, 13. Ebenso, wie der Dieb, um seine bösen Anschläge auszuführen, nur seinen Mithelfern das Nöthige mitzutheilen pflegt, hat auch der Herr bei seiner jetzigen Erscheinung denjenigen, die er als seine Werkzeuge gebrauchen wollte, nur das von seinen weisesten Rathschlüssen zum allgemeinen Frieden aller Völker mitgetheilt, was ihnen zu wissen nothwendig war, um das zu thun, was er durch sie ausführen wollte, und es geschah Alles, was vorausgehen musste, damit von nun an eine grosse Bewegung zum allgemeinen Frieden anfangen kann, auf eine solche Art, dass die Meisten, die Augenzeugen waren, entweder nichts oder sehr wenig davon verstehen konnten, was es bedeutet und wohin es führe, und viele grosse Dinge als Zeichen der jetzigen Erscheinung Christi sind nur so vielen Zeugen, als nöthig waren, bekannt geworden.

Bald im Anfange des angeführten Buches erzählte ich zum Beispiele eine Todtenerweckung als Zeichen zur Bestätigung der Erscheinung Christi, die ich verkünde. Die Person ist wirklich gestorben und ist so lange, als Christus im Grabe, todt gelegen: dann ist sie vor hinlänglichen Zeugen im Namen Christi zum Leben erweckt worden, und sie lebt und die Zeugen loben: aber die wenigsten Menschen wissen etwas davon; indem es Christo gefiel die Sache lange im Verborgenen zu halten, bis sie Alle aus dem nun erschienenen Buche im Zusammenhange mit andern Zeichen erfahren werden, denn diese Todtenerweckung, obwohl sich Jedermann von deren Gewissheit leicht überzeugen wird, ist nur ein sehr geringes Glied in der langen Kette vieler tausend anderer Zeichen, welche Christus bei seiner jetzigen Erscheinung gethan hat und von denen so viele, als in dieses Buch, um es nicht zu gross zu machen, aufgenommen werden konnten, darin erklärt worden sind.

Es waren verschiedene Menschen von verschiedenen Zeichen Zeugen, von denen einige diese, andere jene Zeichen gesehen haben aber es hat so wenig irgend Jemand den Zusammenhang dieser Zeichen erfasst, als man das erfasst hat, wie der Tod des letzten des Präsidenten der Ver. Staaten mit andern Zeichen der jetzigen Erscheinung Christi zusammenhange, bis man auch dieses Geheimnis in Verbindung mit tausend andern Zeichen der jetzigen Erscheinung Christi aus meinem Buche verstehen lernen wird. Man hat gleich nach dem Tode des Präsidenten zu fragen angefangen, wohin das Dampfschiff, der Präsident, verschwunden sei? Auch dieser Präsident ist zur Beleuchtung der jetzigen Erscheinung Christi gerade damals in der Tiefe versunken, als ihm das Schiff mit der Urkunde des Cleophas Tobias von Europa entgegen fuhr, welche Urkunde mir Christus schicken und am Geburtstage des Kaisers von Oestreich in seinem 7. Regierungsjahr, den 19. April 1841 einhändigen liess, um mir die Verschwörung des Dr. Joseph Pletz, theologischen Studien-Directors und Burgpfarrers des österreichischen Hofes mit einigen Andern zur Verhinderung der Verbreitung meiner Bücher zu entdecken, und der Geist Christi hat mir nach Empfang dieser Urkunde gezeigt, dem Anton Alois Wolf, Fürstbische von Laibach in meinem Vaterlande Krain, das Schafskleid, womit er seine Wolfshaut bedeckte, auszuziehen und ihn in diesem Buche auf der Schaubühne in seiner wahren Gestalt allen Geistlichen zum warnenden Beispiele und zu einem viel grösseren Zeichen, als wenn ich hundert zur Beerdigung bereitete Todte zum Leben erwäckt hätte, aufzustellen, aus welchem sie lernen können, was er Ihnen wenn sie, nachdem Alles gehörig aufgeschlossen worden ist, anstatt seine Erscheinung zum allgemeinen Frieden unter alle Völker zu verbreiten, sich erfrechen würden, wie es ihr Collega Anton Alois Wolf gethan hat, die Vorbereitung derselben zu hindern, in seinem gerechten Grimme thun werde.

Es ist jedoch in dieser Anzeige nicht Raum, mehr darüber zu sagen, ausser das ich noch aus den »Vorläufigen Bemerkungen« S. 5 Folgendes anführe: »Jedermann wird sich aus diesem Buche überzeugen, dass er durch möglichst schnelle Verbreitung desselben unter den Christen grössere Verdienste erwirbt, als wenn er in die entferntesten Länder der Heiden das Evangelium predigen ginge. Da es 636 Seiten stark geworden ist so bezieht man im Einzelnen jedes Ecken und Rücken in Leder eingebundene Exemplar durch die Buchhandlungen zu 1 Dollar. Ich habe es den Buchhandlungen C. F. Stollmeier, Philadelphia, Pa. South 4th No. 64, und Samuel Colman, New York. No. 14 John Street, near Broadway, um es möglichst zu verbreiten, anempfohlen, aber zugleich den rühmlich bekannten Herrn Friedrich Klett zur Beförderung des allgemeinen Wohles ersucht, von denjenigen, welche mehrere Exemplare des Buches gegen gleiche Bezahlung so wohlfeil wie möglich zu erhalten wünschen, Geld in Empfang zu nehmen, und in Bücherverlag die Ordre zu geben, ihnen so viele Exemplare, als er Geld dafür empfängt, zu schicken. Auf diesem Wege kann man, wenn man mit der Adresse: »An Herrn Friedrich Klett, Apotheker in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Geld schickt, mein Buch Dutzendweise zu 75 Cents, oder 50 Exemplare zusammen für 30 Dollar. 100 Exemplare aber für 55 Dollars erhalten. Um diesen erhält man auf diesem Wege eingebundene Bücher, und uneingebundene, wenn man zu 100 zusammen gegen gleiche Bezahlung erlangt, erhält man jedes Exemplar für 35 Cents.« Herr Klett wird die Güte haben, die Briefe derjenigen, die ihm für meine Bücher Geld schicken werden, zu meinem Gebrauche aufzubewahren, damit ich die Verdienste derjenigen, die sich bei der Verbreitung des neuen Reiches Christi auf Erden dadurch auszeichnen werden, zum Troste ihrer spätesten Nachkommen in der Geschichte aufbewahren werden, wie auch, wenn sie es, was ich zuversichtlich erwarte, aus reiner Absicht thun, ihre Verdienste im Buche des Lebens aufgezeichnet bleiben werden.

Jeder Zeitungs-herausgeber wird ersucht, diese Ankündigungen in sein Blatt möglichst bald aufzunehmen, dafür er in der nächsten Buchhandlung 1 Exemplar dieses Buches auf meine Rechnung gegen 1 Exemplar der Nummer, welche diese Anzeige enthalten wird, zu nehmen hiermit eingeladen wird, damit die Buchhandlung die Nummer anstatt des Geldes für das Buch schicke und ich diese Nummern zur gelegenen Zeit dazu benützen werde, um bekannt zu machen, welche Zeitungs-herausgeber sich durch die Verbreitung der glorreichsten Erscheinung Christi zum allgemeinen Frieden aller Völker Verdienste gesammelt haben. Der Friede Christi mit Allen, welche sich aufrichtig zu ihm bekehren und zur Verbreitung seiner Erscheinung das thun werden, was ihnen in ihrer Lage zu thun möglich ist: im Gegentheil hat Christus durch vielfältige in dem in diesem Aufsätze angekündigten Buche erklärte Zeichen kund gethan, dass Er Alle, welche die Verbreitung seiner jetzigen Erscheinung auf was immer für eine Art hindern, aus seiner Kirche ausschliesse, und sein Apostel sagt dazu: Amen.

Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar

Philadelphia den 21. Juli 1841

Ehrwürdiger Vater!

Aus der gedruckten Anzeige sehen Sie dass ich in dem jetzt erschienenen Buche auch von Todtenerweckungen als Zeugnissen rede, dass auch Christus jetzt in Erfüllung der Zeiten so erscheine, wie ich seine Ankunft verkünde, und dass Er dabei so grosse Zeichen wirke, dass auch die Todtenerweckung als ein geringes Glied in der langen Kette von Zeichen, die jetzt geschehen, zu betrachten ist. Alle diese Zeichen geschehen so im Verborgenen, wie es Christus Offenbar. 16, 15 und auch an andern Orten der Schrift von dieser seiner Ankunft vorausgesagt hat: sie geschehen doch nicht deswegen im Verborgenen, um immer verborgen zu bleiben, sondern damit sie in der von Christus bestimmten Zeit im Zusammenhange bekannt gemacht werden. Was durch meine Bücher, die ich unter höherer Leitung schreibe, geschieht — Sie werden sich erinnern, dass ich auf meiner langen Reise, an der ich mit den Indianern in Arbre Crochue das Pfingstfest feierte dann auch Ihnen einen Besuch machte. Auf jedem Orte, den ich besuchte, geschahen viel-

fältige Zeichen und das ist auch in Economy der Fall gewesen, ohne dass Sie oder Jemand von Ihren Leuten etwas von diesen Zeichen hätte bemerken können: aber von nun an kann Jedermann auch diese Zeichen, die bei meiner Ankunft in Economy geschehen sind, aus dem jetzt erschienenen »Eines ist Noth« verstehen lernen; indem sie darin dem Willen Christi gemäss angeführt und erklärt worden sind; aber sie bilden ein noch viel geringeres Glied der langen Kette von Zeichen, die in diesem Buche erklärt worden sind, als das Zeichen der von den Todten erweckten Person; indem diese Todtenerweckung keine gemeine Todtenerweckung war, sondern mit Ausnahme der Auferstehung Christi unter allen Todtenerweckungen die allermerkwürdigste; indem die Person früher von meinem Auftritte im Namen Christi und von meinen Büchern erstaunliche Dinge weissagte und endlich zur Bestätigung, dass ihre Weissagungen gewiss in Erfüllung gehen werden, auch ihren Tod und wann sie von den Todten zum Leben erweckt werden soll. Daher ist das, was Christus bei seiner jetzigen Ankunft durch diese Person zeigen liess, viel bedeutender, als das, was Er bei meiner Anfunft in Economy zum Vorschein kommen liess; obwohl Er mir schon, ehe man meinen Koffer vom Ufer des Flusses bis zum Wirthen gebracht hat, die Tiefen Ihrer Economy und wie es mit Ihren Leuten vor den Augen unsres Herrn Jesus Christus stehe, durch Ihre eigenen Leute so aufschliessen liess, dass Sie während Ihres ganzen Aufenthaltes in Economy es zu erfahren nicht im Stande waren. Das werden Sie mir zwar nicht glauben; aber das rührt nur daher, weil Sie meine Bücher nicht studiert haben; sonst würden Sie demjenigen glauben, den Christus bei seiner jetzigen Ankunft durch Zeichen aller Art als seinen Apostel zeigen liess; wie es in den 3 Bänden, die Sie von mir gekauft haben, durch eine lange Reihe von Zeichen erwiesen worden ist. Aber Ihr vom Satan verblendeter Oekonom, der mich auch bei Ihnen sorgfältig bewachte, damit ich ihnen nichts Nützliches unter vier Augen sagen konnte, sagte mir im Voraus, dass in Ihrer Economy Niemand meine Bücher studiren werde. Ich schrieb Ihnen darum von Pittsburg einen Brief. Haben Sie ihn erhalten? Ich erhielt auf meinen Brief an Sie eine Antwort Ihres Oekonomen, die mir zum neuen Zeugnisse seiner schrecklichen Verblendung diene — dieses schreibe ich Ihnen, Vater! nicht deswegen, um Sie zu betrüben, sondern um Ihnen Gelegenheit zu verschaffen, bei der jetzigen Ankunft unsres Herrn Ihrem Berufe zu entsprechen. Das wird geschehen, wenn Sie unverzüglich den Befehl ertheilen, Ihnen mein Buch auf dem schnellsten Wege, auf dem man es von hier erhalten kann, zu schicken, damit Sie es ohne Zeitverlust durchstudieren und dann das thun, was Sie daraus lernen werden, dass jetzt Christus von Ihnen verlangt, damit Sie Ihrem Berufe gemäss mit allen Ihren Untergebenen den grössten Antheil an der Verbreitung der Botschaft der Ankunft unsres Herrn haben werden. Sie hätten sich von der Wahrheit meiner Verkündigung aus meinen früheren 3 Bänden überzeugen sollen. Da aber das nicht geschehen ist, so möchten Sie doch wenigstens jetzt so viel Zutrauen zu mir haben, nachdem Sie mich auch persönlich kennen, um gleich so viele Exemplare des jetzt erscheinenden »Eines ist Noth« kommen zu lassen, als hinreichen würden, um dieses Buch durch Ihre Leute auf verschiedenen Wegen zu verbreiten und das bis jetzt Versäumte möglich schnell einzubringen. Dieses Buch hat man gleich aus den Probebögen in die Englische Sprache zu übersetzen angefangen, und da für die Ausgabe meiner deutschen Bücher meine Erleuchteten in Boston Geld vorgestreckt haben, so lade ich hiemit Sie ein, die Ordre nach Philadelphia zu geben, es für die Englische Ausgabe gegen die Versicherung vorzustrecken, dass es aus dem Bücherverkaufe zurück bezahlt werden wird. Wenn Sie es unverzüglich thun, so werden Sie als ein Erleuchteter Andere zuvorkommen. Sollen Sie im Gegentheile Andere übertreffen, so können Sie es dann für das Weitere bei der Gründung des Reiches Christi thun. Die Briefe an mich sind an Hrn. Friedrich Klett zu schicken. Mein Name steht an der ersten Seite gedruckt etc. etc.

THE PLURALISTIC WORLD OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN

Meta Grosman

A hundred years of critical attempts to unravel the multiple meanings of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* have produced countless interpretations of this novel and of its various aspects and characteristics. Yet in spite of all this critical scrutiny, *Huckleberry Finn* seems to remain one of the most enigmatic novels in American literature. The discovery of previously unperceived complexities and dimensions only appears to generate a new necessity for further attempts at the revelation of its unsuspected depths and hidden significance. Thus, ever fresh efforts to accommodate it to our new knowledge and notions of the world not only keep transforming *Huckleberry Finn*, but also make it necessary for us to return to it with new possibilities of its understanding. The fact that the text of *Huckleberry Finn* continues to provide a challenging battleground between Mark Twain and his readers testifies to its artistic vigour and to its profound relevance for contemporary readers. This same fact also poses the question concerning its persistent and wide appeal to American readers and readers all over the world: according to some estimates more than ten million copies of this novel are read on all the continents.

It has become a critical commonplace to attribute the greatness of *Huckleberry Finn* to Twain's decision to have Huck tell his own story in his own idiom. The use of Huck as a narrator not only makes possible «the elimination of the author as an intruding presence in the story» and opens «previously unsuspected literary potentialities in the vernacular perspective», as Henry Nash Smith points out;¹ it also contributes to making the novel a complex multilayered modern text posing the questions of multiple realities and their perception, resulting from the complete removal of the narrator's filter. Various consequences of the use of Huck as a narrative person have been discussed and more or less explained, ranging from the individual characteristics of his speech to the striking overall bifocal effect which, throughout the novel, enables the reader to see and know more than Huck is ever aware of himself, since «... Huck's innocent eye perceives more than his mind can fully comprehend or his moral sense can retain.»² Despite numerous efforts, critics do not seem to have found a satisfactory explanation of this bifocal vision and its effects or an answer to the central question: why

¹ Henry Nash Smith. *Mark Twain. The Development of a Writer*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1962), p. 113.

² Albert E. Stone, Jr. *The Innocent Eye. Childhood in Mark Twain's Imagination*. (New Haven: Yale University Press; 1961), p. 150.

does Huck see things as he does? Why is he so singularly open to the experience of the world »in all its gloriously imperfect actuality« and able »to accept the world as he finds it without anxiously forcing meaning upon it?«³ Is innocence really the primary feature of his vision? And if so, where does it come from? If, however, Huck is to be regarded as more superstitious and fatalistic than innocent,⁴ how can these influences of Negro Culture be explained? Are his empiricist distrust of things and his consequent need to test everything⁵ characteristics which can be accepted without further inquiry into their origins? Are we to understand his bafflement with things and events as a mere by-product of his »inborn« innocence and naivety, or as a feature explainable in terms of his interaction with his environment?

Since the novel is told in the first person and thus offered from the opening sentence: »You don't know about me, without you have read a book...« to the last: »(The End) Yours Truly, Huck Finn.« as Huck's own words, the answers to all these questions must be sought and found in his narration only. This makes all the questions concerning Huck's linguistic behaviour most relevant for our inquiry. Why is Huck so literal-minded as to accept all statements at face value only to be comically and shockingly disillusioned when their falsity is revealed? Why does he catalogue his impressions without ever enforcing any logical links between various items, letting the objects and events pass unexplained and unrelated? Why does his narration not use the conventional apparatus of descriptive writing? Why does he merely record his experience without any attempt at rationalizing it, understanding it, or learning from it? Why is his language completely unable to deal with abstract concepts, and why can he not grasp the most elementary ethical concepts?⁶

Should we rest satisfied with Raban's explanation that »he (Huck) lives in a diffuse and various world, incapable of articulating his true motives, crippled with fatalism« and take his vernacular narrative as »the language of the marginal figure whose only response can be to stand and stare in wonder at the human chaos which surrounds him.«⁷ Or should we accept Twain's own words at face value and believe that he has simply »drawn Tom Blankenship exactly as he was... ignorant, unwashed, insufficiently fed;«⁸ and understand all of Huck's characteristics as deriving from his actual model by way of Twain's direct artistic insight, without further speculation. Should we not rather try to reach a more complex understanding of Huck

³ Leo Marx. »The Pilot and the Passenger: Landscape Conventions and the Style of *Huckleberry Finn*.« In *Mark Twain*. Ed. Henry Nash Smith. (New York: Prentice Hall, 1963), pp. 57, 58.

⁴ See Jonathan Raban. *Mark Twain Huckleberry Finn*. (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp. 16, 17, 22 and Daniel G. Hoffman. »From Black Magic — and White — in *Huckleberry Finn*.« In *Mark Twain*. Ed. Henry Nash Smith. (Prentice Hall, 1963), pp. 101—111.

⁵ William R. Manierre. »Huck Finn, Empiricist Member of Society.« *Modern Fiction Studies* 14 (1968): 57—66.

⁶ Jonathan Raban. *Mark Twain Huckleberry Finn*. (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp. 12, 15, 17, 18. Raban's illuminating description of such characteristics of Huck's language provides no explanation of their origin and consequences.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁸ *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*. Ed. Charles Neider. (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), p. 72.

closely scrutinizing what he directly and indirectly conveys to us about himself and his encounters with his world — an understanding, which based on our present extraliterary knowledge, could also account for Huck's behaviour, not only describe it. Such an attempt seems worthwhile if it can furnish further insights into and/or explanations of Huck's ways with the world and his singular manner of looking at it and recognizing in it the unsuspected pluralism of 19th century America. If it can illuminate how it is that an ignorant — uneducated and semiliterate — narrator can perceive so much and convey his perceptions so efficiently as to keep countless critics and readers busy speculating for a full century.

The absence of the omniscient narrator who would be in a position to provide authorial explanations leaves the answers to such questions concerning Huck's linguistic habits and other attitudes to the reader's deliberate imagination. In this respect *Huckleberry Finn* resembles the modern novel whose meaning — abounding with so-called places of indeterminacy to be filled in by the reader — depends on the reader's own intense participation and contribution. The reader may leave such questions unasked and unanswered, or, as so many critics have done, provide whatever answers he finds appropriate. Depending on the extent of his participation, the text will yield a more or less rich and complex meaning. The possibility of such a meaning seems to be sufficient justification for the search for such answers.

The reader's only way to understand Huck is through the latter's words and the rather scarce information he offers about himself and his responses to objects and events. In the very opening sentence of the next Huck reveals his awareness of the common linguistic practice of lying — or as he calls it »stretching« — and thus alerts the reader to the different possibilities of language which will trouble Huck throughout the novel. Later, in the first chapter, Huck reports his complete loss of interest in the Biblical story about Moses, because the widow lets it out that he has been dead a considerably long time and Huck argues that he takes no stock in dead people.⁹ He is obviously puzzled as to why she should be »a bothering about Moses, which was no kin to her, and no use to anybody, being gone . . .« and is persuaded that her interest in Moses is just as much out of place as her intolerance of his smoking.

The third chapter opens with Huck's disappointment over prayer. He wants to put it to the test, but getting only a fish-line but no hooks, and later getting no hooks after a further three trials, he decides that he simply »couldn't make in work«. In the same chapter he is deeply disappointed with playing robbers, though originally he decided to return to the »dismal, regular and decent« ways of the widow's »sivilizing« him for the very sake of participating in Tom's band of robbers. He clearly calls playing robbers pretending: »We hadn't robbed nobody, we hadn't killed any people, but only just pretended,« and declares he »could not see no profit in it.«¹⁰ Later on Huck is again puzzled because he could not see the A-rabs, elephants and things though no other child of Tom's robber band is disturbed by such problems.

⁹ Mark Twain. Samuel Langhorne Clemens. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. In *The American Tradition in Literature*, Vo 2. Ed. Sculley Bradley, Richmond Croom Beatty & E. Hudson Long. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), p. 262 Further references will be to the same edition, indicated by the title and page reference.

¹⁰ Ibid., 270.

Tom's explanation that it was all done by enchantment does not satisfy him and when his test of an old tin lamp and iron ring also does not work, Huck thinks it over for two or three days and comes to the conclusion that it must be all lies: »So then I judged that all that stuff was only one of Tom Sawyer's lies. I reckoned he believed in the A-rabs and the elephants but as for me I think different. It had all the marks of a Sunday school.«¹¹

Without further enumeration of Huck's literal-mindedness and its shocking and comical effects, we can ask ourselves which of Huck's characteristics are revealed by the events listed and his reports about them. Huck's responses to the linguistic practices of other characters and his reflections about them make it obvious that Huck has not been initiated into the usual social uses of language. Irrespective of whether we regard this as freedom from the social uses of language or as ignorance and inability to cope with them (both possibilities are used by Twain) we cannot disregard the fact that Huck's peculiar linguistic behaviour shows that he is not familiar with the accepted practice of prayer, of Biblical stories, and, above all, of the make-believe of children's games. The last seems most stressed because it sets Huck apart from all the other children who can easily participate in the make-believe world and its linguistic practices, and is additionally offset by Tom's absolute trust in words as the ultimate authority more important than reality, even when the meaning of words is unknown.¹²

To be able to understand the full significance of this characteristic for Huck and for his vision of the people and the world we must first consider when a child normally acquires social uses of language and describe the usual consequences of the proper acquisition of the same for his personal development and relationship to the world. Psychology and the sociology of knowledge claim that children normally acquire such uses of language in the formative years of early childhood. Along with them they internalize the concept of objective reality which later underlies and forms all their expectations of what is (un)likely to happen. This process is usually conceived as primary socialization, in which the parents introduce their children to the social knowledge of »what everyone knows« and transmit to them »the knowledge that is learned in the course of socialization and that mediates the internalization within individual consciousness of the objectivated structures of the social world.«¹³ This same process helps the child to acquire a subjectively coherent and plausible identity by identification with parents or significant others. In carrying out this process language plays the most important role, since the world can only be objectified through language and the cognitive apparatus based on language, by means of which objects are ordered so as to be apprehended as reality. The child's internalization of identity and of objective reality are thus concurrent with the internalization of the uses of language which »constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialization.«¹⁴ Participation in the social stock of knowledge, made available by primary socialization, also

¹¹ Ibid., 271—2.

¹² See, *ibid.*, 268 the discussion what the unknown word »ransomed« could mean.

¹³ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* (New York: Doubleday & Co, 1967), p. 66.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 133.

»permits location' of individuals in society and the 'handling' of them in appropriate manner«... »The social stock of knowledge further supplies (every individual) with the typificatory schemes required for the major routines of everyday life not only typification of others... but typifications of all sorts of events and experiences both social and natural.«¹⁵ The acquisition of such knowledge has a double function, on the one hand it provides ready-made labels which make identification of people and phenomena much easier and faster; on the other, it also furnishes feelings of security, of being inside a wider community of shared beliefs and opinions.

If we inspect Huck's literal-mindedness and inability to participate in the accepted uses of language in the light of these descriptions of the effects of primary socialization, we can safely conclude that these characteristics of his betray his lack of primary socialization. Before we pass to the examination of other consequences of this lack for his narration and his entire vision of the world, we should point out that his story clearly supports this interpretation. Huck has no parents to enforce his primary socialization. With his mother dead the only parental influence upon him is exerted during Pap's intermittent appearances. A town drunkard and social outcast Pap is thoroughly antisocial and can only provide a model of behaviour and morals for rather limited types of situation. In such situations Huck persistently uses Pap's »logic«, for instance when he conceives of stealing as »borrowing«. From him Huck has the officially accepted attitudes to negro slaves and a considerable knowledge of the behaviour of drunkards and frauds,¹⁶ but no knowledge of how to behave in the company of other humans, children or grown-ups. Hence his difficulties not only in the grown-up world of the widow and with Jim, but also in the children's make-believe world. Differently from Pap, however, he craves human company and suffers when he experiences loneliness.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Pap's one and only described parental intervention in Huck's upbringing — besides inhuman beating — is directed at preventing Huck's acquisition of reading, i.e. his ability to handle language more efficiently. To give weight to his argument Pap, on this occasion, resorts to the authority of Huck's dead mother who is mentioned nowhere else in the entire text of the novel:

»Your mother couldn't read, and she couldn't write nuther, before she died. None of the family couldn't, before *they* died. I can't; and here you're a-swelling yourself like this. I ain't the man to stand it — you hear?«¹⁷

Instead of the socially shared knowledge of his white community Huck has obviously acquired a considerable knowledge of Negro signs, portents and hidden meanings from his association with negroes and from Pap. His association with negro culture can be held responsible for his superstitiousness, non-rationalism and occasional fatalism, and, in a way, it also prepares

¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 42—3.

¹⁶ *Huckleberry Finn*, p. 357: »If I never learnt nothing else out of Pap, I learnt that the best way to get along with his kind of people is to let them have their own way.« See also Mark Twain. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 116: »When he is full, you might take and belt him over the head with a church and you couldn't phase him. He says so, his own self.«

¹⁷ *Huckleberry Finn*, p. 276.

him for his relationship with Jim, which would be hard to accept without his previous acquaintance with it. Thus it is functionally and structurally justifiable, though its extent and precise role are hard to determine, but to describe Huck as an »aficionado« of negro culture may well be exaggerated.¹⁸

The respectable world of Tom's and the widow is the third influence contributing to Huck's pluralistic outlook. The widow's influence is too late and too brief to be of great significance. It remains rather superficial and easy to forget. Tom's presence can be, as we have seen, the origin of conflict for Huck, so Tom is mostly revered in his absence as a standard of behaviour and especially style, when there is no possibility of conflict and no need for Huck to submit.¹⁹

The possession of such mixed knowledge and attitudes without any systematic primary socialization, which would prepare Huck for the »normal« ways of the world makes his encounters with other people a constant source of bafflement to him and of amused laughter for the reader who is naturally well acquainted with all such ways through his own primary socialization. Since Huck has at his disposal no typificatory labels which would help him to »understand« his encounters and »place« the encountered people, the latter remain for him bewildering in their unpredictable differentness and unknowability; their unsuspected corruption and stupidity take too many forms to permit any integration into an ordered picture of society from which Huck could learn. The integrating effort — the unification and understanding of Huck's experience — has to be performed by the reader himself, who in this way comes to see more than Huck: not only the pluralism of many different people and events but also the reasons for Huck's inability to understand what he sees.

Because of his lacking primary socialization and resulting tendency to pluralism, Huck is unable to impose any such order on his individual impressions, his knowledge is not sufficient for him to »handle« his social reality. In this way Huck can only see the rich natural plurality of the people, each inhabiting the limited world of his own selfish interests. This plurality — which is usually covered by typificatory labels and blurred by consequent expectations — seems to be magnified by Huck's inability to comprehend it, by his willingness to accept it as it is without too much questioning or effort at understanding.

Thus, for instance, listening to the widow's and Miss Watson's different discussions of Providence Huck reaches what is for him the only available conclusion that there must be two Providences: »I could see that there was

¹⁸ Jonathan Raban. *Mark Twain Huckleberry Finn*. (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p. 16. In *Tom Sawyer* Huck tells Tom about his experiences of Roger's nigger Uncle Jake: »I tote water for Uncle Jake whenever he wants me to, and any time I ask him he gives me a little something to eat if he can spare it. That's a mighty good nigger, Tom. He likes me, becuz I don't ever act as if I was above him. But you needn't tell that...« The question of the influence of negro culture on Huck's upbringing is too complicated to be discussed here. The role of slaves in early upbringing was probably much stronger than it was expected to be.

¹⁹ Whereas in *Tom Sawyer*, Tom seems to occupy the position of Huck's closest friend (see p. 229: Discussing Tom's marriage Huck confesses:«... Only if you get married I'll be more lonesomer than ever.«), in *Huckleberry Finn*, Huck comes to be quite critical of his lies and interest in style. Only when Tom is physically absent does he come to represent for Huck, and for Jim, the standard of the respectable boy and cleverness.

two Providences, and a poor chap would stand a considerable show with the widow's Providence, but if Miss Watson's got him there warn't no help for him any more.«²⁰ Unacquainted with the possibilities of different language uses, Huck simply cannot integrate two representations of the same concept into one Providence. Such situations make the reader laugh over their irony; for Huck, however, they remain truly confusing and disturbing. So he duly reports his inability to handle them: after his consideration of the possible meanings of »spiritual gifts«, he can only go to the woods, turn it over in his mind for a long time, and, seeing no advantage in it, worry no more but just let it go,²¹ or, as we would say today, resort to self-protective forgetting.

When Huck moves away from the relatively innocent world of children's make-believe and the basically benign »sivilizing«, society of the widow, his encounters with the various representatives of the corrupt shore society result in ever more bewildering doubt and conflicts which on some occasions acquire truly grotesque dimensions. In order to explain his unaccountable position on the raft amidst the Mississippi he has to pretend, and assume a number of false identities. To make these believable he resorts to exaggerated lying, even though he has previously disproved such behaviour on part of Tom.

Discussing Huck's attitude to lying Thomas Brooks claims that it is necessary for Huck »to adopt the same methods of deceit and role playing that makes the world of the shore so repulsive« in order to combat society's hypocrisy and to find his own way through a world of socially imposed lies. Since Huck is really »forced to use a language system that is not his own« whenever he opens his mouth, Brooks maintains that Huck's real choice is not between the true speech of the raft and the false speech of the shore but rather between speech and silence.²² If we accept the view that Huck must lie in order to come to terms with the society of the shore on its own lying terms, it seems more important to call attention to his inability to lie really efficiently. His numerous attempts at lying usually make him extremely uncomfortable and produce additional trouble for him. This situation is repeated several times from his first attempt at lying to Mrs. Loftus to the eventual explicit admonition of the lawyer Levy Bell:

»Set down, my boy, I wouldn't strain myself, if I was you. I reckon you ain't used to lying, it don't seem to come handy; what you want is practice. You do it pretty awkward.«²³

In both situations in which he invents different names and identities for himself he fails to remember his own other name. His inability to lie more effectively cannot be sufficiently explained by his innocence or naivete, it rather seems to indicate that his lying must be viewed as an unsuccessful effort at imitating the lying habits of other people, as a superficial practice poorly mastered because it has been acquired without the timely initiation in the true art of lying in his early youth.

²⁰ *Huckleberry Finn*, p. 270.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

²² Thomas Brooks. »Language and Identity in the Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.« *Mark Twain Journal* 20. 3 (1981): 17. Lionel Trilling believes that Huck has to lie in order to protect the relationship on the raft. See *The Liberal Imagination*. (New York: The Viking Press, 1951), p. 109.

²³ *Huckleberry Finn*, p. 411.

The inability to lie efficiently sets Huck apart from all the people he encounters. These people exemplify different attitudes and values, thus revealing a picturesque pluralistic society, from the cunning but good-hearted Mrs. Loftus, the real robbers on the wreck of the *Walter Scott*, the two slave hunters willing to make up with money for their lack of humanity, to the Grangerfords and the Sheperdsons sincerely believing in the values of honour and gentility, and the two fraudulent role-players the Duke and the King. Yet they all share a common characteristic: in contrast to Huck they are all very efficient users of conventional language, especially lying, usually obtaining what they want, be it self-delusion or cheating of others.

Amidst this incomprehensible and bewildering variety of people Huck develops no capacity for coping with them more adequately in terms of their linguistic habits of lying and deluding themselves and others. Nor does he ever understand and integrate his impressions of them into a unified picture of the shortcomings of the human race. Unused to seeing the world in terms of such ordered images of reality he feels no need to see it in this way. Indeed, he seems to lack the very ability of verbal processing and the impulse of »putting the world together« verbally. Thus his experiences of other people and events come to him piece-meal and remain essentially fragmented, never inducing in him any attempt at ordering them into a meaningful idea of society.

When Huck's inability to participate in the socially accepted uses of language is noticed by other characters, they find in it an expression of his stupidity and reproach him for his ignorance. Thus Miss Watson calls him a fool for his putting prayer to a practical test, and Tom on several occasions explicitly accuses him of ignorance. When Huck reveals his disbelief in the make-believe world of the other children Tom immediately puts it down to Huck's ignorance:

»Shucks, it ain't no use to talk to you Huck Finn. You don't seem to know anything, somehow — perfect sap-head.«²⁴

Later on, in their plan to free Jim, Tom explicitly tells him that he would keep still, if he was as ignorant as Huck and maintains a position of superiority due to his knowledge:

»It might answer for you to dig Jim out with a pick, *without* any letting-on, because you don't know no better; but it wouldn't for me, because I do know better.«²⁵

Huck, however, simply accepts the consequences of his upbringing, and believes it too late for him to reform himself. After the failure of his attempt to do right and report Jim he reflects:

»I see it warn't no use for me to try to learn to do right; a body that don't get *started* right when he's little, ain't got no show — when the pinch comes there ain't nothing to back him up and keep him to his work, and so he gets beat.«²⁶

²⁴ Ibid., 272. See also pp. 441 and 442: »Oh, shucks, Huck Finn, if I was as ignorant as you, I'd keep still — that's what I'd do...«

²⁵ Ibid., p. 447.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 331.

Later on, when his conscience troubles him because of his decision to help Jim, he again blames it all on his upbringing:

»Well, I tried the best I could to kinder soften it up somehow for myself, by saying I was brung up wicked, and so warn't so much to blame; but something inside of me kept saying...«²⁷

Though he himself does not seem to care too much for upbringing, he obviously attributes some considerable importance to it: he clearly reports his inability to understand how Tom »could help a body set a nigger free, with his bringing-up.«²⁸

In such a frame of mind — with a mixture of attitudes and no power to understand (i.e. impose order on) his experience — Huck can only resort to one solution, to his urgent and almost automatic wish to be out of the situation in which he finds himself. This wish comes to be the basic pattern of his reactions to all troublesome situations. His narration very appropriately ends with this very solution to the last threatening situation, the possibility of his being »sivilized« again: »But I recon I got to light out for the Territory ahead of the rest...« Unable to reach any understanding of his experience Huck never takes to evaluating or even moralizing about them, he can only directly report the various shades of his feelings after each of his encounters. In this way the reader is offered a unique collection of concise descriptions of loneliness, sadness, and other states of fear, bafflement and disgust. Many of these descriptions — when he felt so lonesome he most wished he was dead, or down-hearted and scared, or most ready to cry, uneasy, and shaking like a leaf, solemn and all in a cold sweat, all over trembly and feverish, or mean and miserable to most wish he was dead, or so sick he most fell out of the tree, or orney and low down mean, blue, or when he cries and cannot help it, or he is made to shiver and wish he was dead, or when he felt his heart fell down his lungs and livers and the things²⁹ — reveal Huck's helpless wonder at the incomprehensible world around him. They may also make the reader realize that Huck, like other fourteen-year-old heroes, has not yet learnt that in order to keep one's own individuality one must be able to tolerate a considerable amount of loneliness.

It is entirely up to the reader to see more: not only to see what Huck sees and experiences, but also to see the special conditions under which he sees which can reveal his entire vision in a new light. If readers come to realize that Huck's vision is not merely the vision of a typical innocent narrator, but rather the vision of a boy uninfluenced by primary socialization and accordingly totally uninhibited by the traditionally transmitted ways of seeing the world and people in it, they can see this vision in all its peculiar beauty and uniqueness. They can also begin to consider what determines this vision: both Huck's and their own. Unfiltered by the usual typificatory labels for people and — distrustful of words — penetrating beyond their false verbal armour Huck's encounters with people reveal an unprecedented plurality of human interests and outlooks. Huck's picture of unmodified diversity, complexity and also corruption, devoid of all hope of order, seems

²⁷ Ibid., p. 421 see also 423.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 479.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 263, 267, 305, 306, 310, 314, 327, 328, 349, 394, 397, 420, 422, 426, 450.

less disturbing for readers today who have a different attitude to pluralism from that which Huck or his contemporaneous readers and critics had.

Huck's uninhibited way of looking at the world is especially fascinating in his contacts with nature. He sees it directly, not through language or any socially conditioned expectations of what things »really« are or should be like. When he comes to Jackson's island his perception seems to come alive in a new way and his unforgettable descriptions of the river and the life on the raft reveal an openness to immediate experience, without the least interference of any preconceived ideas of the »beauty« of nature. These descriptions obviously provide such a rich source of pleasure for the readers that many critics have quite understandably felt resentful about Huck's return to the shore.

Disrespectful of all accepted concepts of looking at the world, Huck's vision of his fragmented and pluralistic world remains a challenge not only to all such concepts but also to the very process of social transfer and maintenance of such concepts. Though readers are most likely to begin reading *Huckleberry Finn* fully relying on their own concepts of reality and the ways in which the world is ordered thereby, they may — having experienced to the full Huck's unique vision — end up reading with questions about the arbitrariness of their own concepts and any other concepts and ways with the world and about the illusory nature of order. The appeal of Huck's narrative seems to draw its enduring force from our inborn distrust of all socializing influences which make our socialized conscious selves conform to the social rules and the official vision of reality, but which cannot erase our subconscious craving for, and consequent enjoyment of, the unsocialized, unrestricted and uninhibited direct experience of things as seen and reported by Huck. Such subversive messages of Huck's vision become most powerful only at the more complicated strata of its meaning: if readers come to recognize the conditions of Huck's vision as a significant structuring force which, when recognized, helps them to see and organize the text in its light.³⁰ At this level of reading *Huckleberry Finn* is transformed from the 19th century novel as mimesis into a modern novel as a structure which enables readers to understand how they make sense of the world.³¹

³⁰ See Roland Barthes. *S/Z* (Paris: Seuil 1970), p. 82.

³¹ Jonathan Culler. *Structuralist Poetics*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 238.

NOTES ON »THE LITTLE GUGU FROG«: AN AFTERWORD
TO LOUIS ADAMIC'S *LUCAS, KING OF THE BALUCAS*

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Louis Adamic's story of the »King« of the Philippine Negrito tribe called The Balucas was first published under the title »Philippine Interlude« in the magazine *Plain Talk* for March, 1930.¹ During the next two years, *Modra ptica* printed the story in a translation by Griša Koritnik; and L. Mattersburger's translation appeared in *Der Wiener Tag*.² In March of 1935, Arthur Whipple also published Adamic's Philippine story as the small book *Lucas, King of the Balucas*. Whipple's edition, bound in boards, quarter cloth, was approximately 6 × 7 inches (8 vo), printed on »Strathmore Wayside Text: USA« paper, and paginated [1—5] 6—22 [23—25]. On p. [25] was the information that Whipple had made 350 copies of the work at Los Angeles and that the »woodcuts,« which appeared on pages [5] and [23], had been executed by »Eizzil,« a name sounding like the word *easel* and created from the name of the artist, Elizabeth Whipple. The front inside fold of a dust wrapper for the book described Adamic's work as »The Story of a Curious Monarch« and gave the price of the volume as \$ 1.00. In 1986, a Slovene version of the Whipple edition, translated by Tine Kurent and illustrated by Marijan Amalietti, was published by Prešernova družba in Ljubljana under the title *Lucas, Kralj Balukov*.

Adamic had become associated with Arthur Whipple in 1933 when Whipple decided to begin a small press in California and sought texts from friends and others linked to the Los Angeles area.³ It was specifically for Whipple's venture that Carey McWilliams wrote *Louis Adamic and Shndow-America*, and that arrangement led Adamic to send Whipple the material that became *Struggle*.⁴ Whether Adamic gave Whipple the Philippine story at the same time he sent *Struggle* or provided it later in exchange for Whipple's allowing Tomorrow Publishers in New York to reprint *Struggle* in

¹ Vol. 6, 303—08.

² »Kralj Lukaš,« 3 (1931—32), 257—63, and »Philippinsches Zwischenspiel,« 17. June, 1932, resp.

³ *Doctor Aurelius Vanderdonk* by Wilbur Needham, foreword by Paul Jordan-Smith (both acquaintances of Adamic), which Whipple announced for 1935 publication is an example of material the search produced.

⁴ McWilliams (Los Angeles: Arthur Whipple, 1935). Henry A. Christian, »Adamic's *Struggle*: The International History of a 'Radical' Pamphlet« in Janez Stanonik, ed., *Louis Adamič: Simpozij: Symposium* (Ljubljana: Tiskala Univerzitetna tiskarna, 1981), pp. 323—44, gives details of the publication.

1935 is not known, but by 1935 Adamic clearly intended to have Whipple publish a collection of short pieces to be titled *Encounters in Yugoslavia* — a »Sequel to ,The Native's Return.'«⁵ Whatever the exact case, and despite the absence of a manuscript for the story, it seems fairly clear that Whipple's volume most closely represents the story as Adamic wrote it and therefore should be considered the definitive text.

By their titles alone, the two translations which appeared between 1930 and 1935 suggest that *Der Wiener Tag* printed a rendering of the *Plain Talk* text and Koritnik worked from a text probably brought by Adamic to Yugoslavia in 1932 and later supplied, with some additional editing, to Whipple once Adamic had returned to America. Despite the order of publication, the differences between the *Plain Talk* version and the 1935 printing indicate the authority of the Whipple-edition. In nearly fifty instances the first version contains either omissions, alterations, or additions to the text Whipple printed. Foremost of these is of course the difference in titles. *Lucas, King of the Balucas* aptly captures the idea of »the story of a curious monarch,« but the earlier »Philippine Interlude« better expresses the dual facets of the story: the »few hours in Manila« during which the narrator and Weber met (p. [5]); and Lucas, in whom Weber believes nature has concentrated »all the cunning the race ever had« to create »A cruel sort of interlude« (p. 17).⁶ If the *Plain Talk* title is not an editorial creation of the magazine — which seems unlikely — it is difficult to understand why Adamic later chose a less creative title that emphasized only Lucas, unless he simply wanted subsequent versions to have a different title. The next significant difference occurs in the narrator's initial discussion of Weber (p. 6). In *Plain Talk* these two paragraphs are in the present tense; in *Lucas*, the past tense is used. The Whipple version therefore concludes: »He had been in the Islands since the War.« The *Plain Talk* text of course uses »has been« and continued the sentence to read »and possibly, when he retires, in a few years, he will remain there.« The Whipple version clearly delivers a greater sense of temporal distance between the Manila meeting sometime in the past and the omni-present time of the narrator's telling the story to the reader. A third and more revealing difference has to do with Weber's language. However strong the indication of candidness implied in its title, the magazine *Plain Talk* evidently preferred its pages to carry something less straightforward than the soldierly talk of Weber, whose conversation is repeated by the unnamed narrator. In *Lucas*, Weber states »some soldier, no doubt« named the mountain range »Mary's Teats« (p. 7). *Plain Talk* skips the soldier and consistently refers to the mountains as »Mary's Bosom.« In Weber's description of the Negritos, *Plain Talk* omits calling their »clumsy« feet »in-turned« (p. 8) and deletes the following sentence: »Not what could be called an attractive-looking race, by any stretch of imagination.« As the story progresses, *Plain Talk* does not mention that the Balucas males and females were often naked, that Weber paused to drink and light a cigarette (p. 9), or that among the obscenities the soldiers shouted at Lucas were »Lucas old

⁵ The work is so listed among »Books by Louis Adamic« on the back inside fold of the dust wrapper for *Lucas*. For details of this proposed work see Christian, »Adamičevi prevodi in izbor jugoslovanskih zgodb,« trans. Tine Kurent, *Zbornik Občine Grosuplje*, 10 (1978), 215—30.

⁶ As here, subsequent page references to the Whipple text appear in parentheses.

cock« and questions regarding the queen's still giving »her nookie« (p. 15). Nor did *Plain Talk* allow the soldiers to try »to goose« Lucas (p. 16) nor let Weber explain the wet automobile upholstery by the sentence »the queen had pee'd all over« (p. 19).

These and other differences — »old pigmy« rather than »old black pigmy« (p. 19), for example — are sufficient to illustrate that *Plain Talk* somewhat sanitized American soldiers and softened the portrait of the Negrito Balucas tribe, but not to the extent of deleting the bias word *nigger*. None of the changes by the magazine substantially harmed the meaning of the story, but they did cause the magazine version to lose an important extra measure of realism regarding Weber and the contrast between the milieu in which he exists and the actions he performs. Weber begins his story with a grin, »and from the average white man's viewpoint,« he later admits, »Lucas is a funny sight« (p. 15). Even late in his tale Weber concedes »(Go on and laugh; I know that it's funny myself) (p. 21), because Weber must be both the person who can »get a big kick out of taking the money from the yahoos, the soldiers who make fun of Lucas« and the person who must sustain his having »a little feeling for the old black pygmy« in the eyes and ears of the narrator. Just as Jackson, the American Negro saloonkeeper, »a big man in more ways than one,« helped Weber »to understand King Lucas and appreciate him« (p. 20), so must Weber now make the narrator and through him the reader understand and appreciate a compassion which gives meaning to the lighthearted remark: »To meet you here today ... it's been necessary for me to let a kingdom starve« (p. [5]); a sensibility which makes Weber worry: »if I don't come on the five-ten Jackson and Lucas may be thinking I'm not coming ...« (p. [23]).

The date of the *Plain Talk* publication of the King Lucas story coincides with a difficult period in Adamic's life. In 1929 he had left the familiarity of nearly a decade in San Pedro, California, to move to New York City, where he labored for a year on revisions of the manuscript which became *Dynamite*. Although he soon began to find new subjects and improved markets for his writing, most of his publications during 1930 were works which had been written earlier and represented another time in his life. The King Lucas story is such a work. It harks back to his *American Mercury* style and compositions based on his army experiences such as »Superman« and »The Man with the Big Head« — works which would in 1932 constitute a large portion of *Laughing in the Jungle*.⁷ Weber's use of the words *lingo* and *yahoo* (pp. 7, 21), for example, is Menckinish; and the whole Lucas story bears traces of the kind of humor Adamic exercised in »The Enigma« or the pathos of »A Bohunk Woman.«⁸ Lucas also contains internal evidence of the man Adamic, a characteristic that can be found in his work even as late as 1935 in *Grandsons*. Weber is »Somewhat of a romantic« (p. 6), as Adamic once thought of himself. Just as the books Blakelock is ordered to discard in »Superman« are works Adamic had once perused, so too are Weber's literary interests — »Conrad, Tomlinson, McFee, W. H. Hudson, Cabell, Mencken« (p. 6) — part of Adamic's real life eclectic reading during the 1920's. Also like

⁷ *American Mercury*, 15 (Dec. 1928), 438—49, and *Plain Talk*, 7 (Aug. 1930), 183—92, resp.

⁸ *American Mercury*, 20 (May 1930), 68—79, and 19 (March 1930), 281—86, resp.

Blakelock, Weber »was really an unusual man to give the best part of his life to the Army« (p. 6); but as Weber explains, »Soldiering, perhaps, is no more futile than any other occupation'« (p. 6).⁹ Although Adamic eventually believed otherwise about army life, there is perhaps nowhere in his writing that the author comes closer to explaining the fact that after the Armistice Adamic remained in military service until January of 1923. Furthermore, in all Adamic's writings, his military service in the Pacific or later in San Pedro is ignored. Even the narrator who meets Weber in Manila is now a civilian acquaintance. The story of King Lucas is, therefore, unique because it is the only Adamic publication that even hints at the author's having been west of California.

Not that there is any evidence Adamic ever was in the Philippines. He arrived for duty in Honolulu on September 25, 1920, and left Hawaii's Schofield Barracks for the United States on September 26, 1921.¹⁰ Even had his passage to or from Hawaii included a stop in Manila — a most unlikely route — that would hardly have supplied the materials for Weber's story. But Adamic's service in Hawaii and later in San Pedro did offer more than ample opportunity for him to hear and transform stories of the Philippines from fellow soldiers. At one point Weber describes the Negritos as »miniature editions of primitive niggers one sees in geographic magazines« (p. 7). Much in *Lucas, King of the Balucas* implies the same kind of source. The ethnological mystery of the Negritos' pre-Malayan arrival in the islands, references to the Tagalog language, mention of Luzon, the town of Angeles, the Bamban River, *barrios*, and the American Administration and the Filipino Government — these are standard pictorial and encyclopedic details of Adamic's early days that have not very much altered since. But the deeper weave of the composition is Adamic's familiarity with the army, his ability to tell a story, and his sensibilities. Whether there was a thread of truth somewhere that became Lucas or some of his exploits cannot be known. But »Mary's Teats« is clearly a fitting vernacular alteration of the Luzon town Concepcion and its surrounding landscape, »about fifteen kilometers« from Angeles (p. 22). Similarly, the true aboriginal inhabitants of the Philippines, called the Aetas or Balugas, either by design or mispronunciation became the Balucas who are first befriended by someone whose name allows the otherwise nameless leader of the pygmy tribe to stress his people's verbal link to an American white leader of colored troops and eventually take to himself the title Colonel Lucas, King of the Balucas (p. 11). Then too, however convenient the sound of the Colonel's name, it might be noted that Special Orders No. 227 for December 1, 1921, at Fort MacArthur, California, announced the promotion to the rank of corporal of two soldiers — Private Adamic and Private 1st Class Joseph H. Lucas. Such are the fashionings of the writer.

None of the aforesaid can or should distract the reader from *Lucas, King of the Balucas* itself. Through a double narrative constructed of engaging, rhythmic, conversational prose equal to any written in America, the story is simply *told*. Weber has already broken through the barrier of negative words like »nigger,« which he nevertheless realistically continues to use.

⁹ The *Plain Talk* text reads »no more futile a racket than,« and the colloquialism *racket* harks back to Adamic's early writing for Haldeman-Julius.

¹⁰ Information from U.S. Army Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri, now in this author's possession.

For nine years he has with Jackson been performing what can still be called corporeal works of mercy toward Lucas and his people. Both the narrator and the reader understand Weber's comment: »I'm not so much sorry for the Balucas as I'm ashamed the way white men treat Lucas« (p. 20). Thus narrator and reader are each left to his own sensibilities for a silent response beyond the close of the story. Whether that response should be in terms of *Lucas, King of the Balucas* as a metaphor is difficult to determine. Weber has said »Then, too, in a way that, perhaps, I can't make quite clear, Lucas has begun to personify for me the whole inevitable tragedy of these black and brown peoples in relation to the so-called civilized whites« (p. 20). Certainly the role of the United States in 1930 in the Philippines is implicit in the story. Meaningful too is the link between Colonel Lucas, Weber, the American Negro Jackson, and the »little gugu frog« King Lucas in respect to race relations at the time within the United States.¹¹ Yet what threatens Lucas as much as colonial neglect is not the white man but the localized trials of age, ignorance, famine, hypocrisy, politics, other Negrito tribes, and a bias perhaps initiated by troops who are as black as he. It may therefore be best for readers to listen. to Weber more than once before attempting to seek more specific parallels. Just what interpretations Adamic wished the story to engender may be pondered somewhat by noting one last portion of the Whipple edition. In 1931, Adamic met the black scholar Abram Lincoln Harris. Co-author with Sterling Spero of *Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement*, Harris later wrote *The Negro as Capitalist* (1937) and taught economics at Howard University in Washington, D. C. For the little book version of the Lucas story in 1935, Adamic decided the dedication page should read »To Abram Harris« (p. [3]).

¹¹ The term »gugu« was an Americanism for a Filipino; Adamic learned the term either in the army or from *The American Mercury* or its editor H. L. Mencken who included the usage in his *The American Language*.

JUNG'S SCIENCE IN ANSWER TO JOB AND THE HINDU MATRIX OF FORM

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No single work of Jung's, or indeed of analytic psychology, has inspired more controversy among scientist and theologian alike than *Answer to Job* (*Antwort auf Hiob*). Aside from Jung's own brand of cabalistic and Biblical references from Genesis to Apocalypse, the text is unusually devoid of proper nouns and terminology. Consequently, the reader must be relatively steeped in the Jungian canon to properly situate the writer's thought. Over its rambling course, the purpose of that complex essay emerges as an attempt to differentiate what is real from what exists («Matter is an hypothesis»). This abstract distinction is epitomized and dramatized through the profoundly perplexing encounter of creature and Creator, and through other momentous pairs of opposites drawn from Eastern and Western creation mythologies. In the Prefatory Note for *Answer to Job*, Jung cryptically volunteers that the inspiration for the book derived from the »problems of Christ as a symbolic figure... represented in the traditional zodiacal symbolism of the two fishes.« Such images, we are told in a well known formulation, »clearly relate to a few basic principles or archetypes« of which the deep structure is »unknowable as such.« As the essay progresses, the formulation of this iconology becomes sharper:

Religion means precisely the function which links us back to the eternal myth... myth is not fiction: it consists of facts that are continually repeated. The fact that the life of Christ is largely myth does absolutely nothing to disprove its factual truth — quite the contrary. I would even go so far as to say that the mythical character of a life is just what expresses its universal human validity. It is a *symbolum*, a bringing together of heterogeneous natures.¹

Despite this emerging clarity, the enigmatic allusion to icons of Christological myth partly accounts for the philosophical fuzziness (e. g., the ontological status of the nonphysical) with which Jung is still occasionally charged. Yet such mythological motifs enrich our understanding of the operation of contentious but basic terms in the lexicon of analytic psychology. What some

¹ All citations in the text are to the *Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967). Page citations alone are to *Answer to Job* in volume 11 of that edition.

see as a loss of skeptical scientific rigor is actually an attempted return to a para- or pre-mechanistic theological attitude of mind, which is best apprehended through essential tenets of Eastern philosophy and myth. At the same time, as the Jung/Freud correspondence makes clear, Jung's polyvalent references correspond roughly to the shift of attention in twentieth-century physical sciences from calibrated ratios and proportions to variable functions. This search for analogy between scientific paradigm and mystic symbol has important implications for grasping the values that Jung invests in essential symbols, for appreciating their function in his text, and ultimately for understanding non-linguistic roots of modern deconstruction.

In the study of maxima and minima functions in mathematics, for instance, unusual and unique trial values are substituted for one variable at a time. The result effects the values assumed by the other variables and by the whole function. Sometimes the result is an indeterminate or nonsensical expression; and sometimes it is a transformation into another class of signifiers whose unsuspected relations to the original class is thus discovered, a clarification or exemplification of the properties of the ideas involved. Accordingly, the physical universe is increasingly taken for an organism of organisms, as Jung foresaw in his letters, an organic mechanism in which biological function and mathematical function are comparable. In *Job* and elsewhere Jung propounds psychological analogies with the biosphere in order to countervail against an exclusive determinism in physics. Through a dogmatic application held over from the waning nineteenth century, this determinism was applied uncritically to fields in the humanities and social sciences. The fallacy, as Jung perceived and demythologized it, is simple: take any formula, find a similar form or plastic material, select a suitable analogy, condense the analogy to a metaphor, take the metaphor literally, and you have a scientific philosophy. The solar system was thus derived from conic sections (originally: from Rig Vedic icons), and Bohr's atom from the solar system. Thus did the analogy of the world to an organic mechanism enter psychology as *Gestalten* or forms devouring the faculties of the soul, the complexes of the psyche, and the reflexes of the nervous system. Thus did the Marxist theory of history originate in both mechanics and Christian theology.

Most recently, *Job* has become the center of renewed attention by Mary Wolff-Salin in *No Other Light: Points of Convergence in Psychology and Spirituality*.² Concentrating largely on the Apocalypse, Wolff-Salin's underlying thesis is acceptable enough: »In order to respond to this book, one has to understand it.« The point is well taken that »[Jung] is writing psychology based on empirical experience.« We will see that the observation places Jung squarely within the tradition of philosophical rationalism (but with an important qualification), which from Pythagoras through Plato to Kant had insisted that all knowledge be constructed after the pattern of Euclidean geometry. The essence of the qualification is the fact that since the advent of non-Euclidean geometry in the late nineteenth century, mathematical geometry has been reduced to analytic truth, whereas synthetic geometry has been surrendered to empiricism; Jung's implicit commentary in *Job* on this dualism has important implications for the psychology of geometric form. Yet Wolff-Salin's search for clues to the core of Jung's cryptic theory about the law of opposites

² (New York: Crossroad, 1986). Her argument has been condensed in the lead article of *Books and Religion* 14 (October, 1986), 1, 4, 14–15.

tends to discuss the exceptional opaqueness of Jung's allusions seriatim without finding a unifying image, metaphor or idea. The ambivalent nature of Yahweh — transcendent yet immanent, wholly prior to yet fulfilled through creation — which emerges in the fundamental concept of Sophia/Wisdom is left in shadow, merely juxtaposed to the mysterious pact of Virgin and Son without illuminating it. Jung's sense of urgency («There must be some dire necessity responsible for the anamnesis of Sophia») is more observed than explicated. And the possible Eastern mythological derivation of such a Creator is queried yet left unresolved in its isolation.

As *Job* unfolds, it is apparent that Jung's essay is really about the subjugation of the Old Adam to the dualistic «pairs of opposites» and the anamnesis (re-membrance) of the New. From its prefiguration in Daniel to its sanctioned prophecy in the Apocalypse, the most arresting symbolic representation of this coexistence is Christ of the Apocalypse seated in the almond-shaped womb (*mandorla*) of the universe as the form of Pisces, attended by the mythical beasts of the zodiac quadrants in the measuring wheel of time (p. 383). In the *mandorla* of the virginal womb, *Christos* opens the door of light, through contemplation of the humble or invisible world, as the passage beyond form to a new perception of being. Pisces is the end of the signs of the zodiac and thus of the domination of the spirit by the stars; the coming of the Christian era coincides approximately with the entry of the sun into Pisces in the equinoctial procession, as derived from the myths and philosophy of Babylonian mathematical speculation. Pisces thus represents both fulfillment and dissolution, and therefore as the Christian sign it marks the dissolution of the spirit's subjection to elemental forces. Although the *mandorla* was found by nineteenth-century art history to be the standard measuring unit of Gothic architectural sculpture, and from Augustine through Dante symbolizes the incarnation of Christ triumphant (*Paradiso* 26: 2), Jung uses it as a polymorphous icon precisely to undermine dogmatic formulations by discussing its separable features in concert with earlier symbology of Eastern derivation: «Hence the unmistakable analogies between certain Indian and Christian ideas» (p. 441; cf. p. 437). In unrelated contexts throughout the eighteen volumes of his collected works, he comments on its universal return, for instance, in the establishment by Jacob of the mythical city of Luz («Almond»), the foreunner of Beth-El; in the calling of Jeremiah where Yahweh puns on the etymological affinities in Hebrew among «almond», «perception» and «rebirth»; in the annunciation to the virginal Nana — the daughter of Cybele and mother of the dying and reviving Eastern deity Attys, who conceived by placing an almond in her bosom, and so on.

The substance and conventions of the argument appear to be drawn primarily from Judeo-Christian symbolism and related iconography. But they are complemented at key junctures by both reference to traditional mathematical speculation and complex mythic references from Hindu philosophy and art that best exemplify the symbolic role of the pantocrator pictured in the last sentence of *Job*, «whose form has no knowable boundaries, who encompasses him on all sides, fathomless as the abysses of the earth and vast as the sky.» The mathematical and mythical components of Jung's thought are so intricate yet so basic to the paradoxes illustrated by *Job* (which James Joyce labeled as the «mythametical» dimensions of modern art) that they should be winnowed for separate commentary.

The recurrent and familiar aphorism in philosophy that summarizes this feature of Jung's thought says that reality is a sphere having an infinite radius and a center at every point. Jung's particular formulation takes in the projective fields made by Giordano Bruno's and Leibnitz's intersecting circles as well as some of the dark remarks of Einstein about the curved shape of the universe. Far from being nonsensical, the ordering principle of the aphorism can be stated. The infinite sphere in mathematics denotes a series of spheres each of which represents a stage of discovery. (a) A set of assumptions is laid down and developed by deductive and intuitive methods into a system. (b) The system so generated is a finite sphere. (c) As soon as it is sufficiently developed, an underlying set of assumptions is consequently discovered within a larger system than the former. (d) When this is developed, it too is a sphere including the former as one of its dependent parts; modern multidimensional geometry thus includes Euclidean geometry. This latter sphere is in turn a subdivision of a still more inclusive sphere, and the expansive process apparently never ends. Modern comparative literature shows similarly ordered sets of allegories. The microcosm of the individual mind is similar to the cultural macrocosm, and the corresponding series of spheres is an intellectual biography, a mind in the making. The infinity of spheres is suggestive of the Pythagorean numbering system with its densities, compactness and continuities. Paradoxes of counting are solved by correlating the members of one series with those of another. Jung implies that we can bring a similar analogical calculus to bear on the series of mathematical and mythical spheres. Alan Watts has commented perceptively on Jung's analogical syntheses in coordinating scientific and spiritual absolutes, with the restricting caveat that religious and any other experience of inspiration and enthusiasm can be expressed *only analogically*.³

Let us now reconsider the arabesque, mythic dimensions in the concluding sentence of *Job*, with its convoluted image of an enlightened person possessed (in both senses of the term) of the ever-evolving, involuted One »whose form has no knowable boundaries, who encompasses him on all sides.« Jung's intentionally troubling language corresponds to the notion in Vedanta that reality is not an empirical datum, since separation of experience into facts is fundamentally a convention of language and thought. To assert that reality has no knowable boundaries does not mean that it is boundlessly large but rather that it is indefinable, and that differentiated things are created by the word-and-thought of the Logos, which is »no-thing.« Through his omnibus study of Eastern religious philosophy and of the culture of Southwestern American Indians, Jung the polymath was struck by an engaging coincidence: in Sanskrit »being« ind »becoming« stem from the same word (*bhu*); Uto-Aztec and Athabascan Indian languages of New Mexico and Arizona contain verbs but no nouns, so that the world can be described only as process.

The most essential of the mythic images drawn from the Subcontinent is the matrix of all worldly shapes which informs *Job* as »the pneumatic nature of Sophia as well as her world-building Maya character.« Jung thus hypostatizes Sophia and Maya as the *prima materia* which was the original Womb of Creation. This seems to capture the sense of the Office of St. Mary: in the time before time was, »a new thing is done in both natures«; the two natures

³ *The Supreme Identity: An Essay on Oriental Metaphysic and the Christian Religion* (New York: Random House, 1972). pp. 35, 88—89.

are the divine All of »that which was« (Logos) and the Void of »that which was not« (Sophia). Before his Incarnation as the »only-begotten Son,« Jesus was simply the Word and Wisdom of God. Hence, in a typical Jungian formulation of thought, *Job* opens with an image that epitomizes the Christian mystery and closes with an allusion to one of the most daunting notions in Indian thought (cf. 10: 237; 11: 963).

The concept of Maya was introduced to European critical discourse in the first great wave of Indophilia by Friedrich Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie* (1810), which, according to Jung's account to Freud one century later, absolutely »fired« him (Nov. 9, 1909). Maya is the symbolic manifestation of the Hindu trinity of Brahma the creator, Vishnu the sustainer and Shiva the destroyer. She is the universal Mother, the world in its natural »appearance« of delusion. Engendered as *prima materia* by the breath of God, her epiphany as the universal bodily reflection of divine thought is present in the syllable OM and symbolically represented in the *mandorla* shape of the hands in prayerful attitude (cf. pp. 391, 401).⁴ This is the same shape in which God the Son (not as Jesus but as Sophia/Wisdom) is pictured in icons of the Eastern Orthodox Church, enthroned in the midst of concentric lines; the superimposed amygdalate shapes symbolize the intersection and interpenetration of heaven and earth, and the perpetual sacrifice that regenerates creative force through the dual streams of ascent and descent. In the sixteenth century Bruno's *De monade numero et figura* represented androgyny by two circles interlocking in the marriage of heaven and earth, whose common *mandorla* section is »the space in which two are one.«

Both the issue and wife of Brahma, Maya and her unimaginable consort compose an androgynous couple, since Maya reconciles all pairs of opposites, one pole balanced against another through the ceaseless interplay of existence. A mindbender to conceptualize, Maya is the very warp and woof of the cosmic veil which conceals the origin and passing of our life's dream (p. 394). She is conventionally yet variously incarnate in the mythic images of world tree, almond, cosmic egg and lotus. Her epiphany in such world forms coincides with and arises from the universal mythic motif and renewal ritual of Sacred Union (*hierosgamos*) which weds the primal forces and elemental forms of heaven (circle) and earth (square) to produce as a compromise form the vulva-matrix in which (to return to the example at hand) Christ is embodied in the tympanum of cathedrals from Istanbul to Northern France (cf. p. 421). Throughout the nineteenth century Maya's praises were sung as the supreme anima and *femme fatale*. The etymology of her name was dissected and extrapolated by writers and philosophers whom Jung either admired or assaulted: Michelet, Quinet, Heine, Schopenhauer, Leconte de Lisle, Laforgue, Rilke and Joyce. This is to say nothing of the volumes of dreamwork analysis where the art therapy of patients returns time and again and with stunning uniformity to the same thesaurus of mythic prototypes.⁵ As a result of this insight, the projected figure of Maya allows Jung to penetrate the patina of

⁴ Two years before the publication of *Job* René Guénon commented on a *mandorla*-shaped symbol brought from Smyrna by the Order of Carmelites, which combines the spelling of AVE and AUM (*Le Roi du monde* [Paris: Editions Traditionnelles, 1950], pp. 19, 33–35). Cf. Jung, p. 436.

⁵ Cf. the liberating fantasy of the patient who described a diamond ensconced in a vulva, yet who knew nothing of the »Jewel in the Lotus« motif (representing the union of opposites) of the Buddha in meditation).

mythologized sex in the numbing succession, on the cusp of this century, of *femme fatale* types; he thus unveils the sexualized mythology at the heart of creation myths the world over.

Maya originates from the Sanskrit roots *ma*, *matr'* meaning »to measure,« and hence is etymologically related to the words *mother*, *matter*, *matrix*, and *meter* (*Maitri Upanishad* 6. 6). She is no-thing which, once divided and measured, creates the appearance of the world's multiple forms and the delusion that there is anything but the imperishable One. As Jung put it — paraphrasing the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* — the wedding of *Atman* (Soul) with *Purusha* (form of self) in *Maya* »gives reality the glint of illusion« (10: 463; 12: 9). It is the gap between ultimate knowledge and our finitude that *Maya* measures, and the breadth of mythic expression inspired by the antinomy of the One and the many far exceeds a translation of *Maya* as mere »illusion.« In fact, for Jung *Maya* embodies the dilemma of speaking of archetypes, which by definition exist only as potentialities. Since *Maya* is the sense of difference in the created world, all discourse on transcendental entities is a »measuring out« of our distance from the absolute. The procedure of measuring is the discourse itself, and any process occurring within the frame of *Maya* language becomes discourse about the structure of *Maya* and about the »appearance« of the transcendent. The difference between speech and silence, then, is the analogical measure of the difference between *Brahman* troubled by human distinctions and *Brahman* without limitations.

The Judeo-Christian equivalent to the hierogamy of *Brahma* and *Maya* is of course the first verse of Genesis. »In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth« derives from the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* in which the god-hero Marduk divides with his double-edged sword the »footless« (unmeasured, fathomless) water serpent Chaos-Tiamat, creating the Primal Mother by dismembering chaos into separate, measured things (cf. pp. 397, 447, 462). She is the abyssal void by which the art and power of the Logos, God's »rude breathing« moving over and against the oceanic deep, causes multiplicity to appear (p. 388); from the initiating imagery of the two fishes through the various reflections on the oceanic abyss of *prima materia*, this etiological imagery guides Jung's ruminations through *Job*. Until her creation through apparent division, she is the uncreated female aspect of Godhead; this is the reference point in Jung's otherwise puzzling pronouncement in »The Psychology of Eastern Meditation« that »the Indian likes to turn back into the maternal depths of Nature« (11: 570). As the progenitor and dissolver of opposites, *Maya* is the mysterious energy behind the image of the world tree and *axis mundi* of existence, whose hidden and immortal root is *Brahma*.

As an Indophile, it was entirely natural that Jung be attracted to the dramatic manifestations of *Maya* as they bear on and lead to therapeutic healing, as in the reconciled opposites and Fire Serpentine of Kundalini Yoga (16: 336). But through decades of intellectual and spiritual cohabitation with this »measure of the immeasurable,« the notion of *Maya* broadened in his comparative studies so as to (a) imbue his reflections from Alchemy to Zen and (b) become a shorthand system of metonymic reference which, once again, makes his intellectual style maddeningly abstruse when allusions go unrecognized or brilliantly auroral when they are caught. In »Eastern and Western Thinking« Jung himself anticipated the charge of enigmatic logic and challenged the hegemony of narrow empiricism and philozophising by

Cartesian coordinates. There he drew on the mythic paradigm of the hierogamy of Idea incarnate in Matter: »Matter is an hypothesis. When you say ‚matter,‘ you are really creating a symbol for something unknown, which way just as well be ‚spirit‘ or anything else; it may even be God.« And he goes on to complete the traditional Eastern trichotomy by defining »mind« as »the matrix of all those patterns that give apperception its peculiar character,« most dramatically through mythological motifs such as the reconciliation of pairs of opposites and especially the veil of Maya.

To be sure, Jung’s occasional lyrical abandon (e. g., India is »a multi-colored veil of Maya,« 10: 516) opens him to suspicion as a neo-Romantic, a judgment that he eagerly abetted in rambling expatiations on »the weaving and rending of the veil as the ageless melody of India — this contradiction fascinates me« (11: 579). Despite his *élan*, the *pars pro toto* of veil for the entire complex of Hindu thought and iconology allows the image a wide field of reference and at the same time is compatible with both Judeo-Christian and Hindu myth. Moses, for instance, was forced to veil his eyes and thus re-veal the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* at the resplendent source of all forms (Exodus 34: 29—35). Comparably, the cosmic mystery of Maya has three powers. The first is that of obscuring Brahman; the second, that of projecting the world-illusion; and the third, that of revealing Brahman through the illusion. As both image and idea (image of idea), then, the veil of Maya serves Jung in an important capacity for the discussion and exemplification of the symbolic operation of the psyche. It bespeaks the separation and link — the Sun Door *par excellence* — between progression and regression, the contingent and transcendent, between the emergence to consciousness in the human macrocosm and the projection of this psychic rebirth into cosmogonic myths of worldwide distribution: »once again the solidity and tangibility of matter, so fervently believed in and so convincing to the senses, dissolves into Maya, into an emanation of primordial thought and will« (18: 464; cf. 8: 38). Correspondingly, in substantiating these abstractions, Maya’s veil is the reflex, shorthand term at the core of Jung’s explications of such common myths as the grail-like Sophia/Wisdom of his treatises on alchemy or (via Leo Frobenius) the slain and reborn water dragon submerged in the text of Genesis (8: 180).

With its subsections of »Christ, a Symbol of the Self« and »The Ambivalence of the Fish Symbol,« Jung’s *Aion* volume offers the fullest demonstration of the »mana« in or around the anima archetype, and of the connection between narrative detail and the power of projected mythic attributes, as they pertain to *Answer to Job*. The overture to Part III on »The Syzygy: Anima and Animus« (»What, then, is this projection-making factor? The East calls it the ‚Spinning Woman‘ — Maya, who creates illusion by her dancing«) would approximate nonsense if we fail to recognize it as an abbreviated coding of concepts that are surgically elaborated elsewhere for their therapeutic component: »Interposed between the ego and the world, she [the anima archetype] acts like an ever-changing Shakti, who weaves the veil of Maya and dances the illusion of existence. But functioning between the ego and the unconscious, the anima becomes the matrix of all the divine and semi-divine figures, from the pagan goddess to the Virgin« (16: 295).

The duality at play here between anima and estimable figuration, threat and boon, ancient and modern, reflects Jung’s deep interest in the endemic

spread of the *femme fatale* in art and literature throughout *fin de siècle* Europe. She was often modeled on the All-Mother Cybele — as in Marcel Lenoir's painting »Le Monstre« or Flaubert's tale of the veiled dancer named Salomé — who nourishes her offsprings before eating them back into the womb of the earth. »She« is both the Holy Virgin holding the strand of cosmic unity which passes through the *mandorla* of her womb, as in her traditional pose in medieval painting, and »She« is the chain-weaver who, since the early Romantics, binds her emasculated prey with a single strand of her hair. While adequate exposition of this heritage would require volumes of discourse, one brief observation suffices to indicate Jung's important innovations.

In attempting to locate the common mythic denominator in the countless renditions of the *Ewig Weibliche*, Jung postulated a fundamental psychic geometry over the course of his writings that unified, for instance, the Byzantine and Gothic *mandorla* matrix housing Christ of the Apocalypse, and the almond from which Attys was born to his earthly mother through the graces of Cybele, his divine mother and consort. In turn, this amygdaline shape was homologized with the spindle in both folklore (e.g., Grimm's »Rose-Bud«) and myth — the steadfast Penelope superimposed on the spellbinding Circe. Projected to cosmic dimension, the polymorphous mythic form transposes into the diamond-shaped spindle running through the center of Mother Earth that, in pre-Socratic and Platonic texts (e.g., *Timaeus* 36b—39b; *Republic* 616c—17b) and elsewhere, spins the fates of us all: — the eternal dynamic implicit in daily and annual birth, conflict, death, and resurrection.

This rich brew of composite mythologies is consonant with Jung's theoretical abstractions in »Synchronicity« about a geometrical principle underlying the physical world — »the strongest tie that links the lower world to the heavens.« From the »measuring« solar deity of the *Rig Veda* to the Rosicrucians, cabalists, Freemasons and Theosophists of the late nineteenth century who caught Jung's eye, this is the world form adumbrated in the mythic emblem of the conical rays of the All-Father which meet on the water surface and project in shadow to the diamond point below (as in the lone illustration of *anna-maya-kosha* in *Finnegans Wake*, emended from Bruno and Euclid's first proposition).

In the latter half of *Job* this universalized symbolism comes together in the complex image of »the sharp two-edged sword« of »Christ blended with the Ancient of Days« from the Apocalypse who created the world »by weight, shape and measure« (pp. 421, 437). This symbolism had a particular attraction to medieval artists who pictured God distanced from the world, portrayed as Christ illuminated, and holding a triangular compass by its pivot point while he measures his creation between the points of his dividers, which represent such pairs of opposites as life and death, spirit and flesh, good and evil, being and non-being. It was the image selected by Blake for the frontispiece of his engraved volume *Europe*. The beginning and conclusion of the measured circle are focused only at the pivot point (cf. »Dominus possedit me« from *Proverbs*). Hence, in the Rites of Resurrection prior to Easter the priest with the line of his hand divides the waters of the *uterus ecclesiae*, singing praises of the »arcane admixture of God's power: for those who have been »conceived in sanctity in the immaculate womb« (cf. *Transformation Symbols in the Mass* 2: 11). Since we resort to temporal and figurative language

age, we delude ourselves into thinking that the geometric configuration of right and left legs of the triangle allows us to speak knowingly of an ultimate duality of pivot and circumference or of archetype and its manifestation; but our illusive and illusory language always leaves us playing around the circumference of an omnipresent, nonexistent center. This single notion of the world engendered and calibrated by twin compass points which join at a single source of illumination creates multiplicity from unity. The true end of mankind lies nowhere on the space of the circle, nowhere in the wheel of time, but only at the pivot point of the calipers — beyond the pairs of opposites and above such lumbering monstrosities of Jungian terminology as *enantiodromia* and *syzygy*.

Answer to Job, with its pre-textual »problem« of Christ and the sacramental mystery of the two fymbolic fishes, is likely to remain a puzzling work for its essential postulation of Christ as the unique and perfect synthesis of the conscious and unconscious, as of all paired opposites — the issue of the hierogamy of God and his blue-veiled earthly consort. Jung's command of the language of mythic discourse drawn from East and West — from the two complementary fishes discernible in the Yin/Yang emblem to the emergence of the Fisher from the virginal *mandorla* above the »Sunset« portal of Notre Dame de Chartres — neither proves nor subverts his stupendous claim, so much as it sustains and queries the living mystery of symbolic form. This is the »symbolism that seeks« which Paul Valéry championed over the »symbolism that knows.« At the same time, the deep paradox of a Creator beyond good and evil at the center of Jung's thought surpasses narrow and superannuated notions of what passes for scientific inquiry. It is said that the function of theology has always been to spiritualize the sacraments, i. e., to discover and formulate their symbolic function and to reduce popular belief in their causal efficacy to its proper status. The function of philosophical criticism is to intellectualize scientific method, i. e., to discover and formulate its symbolic significance and to reduce popular belief in its causal efficacy to proper status. With regard to the symbolic function of science and its conclusions, at present it can only be said that they are wavering shadows of those clear and distinct ideas without which experience is neither good nor true. Their present mathematical and mythic embodiments are intimations of some such immortality.

HEBREJSKA ŠTEVILA SEPHIROT V UMETNOSTI BALKANA IN NEMČIJE

Na stečkih v okolici Lištice v Bosni je pogost motiv deseterice hebrejskih števil *Sephirot* (glej sl. 5). Ta števila našteva tudi čarovnica iz Goethejevega Fausta, medtem ko meša pomlajevalni napoj (sl. 2), upodobil pa jih je tudi Dürer na lesorezu imenovan Popotnik (sl. 3 in 4).

Slika 1: Primerjava med kompozicijo *Sephirot*, ki prikazuje elemente iz sveta človeka, in analognim reljefom na stečku iz kraja Mokro pri Lišnici v Bosni.

Slika 5: »Neklasificirani motivi« iz knjige Mariane Wenzel, ki predstavljajo bodisi celoto bodisi le del simbola *Sephirot*, so na Tabli CXIV vsi postavljeni na glavo.

Slika 2: Goethejeva čarovniška poštevanka opisuje kompozicijo desetih števil *Sephirot*.

Slika 4: Dürerjev Popotnik nosi v rokah ščit, na katerem je upodobljeno veselje *Sephirot*.

Slika 3: Skladnost posameznih števil *Sephirot* z nebesnimi telesi na ščitu Dürerjevega Popotnika.

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Janez Stanonik

NEMŠKA KNJIŽEVNOST V SREDNJEVEŠKI SLOVENIJI

Uvodoma prinaša razprava pregled vseh dosedanjih prikazov srednjeveške nemške književnosti v Sloveniji. Ti so bili doslej redno omejeni na literarno zgodovino nekdanjih dežel (Kranjske, Štajerske). Sedanja razprava prikaže problem v okviru slovenskega ozemlja v Jugoslaviji. V doslej dokazanih srednjeveških cerkvenih knjižnicah v Sloveniji (24 po številu) prevladujejo verski teksti pisani v latinščini, nemški teksti se pojavljajo številneje v XV. stoletju. Najpomembnejšo srednjeveško svetno knjižnico so imeli Turjačani (Auerspergi): v njej je bilo znatno število literarno pomembnih nemških srednjeveških rokopisov, vendar doslej ta knjižnica ni bila dovolj znanstveno raziskana. Več srednjeveških nemških tekstov iz te knjižnice bi zaslužilo znanstveno edicijo. Turjaška knjižnica, ki je bila od ljubljanskega potresa dalje v gradu Losensteinleiten v Gornji Avstriji, je bila po drugi svetovni vojni preseljena v Ameriko. Zadnji konkretni podatek o tej knjižnici govori, da se nahaja v kraju Paysandu v Uruguayu, vendar je velika verjetnost, da je bila nato knjižnica razprodana. Avtor sedanje razprave domneva, da so obstojali pogoji za knjižnico tudi v poznem srednjeveškem Celju, saj so izkazani stiki pomembnih srednjeveških nemških pesnikov s Celjani (Wolfram von Eschenbach, Oswald von Wolkenstein, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Peter Suchenwirt), v Celju pa so v XV. stoletju zaznavni tudi zgodnji zametki humanizma na Slovenskem. Vendar je iz Celja ohranjen samo fragment fiziologa in Celjska kronika. Pri pregledu literarnih zvrsti, kj jih izkazujejo ohranjeni nemški srednjeveški teksti iz Slovenije, so najstarejše glose (že iz XII. stoletja), zelo številni in raznoliki so verski teksti, med katerimi še posebej izstopa Mrtvaški ples, med avtorji pa brat Filip iz Žičkega samostana. V okviru viteških epov so izpričani za Slovenijo v srednjeveških nemških tekstih vsi trije veliki cikli (britanski cikel o kralju Arturju, francoski cikel o Rolandu in Karlu Velikem, ter antični cikel: Aleksander Veliki). Za XIII. stoletje prinaša Manesijski rokopis v Heidelbergu izbor Minnesanga treh avtorjev, ki so živeli v Sloveniji, vsi trije v porečju Savinje (Der von Obernburg iz Gornjega grada, Der von Sounege, domnevno Konrad I iz Žovneka pri Braslovčah, ter Der von Scharpfenberg iz okolice Radeč pri Zidanem mostu). Iz poznega srednjega veka je za Slovenijo izpričanih tudi več kronik, zlasti Celjska kronika. Razprava opozarja v citatih na specialne raziskave, kot tudi na edicije tekstov znanih iz srednjeveške Slovenije.

Atilij Rakar

TRUBARJEV GLAS IN NJEGOVI ODMEVI V BLIŽNJI ITALIJI

Razmah reformacije na Slovenskem, odkoder je to gibanje začelo prodirati tudi v Furlanijo, je zbuvalo v katoliških krogih razumljivo zaskrbljenost in, ko se je v prvi polovici šestdesetih let pojavil na Goriškem sam Trubar, pravi preplah; še zlasti, ker ni pridigal samo v slovenščini in nemščini, marveč tudi v italijanščini. Zanimiva so poročila, ki se nanašajo na to, pa tudi opozorila na posledice, ki jih lahko ima dogajanje na Slovenskem za celo Italijo. Še posebej zanimiva so po drugi strani pričevanja, ki govorijo o velikem ugledu, ki ga je Trubar užival tudi pri Italijanih.

UDK 929 Kappus M. A.:910.4(7/8)

Janez Stanonik

PISMA MARKA ANTONIJA KAPPUSA IZ KOLONIJALNE AMERIKE II

Studija uvodoma prikaže kolonizacijo Mehike v XVI. stoletju ter njeno ekspanzijo proti severozapadu. Pri tem povdarja vlogo, ki so jo imeli pri širjenju španskega imperija v smeri severozapadne Mehike jezuitski misijonarji. To so bili sprva skoro izključno Španci, l. 1664 pa je bilo dano dovoljenje, da imajo dostop v španske kolonije tudi misijonarji iz dežel, ki jim vlada avstrijska veja Habsburžanov. L. 1680 je odpotovala v Mehiko prva skupina Jezuitov misijonarjev iz srednje Evrope, med njimi je bil Ivan Ratkay, rojen v Ptuj. Druga skupina, kateri je pripadal Markus Antonius Kappus, iz Kamne Gorice, je odpotovala iz Cadiza l. 1687. Studija objavlja pismo Kappusa, ki ga je ta poslal s poti s Kanarskih otokov. Pismo doslej še ni bilo objavljeno. Na temelju tega pisma ter še dveh drugih znanih pisem (Adam Gilg, Adam Kaller) avtor rekonstruira pot te druge skupine iz Evrope v Ameriko.

UDK 860 Cervantes Saavedra M. d. 7 Don Quijote.06

Ludovik Osterc

DULCINEJA IN NJENA VLOGA

Dulcineja se kot oseba nikdar ne pojavlja v Cervantesovem romanu. Za tradicionalno literarno kritiko ona predstavlja težak problem. Mnogi kritiki je ne smatrajo za osebo v običajnem smislu besede. Ona ni direktna tvorba avtorja romana, temveč Don Quixota. Mnogi kritiki jo identificirajo z abstraktnimi vrednostmi. Najčesče se jo prikazuje kot parodijo viteške ljubezni. Vendar nobena teh kritik ne prikaže vseh aspektov Dulcineje. V svoji prejšnji študiji sem dokazal, da Cervantesov roman ni parodija viteških romanov, temveč satira propadajoče fevdalne družbe. Cervantes to dejstvo prikriva, zato je mogoče brati njegov roman na večih nivojih. Ob teh raznih nivojih pa se spreminja tudi pomen osebe Don Quixota, kot tudi lik njegove dame Dulcineje. Enkrat je to preprosta hči njegovega soseda. Za Dona Quixota kot potujočega viteza je to Dulcineja, kateri služi. Za Dona Quixota kot pesnika in borca za pravico pa je ona simbol vere v lepšo bodočnost. Pri tem ni ostre meje med poedninimi personifikacijami. Dulcineja kot »vladarica La Manche« spominja na Oriano Amadisa de Gaula, vendar je pri slednjem ljubezen erotična, pri Cervantesu platonična. Dulcineja je rojena iz viteške književnosti, ne iz resničnega življenja. Kot tak je lik Dulcineje poln protislovij. Tudi v smrtni nevarnosti vztraja Don Quixote, da je Dulcineja najlepša žena na svetu; vendar to ni fizična, ampak moralna lepota, to je vera v lepšo bodočnost. Ona mu daje pogum v borbi proti laži, nepravici, zatiranju. Don Quixote zahteva, da ljudje verujejo v njeno lepoto ne da bi jo videli. To je bil tudi ideal Cervantesa, ki ga je vodil v življenju. Od tega ideala hočejo nekateri Don Quixota odvrniti, tako duhovnik (Caballero de Blanca Luna), ki se bori za stari svet zatiranja. Da je naša interpretacija pravilna dokazuje odnos inkvizicije do Cervantesovega dela.

Karl J. R. Arndt

PISMO ANDREJA BERNARDA SMOLNIKARJA GEORGU RAPPU

V tem spisu prvič objavljeno pismo Andreja Bernarda Smolnikarja Georgu Rappu, znamenitemu voditelju utopične naselbine Harmony Society na reki Ohio, je nastalo v času po izidu Smolnikarjeve četrte knjige v Ameriki, *Eines ist Noth*. Smolnikar je napisal pismo ob tekstu okrožnice v kateri poziva bralce na nakup svojih knjig. Prof. Arndt poda pregled dosedanjih publikacij o Smolnikarju, ki so bile objavljene v angleščini ali nemščini ter opozori na izvor naslova Smolnikarjeve knjige *Eines ist Noth*. V svojem pismu poziva Smolnikar Georga Rappa, da bi mu finančno pomagal, da bi Smolnikar lahko izdal svojo nemško knjigo tudi v angleškem prevodu.

UDK 820(73) Clemens S. L. 7 Huckleberry Finn.06

Meta Grosman

PLURALISTIČNI SVET HUCKLEBERRYJA FINNA

V Twainovem romanu *Huckleberry Finn* je pripovedovalec sam Huckleberry Finn. Ker tu ni tradicionalnega »vsevednega pripovedovalca«, zaradi tega tekst ne prinaša razlag dogajanja in njegovega ozadja. Vse je prikazano iz vidika glavnega junaka in v okviru njegovega doživetja sveta. Značilna lastnost junakove osebnosti je, da vse dojema dobesedno, brez vsakršne fikcije. To je posledica okolja v katerem je zrasel, brez prave vzgoje: odsotnost fiktivnosti v njegovem doživetju sveta je odraz njegove nepovezanosti z družbo. On vidi svet in ljudi kot množico posameznikov, ne da bi v raznolikosti razumel tudi notranje povezanosti. Zaradi njegovega pogleda na svet ga smatra njegova okolica za omejenega, pri bralcu pa vzbujajo njegovi vidiki komične efekte. Zaradi tega njegovega odnosa na svet lahko bralec romana ob Huckleberryju Finnu vidi več kot junak sam. Branje tega romana lahko navede bralca, da kritično prevrednoti lastni pogled na svet.

UDK 820(73) Adamič L. 7 Lucas.06

Henry A. Christian

POGOVOR K POVESTI LOUISA ADAMIČA LUCAS, KRALJ BALUKOV

Avtor razprave poda tekstno zgodovino kratke pripovedi Louisa Adamiča, *Lucas, Kralj Balukov*, od prve izdaje teksta iz l. 1930. Ded edicijami obstoje razlike v naslovu kot tudi v tekstu. To je edino Adamičevo delo, ki odseva njegove izkušnje kot vojaka na Havajih, kjer je služil vojsko v letih 1920—1921. Dogajanje v povesti se odvija na Filipinih, a nimamo dokaza, da bi Adamič kdaj prišel tako daleč na zapad na Pacifiku.

*Robert Griffin*ZNANOST PRI JUNGU V DELU ODGOVOR JOBU TER MATICA OBLIKE
PRI HINDIH

Razprava razčlenjuje delo Odgovor Jobu (Antwort auf Hiob), ki ga moramo smatrati kot najbolj kompleksni in težko razumljivi tekst Carla Gustava Junga, nastal v pozni dobi avtorjevega življenja. Tekst obravnava razliko med ustvarjenim in resničnim, prikazano sot srečenje med ustvarjalcem in ustvarjenim, ter med drugimi nasprotji vzetimi iz vzhodnih in zapadnih mitologij. Izhodišče je simbolična zodiakalna figura dveh rib, kot se razvije v krščanski mitologiji. Pri Jungu mitološko proučevanje vodi v filozofsko nejasnost, a istočasno omogoča globlje razumevanje terminov analitične psihologije. Zmanjšanje skeptične znanstvene ostrine je dejansko povratek k postavkam vzhodne filozofije in mita. Iskanje analogije med znanstveno formulo in mitičnim simbolom je pomembno za razumevanje vrednosti, ki jo Jung pripisuje bistvenim simbolom. V svojem eseju Jung postavlja psihološke analogije v biosferi kot protiutež ekskluzivnega determinizma v fiziki. Ob koncu XIX. stol. so prav determinizem fizike nekritično prevajali v sfero humanističnih in socioloških ved, Jung pa je nakazal temu nasprotujočo smer razmišljanja.

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