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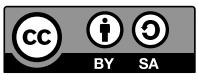

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Cloud and Clothe. Hildegard of Bingen's Metaphors of the Fall of the Human Soul

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Abstract

The paper examines Hildegard's use of metaphors in her visions of the human fall, and the way she combined the biblical motif of Original Sin with the philosophical question of a soul's embodiment, particularly in her moral play, *Ordo virtutum,* but also in her medical and visionary writings. The metaphor of the cloud sometimes blends with the metaphor of clothing (as in, "to clothe"), since the corporeal vestment of the soul before the Fall is said to resemble a cloud of light. Both metaphors are present in Hildegard's other works, particularly the image of the cloud, which is frequently used to illustrate cosmological implications of Original Sin. The metaphor of clothing, on the other hand, reveals parallels with certain Christian Gnostic revelations, blended with the Neo-Platonic doctrine of the soul as enslaved to the body.

Key words: Hildegard, *Ordo virtutum*, cloud, metaphor, original sin, Adam and Eve, soul.

1 THE CLOUD OF DIVINE WISDOM AND GLORY

Hildegard's perception of Original Sin is reflected in the passages which refer to Adam and Eve, sometimes together and sometimes separately. References to Adam are usually depicting the human prototype rebelling against God, without specific allusions to Gen 3. It is different when the argument touches on the role of Eve, who was seen differently by different interpreters, Jewish and Christian: as Satan's instrument of temptation by some and as victim of his snares by others.[1] Woman was considered weaker than man, and this weakness predisposed Eve to be the first to break God's commandment, and to lead her husband astray. The interpretative tradition frequently dwells on the moral aspect of the biblical story. This aspect, however, clearly does not come first for Hildegard,[2] who is more interested in the physiological and cosmological consequences of the first sin.[3] Moreover, she points out purely physiological reasons for woman's weakness: her nature is "aereal," less resistant than Adam's who, by nature, is directly linked to the clay of which he has been made.[4] Even though Hildegard has adopted the traditional concept of Original Sin being transmitted and manifested through sexual desire, her views tend to be morally neutral. Original Sin resulted in psycho-physical disorder of all men, and has disturbed the natural order.[5] The physical changes following the Fall are described in detail in Hildegard's medical work, *Causae et Curae* (=*CC*), which gives full credit to her holistic vision of the cosmos and of man, a vision rooted in the ancient analogy between the world's order (macrocosmos) and human microcosmos.[6]

Hildegard's holism is most palpable in her medical writings, which show us that she was familiar with the works of 11th century medical writer and translator, Constantine the African.[7] Another source of inspiration for monastic medicine is said to have been the writings of the medical school of Salerno, which not only offered practical precepts against diseases, but also tried to identify their causes. The title of Hildegard's own work, *Causae et Curae,* points out the knowledge of

1 Christian (and particularly Western) tradition regarded Eve as the principal culprit in Man's Fall (see, Kvam, Schearing and Ziegler, 1999, 116, 131–133, 135–141 in 147–155).

2 Newman: 1987, 107.

3 Cadden: 1993, 73–77.

4 Rabbinic tradition contrasted man's provenance from earth with woman's birth from flesh (see, Newman: 1987, 114).

5 On the connection between Original Sin and human illnesses, see Lautenschläger: 1993, 207–211; on Hildegard's perception of her own disease, see Stoudt: 2014, 262–264.

6 Wetherbee: 1973, 3.

7 Glaze: 1998, 139s.

the causes of a disease as a key to its cure.[8] She displays the same approach to moral depravity and psychic ailments. She also believes that the consideration of the original, uncorrupted state is crucial to the recognition of causes of suffering.[9] The pristine human condition is very important in Hildegard's eyes, since she considers that Original Sin is the cause of all bodily disorders. In this primal state, we observe the bond between the first man and woman, a bond so close that it reminds us of the androgynous archetype which played an important role in pagan Platonism, as well as in Hermetic and Gnostic literature.[10] This bond is highlighted in some of the Gnostic gospels,[11] which actually refer to the biblical story representing Eve as flesh of Adam's flesh. Hildegard herself observes this mutual involvement of man and woman with each other: "*Vir itaque et femina sic ad invicem admixti sunt, ut opus alterum per alterum est; quia vir sine femina vir non vocaretur, nec femina sine viro femina vocaretur. […] et neuter eorum absque altero esse potest.*" (*Liber Divinorum operum* = *LDO* I.4.100). Eve is, after all, a *virago* (*Gen.* 2.23),[12] made from *vir* (a she-man). Man and woman define, complete and express each other.[13] They are united in God, each representing one side of the Son of God's nature: his divinity (man) and his humanity (woman): "*Et vir divinitatem, femina vero humanitatem filii Dei significat.*" (*Ibid.*) The Son of God is the Son of Man as well, which means that he is at the same time God and Man. Since God created man in His image, the first man, too, shares His nature.

How did this nature manifest itself? Though Adam "never managed to grasp her [*sc.* wisdom]" (*Eccl.* 24.28), he was nevertheless regarded as a sort of human ideal, until the biblical tradition started to view him primarily as the first sinner. Still, he was wise: in the 10th chapter of the Book of Wisdom, we read that Wisdom "delivered him from his fault" and that "she gave him the strength to

8 On Hildegard's medical sources and medicine as a sort of philosophical art in the 12th cent., see Glaze: 1998, 131s. The medicine in Hildegard's time was also stimulated by the translations of Greek and Arabic philosophical and scientific texts, spreading northward (see Stoudt: 2014, 25ss.). Schipperges (1998, 65), however, regards Hildegard mostly as a voice of medieval medicine with its elements of folklore, ancient tradition and scholastic discipline.

9 *Constitutio prima,* as opposed to *status destitutus* of the prostrated man after his fall (see Schipperges: 1979, 302).

10 Brisson: 2008, 67–102.

11 See the selected passages in Kvam, Schearing in Ziegler: 1999, 120–128.

12 The reciprocal dependence of male and female nature is reflected by the fact that with Hildegard, each gender comprehends the characteristics of the other (Schipperges: 1998, 53).

13 The opposites are connected by immanent presence: thus the fire is part of the water and *vice versa;* for if the water did not contain fire, it would not flow, since movement is one of the properties of the fire (*vis ignis*). On the other hand, if the fire did not contain water, it could never go out by himself (*CC II*, pp. 39s. Kaiser). The opposites, therefore, limit as well as define each other (*de-finire*).

subjugate all things."[14] In Hildegard's play, virtues honor the Soul, which has risen from the very depth of God's Wisdom: "*edificata es in profunda altitudine sapientiae Dei*" (*Ordo Virtutum* = *OV* 30). The creation of Adam is attended by a divine splendor (*splendor divinitatis*) which takes hold of Adam and embraces him in its light (*circumfulsit; CC* II, p. 42 Kaiser). After he has been created, God sends him a deep sleep, during which Adam is presented with a divine gift of prophecy: at his awakening, Adam "*propheta caelestium fuit et sciens in omni vi creaturae et in omni arte erat*" (*CC* II, p. 45). Before the Fall, Man possessed a prophetic wisdom which was a source of generative and vitalizing power that made him one with the rest of creation: "*Et deus omnes creaturas illi dedit, quatinus virili vi eas penetraret, quoniam illa scivit et cognovit. Nam ipse homo omnis creatura est, et spiramen vitae in eo est, quod finem vitae non habet* (*CC* II, p. 45). Eve, according to *Gen.* 2.21, is created from Adam's rib, while he is sleeping. Hildegard, of course, mentions Eve's having been created from his flesh (*caro*); yet she also considers her spiritual role, which consists of her filling Adam with wisdom (*totus sapientia impletus est, cum inspexit Evam; CC* II, p. 136). For when he looks at her, he sees in her the mother of all men, and he delights in his own prophetic vision. In another of Hildegard's visions, Eve is a bright cloud, full of lights representing the future mankind (*Sc.* I.2.10), which reminds us of the *splendor divinitatis* in *Causae et Curae,* for they both reflect the Wisdom descending from God. The physical bond between Adam and Eve is the emblem of the closeness of man and his wisdom which, as a gift from God, also creates a bond between God and Man, Creator and Creation.[15] But the nature of this gift from God is also a source of life:[16] if Eve is the embodiment of this gift, she also represents the generative power, the first Man's *vis virilis,* which penetrates creation and makes him one with it. Since Eve is a *virago*, her role as a woman and mother is not yet realized or, better still, it is hidden in his prophetic vision. Hildegard's vision of Adam and Eve before the Fall, therefore, depicts them as an androgynous unity enclosing the whole of creation. Their mutual insight (*inspicere*) is a source of knowledge to both: it makes Adam a prophet and it allows Eve to look "up," making her similar to the soul, yearning for the Divine (*ut anima sursum tendit, quae caelestia desiderat; CC* II, p. 136).

14 This commendatory image of Adam can be found in apocryphal as well as in canonical writings of the Second Temple Judaism (up to the 2nd cent. BC). Soon it got tarnished (in Ezra and Baruch, see Toews: 2013, 26–32).

15 On Wisdom as God's consort, and the feminine Divine in Hildegard's works, see Newman: 1987, 42–50.

16 On Wisdom in the double role as *materia/matrix mundi* on one side, and as the world soul on the other, see Newman: 1987, 62–64.

2 WISDOM AND IGNORANCE

What could possibly eclipse the bliss of the first Man in Eden? Let us pause to consider the particular moment in the Bible, when "the woman saw that the tree was to be desired to make one wise." (*Gen.* 3.4) It is a vague yet sufficient symptom of a certain deficiency or aspiration to a somewhat larger share of knowledge and wisdom. In Hildegard's aforementioned vision, the "loathsome cloud" reaching up for the human form and his "white cloud" (*Sc.* I.2.1, 9 and 10) indicates the loss of wisdom, caused by Devil's deception. In another of her works, she compares sin to a cloud covering the earth and corroding the acts of Wisdom (*LDO* I.4.37). The darkness in *Scivias*, however, does not attack the human form directly, but touches the white cloud, therefore Eve, first. Similarly in the Bible, the serpent addresses Eve, not Adam. The Devil, then, assaults Wisdom and, through it, Man himself.[17] In his cleverness (but not wisdom)[18] he realizes that ignorance is the fastest way to perdition. Indeed, this desire for knowledge seems to be Man's weakest point, as well as Satan's principal weapon. In the *Ordo,* the reproach of ignorance is frequently addressed to the virtues: you do not know yourselves, you do not know what you are worshipping… The virtues, however, are presented as clouds (*nubes*) which cannot be clouded over (*obnubilare*) by the darkness. This casts them in the role of the tools of Wisdom given to the soul in its fight against evil. As it turns out, Satan is the one knowing neither virtue nor God himself (*quis iste remunerator*?), while the virtues know all about him. The fallen state involves ignorance which has caused the fall of Lucifer no less than that of Man. Lucifer's cleverness did not make him equal to God. In the same way that knowledge of good and evil turns out to be a poisoned fruit: the only knowledge that Adam and Eve seem to receive is the awareness of their own nakedness, which was interpreted by Hildegard as the loss of man's original *splendor* (see below CC II, p. 46 Kaiser). It seems as if the first man and woman lived a reverse Socratic paradox. But having abandoned the state of an unconscious wisdom ("I am not aware of knowing everything") – for, indeed, Man had possessed all the deepest knowledge regarding creation – they are now conscious of the consequence of their own act, which is the loss of wisdom and the shame of it. This gives them a different, post-Eden knowledge, expressed in frequent lamentations of their past transgression.[19] This knowledge brings them neither satisfaction nor relief. Hildegard's *psychomachia* reflects the metaphysical despair of the exiles from Eden, and the uncertain wanderings of

17 His act is guided by envy (see, Newman: 1987, 113s.).

18 Cf. *De Gen. ad litt.* XI.2.4, where St. Augustine distinguishes between the cleverness and cunningness (*prudenetia, astutia*) of the snake and God's *sapientia*.

19 Biblical tradition attributes it particularly to Eve: in *The Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (par. 30) we find Eve repenting her act and teaching her children not to yield to temptation.

the pilgrim-soul. In *Causae et Curae,* the Fall is explained at the psycho-physical level: the bodily-humors had changed their functions after the Fall, and Hildegard offers a rather original interpretation of the traditional humoral theory.[20] The black bile (*melancholia*), for example, used to be just bile (*fel*) and the source of a crystal radiance within Man, containing "wisdom and perfection of good deeds" ((*CC* II, p. 145 Kaiser). After the Fall, though, it turned sour and became a source of bitterness in Man. Psychical effects of sin are doubt, uncertainty and sadness, which lay foundations for anger. This description mirrors the state of the Soul in *Ordo:* inexplicably, she succumbs to despair as soon as she hears from the virtues about the forthcoming struggles, and from the state of love and happiness, she sinks into doubt and despair. Interestingly, the Devil only appears later, although this uncertain state is a downright invitation for him to step forward. In one of Hildegard's visions, the Devil confuses the soul by questioning her knowledge, and tempts her with the fruit of knowledge of good and evil: "Who are you? And what are you doing? And what are these battles you are fighting? You are indeed unhappy, for you do not know whether your work is good or bad." (*Sc*. 1.4.5) This confusion, labelled as ignorance, is looming over the soul's drama in *Ordo: nescio* (I don't know), admits the Soul, *nescis* is the gentle admonition of the virtues, encouraging her to perceive her present state (*vide, quo induta sis*); and finally *nescitis* is the insult cast by the Devil onto the virtues.

3 DESIRE, DESPAIR AND PRIDE

The optimistic Soul, full of love (*multum amas*) stands out among other souls groaning under the burden of their bodies. Why is she different? Her character poses an intriguing question: is this the soul of a man before or after the Fall? She displays some sort of yearning which implies a loss. On the other hand, there is a choir of other souls which are pointedly embodied (*in carne positae*), and they lament the loss of their heritage through Adam, and their own subjection to sin (*OV* 15–19). The difference is so obvious that we are tempted to consider the possibility that the loving Soul is an individual soul not yet fallen. Nevertheless she, too, is burdened by the consequences of Adam's and Eve's Fall, which is why she looks back nostalgically on the "daylight days" (*dies diurni*), which refer to the time when creation did not yet know the darkness of the night (*CC* II, p. 46 Kaiser). In the very next moment, facing the struggles against flesh, the Soul loses all her optimism. This is the moment of her individual fall, which is as much the result of Original Sin as it is of her own weakness. Good by nature, the soul is branded by the act of Adam. Her desire for *dulcis divinitas* results in despair,

20 See, Flanagan: 1990, 92–94.

for she is in a great hurry to take off the "dress of this life" (*OV* 39 and 65). As in Eve's case, the Devil seizes the opportunity to manipulate the moment of her discontent. The bond between love/desire and deficiency was established in Plato's myth of *Symposium* (203b–204a), featuring Eros as the offspring of Poverty (Penia). Many centuries later, Plotinus introduced the allegory of the soul as Aphrodite, focusing her love (Eros) on her father (the First Principle), except that Eros, who in the case of the higher Soul is the entity by means of which she keeps her gaze fixed on God, can also be the instrument of the individual soul's fall (*Enn*. III 5(50).2 and VI 9(9).9), because of the privation innate in her yearning. Plotinus considers this as the natural state of the soul. It is a yearning very similar to Hildegard's individual soul's reaching for heaven (*sursum tendit, quae caelestia desiderat; CC* II, p. 136 Kaiser). The role of Hildegard's *anima felix* in the *Ordo* is, therefore, referring to the state of a soul starting to feel the negative influence of its body. She might even be presenting a Neo-Platonic picture of a soul on the point of entering the body. Yet in Hildegard's view, a soul's life outside the body is purely hypothetical: although the soul seems to cherish certain memories of the bodiless life (*CC* II, p. 45 Kaiser), it is always embodied. The original Man had a body, and the Soul in the *Ordo* does not want to leave the body, but to exchange it for the *vestis praeclara* (*OV* 25). This is the same robe she used to wear at the dawn of creation: "When shall I put on the flesh that I used to live with, in the days of light?" (*CC*, p. 46 Kaiser)

Neo-Platonic allegory of the soul as Aphrodite is closely related to Hildegard's figure of Love (*Caritas*) and Divine Wisdom, carrying several attributes of the World Soul.[21] Yet the desire of the soul is not always legitimate. Gnostic literature features a fallen female aeon, Sophia (Wisdom),[22] whose degradation was brought upon her by her audacity. This *tolma* is sometimes described as an illicit curiosity which makes her want to comprehend what is clearly beyond her. Interestingly, her transgression is a result of the natural love (*storge*) she has for her Father (called Propator): "This passion, they say, consisted in a desire to search into the nature of the Father; for she wished, according to them, to comprehend his greatness" (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.2.2). Similar audacity was also imputed to Adam and Eve, particularly to the latter. The first woman not only desired wisdom, but was allegedly seized by *superbia*, which made her want to become similar to God. This view was particularly strong among the Western Church Fathers. According to St. Augustine (*De genesi ad litteram* XXX.38), Eve would have responded differently to the snake's temptation, if she did not already have in her "a certain love

21 See above n. 13 and Newman: 2003, 138s.

22 On Gnostic references in Neo-Platonism, see Torchia, *Plotinus, Tolma, and the Descent of Being*, 21–26.

of her own power and a certain proud self-presumption."[23] Hildegard, too, marks *superbia* as the source of evil, but she traces its roots to despair and frustration. In *Ordo,* the frustration leads the loving Soul to despair, and consequently to a certain degree of wantonness. The transition from despair to presumption is described in the *Scivias* (I.4.5): because of the Devil, the task appointed by God (to struggle against vice and follow virtues) suddenly seems too thorny to man, and he gives up. Blinded by despair, he recklessly acts beyond his abilities: metaphorically, he wants to fly "above the clouds" (this state is described also in *LDO* I.4.103, where it is called *elatio*). When he cannot, he becomes dispirited and sad. The results are doubt, despair and bitterness. The Devil himself is said to have tried to "fly above everything" (*volare super summa, OV* 88). The Soul is acting similarly. Although she "shows much love," she wants to avoid the necessary battle with the flesh, on her way to God. The term *volans superbia* (flying arrogance) is an interesting counter-image to the Platonic image of the winged soul for, in the present case, the wings take the soul to the north[24] and to the place from which Lucifer has precipitated into the abyss. Opposed to *superbia* is the fear of God: in *Ordo, Timor Dei* is one of the virtues exhorting the souls to contemplate (*inspicere*) the living God, to avoid damnation. This actually means that the fear of God is the only legitimate way to "see" God without fatal consequences (known to the Gnostic Sophia, Greek Semele and other audacious seekers of the forbidden knowledge). There is an essential difference between the paralyzing horror and the due fear of God, in that the latter entails hope which is innate to God's creation (man), together with fear (*CC* II, p. 144 Kaiser). Among the virtues in *Ordo,* there is also Hope (*Spes*) which introduces herself as the "beholder of the living eye" (*OV* 136). As the negation of fear, as well as of hope, *superbia* is therefore a natural offspring of despair.

4 WHEN THE "CLOTH OF HONOR" BECOMES A SOURCE OF DISGRACE

The cosmic struggle between good and evil continues on an ethical level between virtues and vices, the latter being ruled by the Devil. On a cosmic level, evil seems to have won the first battle, by seducing Adam and Eve and entering the world through their act of disobedience. Eventually, however, it loses the war which, through Salvation, ends in Satan's ultimate defeat. Hildegard's moralistic allegories in the *Liber vitae meritorum* and *Ordo virtutum,* as well as her spiritual

23 In *De Gen. ad litt.* XIX.25 the *superbia* of the fallen Man is paralleled to the pride of the fallen angels.

24 *Sc.* I.4.1. The north (*aquilo*) is the direction of darkness and evil: in *LDO* I.4.103 it is marked as the space where the first angel wanted, and failed, to rule. It is now empty.

interpretations of the Bible developed in the sermons collected under the title *Expositiones evangeliorum,*[25] reveal her interest in the individual battle of the soul. The moral aspect of evil is presented through the vices (presumption, love of the world, carnal desire, doubt, despair etc.) which are opposed to the alliance (*socii*) of virtues: in *Ordo,* these are Love, Fear of God, Obedience, Hope, Chastity, Contempt for the World and others. The Soul's duty is to fight, with the help of virtues. She fights against the Devil and sin, but her first victory must be over the body. This does not mean, of course, that entering the body is considered a sin in itself. Quite apart from the fact that Jewish and Christian traditions (as well as pagan Neo-Platonism) reject the negative view of the physical aspect of creation, Hildegard's own holistic view of the world precludes such notions: the world is good, as was Man (body and soul) before the Fall. There remains, however, a fairly strong Platonic dualism of body and soul, even in Hildegard's positive view of the physical world, and it entails some quite negative reflections on the body. This "lovely clothe" (*amabilis vestis*), as she calls it, is nonetheless a prison (*ergastulum*) for the soul. The reason for this lies in the fact that, after Original Sin, the body itself has changed for the worse and, as such, can be (ab)used by Satan. The body eventually stops the soul from seeing God, as it is unable to see the soul. The ambiguous role of the body appears in many of Hildegard's opinions: the senses, for example, have been given to us to lead us to God; instead, they frequently lure us away from him. In this sense, the bodily "clothe" is comparable to a "cloud" obscuring man's spiritual horizon: while in the body, the soul can never know God (*LDO* I.4.103.30 and 104.13).

Once splendid (*vestis praeclara*), the body has become a source of darkness and an impediment to the soul's vision. But the real reason behind the negative influence of the body is flesh (*caro*).[26] The soul must fight the flesh (*contra carnem pugnare*) and, if defeated, it finds itself in exile from God. In *Ordo*, such exiles are *animae peregrinae, filiae Regis* (wandering souls of royal origin) who had become derailed (*deviantes*). Hildegard has blended the old pagan motif of the wandering soul (the allegory of Odysseus journeying home) with the Christian ethics of the soul struggling against vice. This battle does not aim to destroy the body, but to defeat that which set down roots in the flesh through the actions of Adam and Eve. The soul's objective, therefore, is to perfect (*perficere*) the robe it wears.

25 Kienzle: 2000, 76–80.

26 For the difference between *caro* and *corpus,* see St. Augustine (*Omne caro corpus est, sed non omne corpus caro*) *(De fide et sym.*). For the flesh's liability to sin, see St. Paul Gal. 5.17ss. In the body, it is the *caro* that loves sin (*Sci.* II.6.53). Hildegard's holistic cosmology, anthropology and even theology (there are, for example, some very physical metaphors applied to the Divine secrets; see Emerson: 1998, 82) preserve this difference, thus affirming the bodily nature to be a necessary part of God's plan.

In the opening scene of the play, we observe the Soul's desire to return home, where she would put on a new clothe and regain what she had lost. The change of clothes is a common image of a spiritual renovation.[27] For Hildegard, who was reprimanded for overdressing her nuns, the white bridal veil, a sign of virginity, was also a symbol of "the radiant-white robe that human beings had in paradise, and lost" (*Letter 70*, to Guibert of Gembloux). She explains Adam and Eve's nakedness as the loss of the Divine enlightenment of which the original *vestis* is a symbol. Before sin, they were glowing in the sunlight, which enwrapped them like a cloth: after the transgression, the light went out and they felt naked (*CC* II, p. 46 Kaiser). On Judgement Day, the righteous will again shine like the Sun.[28]

The loss of honor is related to the loss of wisdom, e.g. of a comprehensive insight, which results in a spiritual blindness. The Soul in *Ordo* despairs over her robe of flesh, and the virtues have to remind her that her constitution is according to the will of God (*voluntate Dei constituta*). One of the virtues, *Scientia Dei*, urges the Soul to "see the dress (*Vide!*)" she is wearing (*OV* 49) and, observing the Soul's dejection, reproaches her "unhappy state of mind" (*infelix conscientia*) and her lack of insight: she does not know, and does not see (*tu nescis nec vides*) her Constitutor. When the Soul yields to the sudden desire to enjoy (*uti*) the world created by God, she is offered a different "insight" by the Devil: *Respice mundum!* The reason she follows his call and is blinded lies in the body, as transpires in another of Hildegard's visions: "When my tabernacle," says the soul, "saw that it could turn its eyes in all the ways, it turned its attention toward the north; ach, ach! And there I was captured and robbed of my sight and the joy of knowledge, and my garment all torn." (*Sci.* I.4.1) In this "place without beauty or honor," the soul is stripped of her garments: the "wounded" Soul in *Ordo*, too, was sometimes seen (and set on the stage) as wearing torn and dirty clothes.[29] In return, the Devil promises that she will be clothed in honor by the world: *amplectetur te magno honore mundus* (*OV* 69). In this garment, however, there is no honor, because it contains flesh, whose sensual delight has corrupted the soul's longing for God. Here, Hildegard continues the Western Church interpretation which gave to the first sin, and particularly to Eve's act, a connotation of carnal (sexual) desire. Some traits of this interpretation,

27 Cf. St. Paul *Col.* 3.9–10: "Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old self, with its practices, and have put on the new self, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator."

28 Cf. the interpretation given in the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (576), where Eve says: "And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the righteousness with which I had been clothed (upon), and I wept and said to him: "Why hast thou done this to me in that thou hast deprived me of the glory with which I was clothed?"

29 Potter: 1992, 37 and Sheingorn: 1992, 55.

which began with St. Ambrose and received the final touch with St. Augustine,[30] can already be found in the Jewish tradition.[31] In Hildegard's works, Adam and Eve generally share the responsibility for the Fall. However, her comparison between Eve and the Virgin Mary gives to the former a distinctly sexual character; she is also the first to have sinned.[32] The motif of a dishonored soul is comparable to the widespread motif of the ravished "goddess," found in the works of Hildegard's contemporaries, such as Alain of Lilles, where heretics are said to have sullied the robes of Nature fulfilling God's will, although Alain's connection with Hildegard is doubtful, according to some.[33] In all these characters, there is a significant resemblance with Gnostic Sophia, as well as with some other female figures subjected to violence and seduction, and sometimes represented as prostitutes.[34] This resemblance is even stronger in Hildegard's compatriot, who lived two hundred years before her time, the nun and poetess Hrotswitha of Gandersheim. In one of her plays, entitled *Passio sanctarum virginum Agapis, Chioniae et Hirenae* (*sive Dulcitius*), the lust of the governor of Thessaloniki pursues three virgins whose names clearly point to a moral allegory. On the other hand, we follow the motif of a fallen and converted prostitute in the *Lapsus et conversio Mariae neptis Habrahae hermicolae (sive Abraham)* and in the *Pafnutius vel Conversio Thaidis meretricis (sive Pafnutius)*. In all of these plays, the resemblance of their heroines with the Gnostic figure is emphasized by the fact that the insidious attempts of their attackers are bound to fail: in *Dulcicius*, for example, the unworthy pursuer of the three virgins ends up embracing kitchen vessels, confusing them for his prisoners. Similarly, in the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, the evil archons who are trying to rape Eve only get to defile a "shadowy reflection resembling herself," while she laughs at their blindness (*NHC* II.4.89). Regarding the sexual connotation, Hildegard's picture is more subtle: mainly because, as it had been pointed out, the play does not dwell on her depravation, but on the celebration of virtues and their final victory.[35] Hildegard, moreover, prefers medical terminology and military imagery,

30 Augustine ponders various theories regarding the question of whether or not man was a sexual being before his fall. He favors the first option, but believes the sexuality of the first man and woman to have been free from physical lust and pleasure. (*De Gen. ad litt.* IX.10) We find a similar view in Hildegard, who defends the physical and spiritual (for that, see Allen: 1985, 408s.)

31 See the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve* 25, where God predicts to Eve that she will regret that she has yielded to carnal desire.

32 On differences and similarities between the two women, see Garber: 1998, 105–118.

33 See Newman: 2003, 86–89. On Neo-Platonic influences on Hildegard through Bernard Silvestris, see Singer, 1951: 1–59.

34 Such as Eve in *The Hypostasis of the Archons NHC* II 4.89), Psyche in *The Exegesis on the Soul* (*NHC* II 6) and Sophia/Helen in the doctrines attacked by Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.23.2).

35 Potter: 1992, 36.

in her description of the Soul's misery. Nevertheless, there are several phrases hinting at the dire consequences of carnal desire: the *delectatio carnis*, followed by a reference to the *lascivia Adam*, as well as the Devil's words about the Soul's embraces (*amplexata es me*). And, last but not least, the leading conqueror of the Devil is none other than Chastity (*Castitas*), casting herself in the role of the Virgin Mary (Eve's counter-part) who has crushed the head of Satan. Exaltation of virginity has already been discovered as a common point linking Hildegard's play to Hrotswitha's tradition.[36] The joint message of both, Hrotswitha's plays and *Ordo virtutum,* is also the ultimate defeat of evil: the deceiver is deceived. The very last attempt of the Devil to confuse his adversaries, and to discredit the nature of Chastity by condemning its unnaturalness (*transis praeceptum, quod deus in suavi copula precepit; unde nescis, quid sis.*), comes to nothing, and the play closes with the triumphant chorus of the victorious virtues.

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36 Sheingorn: 1992, 50.

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Obleka in oblak. Prispodoba padca človeške duše pri Hildegardi Bingenski

Članek raziskuje uporabo prispodob oblaka in oblačila v Hildegardinih vizijah človekovega padca, predvsem v tistih besedilih, v katerih se svetopisemski motiv izvirnega greha prvih dveh ljudi povezuje s filozofskim naukom o bivanju duše v telesu. V ospredju analize je moralistična glasbena igra *Ordo virtutum*, vendar najdemo obe prispodobi tudi v drugih Hildegardinih delih, zlasti prispodobo oblaka, ki je pomemben del prikaza kozmičnih posledic izvirnega greha. Po drugi strani pa uporaba prispodobe oblačila razkriva vzporednice z novoplatonistično obarvanimi nauki krščanskih gnostikov o ujetosti duše v telesu.

Ključne besede: Hildegarda, *Ordo virtutum*, oblak, metafora, izvirni greh, Adam in Eva, duša.

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Celebrating Downward Mobility in Selected Australian Texts

Margarete Rubik

Abstract

Several critics have pointed out that the new lower class national hero from late 19th century onwards was invariably male, and that women were largely excluded from this national stereotype. Yet several recent Australian authors have portrayed female characters who correspond to this insubordinate, defiantly lower class ideal, and thereby insert women into the national myth.

Keywords: Australian fiction, Kate Grenville, D. H. Lawrence, Murray Bail, Barabara Jefferis

It is a well-known cliché that from the end of the 19th century onwards, Australian fiction tends to be peopled with heroes who are working class and anti-authoritarian, who are loyal to their mates and distrust figures of authority. These attitudes have been traced back to the convicts' dislike of soldiers at the beginning of settlement, to the Eureka stockade and the breakdown of the class system in Australia. Several critics have pointed out that this new lower class national hero was invariably male, and that women were largely excluded from this national stereotype. Yet several recent Australian authors have portrayed female characters who correspond to this insubordinate, defiantly lower class ideal, and thereby insert women into the national myth.

Students with little experience in Australian fiction but alert to conflicts of race and gender frequently dealt with in American or British literature, often fail to appreciate the egalitarian social spirit and proud lower class stance encoded into legends like that of Ned Kelly and other texts. But perhaps this partial blindness should not really be surprising, given the radical departure of Australian sagas from the myths current in Europe. Children in Europe would have been brought up on the Cindarella myth and the dream of rags to riches. The typical European fairy tale sees a poor girl raised to the heights of social advancement by an appreciative Prince Charming, or an impoverished but worthy lad overcoming all obstacles and rising to the top on account of his talent and industry. It is always a myth of upward social mobility, of climbing the social ladder and leaving behind what is conceived of as a life of poverty and misery. The scandal surrounding sensation novels or D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was as much about class as it was about the explicit presentation of sex. The offence the latter novel gave is also intricately linked to the outrage of an upper class lady giving up her class status to find sexual fulfilment in the arms of a virile game keeper.

There are interesting parallels between Lawrence's scandal novel and Murray Bail's short story *The Drover's Wife*, a text responding to both Henry Lawson's famous original and Russell Drysdale's painting of this typical Australian motif. In this story, the middle class narrator, a dentist formerly married to a woman who is now the drover's mate, is scandalized by the fact that she blithely gave up her middle class life and ran away to consort with a lower class man. Throughout her marriage with the dentist, the woman refused to conform to norms of lady-like behaviour and embarrassed her husband by her physical robustness and delight in manual labour which, he feared, might make the neighbours talk.

> … the sight of sweat patches under her arms, for example, put me in a bad mood. It irritated me the way she chopped wood. I think she enjoyed chopping wood. There was the time I caught her lugging into the house the ice for the ice chest … The ice man did not seem to notice; he was following, working out his

> charge. … And then of course she killed that snake down at the beach shack we took one Christmas …" (Bail, 257f.)

The last incident, of course, gestures back to the original narrative of "The Drover's Wife". But while Lawson's short story of 1892 is firmly rooted in a lower-class milieu only, Bail dramatizes a class conflict and makes the woman take an active step of affiliation with a man of the lower social orders, defiantly rejecting middle-class respectability. Hence the narrator smarts all the more under the opprobrium of having lost out to a man whom he despises as a social inferior. His wife went, so to say, over to the class-enemy, thereby reasserting herself as a typically Australian heroine. It is also characteristic that she was neither bothered by the bush flies nor by the heat during the camping holiday he recalls. The dentist, on the other hand, hated the bush, the typical setting of so much of Australian early fiction: "…I have no desire to return, none. … I felt lost. And during the day the bush, which is small and prickly, offered no help (I was going to say 'sympathy'). It was stinking hot" (Bail, 258). Through his behaviour and preferences he exposes himself as an urban, middle-class Australian anti-hero, whose snobbishness and class consciousness are shown to be the antithesis of the positive Australian stereotype.

Barbara Jefferis has spun on Bail's rewriting of the story of the drover's wife in her own narrative of the same title. It features the woman herself as a narrator taking issue with the way male writers have presented her in their stories and recounting how, at the age of sixteen, she ran away with the dentist to escape the squalor and abject poverty of her home. The man evidently expected her to be properly grateful for raising her to middle-class status and

> …couldn't understand you could give up a board floor and a bit of carpet and some wax fruit under a glass bell for a shack with no floor at all in the kitchen and water that had to be carried half a mile when the tank ran dry. (Jefferis, 270)

Like Lady Chatterley, however, she prefers the drover's virility to the narrow-mindedness and fastidiousness of her middle-class husband: "There's more to a man than trimmed nails and a dark suit, and I'd rather have beer fumes breathed in my face than fancy pink mouth-wash" (Jefferis, 173). The dentist's squeamishness and misogyny are ridiculed in Jefferis' short story, which invites sympathy with the woman's cheerful downward social mobility and escape from her middle-class cage. She leaves her egotistic bourgeois husband and marries a drover, being satisfied with her new life in the bush despite its hardship and her supposed social descent.

We encounter a similar scenario in the popular movie *Australia*. To be sure, the aristocratic heroine's husband has been killed, so she does not commit adultery,

but, like Lady Chatterley and Bail's and Jefferies' drover's wives, Lady Ashley is happy to cross class barriers downwards, instead of upwards, as is the wont in European myths. Embracing an egalitarian dissolution of class divisions, the European aristocrat, somewhat improbably, falls in love with – again -a drover, visualized as a rough but emphatically virile working class man. After the initial social clash between the future lovers, the conflict in the film, interestingly, is not between the upper and the lower class – they quickly find common ground, with the Lady turning into a cowgirl overnight – but between the small cattle owner and the bourgeois capitalist entrepreneur. As in Bail's story, the middle-class are the true antagonists.

In the following, I would like to focus on two of Kate Grenville's novels: *Lilian's Story* – as a paradigm of this Australian celebration of downward mobility in order to escape from the middle-class prison-house of convention - , and *The Secret River*, depicting an earlier historical phase, when characters still remain enmeshed in British class values, even though they were forcibly transported as convicts and stem from the very class which suffered most under the unjust social hierarchy in the mother country.

Traumatized by childhood experiences of abject poverty and starvation, social humiliation and a series of unfortunate circumstances dashing his hope of financial security, William Thornhill, a boatman on the river Thames, was sentenced to transportation for attempting to steal some timber. Determined to rise in the new world after his release, he buys land on the banks of the Hawkesbury River (the eponymous Secret River).

> In Thornhill's world, a person might own some sticks of furniture, a few clothes, perhaps a lighter. That was wealth. But no one that Thornhill knew personally had bought so much as a yard of land. (Grenville, *Secret River*, 109)

Landed property, in eighteenth century England, would have been a qualification for gentrification. Indeed, in his negotiations with the Aborigines on whose land he has built his farm on the basis of the fiction of terra nullius, he adopts the very tone the rich assumed vis-a vis-the poor boatman in London:

> *Old boy*, he started. He fancied the sound of that. He had never called anyone *old boy* the way toffs did. *Bugger me, you are making no sense whatever!* It was the way gentry had spoken to him wanting him to row faster… (Grenville, *Secret River*, 148-149)

He finally becomes a rich man – but at the terrible price of participating in a massacre of an Aboriginal tribe supposedly threatening the white farmers. Greed for land-ownership, thus, tempted him to burden his conscience with a deed he

knows he can never atone for. Thornhill's dogged determination to own this piece of land in the Hawkesbury valley, his mimicry of an upper-class mien, just like his later whim of ordering stone lions from Britain to guard the entrance to his estate, indicates how much he is still part of the old world – although, unlike his faithful wife Sal, he has never dreamed of returning to England, knowing well that money can never wash off the stain of transportation in his old mother-country. However, the stone effigies he buys at great cost cannot compare to the glorious specimen guarding the entrance to St Paul's Cathedral which so impressed him in his youth. Neither can the portrait of himself he orders an artist to paint fool anyone as to his true class origin – a perpetual reminder to him that having made it in Australia is still a long way from being acceptable in British society, and a reminder to the reader that Thornhill has failed to extricate himself from British class ideology and continues to exhibit a traumatic need to define himself in terms of the very class which constantly made him feel his own social inferiority in the old world.

He is, in fact, the exact opposite of the late nineteenth century egalitarian ideal: he refuses to fraternize with his former London mates when he meets them again as convicts, but treats them as indentured servants he has hired to work for him – another betrayal of his former kindly principles. Thornhill is an Australian self-made man and founds a dynasty, rising from convict to rich landowner, but in his dream of upward social mobility he remains intricately bound up with his former British background.

In contrast to *The Secret River*, *Lilian's Story* celebrates downward mobility as liberation. The novels deals with a woman born into a middle-class Australian family in the early twentieth century who rejects her background and conventional gender roles and ends up as an eccentric street-person. She makes a living by offering recitations from Shakespeare, hijacks taxis with passengers to gain an audience, loves to cause a public disturbance and gains notoriety and fame.

Lilian's Story is based on a real-life figure, Bea Miles, whom as a girl Grenville frequently saw, as she says "from the safe distance of a bus" (Grenville, "Readers' Notes"). Bea had gone to one of Sydney's top schools and had later dropped out of University. She had been institutionalised as insane but had gained "the freedom of the city" (Barcan 31) and had become a figure around whom "myths and stories accumulate" (Ashcroft 55). Grenville was intrigued by this "loud, uninhibited ... bag-lady, with no fear of what people thought and no sense of what she 'should' be." (Grenville, "Readers' Notes"). However, she did not want to write a biography but took Bea's life story as a departure for investigating the question of how a woman of her time could have escaped the gender and class limitations imposed on her.

> What does it mean to refuse the life-story that has been prepared for you, and choose another of your own making? … Bea Miles should have grown up to be

> a conventional wife and mother but had forcefully re-written the script for her life." (Grenville, "Readers' Notes")

Fat and ungainly, brash and unfeminine, Lilian from the beginning fails to conform to the rules of ladylike behaviour: "Lilian, do not bang your feet like that, ... A lady glides, Lilian." (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 6) her mother admonishes, but Lil stomps instead of gliding, tries to emulate the boys in daring and is consigned to the role of an outsider, rejected by her classmates, her parents and the society in which they move. When she tries to break out from her father's tyrannical regime, he rapes her, a shock from which she recovers by spending time in the bush – which again marks her as a genuinely Australian heroine. She scandalizes the inhabitants of a tiny village by walking to the pub stark naked and later escapes from home every evening to spend the night alone under the stars on the beach. But as Barcan points out, such "escapes from order often produce a backlash from those in power" (Barcan 39), who are threatened by such insubordination. Her father has her confined to a lunatic asylum, from where she is freed by a sympathetic aunt, who blackmails her father into giving Lil an allowance. Still later, she joins a homeless old admirer who lives in a storm drain in the park.

In their interpretations, most critics have concentrated on gender issues, but Lil's rebellion is as much against class rules, or rather, gender and class are firmly intertwined. Lil is born in the year of Federation, in 1901, and just as in the case of Rushdie's Saleem in *Midnight's Children*, her life in some ways reflects the development of the new nation. Unlike Rushdie, however, Grenville is not interested in political history, but Ashcroft has perceptively commented on the parallels between the successful decolonisation of Lil's mind from patriarchal oppression and the emancipation of Australia from colonial oppression. Significantly, Lil causes a disturbance when she refuses to rise for the British anthem in a movie theatre. And her father, against whom she rebels, is, significantly, called Albion. Yet a second parallel can be pointed out. Like the new nation, Lil also emancipates herself from English class values and becomes a typically Australian heroine: lower class, anti-authoritarian, and valuing mateship. She shouts at the judge in court and hitches up her skirts to show some taunting policemen her bottom. As long as she craves social acceptance, she is under the thrall of the "power of social convention, which Lilian ultimately defeats by becoming a homeless peripatic 'character'" (Ashcroft 56). Only when she opts to remain outside "the normative positions of gender and class" (Livett 119) can she gain autonomy over her life. It is important to remember that she puts herself quite outside the class system. Typically, she befriends those who are also socially marginalized: prostitutes, the insane, the homeless. She becomes a bag lady, and not part of the working class.

From early childhood on she has been indoctrinated in an awareness of social hierarchies and the difference between her mother, a lady, and the maid down on her knees scrubbing the floor. "Alma is a maid, [my mother] explained when I asked. And I am a lady. You will be a lady one day, but now you are a little girl..." (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 5). When Lil herself is forced to clean the floor in prison, she is totally inadequate to the task and incurs punishment and ridicule at the hands of wardens and inmates for her inability to use a broom and for wiping up the suds with her blouse. In fact, the lower class prisoners are hostile to this eccentric middle class woman in their midst and exclude her from their community. Indeed, the prison is the only place where Lil almost dies of isolation and misery. Throughout her career Lil never does physical labour for a living. While she goes to University, she is supported by her father, and even later, thanks to her aunt, he gives her a small allowance and she also inherits some money from her kindly relative. When her funds dwindle, she joins her homeless friend Frank in the park, where she enjoys nature, the sky, the sea, and the closeness of Frank's body.

During her schooldays Lil realizes that girls cannot become heroes, only men – but she can shock and scandalize and thereby gain the fame she craves, and she does become a hero of sorts when she enters history by becoming an urban legend. As a homeless person she can follow her own desires, and the reader is made to feel that she has had a better life than if she had followed the conventional path, which would not have allowed her any of the experiences she relishes – and she has the gift to be happy with small things. Although she ends up as a pauper in an old people's home run by kindly nuns, her life is a triumph nonetheless. "You think you're Christmas ... you think you're someone special and you're not" (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 58-59), a spiteful school-friend tells her, yet capering around naked in the lunatic asylum she is still convinced that she is "Christmas and Easter and my birthday all at once" (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 195). "I have always been my own destiny, and loved my inventions of myself" (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 255), she tells the boy she admired at school, who has become a run-down Troskyite.

Her mad friend Jewel says: "I wish I was you, and regretted what you do" (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 257), because Lil only regrets the loss of the edition of Shakespeare's works her Father has destroyed - but by that time she knows enough of the Bard's verse by heart to keep her going. She also regrets not hitting a few people, not having married a young man called Stroud many years ago, and the many sights around the world she has not seen (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 256). Yet as a bag lady she can, nonetheless, shout to the crowd with conviction: "I am a contented woman, and wish for nothing, and they stared at me, and none could say the same for themselves" (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 259). Eccentricity grants her the freedom to move around the city (Barcan 49) because she defies the prohibition preventing the "free circulation" of middle class women "in public

space" (Barcan 46). Thus marginalization and social decline, paradoxically, become a source of power (Barcan 51). At the end of her life she joyously shouts to a taxi chauffeur taking her on a birthday outing: "Drive on, George. I am ready for whatever comes next" (Grenville, *Lilian's Story*, 280).

As I have mentioned, Lillian makes a small living by reciting poetry in the streets. When she was a child, her eagerness to show off was considered unladylike and immodest, but her "appropriation of Shakespeare and the cultural capital it represents" (Ashcroft 67) serves to put into question not only Lil's supposed madness but also her social categorization. It deconstructs cliché images of derelict vagabonds. In Gail Jones' novel *Sorry*, too, Shakespeare becomes a marker of high culture, education and hence of social standing, though in this case the characters do not embrace downward mobility. In *Sorry*, Perdita's English mother obsessively quotes the Bard as a bulwark against descending into the poor underclass to which her living conditions in Australia consign her. In contrast, Bail's and Jefferis' drover's wives, as I have mentioned in the beginning, like Lil embrace downward social mobility as liberation. And like Lil, Jefferis' protagonist, too, prides herself on knowing seventy poems and hymns by heart, including texts by canonical English authors like Elizabeth Barrett-Browning and Christina Rossetti. In contrast, her middle-class husband, the dentist, hardly reads at all.

> He couldn't read more than half a page of a book without getting bored and coming on worlds that were too big for him. I never knew him read anything much except for the racing pages in the paper and the labels on [medicine] bottles … (Jefferis, 269-270)

Similarly, Lilian's father obsessively collects facts from newspapers or encyclopaedias, but he has no interest in literature. Both Lilian and Jefferis' drover's wife reject bourgeois norms and opt for a life outside social conventions, accepting downward social mobility to remain true to themselves; yet at the same time they embrace high culture and thereby stake a claim to an intellectual status far above that of the philistine middle class characters we meet in these texts.

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Slavitev družbene mobilnosti navzdol v izbranih avstralskih tekstih

Kljub tradicionalnemu avstralskemu moškemu literarnemu junaku iz nižjega razreda, številni novejši avstralski avtorji prikazujejo ženske junakinje, ki ustrezajo temu uporniškemu idealu nižjega razreda in tako umeščajo ženske v nacionalni mit, avtorica predvsem obravnava Kate Grenville ter Barbaro Jefferis.

Ključne besede: avstralska proza, Kate Grenville, D.H. Lawrence, Murray Bail, Barbara Jefferis

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Topicality and Conceptual Blending in Shakespeare's *Henriad* – The Case of the Earl of Essex

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Abstract

The goal of the following article is to analyse topical allusions to the Earl of Essex in Shakespeare's *Henriad* in terms of conceptual blending theory in order to shed light on the reception of these plays in the early modern public theatre and to find clues to Shakespeare's intentions.

Key words: Shakespeare, *Henriad*, Earl of Essex, conceptual blending, topicality

This essay sets out to identify topical allusions to the Earl of Essex and his political career in the 1590s up to his death in 1601 in Shakespeare's *Henriad*, his second historical tetralogy, and to analyse them in terms of conceptual blending theory. The purpose will be to find out how early audiences possibly received performances of Shakespeare's histories at the (Globe) theatre and how critics today can perhaps, at least partly, infer Shakespeare's intentions.

Charles Whitney defines topicality "as the pressure of the events, issues, and political agendas of the day on the responses of different sets of playgoers" ("Festivity" 412). Nicholas Moschovakis understands topicality "as a kind of meaning that presumes an interpreter's familiarity with particular, publicly reported events or controversies, to which an imaginative work alludes more or less implicitly" (127). Pandit and Hogan consider topical allusions to work like conceptual blends in the minds of authors and their audiences. "In allusive blends […] topical references are left implicit, but they nonetheless trigger memories and associations. These memories and associations contribute to our mental modelling of characters, scenes, and events" (10).

In this sense the following paper assumes that Shakespeare intended his *Henriad* to trigger his audience's access to specific memories of topical and political events shaped by the Earl of Essex, and encourage them to re-evaluate these critically.

Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, was Elizabeth I's last favourite and her junior by more than 30 years. Paul Hammer challenges the traditional image of Essex as an incompetent playboy and reveals him as an intellectual aristocrat with a passionate commitment to martial affairs. Essex sought to make himself the leader of his generation by excelling through his young age, virtue, chivalric ethos, military skills, energy and self-sacrifice, zeal, and ambition. His rivalry with the Burghley and Cecil factions and the Queen's increasing ungratefulness and non-receptiveness to his opinions made him more rash and radical (400-403). Janet Dickinson shares Hammer's rehabilitated version of Essex, but still considers him psychologically unstable, reckless and excessive. In accordance with his status as a patron, Essex was at the centre of military-minded aristocrats including Southampton, Charles and Christopher Blount, Danvers, Meyrick and Pérez, Rutland and Bedford (2, 79, 101-102).

After brilliant military achievements against Spain, for instance at Cadiz, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1599 to put down the Irish rebellion led by the Earl of Tyrone. He could not accept a lesser man for the task, but knew his enemies would again profit from his absence at court (Shapiro 65). His unsuccessful campaign together with his precipitate, unauthorised return from Ireland worsened his by then strained relationship with the Queen. After his arrest he and his circle rose to an armed rebellion in the streets of London, which failed.

Recent historians like Dickinson judge his rebellion – as Essex did himself – not as subversion, but as only designed to gain a personal audience with the Queen to restore his favour and free her from false advisors. Dickinson stresses that Essex's aim was neither to overthrow the Queen nor to ensure the succession for himself. Gajda explores the nature of James VI's implications in Essex's rising and the succession debate. Knowing Essex's popularity, the authorities swiftly proclaimed him and his fellow rebels traitors, and Essex ended his life on the scaffold (Dickinson 45-61, 125).

Essex and his difficult relationship with the Queen did not go unnoticed in early modern London and can thus work as the perfect topical foil for a new look at Shakespeare's *Henriad* – quite in line with Amy Cook who appreciates conceptual blending theory (CBT) as offering "us a methodology to unpack meaning again and again, to find new connections in new times or new plays" ("Interplay" 586). Shakespeare's histories seem particularly apt for CBT: dramatic performances are blends where actors and characters are linked through real and represented worlds; an additional space of historical reality (Fauconnier and Turner 267) comes into play when historical kings like Richard II, Henry IV or Henry V are represented on stage. And we are dealing with yet another mental space when contemporary events around Essex are alluded to. In other words, a whole network of four input spaces creates a blend of past and present, of fictional, theatrical, historical, and contemporary realities. In this network, for instance, the fictional Bullingbrook of Shakespeare's play, the actor representing him in the performance on stage, the historical Bullingbrook and the contemporary Earl of Essex are blended. The four input spaces are history, play, performance with a focus on the actor (representing Bullingbrook), and performance with a focus on the spectator (associating the character with Essex). Matching produces counterpart connections between the input spaces, like e.g. a dead king vs. a living actor. The blend works by selective projection, as not all elements and relations from the input spaces are fused in the blend. The emergent structure of the blend is generated through composition of projection from the input spaces, through completion (that is silently added to or recruited from background meaning), and through elaboration, i.e. the actual running of the blend (Fauconnier and Turner 40-46).

While watching a performance "we are simultaneously aware of the actor moving and talking on a stage in front of an audience, and of the corresponding character moving and talking within the represented story world" (Fauconnier and Turner 266). McConachie applies this to an understanding of actor / character as "a blend of real people and fictional figures whom audiences readily credit with real intentions and emotions when they live in the blend while watching a play" (48). The situation in the theatre thus houses several cognitive levels or mental spaces existing side by side. Apart from the actor / character blend the historical

reigns of the 14th/15th century kings are to be taken into account, inviting comparison with the fictional world of Shakespeare's plays at the time of Elizabeth I, under whose reign they are written and staged, which – in turn – invites comparison with contemporary politics.

The doubleness of theatricality and the performance situation depend on the spectators' ability in conceptual blending (Fauconnier and Turner 266-267). At the interface of history, fiction and politics, different models of memory are at work in diverse spectators. There may be moments when Richard's or Henry's court and Shakespeare's theatre merge, just as there may be occasions when Shakespeare's theatre and the Elizabethan battlefield become one.

What follows is a look at topical passages in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV* and *Henry V*. Quite in line with Amy Cook (*Neuroplay* 19), the aim is to show how CBT informs contemporary spectators' and our own understanding of performances of Shakespeare's *Henriad*, to see through the network and the emergent structure of the blend, to uncover "connections not immediately apparent" (Cook, *Neuroplay* 91), but nevertheless essentially relevant.[1]

RICHARD II

In history plays the audience's historical knowledge can be used for dramatic purposes, as Lukas Lammers (146-154) has convincingly shown through the example of *Richard II*. Shakespeare can exploit the audience's historical knowledge and create dramatic irony, e.g. when Richard calls Bullingbrook his "kingdom's heir" (1.1.116). Shakespeare provides the audience with "a third perspective" (Rackin 262), some kind of "extra role" (263) or what we could term 'additional blend', following Fauconnier and Turner. For much of the play the audience becomes complicit, even in the crimes committed. In the first acts, the spectators build up antipathy to Richard, the luxuriant, effeminate king. Only when Richard becomes a traitor can the audience finally desire his deposition. In the second part, Shakespeare builds our sympathy for Richard. His cognitive strategy works to transgress the boundary between stage and audience (Rackin 266-281).

Oatley, a leading cognitive scientist of emotion, sees Shakespeare's plays as world-building models, and discusses "these models as simulations that run on [our] minds" (15). Cook applies cognitive science to performance studies employing CBT and using neuroscience (mirror neurons) to shed light on the identification process for actors and audiences. A "performance that activates imitation in an audience is likely to be (almost literally) moving" ("Interplay" 591), for it

1 Some aspects concerning conceptual blending and the analysis of *Richard II* are based on Mettinger 93-98.

helps develop empathy. And the "literary version of empathy" (Oatley 29) is identification. According to the theory of mind, simulation is the basic psychological mechanism that – via mirror neurons – deploys empathy. Empathising leads to emotional involvement, and emotions are central to the construction of meaning (McConachie and Hart 5). So the way Shakespeare directs audience empathy and sympathy is very revealing: we have sympathy with Richard despite his faults; and we do not condemn Bullingbrook despite his usurpation. The audience seems to be in the position of making or unmaking kings, desiring their rise or fall or debating principles like providentialism or the legitimacy of power.

Besides, *Richard II* embodies instances of topical allusion. The space of performance and the space of the contemporary world are blended, creating a new space in which Richard is associated with Elizabeth and Bullingbrook with Essex. This is, to a great extent, due to Shakespeare's use of the cognitive concept of 'popularity' (not to be found in Holinshed or other sources) to construct the character of Bullingbrook, who founds his usurpation on his popularity with the people. 'Popularity' is a salient term that triggers mental processes in the audience of the late 1590s, who strongly associates it with the Earl of Essex and his cultivation of popular favour for political ends. The theatre invites critical judgement from a largely nonelite audience (Doty 189-192), who thus gains what Charles Whitney in his *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama* calls 'vicarious experience' from which they can profit in their real political world. Richard criticises Bullingbrook's wooing of the common people on leaving London:

> Our self and Bushy, Bagot here and Green,
> Observed his courtship to the common people,
> How he did seem to dive into their hearts
> With humble and familiar courtesy,
> What reverence he did throw away on slaves,
> Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles
> And patient underbearing of his fortune,
> As 'twere to banish their affects with him.
> Off goes his bonnet to an oysterwench.
> A brace of draymen bid God speed him well
> And had the tribute of his supple knee,
> With 'Thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends',
> As were our England in reversion his,
> And he our subjects' next degree in hope. (1.4.23-36)

This "bending of the aristocratic body towards the common multitude" (Bate 20) is Shakespeare's invention, which can be read as a hint at his intention to make his audience access associations with Essex.

By highlighting the phenomenon of popularity and dramatising Bullingbrook's rise to power, Shakespeare turns the theatre into an emergent space for debating the mechanisms of power or the justification of rebellion in the context of current political events; he incites the common people to reflect on, or even participate in, political matters.

The way Bullingbrook's courtship undermines hierarchy and legitimacy reminds spectators of Essex, the popular and powerful favourite of Elizabeth I, who will fall into disgrace in the course of his unsuccessful Irish campaign. While Richard looks down on commoners, Bullingbrook allies himself with them and on re-entering London finds favour with the masses in the street (5.2.12-28). Bullingbrook and Richard are both actors in different ways, with the common people as their theatrical audience. Kings and actors are subject to the same conditions of popularity: they must please audiences and they crave applause. The theatre is thus an apt setting, as it works by the same principles of applause (Doty 205). The theatrical stage and the political stage merge, thus illustrating the theatricality and performativity of power.

Many other scenes in the play trigger associations with contemporary events. Richard can rely on well-meaning and true advisers like John of Gaunt, York and Gloucester in contrast to false flatterers like Bushy, Greene, and Bagot. Gaunt in his famous deathbed oration confronts Richard with his sins: he has indulged in flattery, he has spilled royal blood and leased out England:

> A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown
> Whose compass is no bigger than thy head,
> And yet encagèd in so small a verge
> The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.
> Oh, had thy grandsire with a prophet's eye
> Seen how his son's son should destroy his sons,
> From forth thy reach he would have laid thy shame,
> Deposing thee before thou wert possessed,
> Which art possessed now to depose thyself.
> Why cousin, wert thou regent of the world
> It were a shame to let this land by lease,
> But for thy world enjoying but this land
> Is it not more than shame to shame it so?
> Landlord of England art thou now, not king,
> Thy state of law is bondslave to the law,
> And thou – (2.1.100-115)

Much in the same manner, Elizabeth, lacking a male heir like Richard, is surrounded by well-meaning favourites and evil-meaning flatterers, and Essex tries

to rescue her from such men as Cecil, Ralegh and Cobham. Elizabeth is also accused of spilling royal blood in signing Mary Stuart's death warrant. And she leases out her kingdom when granting lands, monopolies, and special privileges to favourites such as Leicester and Essex. The latter has prospered on a farm of sweet wines whose monopoly he loses on returning from Ireland (Campbell 198-200).

After Gaunt Richard's enemies hold charges against him: Northumberland reproaches him with his flatterers, Ross accuses him of charging the commons with high taxes and Willoughby says:

> And daily new exactions are devised,
> As blanks, benevolences, and I wot not what. (2.1.249-250)

'Benevolences' is a form of taxation much criticised in the 1590s. Shakespeare took the word from his source, Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which, however, clarified that this practice only dated from the late 15th century. So Shakespeare must have backdated its introduction to Richard's reign in order to shed light on contemporary events (Bate 19).

The centrality of an Irish military campaign also links history, theatre and politics: even Bullingbrook's banishment at the beginning of *Richard II* might remind spectators in 1599 of Essex, whose Irish campaign was regarded by some (including himself) as a kind of political banishment from Elizabeth's court.

The wooing for popularity "attracted Essex to the story and established parallels with the present: favourites perverting the monarch, unjust taxation, costly and mistaken Irish policies" (Bate 21). There is evidence that Essex himself had a keen interest in the play (Montrose 72). So we can imagine him sitting in the audience and greatly applauding a performance of *Richard II*, the 'signature play' of the Essex faction, which "played best to the Essex code" (Bate 16). And it is just this play that was commissioned by Charles Percy and his friends at the Globe on the eve of the Essex rebellion. The players finally yielded to the gentlemen's wishes because they were friends to the earls of Essex and Southampton, both generous benefactors and patrons, and they got extra reward and were thus probably not politically motivated (Montrose 73-75).

The performance played into the hands of the rivalling court faction around Cecil, who claimed that Essex had plotted to become another Henry IV planning to set the crown on his own head. They wanted to tie the performance as closely to Essex as possible and therefore falsely claimed it had been commissioned by Essex's steward Meyrick. Luckily for Shakespeare, John Hayward had written a prose work on *Richard II* (with a notorious dedication to Essex) that could easily be confounded with Shakespeare's work. So the commissioned performance may have prolonged Hayward's imprisonment in the Tower, he might have taken the

blame for Shakespeare, who was as little pursued as the Lord Chamberlain's Men at the Globe, who performed before the Queen on the eve of Essex's execution (Bate 22-23), which affirms continued royal favour and also continued royal authority over the public theatre. And the Privy Council might have judged the players' intention by means of audience response, i.e. the failed attempt to raise the subjects in the streets in a way saved them (Montrose 68-70).

Although Shakespeare cannot have intended the deposition scene as an allusion to the Essex rebellion (because it had not yet happened at the time of the play's conception), he must have known that showing on stage the deposition of a legitimate monarch is a delicate issue.[2] Bate concludes that "*Richard II* was probably not written as an Essex play, but it was certainly read as one" (23).

Janet Dickinson (66) – in contrast to previous critics and historians – argues that *Richard II* was not commissioned on account of the deposition scene. Firstly, it is unlikely that Essex wished to imitate the rather unhappy sequel to Richard's death, which tainted Henry's reign. Secondly, an audience of the 1590s was probably well aware of this sequel – both historically and dramatically speaking – i.e. rebellion, political instability and a weak crown. So the play was rather commissioned to stress the connection between Bullingbrook's conviction that Richard had been led astray by evil advisors and Essex's analysis of the situation at Elizabeth's court. In other words, the play provided an illustration of the need to act, i.e. to free the country from evil advisors and restore Essex to royal favour.

From Ralegh's letter to Cecil on 6 July 1597, we know that Essex liked to read contemporary affairs in the light of Richard's history (Bate 16). He saw himself like a Bullingbrook riding through the streets of London being greeted and acclaimed, as in York's description of Shakespeare's play:

> ... the duke, great Bullingbrook,
> Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed
> Which his aspiring rider seemed to know,
> With slow but stately pace kept on his course,
> Whilst all tongues cried 'God save thee, Bullingbrook!'
> You would have thought the very windows spake,
> So many greedy looks of young and old
> Through casements darted their desiring eyes

2 Textual or editorial circumstances (inclusion or omission of the deposition scene in *Richard II* or the topical lines in the fifth Chorus of *Henry V*, e.g.) together with playhouse influences, a general uncertainty about what was actually performed on stage and a lack of exact composition and performance dates complicate any analysis of topicality. The collaborative nature of early modern drama and the resulting lack of a settled text make it all the more difficult to infer audience reception, but might, on the other hand, indicate that Shakespeare in some cases had to yield to censorship or political pressure.

> Upon his visage, and that all the walls
> With painted imagery had said at once
> 'Jesu preserve thee! Welcome, Bullingbrook!' (5.2.7-17)

York's theatrical metaphor is appropriate in view of Bullingbrook's skilful performativity of the modern ruler. These performative notions of legitimacy are also to be found in *Henry IV* and *Henry V* and testify to the modernity of the *Henriad*, which, according to Jean Howard (153-154), explores – in contrast to the first tetralogy – the theatricality of power and legitimacy and acknowledges the theatre as an active and powerful participant in early modern culture.

HENRY IV

The historical rebellion of Henry Percy and his son Hotspur against King Henry IV and his son Harry, culminating in the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, lies at the core of Shakespeare's play. Contemporary playgoers must have felt reminded of the Northern Rebellion of 1569/70, where Henry Percy's descendant, Thomas Percy, and other Catholics tried to reconvert England into a Catholic country with Mary Stuart as their queen. Shakespeare in a way conceived the Percy rebellion against Henry IV upon the pattern of the Percy rebellion against Elizabeth (Campbell 237).

It seems that Shakespeare does not suggest fixed analogies that run like a common thread through his *Henriad*. The former Bullingbrook as Henry IV, a king with many problems concerning both his son Harry and the rebels, does not necessarily remind spectators of Essex. This time Shakespeare seems to choose a different strategy: on the one hand, Percy's son Hotspur might suggest parallels to Essex, both on account of his brilliant fighting and – with a different intention – his rebellion against the King / Queen. This association becomes all the more plausible if we consider that it was Charles Percy, another descendant of the Percy family and one of Essex's closest friends, who arranged for *Richard II* to be performed on the eve of the Essex rebellion. (Campbell 229-231) Essex represents a code of honour and chivalry that early audiences might have felt reminded of when hearing King Henry IV enviously regret that not his own but Percy's son "is the theme of honour's tongue" (1.1.80). Honour justifies Essex's behaviour when seeking a direct way to reach the Queen in the course of his rebellion. Interestingly enough, the same line of argumentation was used both by Percy and his followers in the Northern Rebellion of 1569 and by ancestors of the Percy family who in 1403 explained that "the slanderous reports of their enimies" (Holinshed 23, qtd. in Weil and Weil 30) prevented them from directly approaching the King (Weil and Weil 29-30).

Henry Percy's younger brother, the Earl of Worcester, asked by the King if he is willing to avoid the battle, justifies their rebellion:

> We were the first and dearest of your friends.
> ...
> It was myself, my brother, and his son,
> That brought you home, and boldly did outdare
> The dangers of the time. ...
> You ...
> Forgot your oath to us at Doncaster,
> And being fed by us, you used us so
> As that ungentle gull the cuckoo's bird
> Useth the sparrow – ...
> We were enforced for safety's sake to fly
> Out of your sight, and raise this present head,
> Whereby we stand opposèd, by such means
> As you yourself have forged against yourself,
> By unkind usage, dangerous countenance,
> And violation of all faith and troth
> Sworn to us in your younger enterprise. (5.1.33-71)

The Percys had once helped the King seize the crown from Richard, but the King's ingratitude and hostility towards them forced them to act. They were entrusted with the subduing of the Welsh rebellion, but their attempts at making peace with the enemy as little met the King's approval as later Essex's attempt to make peace with the Irish met Elizabeth's approval.

On the other hand, Shakespeare makes use of indirect topical allusions as far as Essex is concerned. Charles Whitney ("Festivity") draws our attention to the Coventry scene, an otherwise inconspicuous scene that focuses on the strand of plot dominated by Falstaff. Here Falstaff, as an infantry captain, leads his recruits, whom he defines as "food for powder" (4.2.54), to the decisive battle of Shrewsbury, where they will find their death. The scene revolves around the problem of recruiting, which Elizabethan audiences were only too familiar with after Essex's sacking of Cadiz in 1596. It contains in a nutshell all the bad living conditions that Elizabethans around 1596 had to cope with – from fear of invasion and domestic unrest to bad harvests, high food prices, poverty, famine, and vagrancy (Whitney, "Festivity" 415-416). The Elizabethan audience in a public playhouse being a mixture of people from all social strata – from the so-called groundlings in the pit to the noblemen in the galleries – it is only natural that such a scene with its serious and festive facets triggers many different blends in diverse groups of playgoers.

Essex was celebrated as a military hero and reached the peak of his popularity after his victory over Spain at Cadiz. And the noblemen among the audience, who were not directly affected by the war, might have rejoiced in the tavern atmosphere of this scene. But the ordinary men who lived in danger of being recruited for military service – after Cadiz more brutally than ever before – were likely to have felt anger at the abuse of recruitment presented on stage (although the recruits themselves did probably not appear in person). Thus the Coventry scene could "prompt a constructive attitude of dissent because it affirm[ed] a [...] plebeian-centered community that opposes contemporary abuses" (Whitney, "Festivity" 443). Falstaff's main speech (4.2.11-48) addresses the playgoers as if they were companions in the tavern giggling over his clever tricks (Whitney, "Festivity" 422), while they might access different memories of the Cadiz expedition:

> If I be not ashamed of my soldiers, I am a soused gurnet. I
> have misused the King's press damnably. I have got in exchange of
> a hundred-and-fifty soldiers three hundred and odd pounds. ... (4.2.11-13)

Falstaff's actions of drafting civilians into the army or recruiting prisoners might reflect the early modern abuse of these practices, including emptying the London prisons in 1596 to furnish recruits for the Cadiz expedition (Weil and Weil 166-167).

> ... Nay, and the villains
> march wide betwixt the legs as if they had gyves on, for indeed I had
> the most of them out of prison. ... (4.2.33-35)

While Essex's glorious victory at Cadiz is tainted by the brutal procedures of recruitment, Shakespeare finds a more subtle way to serve his interests and foster his positive reception among his first audiences (Whitney, "Festivity" 431). Probably on political pressure from William Brooke, Lord Cobham, himself Lord Chamberlain and thus patron of Shakespeare's company for a short period between August 1596 and March 1597, he changes the name of Oldcastle into Falstaff (Weil and Weil 5). Interestingly enough, the historical Oldcastle, a close friend of Henry V, was an ancestor of the Cobhams, Essex's rivals at court. He was tried for his Lollard beliefs in 1413, escaped from the Tower, organised a rebellion against Henry V, which failed, and thus sealed his death ("Oldcastle"). Lollards were then absorbed into Protestantism during the English Reformation. Falstaff might have appealed in diverse ways to audience members that adhered to different religious beliefs in an age of religious wars between Catholics and Protestants and between moderate Protestants and radical Puritans. In his biblical allusions, Falstaff mocks his own and other religious pretensions and

makes people laugh, thus possibly alleviating the sharp edge of the situation. Still, Shakespeare is sailing close "to the high winds of Reformation controversy" (Weil and Weil 35). He satirises Oldcastle the martyr and does not take Falstaff's "amend[ing his] life" (3.3.18) seriously. And he chooses Falstaff / Oldcastle as a companion for Prince Hal, who in his soliloquy reveals his plan of (spiritual) reform and of redeeming the evil times, perhaps meaning Richard's and his own (Weil and Weil 10-11, 35-36):

> I'll so offend, to make offence a skill,
> Redeeming time when men think least I will. (1.2.176-177)

In a way, Ben Jonson's famous appraisal of Shakespeare being 'not of an age, but for all time' is only half true, because he was also 'of an age', namely the heyday of the Reformation with severe religious conflicts inviting spectators to take sides, e.g. when evaluating Falstaff as a kind of early Protestant martyr or simply as a buffoon providing entertainment (Weil and Weil 29).

Lollard views often coincided with later radical sectarian ones, so that Oldcastle could mean a double embarrassment – in terms of religion and as a rebel against the King – to his descendants, the Cobhams (Weil and Weil 36). Falstaff teases or threatens the Prince: "By the Lord, I'll be a traitor then, when thou art king." (1.2.119)

Shakespeare's satire of Oldcastle in order to make fun of his descendants, who were Essex's enemies, would of course satisfy Essex when watching the performance (Whitney, "Festivity" 433). By presenting the aristocratic Oldcastle as a clown and thus fusing history and comedy, "Shakespeare made his play potentially more subversive" (Weil and Weil 26). Falstaff was an extraordinary figure that has kept fascinating audiences for centuries and must have made a strong impression on contemporary playgoers (Weil and Weil 41). But it is to be assumed that mainly the more sophisticated playgoers lived in this particular blend of political rebellion. For the majority of the early audiences, fascination was perhaps rather due to his clown role offering distraction from the daily routine than to his past religious or political roles with a vague potential for topicality.

HENRY V

This is Shakespeare's history play focussing on Henry V's war and victory in France during the Hundred Years' War. James Shapiro claims that "in 1599 it was impossible to recall Henry V's celebrated invasion of France without reflecting on the fate of Essex's much anticipated campaign in Ireland" (100), which had in itself something theatrical about it. Essex and his men gathered at Tower Hill on

27 March 1599 at 2 o'clock, just about the time when performances began at the Globe. The opening Chorus admonishes the audience to

> Think when we talk of horses that you see them
> Printing their proud hooves i'th'receiving earth. (1.0.26-27)

But the departure for Ireland was undermined by thunderstorm and hail showers – in a way a bad omen for the whole enterprise (Shapiro 116-117).

In CBT terms, popular Henry V comes to life to fight a battle in France sharing properties with popular Essex fighting a battle in Ireland. Shapiro claims that "[c]onquest, national identity, and mixed origins – the obsessive concerns of Elizabethan Irish policy – run deep through *Henry the Fifth* and sharply distinguish it from previous English accounts of Henry's reign" (112). This means that Shakespeare deliberately adds analogies to the Irish campaign in random allusions to Ireland. But there are also direct references to Essex, for instance, when Gower mentions a soldier with "a beard of the general's cut" (3.7.65). Essex's distinctive square-cut beard triggered this fashion after the Cadiz expedition in 1596 (Gurr, *Henry V* 145). This allusion creates a blend between Henry V's fictional or theatrical world and the contemporary world of the London playgoers who access memories of Essex's victory at Cadiz. Besides, Henry's mercy at Harfleur (3.4) is not recorded of the historical King, but is rather a reference to Essex's generosity towards the Spanish people in Cadiz (Campbell 287).

The Chorus to Act 2 in an overwhelming patriotic rhetoric presents a nation responding to a call to arms, while in early modern London only few were willing to follow Essex to Ireland. Their only motivation was the money to be made by cheating the army. This pattern of expectation (raised by the Chorus) and disenchantment (in the action to follow) is reflected in the Irish campaign and familiar enough to early modern audiences (Shapiro 106-107).

In a brilliant essay on "The Mathematical Blends of Narrator and Hero in Shakespeare's *Henry V*", Amy Cook (348-363) presents CBT as helping audiences and readers to understand how the importance of numbers in the initial Chorus and in Henry's 'band of brothers' speech

> We few, we happy few, we band of brothers –
> For he today that sheds his blood with me
> Shall be my brother; ... (4.3.60-62)

elucidates the eventual consolidation of hierarchical structures. "This wooden O" (1.0.13) is too small for the size of battlefields and therefore the Chorus offers a "crooked figure" (15), a zero, lined up with a one and many zeros, which can actually make a million if located in the right place and proper relation to each

other. The emergent space constituting a million evokes power, force, and size. The established network about numbers, proportions and divisions and the corresponding power prepare the audience for Henry's 'band of brothers' speech. The relativity of numbers to power is central to the emotional and rhetorical strategy of Henry's victory at Agincourt. By seeing themselves as parts of a whole, the soldiers are motivated to achieve the impossible – despite all numeric evidence. Yet, after the battle and the victory – i.e., after the Moor has done his duty – the traditional hierarchy is re-affirmed: zeros remain zeros (with war veterans like Pistol unrewarded), the focus (and the credit for the victory) is on Henry and the aristocracy. Shakespeare ennobles him with the final victory and the French princess as his spouse. And in the theatre, Henry is perhaps played by the lead actor and star Richard Burbage. Thus the blend of the million at the beginning evokes mental spaces that support ideology and hierarchy – also in the minds of early modern playgoers.

On the other hand, critics have time and again pointed out that Shakespeare is glorifying Essex and his military skills in the character of Henry V. In the months before Essex's return from Ireland, audiences certainly lived in the blend that associated Henry's war in France with Essex's war in Ireland. The Chorus to the final act of the play explicitly invites the audience to shift their attention from the theatrical world of Henry V to the real world of 1599 London to welcome home Essex, the "general of our gracious empress" (5.0.30) Elizabeth. Shakespeare explicitly breaks the theatrical illusion (Shapiro 101) and merges the input spaces of the historical, fictional and theatrical worlds of Henry V with the political world of Essex, who is expected by the audience to return victoriously from Ireland, but only between March and August 1599, as Essex ingloriously returned in September. So the Chorus seems to have been written only for Essex's time and only during the play's first composition to promote a patriotic reading and to align the audience unanimously with their hero (Gurr, "Introduction" 6-7). But it is also possible that the audience never witnessed a performance with these celebratory lines, which were, of course, deleted in September 1599.[3]

In any case, *Henry V* is an ambivalent play about war that reflects an Elizabethan audience's dividedness on this issue. The play brilliantly catches this

3 Shapiro (102-103) suggests the possibility of reading the general "bringing rebellion broachèd on his sword" (5.0.32) as a warning that Essex might return to London leading a rebellious army. Essex was still suspected by some of his enemies to pretend to the throne himself, to which he seems to have been entitled via Richard Earl of Cambridge, who figures in the play as a traitor conspiring against King Henry. Shakespeare does probably not deliberately link Essex with the Earl of Cambridge. According to Bevington (20) there is also a vague possibility that Shakespeare is not celebrating Essex in the Chorus, but his successor Charles Blount.

atmosphere of indulging in martial glory and being weary of military challenges. And Shakespeare – as usual – avoids giving away his political views by inserting a whole range of critical voices and having even Henry hold competing arguments and roles in balance (Shapiro 104-105).

THEATRICALITY AND PERFORMANCE

According to Heywood's 1612 *Apology for Actors* (Shakespeare's) history plays have the function to teach moral lessons, obedience to the sovereign and avoidance of rebellion (Montrose 44). But Shakespeare does not really fulfil this task. One of his (and Marlowe's) innovative achievements is the very renunciation of moral advice in contrast to medieval drama. Royal obedience and danger of rebellion are not literally taught but underlie opinion making by the audience in the process of performance.

The social composition at the Globe constitutes an important political factor. Though literacy was comparatively high in urban London, it was by no means a prerequisite for attending performances. Playgoing had a special (aural) appeal to the illiterate as well, who relied on their hearing capacities, but were also attracted by spectacle or by the players with whom most playgoers developed a close familiarity (Gurr, *Playgoing* 64-65, 126). While many groups of society like women, servants or apprentices were excluded from the Elizabethan political nation, they all – on paying a penny – had access to observing and judging the player-kings, the actors who represented kings, on the stage. The fictional characters in the plays are aware of this. Richard II, e.g., when reflecting on his role muses how ordinary persons are in the position of allowing him a small space where he can be king (Montrose 81):

> ... and there the antic sits
> Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp,
> Allowing him a breath, a little scene
> To monarchise, ... (3.2.162-165)

The common man in the audience is allowed to listen to the King's soliloquy, to his inner thoughts and problems, which means that Shakespeare is thus initiating him to state secrets and problems that he is denied in real life (Montrose 84). The soliloquy has firmly established itself by the 1590s as an apt medium for the exploration of the human soul, for meditation, self-presentation, and for the dynamic interaction between actor and spectators. Thus also Henry V, complaining about the burden of royal responsibility, expresses disapproval at being subject to theatrical representation, to the breath of the actor who plays his part:

> We must bear all.
> O hard condition, twin-born with greatness,
> Subject to the breath of every fool, whose sense
> No more can feel but his own wringing (4.1.205-208)

and to the imaginative capacity of the audience, as the introductory Prologue reminds us:

> For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings,
> Carry them here and there, jumping o'er times,
> Turning th'accomplishment of many years
> Into an hour-glass. For the which supply
> Admit me Chorus to this history,
> Who, Prologue-like, your humble patience pray,
> Gently to hear, kindly to judge our play. (1.0.28-34)

This introductory Chorus perfectly illustrates the relationship between playwright, actors and audience and literally invokes the mental spaces that are blended. Shakespeare explicitly appeals to "the imaginative authority of the common subject in constituting the political authority of the sovereign" (Montrose 82):

> O for a muse of fire, that would ascend
> The brightest heaven of invention,
> A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
> And monarchs to behold the swelling scene.
> Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
> Assume the port of Mars, and at his heels
> (Leashed in, like hounds) should famine, sword and fire
> Crouch for employment. But pardon, gentles all,
> The flat unraisèd spirits, that hath dared,
> On this unworthy scaffold, to bring forth
> So great an object. Can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France? ...
> ...
> And let us, ciphers to this great account,
> On your imaginary forces work.
> ...
> Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts.
> Into a thousand parts divide one man,
> And make imaginary puissance. (1.0.1-25)

The "warlike Harry, like himself" (5) is an allusion to the actor and to the performative side of the character, who, like Richard II and Henry IV, but also

like the contemporary Queen, Elizabeth I, was fond of self-performance and self-fashioning. They all shared knowledge about how to perform multiple and important roles demanding that audiences live in several blends. The "port of Mars" (6) might signify the actor's (martial) part (Gurr, *Henry V* 78); "this unworthy scaffold" (10) together with "this cockpit" (11) convey either an idea of the modest size of the stage and theatre if the play was still performed at the Curtain or are meant satirically if it was one of the first plays to open the newly built Globe (Gurr, "Introduction" 4); "imaginary forces" (18) and "imaginary puissance" (25) both appeal to the spectators' power of imagination. The audience is expected to follow the time travel, the compression of several war years framing Henry's victories from 1415 to 1420 into the few hours of performance ("hour-glass", 31). They should not only see (spectators), but also "hear" (34, audience), i.e. perceive with all their senses, and "judge" (34), which involves a cognitive aspect, including one of drawing analogies to their reality, living in many blends.

The third Prologue ends by encouraging the collective audience to "eke out our performance with your mind" (3.0.35), to evoke and reproduce the victory imaginatively, just as Henry had called upon his soldiers in his 'band of brothers' speech to bring about the victory on the battlefield (Calderwood 178). And early audiences might collectively have hoped for Essex's victory in Ireland while hearing the Chorus speak.

The fictional kings' awareness of being at the mercy of both the common spectator and the actors who play their parts, is in a way mirrored by the real aristocratic protagonists in Elizabethan London. The Queen and Essex shared a predilection for self-presentation, spectacle and ceremony, but they both feared losing control over their (re)presentation by actors on the stage. Elizabeth is known for allegedly saying "we princes ... are set on stages, in the sight and view of all the world" (qtd. in Montrose 80) and Essex is said to have anxiously predicted to the Queen in 1600 that "shortly they will play me in what forms they list upon the stage" (qtd. in Montrose 82). This visibility is in a Foucauldian sense related to power, but also suggests a kind of vulnerability. And the performativity of power, or – in Greenblatt's terms – "the whole theatrical apparatus of royal power" (167), is especially relevant to history plays focussing on English kings, whose creation became culturally and politically important. In his *Henriad* "Shakespeare dramatized the theatricality of power as a recurrent contest among historical actors to control the *personation* of the King" (Montrose 93). The legitimacy of King Henry IV and his son, for example, who makes his way from the prodigal prince to the crown, crucially depends on this personation, the characterisation and representation, of the King in the theatre. The King or Queen should not be exposed to ridicule in the theatre, and the royal office should not be damaged.

Shakespeare might have felt attracted to Henry's reign because it offered much "scope for an imaginative exploration of the interplay between theatricality and political legitimation" (Montrose 98). In other words, a performance in the Elizabethan public theatre invites analogies between the fictional world of the characters and the experiential world of the audience, and the emergent structure of the blend is an individual one in each spectator, which can neither be controlled nor is something that Shakespeare is accountable for. In this sense Shakespeare's *Henriad* can be perceived as not necessarily promoting Tudor principles like providentialism, but as resonating with potentially subversive vibrations. But the responsibility for this lies solely with the spectator.

In Montrose's (100) terms, the Elizabethan public theatre is a rather unreliable ideological medium in the state service, but it does not work as a means for sedition either, as the case of the failed Essex rebellion suggests. It has a diffuse power that is felt in the process of performance, in which the players and their audience participate in the making of meaning. It does not explicitly advocate political views, but leaves the adoption of such rather implicitly to those who consume the performance.

Apart from the Queen's reliance on pageant and display, her relation to acting in general, and to the public playhouse in particular, is also worth consideration. Her licensing of playing as a profession is an important step that protects the players and satisfies her subjects' needs for entertainment. The public theatre is based on a mixture of aristocratic patronage and market relations. Tensions between Court and City are manifest in the royal taste for theatrical entertainment, whereas Puritans, and also orthodox Protestant clergymen, seem to associate playing with a Catholic aftertaste seeing analogies between playing and preaching, between spectacle and satanic practices (Montrose 54-65). The theatrical performance has an affective power in the positive sense of entertainment, inspiration, reform, but also in a negative sense, which is visible from the antitheatrical discourse that attacks the public theatre as a corrupt(ing) and immoral institution, a hotbed of vice, mob violence and dangerous ideas (Montrose 45-50).

Elizabethan drama-in-performance seems caught up in an ambivalent mixture between business, entertainment, intellectual stimulation, reflection on political conflicts, moral instruction, and ideological therapy (Montrose 40). Shakespeare's Globe, the most successful prototype of an Elizabethan professional public theatre, is not just a theatre, but a world in itself, as is evident from the *theatrum mundi* trope. It assembles an audience of thousands of people with a wide social and mental composition, many different levels of awareness as to dramatic illusion and different tastes. The commercial playhouse is "an emergent sociocultural space" (Montrose 20) with a potential to function as a political forum or social platform, but also to satirise contemporary politics.

The early modern public theatre is "counted on for its political and topical edge" (Shapiro 56).

Yet, given the close link between the Queen and the theatre (company) it is hardly conceivable that Shakespeare in his *Henriad* could or did afford open offense against the Crown. His acting company enjoyed court favour, even before they – as King's Men – came under the direct patronage of King James I in 1603. Henry Carey, created 1st Baron Hunsdon by Elizabeth I in 1559, enjoyed Elizabeth's particular favour and generosity. His 1570 victory as Lieutenant General of the forces loyal to the Queen in the Northern Rebellion had earned him even more important positions at court, among them as her Lord Chamberlain (Lee). He was thus patron of the arts and the theatre, from 1594 on in particular of Shakespeare's playing company, who performed at public playhouses but also at court.

Besides, Oldcastle's descendant William Brooke was not only married to Frances Newton, a close friend of Elizabeth I, but – as already mentioned – succeeded Henry Hunsdon on the latter's death in 1596 as patron of Shakespeare's company.

CONCLUSION

The central question as to whether Shakespeare's *Henriad* is an instrument of contestation or containment can perhaps be solved – in accordance with Louis Montrose (104-105) – through compromise: on a very small formal scale, and only as performed in the public theatre, it could be judged as potentially contesting the dominant ideology. His *Henriad* might thus not simply be outright political propaganda promoting the Tudor myth and warning against the dangers of civil war and rebellion, as many critics have claimed.

Shakespeare's attitude to his *Henriad* heroes is as crucial in this context as his relation to Essex, although the latter is next to impossible to characterise. Southampton's association with Essex probably dates from 1591 and was firmly established in 1594 (Hammer 286). Southampton was also a close friend and patron of Shakespeare's, which might indirectly indicate Shakespeare's appreciation of Essex. E.E. Stoll (99) even speaks of the Earl of Essex as Shakespeare's friend. Both Southampton and Essex were avid playgoers and friends of the Lord Chamberlain's Men (while the hostile Cecil faction was oriented towards the Lord Admiral's Men). Both advocated war and hated the Cecil faction. Thus we can forge plausible assumptions that Shakespeare launched a campaign for Essex. According to Bevington (14), Southampton was Catholic, Shakespeare allegedly sympathised with Catholicism. Essex was tolerant in religious matters, but strongly insisting on aggressive war against Catholic Spain, and probably

a supporter of James VI as successor. Also Essex's popularity with the common man was something he seems to have shared with Shakespeare, who was not born into a noble family and could entertain largely nonelite masses at the Globe theatre.

On the other hand, Bevington considers Shakespeare's allusions to Essex so vague that we can read his admiration of the Earl into his entire dramatic production but that the reverse can also easily be assumed. We know that he had to be careful to avoid censorship and that he escaped conflict with the authorities, when his fellow writers were imprisoned. But it is hardly conceivable that Shakespeare could stay neutral in the political climate of his day, which must have stimulated his imagination. It seems that some middle position is to be assumed. He admired Essex as a man struggling for power but did not approve of his dangerous provocations of Elizabeth towards the end of his career. Perhaps he shared his contemporaries' sympathy with Essex even after the latter's arrest and execution (which happened after the conception of his *Henriad*), thus bearing witness to an opinion independent of authorities.

All in all, Shakespeare's intentions are as poorly documented as an early modern audience's reception of his (history) plays, but CBT might at least help us to read his *Henriad* in a new light. In this sense, we can imagine Shakespeare to have intended many diverse emergent structures of historical, fictional, theatrical and contemporary blends among various playgoers. History plays focusing on historical English kings offered the perfect vehicle for opening new and critical ways of discussing the Queen's role and relationship with Essex or the possible contestation of royal authority. Shakespeare deliberately obscured his intentions by allowing many and new associations in different *Henriad* plays to engage audiences in diverse political discussions about the legitimacy of power and to elicit responses to the pressing problems of his day that seriously concerned them, as they could lead to a much feared civil war – like religious conflict, the continuing war with Spain, the campaign in Ireland, and the unsettled succession; Essex figures prominently in each of these problems. Nonetheless, possible sedition is in the mind of the beholder.

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Topičnost in konceptualno mešanje v Shakespearjevi *Henriadi* – Primer grofa Esseškega

Cilj tega članka je analizirati topične aluzije na grofa Esseškega v Shakespearjevi Henriadi v smislu konceptualnega mešanja ter možnosti ugotovitve avtorjevih intenc v teh dramah.

Ključne besede: : Shakespeare, *Henriada*, grof Esseški, konceptualno mešanje, topičnost

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The Maori and the *Pakeha* in C. K. Stead's Novel *Talking About O'Dwyer*

Igor Maver

Abstract

The article focuses on a recent novel by the contemporary New Zealand author C.K. Stead, *Talking about O'Dwyer*. It represents an indictment of war *per se*, war as a collective madness and its consequences for the life destinies of every single individual caught in it. The Second World War and the independence war in Croatia in the 1990s are minutely described and juxtaposed in this work: both brought to the people, as all wars, suffering and death and have radically changed and marked their lives and relationships. C.K. Stead writes about four locales in very different time periods, New Zealand, Oxford, and especially Croatia and Greece, where the two wars that affect the lives of the protagonists took place.

Keywords: C.K. Stead, New Zealand literature, war

The first part of the title of this article deliberately points to the basic tension in New Zealand cultural and political history, i.e. the history of the Maori islands of Aotearoa (the country of the long white cloud)/New Zealand before the arrival of the colonizers, on the one hand, and the white-settler *Pakeha* tradition on the other, from the very beginning of the charting of New Zealand physically and spiritually for the Western imagination in 1769. It was, similarly to Australia, labelled *terra australis incognita*, the construct of the wildest Western-European projections of extreme exoticism of the early (pre)romantic bourgeoning just before the French Revolution, which is the merit of the legendary British explorer of the South Seas, Captain James Cook who 'discovered' Australia in 1770. His statues or grotesquely overdimensioned images in more or less precious materials can still today be found in several Australian and/or New Zealand museums, hotels or even the most dingy country inns: history can (sometimes) sell for profit. Just like its bigger neighbour Australia, New Zealand too has for a long time felt the 'tyranny of distance' (from the British colonial centre) and some sort of geographic schizophrenia. At the same time it was, nationally politically and culturally increasingly independent, caught in the love-hate relationship with the imperial English heart of Albion, which was being more and more exhausted by the decolonization processes all the way until the Second World War.

However, New Zealand has had a very different cultural and political development from its South Pacific great neighbour continent Australia. This is especially due to the indigenous Maori, caught in endless exhausting tribal struggles, who, nonetheless unified, signed with the English the Waitangi Treaty in 1840, which stipulated that they cede their sovereignty to the British in exchange for their protection but with an assured ownership of their lands. The British despite an implicit deceit still had to treat the Maori as equal interlocutors, which in contrast cannot be said for Australian Aborigines, whom the colonial authorities practically wanted to (and succeeded to) wipe out in certain parts of Australia. After many problems and tensions and a war between the *Pakeha* (the white people) and the Maori in the mid-nineteenth century, New Zealand first became a dominion within Great Britain and achieved its full independence only in 1947. During the recent years Maori culture and literature (*Maoritanga*) became strengthened, perhaps even more than the neighbouring Aboriginal one. The 1980s saw many new discords between the Maori and the *Pakeha*, since the New Zealand government tried to partly revise the Treaty of Waitangi with financial reparations to numerous Maori tribes whose lands were unjustifiably confiscated.

The past two decades have seen the rise of the literary imagination of the 'New' Pacific and thus of the indigenous production in English over the entire South Pacific and Oceania (apart from New Zealand e.g. also from Samoa, Fiji, Hawai'i, the Solomon Islands, the Cook Islands and Papua New Guinea). The 'New' Pacific

literary-cultural body in the making is, as authors claim, traditionally a tattooed body and represents a combination (and certainly not a kind of transcultural hybrid) of the original indigenous Pacific tradition and mythology in their culturally almost completely absorbed English, which after Edward Said deconstructs and demystifies the construed Euro-American stereotypes of the 'Orient', in this instance Pacific culture. Authors that have made it internationally with their writings are, for example, Patricia Grace, Alan Duff, Albert Wendt, Witi Ihimaera, Keri Hulme, Marjorie Crocombe, Vilsoni Hereniko, Subramani, Epeli Hau'ofa, Haunani-Kay Trask and others. Many of these are actually from New Zealand, which in this geographical milieu a sort of cultural superpower, especially as regards the development of the new Pacific indigenous literary creativity (Hereniko).

The first major, internationally acclaimed literary author (many of whom were women) from New Zealand was Katherine Mansfield, who managed to break through the physical and spiritual borders of her homeland and the prejudice against the colonial women of her day. She was active in the London modernist Bloomsbury group scene (Virginia Woolf, D.H. Lawrence and others), who in the period between the two world wars far away from her constrictive New Zealand colonial context published the famous short story collections *Bliss and Other Stories* (1920) and *The Garden Party and Other Stories* (1922) and whose creativity was interrupted by her untimely death. Today the best known author from New Zealand is probably Janet Frame (1924-2004), who with her novels brought into New Zealand writing a whole new dimension: *To the Is-Land* (1983), *An Angel at My Table* (1984), *The Envoy from Mirror City* (1985), *Carpathians* (1988). A film based on her autobiographical trilogy *An Angel at My Table* (1990) resulted in the breakthrough of New Zealand film internationally, as well as the woman film-director Jane Campion, later on famous for her in-depth visual depictions of not understood and suppressed women especially in the colonial/Victorian milieu (e.g. the film *The Piano* and *The Portrait of a Lady*).

C. K. (Christian Karlson) Stead (b. 1932) became a well-known New Zealand writer only after his withdrawal from critical and academic life, which had been extremely productive and successful indeed. After his poetry beginnings in the 1950s he became a professor of literature at the University of Auckland and the author of a very well-received study of English poetic modernism (*The New Poetic*, 1964). In his academic career Stead dedicated much of his research time to the short story genre and particularly that of Katherine Mansfield. Since the 1980s he has been retired but during this time he has also established himself as a well-known New Zealand author of fiction: e.g. *All Visitors Ashore* (1984), *The Death of the Body* (1986), *Sister Hollywood* (1989), *The Singing Whakapapa* (1994), *The End of the Century at the End of the World* (1992, rpt. 1999). His recent book *Mansfield* (2004), a fictional biography of the writer Katherine Mansfield, was

shortlisted for several literary prizes, including the Commonwealth Writers' Prize. C. K. Stead's fiction from his mature period is on the one hand very personal, while on the other he has also been labelled a metafictional author, for his books always reflect their own fictional status and the process of the genesis of the narrative. Such are, for instance, the movement between parallel narrative levels, set in the present and the past, the usage of supposedly 'original' documents writen by the protagonists, often the characters discuss the very process of writing the novel. On the other hand, Stead's novels are very lucid and straightforward, written in a realist manner, confessional even, with clear plots, although poetic passages and philosophical intellectual elements in them are plentiful as well (cf. Robinson).

One of the several narrative levels of the novel *Talking about O'Dwyer* (1999) refers to the period during the Second World War, when Donovan O'Dwyer as a *Pakeha* – a white New Zealander and commanding officer in the so-called 'Maori' batallion of the New Zealand division, in the fight for the Maleme airport during the battle for Crete between the English and the Germans, loses one of his men: the Maori Joe Panapa dies in unclear circumstances, which as a consequence causes his family, through aunt Pixie to pronounce a curse over O'Dwyer, a *makutu.* When he dies fity years later as a professor, a *don*, at Oxford University, his colleague and compatriot from New Zealand in Oxford, Mike Newall, is the only one that knows the whole story about O'Dwyer and this tragic event. Following a curious set of circumstances it also becomes his own, connected with his memories of youth, which decisively start to influence his present.

Stead masterfully intertwines these two stories in different time frameworks and the reader is confronted with a mosaic and something of a whodunit thriller operating through talking about O'Dwyer between Newall and his older Oxford colleague and friend Bertie Winterstoke over lunches in the local pub, while the complete truth is revealed only after O'Dwyer's funeral. Was O'Dwyer really responsible for the death of the Maori private Joe Panapa? This is what Newall was asking himself throughout his whole life, which is why he at all costs tried to reconstruct the story of Panapa's death, from letters, a diary, and most of all from the events and talk about his own life, which the author interestingly puts into the third person narrative. Newall, too, was a New Zealand expatriate in England, where he met his compatriot O'Dwyer, whom he had always admired and who also helped him in his professional advancement in Oxford. The migrant or rather the expatriate perspective is an important aspect of the novel, which is true of quite a few Australian and New Zealand literary works. Also, the larger context of talking between Oxford dons about O'Dwyer is somewhat reminiscent of the Anglo-American tradition of the so-called campus novel.

Mike Newall's best friend and next-door neighbour of his youth in New Zealand was Frano Panapa and he was the son of the very Maori soldier Joe Panapa

killed in the war. Frano was the son of Joe and in the marriage with the Croatian migrant Ljuba Selenich, with whom also Frano's cousin Marica was living at the time. Mike was spending carefree years of youth with Frano that are realistically described from the point of view of the New Zealand way of life, 'New Zealand dream', and the atmosphere of relative intercultural and inter-racial tolerance and co-existence between the Maori, migrants from Europe and New Zealanders of Anglo-Celtic descent in the late forties and fifties of the previous century.

> There was also the barrier of language. The younger Dalmatian adults, recently arrived, struggled with English; their parents spoke it hardly at all. And though the children were fluent in their language, they went to the local Catholic school, while the Newalls went to the State school, Henderson Primary. The two school groups, when their paths crossed, sometimes shouted juvenile insults back and forth. At those times the Newall and Selenich children behaved as if they didn't know one another. But on their home territories, which lay side by side, or back to back, divided only by a sagging wire fence, it would have needed a parental embargo to prevent fraternisation. There was no embargo. They played together, wandered in and out of one another's houses, were invited to one another's birthday parties, argued, as they grew older, about Papal infallibility and transubstatiation, and became part each of the other's lives and landscape. (17)

However, the love that bursts out between Mike and Marica put an end to the sweet dreams of youth: Frano is not able to accept this fact and dies in a car crash just after the revelation of their love. He may have even committed suicide, which the author does not explicitly confirm, nor deny. Mike's relationship with Marica is severed and he is quite shocked and sad.

> The day after the death Mike walked all the way to Bridge Avenue, and sat where he and Frano had gone so often to swim. As he walked down Te Atatu Road, and as he sat alone watching the tide flow into the estuary, he was saying the word "dead" silently to himself, over and over, slowly, like a funeral march. Sometimes it took on its full painful meaning, at other times it became only a sound, an utterance, from which meaning vanished. (89)

Life then takes him, as a New Zealander, to the Vietnam war and, as he is an expert in the philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein, to advance his academic career in the United States of America. Then he moves to Oxford and becomes estranged form his wife Gillian, whom he painfully divorces, although they remain in close contact. This is one of the important narrative levels of the novel about Mike's intimate private life, interspersed with memories of the love of his youth Marica Selenich and the new, much younger woman he falls in love with in Croatia, Ira, while searching for answers about O'Dwyer and Marica. Mike Newall, professor

of philosophy at Oxford is after years of 'talking about' O'Dwyer with his friend Winterstoke eventually brought to Croatia (Zagreb and Dalmatia), which was in the 1990s at war and in the process of gaining independence from Yugslavia that was falling apart. During his visit he becomes intimately close with Ira and makes contact with Ljuba, the widow of the Maori private Joe Panapa. She had in the meantime moved back to Dalmatia from New Zealand and in the search for her he once again encounters his long-lost love from his youth, Marica Selenich.

> Mike explains. "Stella – my sister in New Zealand – she's still friends with the Selenich family. She phoned me. Ljuba Panapa – Frano's mother – had gone back to live in Croatia. She'd been there quite a few years, resettled in Dalmatia, in the area the family came from. But now trouble was looming. Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. Belgrade was threatening. Ljuba was in a disputed area. The family heard from a relative in Zagreb that her house had been damaged in a bombardment – or possibly destroyed, they weren't sure. They were worried. My sister wanted to know whether I had any way of finding out what had happened. They put the idea into my head. I'd visit Croatia before going to New Zealand. I'd be the one bringing out news. Mainly of course for Marica. She was always close to her aunt." (29)

On his deathbed Donovan O'Dwyer had asked Mike to scatter his ashes over Panapa's grave at Crete in Greece. Only towards the end of the book, in examining the causes, consequences and 'evidence' as in a detective story, do we learn that O'Dwyer shot Panapa, mortally wounded, in the head, to prevent him from falling into German hands (they were successfully occupying the Maleme airport); this is what Joe had been begging him to do. The curse, *makutu*, of Panapa's family over O'Dwyer had been pronounced precisely because of this shooting, which was in their view unnecessary and cruel, since they did not know the other circumstances of the death until the very death of O'Dwyer, who bore the curse stoically throughout his life and did not want to upset them any more.

Stead's descriptions of Zagreb during the war of independence, Dalmatia, Oxford university life, New Zealand or the US immediately after the Second World war, the events at Crete in Maleme and Chania are direct, suggestive, at times subtly poetic and without unnecessary pathos. They enable a constant tension, evocation of the memories of youth and the past, provide an insight into numerous relationships, friendly, love, family, inter-generational, inter-racial, inter-national and represent a short but very powerfully expressive vignette of war(s), serving not merely as the backdrop but as a veritable 'character' in the lives of the protagonists.

> Zagreb itself was a strange mix, half imperial grandeur, half communist austerity. Its central streets and squares, its equestrian and literary statues, its museums

> and public buildings, elegant in the style of Vienna, generous in space, redolent of privilege, told one story; its broken pavements, dingy offices, and post-Second World War apartment buildings, grey and dirty and in need of every kind of repair, told another. The foreignness of the place, and the political and military drama of the moment, took him out of himself. He found himself interested, and not unhappy. But there were moments when he plunged back into the old wretchedness. Once, in a post-office with a notice which said ZABRANJENO UNOSITI ORUZJE, and showed, like a "no smoking", or "no dogs" sign, a hand-gun in a red circle with a diagonal red line through it, he was suddenly invaded by thoughts of Gillian, their house in North Oxford, the little lopsided gate and the copper beech at the front, the lovely walled garden with its apple trees at the back, and was embarassed by a tightening throat and prickling eyes. (33)

When he and Ira travel down to Dalmatia, he is shocked to see the disastrous effects of the war:

> So he made his way down the road slowly, watchfully. Soon he was photographing the scene, the burned-out houses, feeling that it was faintly indecent, that he was a trespasser, but doing it anyway.
>
> It was very quiet. There was no traffic on the road, no one among the ruins. The crops were running to seed. There were no animals grazing the pastures. He saw a black dog, all ribcage and backbone and hangdog head, scavenging in a grassy ditch. He whistled to it and held out his hand, but it loped off on three legs among rows of corn that were drying out unharvested. He could hear birds, a breath of wind among the trees, a river rustling under a bridge. The peace that followed war, it seemed, was more peaceful than the peace of human occupation. Nature raised no objection to ethnic cleansing. (193)

Stead's tolerant stance towards the Maori in the novel is certainly laudable and they are never exoticised. He does use quite a few Maori words in the text but adds a brief »Glossary of Maori Words for non New Zealand Readers« (145-6). The ending of C. K. Stead's novel *Talking about O'Dwyer*, however, is somewhat contrived: it takes place in Chania at Crete, where the author brings together all the living protagonists of the book, who are all connected in one way or the other, mostly as adversaries bearing various grudges against each other, and stages some kind of reconciliation ritual on the grave of Joe Panapa in the military graveyard with numerous New Zealand buried soldiers from World War Two:

> 39492 Private
> J. P. PANAPA
> N. Z. Infantry
> 24 May 1941 Aged 29 years

It is not a coincidence that Stead at the beginning and at the end of the book uses a quote from the Roman poet Catullus that speaks about the return across many lands and seas, a farewell of the dead soldier and paying tribute to his memory. The Panapa family asks Marica Selenich to perform a *karakia* over the grave and thus lift the curse/*makutu* on the now deceased Donovan O'Dwyer. All of them gathered there seemingly bury their past grudges and anger, they reconcile with each other, adversaries in love and during the war, for they are now all 'Europeans'.

> So Mike signals and the others make their way down to the grave. They range themselves around in a half-circle facing the headstone, backs to the sea, and Marica chants the karakia she has memorised. It's not a Maori voice – loud, harsh, like something torn from her in pain. It's not even (Mike thinks, remembering Ljuba's long-ago wailing and the recent cries of the young woman in the Dalmatian cemetery) a Croatian voice. It's an incantation, but the note is quiet, clear. He's moved by its reticence. Through his own mind are running the lines of the Catullus graveside poem – *Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus / aduenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias* – Across lands and seas I've come, brother, to take of you this last leave. (236)

It is true that some contemporary New Zealand literature is the prisoner of national, also war myths and symbols from the past, important for national identification. In this regard the battle of Maleme on Crete in Greece is somewhat reminiscent of the Australian war myth and the national holiday celebration of the ANZAC Day and its numerous literary and cultural (re)interpretations, the battle of Gallipoli in Asia Minor during the Great War on 25 April, 1915. However, a good writer must be able to go beyond collective symbols of this kind. Stead succeeds in doing just that, despite the too glamourous ending. He produces an effective mixture of action, detective story, romance, philosophical novel. Philosophical questions are addressed through Mike Newall's expertise on Wittgenstein, where he sometimes implicity makes fun of the British institutions: in a chapter entitled "Dog Save the King" he punningly muses that the word God can actually be read backwards and thus the word dog emerges. His hesitation and actions not taken are echoed in the chapter titled "Hamlet is My Middle Name" and the chapter "Is it I, God, or Who, that Lifts this Arm?", taken from Herman Melville's novel *Moby Dick*, where Captain Ahab poses himself this ontological rhetorical question. The novel is particularly important as an indictment of war *per se*, as a collective madness and its consequences for the life destinies of every single individual caught in it. The Second World War and the independence war in Croatia in the 1990s are minutely described and juxtaposed: both brought to the people, as all wars, suffering and death and have radically changed and marked

their lives and relationships. C.K. Stead suggestively writes about four locales in very different time periods, New Zealand, Oxford, Croatia, and Greece. His freedom of moving from one to the other, back and forth in time, shows that the wars have really always been global, just as an unbearable lightness of freedom has always characterized the writer's imagination.

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Maori in Pakeha v romanu C. K. Steada talking about O'Dwyer

Članek se osredinja na novejši roman sodobnega novozelandskega avtorja C.K. Steada, *Talking about O'Dwyer.* Ta predstavlja obsodbo vojne *per se*, vojne kot kolektivne blaznosti in njenih posledic za življenjsko usodo vsakega posameznika ujetega v njej. Druga svetovna vojna in vojna za neodvisnost Hrvaške v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja sta v tem romanu podrobno opisani in primerjalno obravnavani: obe prineseta protagonistom, kot vse vojne, trpljenje in smrt in radikalno spremenijo njihova življenja in medosebne odnose. C. K. Stead sugestivno opisuje štiri lokacije v različnih časovnih obdobjih, v Novi Zelandiji, Oxfordu in posebej na hrvaškem in v Grčiji, kjer se odvijata dve vojni, ki močno spremenita življenja ljudi.

Ključne besede: C. K. Stead, književnost Nove Zelandije, vojna

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Heinrich Mann's *Small Town Tyrant*: The Grammar School Novel as a German Prototype of Academic Fiction

Dieter Fuchs

Abstract

This article considers the German Grammar School Novel from the first half of the twentieth century an all but forgotten Germanophone prototype of campus fiction. Whereas the Anglo-American campus novel of the 1970s, 80s and 90s features university professors as future-related agents of Western counterculture and free thought, the Grammar School Novel satirizes the German grammar school teacher known as *Gymnasialprofessor* as a representative of the past-related order of the autocratic German state apparatus from the beginning of the twentieth century. As Heinrich Mann's 1905 novel *Professor Unrat / Small Town Tyrant* (the source text of Marlene Dietrich's debut movie *The Blue Angel*) may be considered a foundational work of the German Grammar School Novel corpus, the main part of the article offers a sample analysis of this text.

Keywords: Anglo-American Campus Novel, German Grammar School Novel, Heinrich Mann, *The Blue Angel*, Marlene Dietrich

This article focuses on the emergence and the cultural contact of Germanophone and Anglophone traditions of academic fiction.

Wolfgang Weiß notes that the professor-centred prototype of campus fiction emerged in the twentieth century. Before that period there were literary works focusing on student life. The life of university teachers, however, escaped representation. According to Weiß, the twentieth century discovery of the professor as a literary subject was triggered off by the levelling of class boundaries.[1] Weiß considers the emergence of the professor in the field of campus fiction a class-bridging device, owing to the fact that it fosters plots which mingle the spheres of professorial and student life. Such a fusion of teacher and student life was not acceptable for texts written during the very class-conscious bourgeois period, which came to an abrupt end after the Great War. And it goes without saying that it is the social interaction between students and professors which makes modern and postmodern campus fiction so thrilling and fascinating.

Whereas the twentieth century discovery of the university professor as a future-oriented agent struggling against class boundaries takes place in the Anglophone campus novel[2], the Germanophone literary tradition of the Grammar School Novel discovers the grammar school teacher as a representative of the past-related class system dominated by late-nineteenth and early twentieth century bourgeois culture.[3] In the context of the German-speaking world, the term 'grammar school' refers to the institution of the Gymnasium, whose teachers had to be addressed as 'Herr Professor.' This professorial status of Germanophone Grammar School teachers is still upheld in contemporary Austria.

Focusing on the Grammar School Novel as a distinctly German-speaking prototype of early twentieth century academic fiction, the present article is going to argue that the Grammar School Novel documents the pre-history of the world reflected in the modern and postmodern Anglo-American campus novel.

In contrast to the university professors featured in Anglophone campus fiction, the German Grammar School professors are not presented as future-related agents of cultural change. Rather than that, the German Grammar School Novel satirizes the Gymnasialprofessor, owing to the fact that this stock character represents the past-related order of the autocratic German state apparatus dominated

1 Cf. Weiß 1994: 113-44.

2 Durrani (2000: 426) attributes the fact that the campus novel emerged in the Anglophone rather than Germanophone sphere to the fact "that there is no such thing as a German campus, and that there is an inability on the part of German academics to stand back and laugh at their own foibles."

3 Cf. Durrani 2000: 426 & Mews 1987: 222.

by the megalomanian Prussia-born Emperor William II and the industrial elite of the moneyed bourgeois middle classes.

The German Grammar School Novel emerged in the Wilhelmine period before and during the Great War. It continued in the era of the German Weimar Republic (1918-33). Although this republican interim was truly democratic, the past-related autocratic structures of thought remained fairly untouched in the mind-sets of many people. And although the bourgeois world *de facto* collapsed in 1918, many citizens continued to identify themselves in past-related terms. This greatly fostered the rise of the Nazi Dictatorship (1933-45). The Grammar School Novel tradition continued in the time after the Second World War until it came to an end as a result of Western counterculture in 1968/9. And this is the very period when the vogue of the (post)modern Anglo-American campus novel reaches a peak.

As the rise of the German Grammar School Novel coincides with the rise of cinema and film culture, many texts belonging to the Grammar School corpus were adapted for the screen and thus became popularized among a mass audience.

Important Grammar School Novels are Heinrich Mann's *Small Town Tyrant* (*Professor Unrat* 1905) and Ludwig Thoma's *Rascal Stories* (*Lausbubengeschichten* 1905); Friedrich Torberg's *Disciple Gerber* (*Der Schüler Gerber* 1930) and Heinrich Spoerl's *Fire Tongue Punch* (*Die Feuerzangenbowle* 1933); and up to a certain degree, one may also mention Hans Carossa's *Metamorphoses of Youth* (*Verwandlungen einer Jugend* 1928) and Erich Kästner's *The Flying Classroom* (*Das Fliegende Klassenzimmer* 1933).[4] Whereas *Fire Tongue Punch* was adapted for the screen in 1944 to support the Nazi regime[5], the movie adaptation of Heinrich Mann's *Small Town Tyrant* offers a great piece of anti-autoritarian satire. And even if one has never read *Small Town Tyrant* as a book, it is more than likely that one is familiar with its film adaptation *The Blue Angel* (1929/30) starring Marlene Dietrich.

As Heinrich Mann's *Small Town Tyrant* may be considered the seminal work of the German Grammar School Novel tradition, the main part of this

4 According to Thorsten Fitzon there is also the German literary tradition of the pupil's novel (Schülerroman) which encompasses texts such as Rainer Maria Rilke, *Die Turnstunde* (1899/1902), Emil Strauß, *Freund Hein* (1902), Hermann Hesse, *Unterm Rad* (1906), Robert Musil, *Verwirrungen des Zögling Törleß* (1906), Robert Walser, *Jakob von Gunten* (1909): cf. Bach 1922, Luserke 1999 & Fitzon: http://www2.germanistik.uni-freiburg.de/fitzon/Bibliographie%20Schuelerromane.pdf (21/07/2016). As Mira Miladinović-Zalaznik has elucidated, other samples from this text corpus include Franz Werfel, *Der Abituriententag. Die Geschichte einer Jugendschuld* (1928) and Florjan Lipuš, *Zmote dijaka Tjaža* (1972) – a Slovenian-Carinthian text which Peter Handke and Helga Mračnikar translated into German: *Der Zögling Tjaž* (1981).

5 Other film adaptations of *Fire Tongue Punch* emerged in 1934 and 1970.

essay concentrates on this text. The central thesis is as follows: Whereas the Anglo-American campus novel offers a self-reflexive analysis of the university as an institution of liberal education, the German Grammar School Novel satirizes an institution that mis-considers education in terms of blind obedience and learning by heart rather than free and self-reflected thought. As the Grammar School Novel elucidates how the German Gymnasium indoctrinated the young generation to blindly obey their superiors representing the autocratic state apparatus, this type of fiction may be considered an anti-*Bildungsroman*, or anti-coming of age novel. Quite obviously, the German grammar school system only disseminated the social knowledge which was authorized by the state apparatus, and this dissemination of knowledge was endorsed by way of discipline and punishment.

The German Grammar School Novel thus offers a satire on a society whose collective knowledge is constituted by the un-reflected learning by heart of de-contextualized fragment-like bits and pieces from the literary canon; quotations which were collected in a bestselling anthology published by Georg Büchmann: *Geflügelte Worte: der Citatenschatz des deutschen Volkes* (1864). Büchmann's section on Shakespeare, for instance, lists text passages such as "The better part of valour is discretion" (90), "Sweet are the uses of adversity" (92), "And thereby hangs a tale" (95). As these textual fragments are presented without any contextualisation or explanation, they turn out to be both trite (if not to say meaningless) and universally applicable, and yet they are (mis)represented or objectified as allegedly universal truths. Heuristically speaking, the collective knowledge offered to the German people by Germany's leading anthologist turns out to be stupefying. In the context of the German Grammar School Novel as a satire on bourgeois educational discourse it may thus be considered symptomatic that Büchmann's breadwinning profession was that of a Gymnasialprofessor.

Of course, this brainwashing sort of pedagogy is designed to produce what the German state of the first half of the twentieth century considered its ideal subject: the inconspicuous, mediocre state official and functionary whose career is fostered by meekly adapting to the system rather than asking critical questions. This is the concept analysed in another novel by Heinrich Mann: *Der Untertan* (*The Patrioteer* 1914/18). 'Untertan' is the German term for the human subject subjected by the state. As a genius sticking out of the crowd would reveal the unreflected machinery of the Wilhelmine institutional apparatus, it is not the geniuses, but the un-inspired babbits that become the backbone of the state.

And this is the very situation Heinrich Mann's 1905 anti-*Bildungsroman* deals with: *Small Town Tyrant* focuses on the main character Professor Raat who works as a grammar school teacher. As Professor Raat has become subjected by the state as a result of his own grammar school education, he turns out to be the perfect representative of the political system which promoted his career in exchange of his

willing suspension of critical awareness. Having entered a mock-Faustian contract in pursuit of uncritical mediocrity rather than overreaching curiosity, Professor Raat functions as a willing executioner of the state he represents. And it is owing to this collaborative if not to say corrupt disposition that the students consider their teacher a hypocrite rather than an authority: they hate him and play tricks on him whenever they can. It is owing to this hatred that they call him 'Unrat' rather than 'Raat.' 'Unrat' is the German word for garbage.

As Professor Raat hates his students owing to the fact that they deny his authority, he intends to break their will by way of discipline and punishment. Quite obviously, he does not want his students to think critically. Rather than that, he 'educates' them to unquestioningly learn and rehearse what others have said and thought. His approach to pedagogy thus attempts to reduce his disciples to what Professor Raat has become himself: a servile pedant without original ideas whom everybody hates, owing to the very reason that his example shows how the Wilhelmine state subjects its subjects by way of a brainwashing technique which inverts the classical maxim *non scholae sed vitae discimus*: we learn not for life, but in order to pass school and thus be reduced to loyal subjects without original knowledge.

Heinrich Mann's novel, however, does not only satirize the hypocritical state official and the institutional apparatus he represents. It first of all offers an analysis of the system that has turned Professor Raat into such an unlikeable character. It is not only him but also his fellow citizens, subjected by the same apparatus, who turn out to be the main target of satire: as soon as Professor Raat begins to stick out of the crowd and seizes to collaborate with social mainstream values, he becomes stigmatized and destroyed by his peers.

When the life-long loner Professor Raat falls in love with a *femme fatale*-like social outcast and gives in to sexual passion, he loses not only his reputation but also his job: as foregrounded in the film adaptation *The Blue Angel*, he feels helplessly attracted to an uneducated but very good-looking young woman who works as a stripper and probably prostitutes herself in an ill-reputed bar. Rather than liberate himself in an act of individualization, however, the simple-minded Raat substitutes his slave-like position as a state servant by his erotic dependence on the girl's sexualized body. In other words, the servile state official discards his patriarchal Lord and master Emperor William II in favour of his new, increasingly dominant and unruly mistress.

Moving from societal analysis in general to the more specific context of the world of academia, Professor Raat's main problem lies in the fact that a young and sexually attractive woman intrudes into an institution monopolized by old men. Even if the rather vulgar young woman is not fashioned as a student, Professor Raat's dilemma triggered off by this encounter may be attributed to

the following problem: as a teacher, he represents an educational system which used to be monopolized by the church in the past. In pre-eighteenth century Europe, public knowledge was controlled by the church: as the schools were run by monks and priests, only the initiated clerical elite had access to scholarly knowledge. And it is owing to this clerical, or monastic background that teachers and academics may be considered secularized priest-figures – hence Heinrich Mann's presentation of Professor Raat as a celibate loner excluded from the world of everyday married life.[6]

When Professor Raat encounters the pleasures of uninitiated secular lay life represented by the seductive girl, his professional ethos requires to retreat, monk-like, into the splendid isolation of the celibate sphere of the grammar school as a secularized monastery. As the Church Father Origines and the main character from J. M. R. Lenz's German *Sturm und Drang* drama *The Tutor* (*Der Hofmeister* 1774) suggest, traditional pedagogic discourse recommends the following solution to such a problem: to satisfy and safeguard the all-masculine priest-like world of academia, the afflicted professor has to resist sexual attraction, and if he can't resist, Eunuch-like, undo his unruly flesh in an act of voluntary self-castration.

As Professor Raat does not control – or castrate – himself, he loses his job and is excluded from the academic community of secularized priest figures. As he loses his salary in this way and has to live on his girl friend's income, his mistress reduces him to her domestic servant who has to do household-chores and procure moneyed lovers as her pimp. Professor Raat is thus reduced to a horned and henpecked husband: although he rejected the academic call for monkish chastity – or Eunuch-like self-castration –, he is denied his virility in the end. Rather than engaging in scholarly discourse among an initiate community of all-masculine thought, he has to live on selling his spouse's body to both sexually and financially speaking, more potent laymen from the world beyond the protected academic ivory tower of the Gymnasium.

As has been shown in this article, the German Grammar School Novel exemplified by Heinrich Mann's *Small Town Tyrant* functions as an experimental field of anti-autoritarian social and political satire in the first half of the twentieth century. In the time after the Second World War, however, the German Grammar School Novel loses it satirical grip. It becomes trivialized and adapted for shallow mass entertainment. Especially in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the

6 As a satirical twist, Raat's lifelong celibacy is interrupted when he marries a wealthy widow to finance his teacher training course: like a prostitute, the corrupt Raat exchanges sex for money. When his spouse dies, Raat returns to his celibate life.

Grammar School Novel is reduced to farce to be adapted for the movie industry. In a never-ending cinematographic series entitled *The Rascals from the First Row* (*Die Lümmel von der ersten Bank* 1967-72), for instance, the Grammar School Novel is redefined in terms of slapstick comedy.[7]

An important reason for this trivialisation may be attributed to the circumstance that left-wing counterculture begins to infiltrate the German establishment in the Summer of '69 and that the cultural and political elite tries to trivialize and undo the work of Western counterculture by transforming the anti-establishment satire of the Grammar School Novel into meaningless mass entertainment. As a part of Cold Warfare, Western Germanophone middle class culture tries to keep the leftist countercultural impact as harmless – and at as great a distance – as possible. As the cultural identity of the Germanophone elite remains nostalgically imbued with the heydays of its bourgeois past, the Western German countries do their best to avoid any serious countercultural debate.

In contrast to the German Grammar School Novel, the work of Western counterculture – which triggered a flood of cultural, literary and philosophical theory – is ardently debated in the postmodern Anglo-American campus novels written in the 1970s and 1980s. In contrast to the Anglo-American tradition – which from then on becomes the standard prototype of academic fiction to be imitated throughout the western world including the German-speaking countries –, the Germanophone Grammar School Novel becomes an outdated relic of the past. It becomes as obsolete as its main target of satire: the decline and fall of the autocratic German state apparatus and its bourgeois elite in the first half of the twentieth century.

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7 One of the very few non-trivialized Grammar School Novels written in this period is Florjan Lipuš *Zmote dijaka Tjaža* (1972) – the already mentioned Slovenian-Carinthian novel which Peter Handke and Helga Mračnikar translated into German: *Der Zögling Tjaž* (1981). Focusing on the author's adolescent experiences with the Austrian educational system, this text features life in the very elitist Tanzenberg boarding school. Like many other Austrian artists such as Gustav Januš and Erich Prunč, this boarding school was also attended by Peter Handke – the co-translator of *Zmote dijaka Tjaža*.

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Roman *Small Town Tyrant* Heinricha Manna: gimnazijski roman kot nemški prototip akademske proze

Članek analizira nemški gimnazijski roman prve polovice 20. stoletja kot pomemben germanofonski prototip univerzitetne proze. Roman Heinricha Manna *Small Town Tyrant* predstavlja v tem smislu temeljno delo nemškega korpusa gimnazijskega romana in je bil tudi predloga za film *Modri angel* v katerem je debitirala Marlene Dietrich.

Ključne besede: angloameriška univerzitetna kampus proza, nemški gimnazijski roman, Heinrich Mann, *The Blue Angel*, Marlene Dietrich

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"Border Gothic" – History, Violence and 'The Border' in the writings of Eugene McCabe

Éamonn Ó Ciardha

Abstract

As well as producing a rich body of novels, novellas, short-stories and plays spanning throughout seventy years of the century of partition, Eugene McCabe charts the broad trajectory of Irish history and politics from the Elizabethan Conquest and Ulster Plantation of the 16th and 17th centuries to the recent 'Troubles' which spanned the thirty years between the beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement (1968) and the signing of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (1998). They positively seethe with gruesome assassinations, indiscriminate bombings and deliberate shootings, while resonating with a veritable cacophony of deep-seeded ethnic rivalries and genocidal, religious hatreds, which are interlaced with poverty, social deprivation and dis-function, migration and emigration.

Keywords: Northern Ireland, Eugene McCabe, partition, the gothic

"Ireland, like Dracula's Transylvania is much troubled by the undead".[1] So wrote the historian ATQ Stewart and it is no surprise that Ireland, with it famines, massacres, ruined castles, silhouetted abbeys and graveyards, predatory landlords and persecuted, brooding natives should have inspired an English-language Gothic.[2] If Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1764) spawned the genre, it comes to its apogee in Charles Maturin's *Melmouth the Wanderer* (1820), Sheridan Le Fanu's *Camilla* (1871), Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) and, possibly Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847), which have all been inspired in different ways by Ireland's menacing landscapes, fractured politics and latent agrarian, political and sectarian violence.[3]

McCabe can conceivably be added to this distinguished company. He set much of his *oeuvre* on the Fermanagh/Monaghan border, a region whose politics, economics and culture have been defined by its violent colonial past, the partition of Ireland under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 and the recent, so-called 'Troubles'/'Long War' (1968-98). This geographical, political and socio-economic backwater, at once a jewel in Ireland's archaeological, cultural, geographical and geological crown and a damp, dark, rural hinterland of bogs, drumlins, lakes and rivers provides a suitably 'Gothic' backdrop to the tragedies and travails of its inhabitants over four centuries. Its physical and metaphysical border has etched itself into the land and the minds of its inhabitants and are both graphically and unforgivably portrayed in McCabe's writings.

Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that Eugene McCabe has done for the region what Brian Friel, Seamus Heaney, Patrick Kavanagh and John Montague accomplished for north-west Donegal, south Derry, south Monaghan and west Tyrone, other distinct, diverse areas of Ulster, Ireland's most northerly and most troubled province.[4] As well as producing a rich body of novels, novellas, short-stories and plays spanning throughout seventy years of the century of partition, McCabe charts the broad trajectory of Irish history and politics from the Elizabethan Conquest and Ulster Plantation of the 16th and 17th centuries to the recent

1 ATG Stewart. *The Narrow Ground: Aspects of Ulster 1609-1969* (London: Faber 1977; Gregg Revivals 1993; rep. Blackstaff 1997).

2 B. Stewart (ed). *That Other World: The Supernatural and Fantastic in Irish Literature* (Gerard's Cross, 1998); L. Gibbons. *Gaelic Gothic: Race, Colonization and Irish Culture* (Galway, 2006); J. Killeen. *Gothic Ireland: Horror and the Irish Anglican imagination in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 2005); J. Walton. *Vision and Vacancy: The fictions of J.S Le Fanu* (Dublin, 2007).

3 H. Walpole. *The Castle of Otranto* (London, 1764); J. S.Le Fanu. *In a Glass Darkly*, 3 vols (London, 1872); O. Wilde. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (London, 1891); B. Stoker. *Dracula* (Westminster, 1897); T. Eagleton. *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* (London, 1995).

4 B. Friel. *Selected Plays of Brian Friel* (London, 1984); P. Kavanagh. *The Complete Poems* (Newbridge, 1990), S. Heaney. *Open Ground: Poems 1966-1996* (London, 1998); J. Montague. *Collected Poems* (Oldcastle, 2012).

'Troubles' which spanned the thirty years between the beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement (1968) and the signing of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (1998). They positively seethe with gruesome assassinations, indiscriminate bombings and deliberate shootings, while resonating with a veritable cacophony of deep-seeded ethnic rivalries and genocidal, religious hatreds, which are interlaced with poverty, social deprivation and dis-function, migration and emigration.

Ireland's 'Long War', the setting for the works appraised in this chapter does not compare in body-count or intensity to Spain's or Yugoslavia's blood-soaked civil wars.[5] It had no mass bombings to rival Barcelona, Belgrade, Durango, Dubrovnik, Santander and Sarajevo and nothing comparable to Badajoz, Malága or Srebrenica but a collective toll of 3,500 deaths and 47,000 injured constitutes no mean conflict in a close-knit population of less than one million.[6] It is also worth remembering that between the end of World War 2 and the outbreak of the Bosnian War in 1992, the biggest number of political refugees in Western Europe left Northern Ireland before the beginning of 'Operation Banner' – Britain's longest military campaign.[7] Some of these people came in the towns and villages of the author's childhood, across a border which had been imposed as arbitrarily and cynically as those now being fought over in the Africa, the Middle-East and the Asian sub-continent.[8] I remember arrests, assassinations and bombings, including the demolition of my own grandparents' house, the regular bomb-scares and incessant, indiscriminate shootings, as well as the British Army's check points and road-blowing campaigns. My father came back from filling in roads (which had been bombed by the British Army) with his pockets full of discarded CS gas canisters and rubber bullets which would be eagerly snapped up by visiting American relatives.

From the 1970s onwards, Northern Ireland became one of the most militarized parts of Western Europe. Britain deployed enormous resources in 'low intensity'[9] military operations against the Irish Republican Army (or IRA) in

5 H. Thomas. *The Spanish Civil War*, revised (London, 2001); A. Beevor. *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War, 1936-39* (London, 2006); G. Toal and C. Dahlman. *Bosnia Remade: Ethnic Cleansing and its Reversal* (Oxford, 2011).

6 D. McKetterick, S. Kelters, B. Feeny and C. Thornton. *Lost Lives: the story of the Men, Women and Children who died as a Result of the Northern Ireland Troubles* (Edinburgh, 2001).

7 P. Arthur. 'Northern Ireland, 1972-84', in J.R. Hill (ed), *The New History of Ireland*, *vii*, *1921-84* (Oxford, 2003); J. Boyer-Bell. *The Secret Army: The IRA, third edition* (New Brunswick, 1997); E. Maloney. *A Secret History of the IRA* (New York, 2003); B. O'Leary and J. McGarry. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland* (London, 1993).

8 P. Murray. *The Irish Boundary Commission and its Origins, 1886-1925* (Dublin, 2011); 'Thatcher and Fitzgerald talks: Redrawing of Northern Ireland border was discussed', www.bbc.com/news//uk-northern -ireland-30610096, accessed 14 Oct. 2015.

9 F. Kitson. *Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, Peace-keeping*, repr. (London, 1991).

Derry's city-side, west Belfast, south Derry, east Tyrone, south Armagh's and on the Fermanagh/Monaghan border, putting more boots on the ground than she subsequently deployed in Iraq or Afghanistan.[10] A necklace of military instillation and barracks housed a large army who, along with a predominantly Protestant/Unionist police force and reserve that waged war against a well–armed, highly resourceful and often ruthlessly efficient IRA. The British Government's, and particularly Prime-Minister Margaret Thatcher's 'normalisation', 'Ulsterisation' and 'criminalization' policies bore little fruit; indeed it would be the locally-recruited farmers' sons from this region, the heroes and villains of McCabe's writings who found themselves in the maelstrom of the IRA's relentless, ruthless military campaign. Similarly, and often in retaliation for these IRA attacks, the Catholic population suffered a campaign of bloody reprisal by pro-Union, loyalist paramilitaries in collusion with the British security forces.

Histories of the Northern Ireland conflict understandably tend to focus on urban regions, particularly Belfast and Derry, on high-profile abductions, assassinations, atrocities, counter-atrocity and the British and IRA's respective military campaigns. The literature tends to follows suit, *pace* Thomas Kinsella's *Butcher's Dozen* (1972); Seamus Deane's *Reading in the Dark* (1996); Glenn Patterson's *International* (1999); David Park's, *The Healing* (1992) and *Truth Commissione*r (2008). Eoin McNamee's, *Resurrection Man* (1994) could be included here, although his *Ultras* (2005), which is based on the abduction and murder of Captain Robert Nairac is set on the Armagh-Louth border.[11] Indeed South Armagh, with its 'Bandit-Country' reputation and South Derry, with its Nobel laureate (Heaney) are the exception which effectively prove the rule. Less attention has traditionally been focused on the periphery, although Toby Harden's *Bandit Country* (1999), Darach MacDonald's *The Chosen Fews* (2000) have recently bucked this trend. More recently, Henry Patterson's *Irelands Violent Frontier* (2013) and Ann Cadwallader's *Lethal Allies* (2013), which respectively explores the IRA's 'war' against the British Army in South Armagh, its 'genocide' against 'Border Protestants' and British 'collusion' with Loyalist paramilitaries in the 'Murder Triangle', have begun to address this imbalance. Likewise, this short paper will focus on the Monaghan/Fermanagh Border through the lens of one of its most insightful, incisive and perceptive observers.

10 T. Harden. *Bandit Country: The IRA and South Armagh* (London, 1999); D. MacDonald. *The Chosen Fews: Exploding Myths in South Armagh* (Dublin, 2000); A. Cadwallader. *Lethal Allies: British Collusion in Ireland* (Cork, 2013).

11 T. Kinsella. Butcher's Dozen: *A Lesson from the Octave of Widgery* (Dublin, 1972); S. Heaney. *Selected Poems* (London, 1990); S. Deane. *Reading in the Dark* (London, 1996); G. Patterson. *The International* (London, 1999); D. Park. The *Healing* (London, 1992); idem, *The Truth Commissioner* (London, 2007); E. McNamee. *Resurrection Man* (London, 1994); idem, *The Ultras* (London, 2004).

"That was the year of the Munich bother.
Which was more important? I inclined
To lose my faith in Ballyrush and Gortin
Till Homer's ghost came whispering to my mind.
He said: I made the Iliad from such
A local row. Gods make their own importance".[12]

Thus wrote Patrick Kavanagh of the Munich Conference (1938) in "Epic", one of his memorable sonnets that typify the uncanny ability of another of Monaghan's (and Ireland's) most un-sung writers to harvest global themes from the 'Stony Grey Soil' of his native county. When witnessing a small land dispute in Iniskeen parish, a trivial matter in contrast to Churchill's, Daladier's and Hitler's fateful deliberations over the Sudetenland, Homer reminds the poet that all politics is local.

Infused with a similar, unashamed localism and a forensic, insightful illumination of the flawed human condition and laced with a trademark black humour and hangman's wit, Mc Cabe's writings positively bristles with a veritable rogue's gallery of 'gothic' characters; rapacious English Planters, Elizabethan and Cromwellian Conquistadores and their B-Special-descendants, brooding, dispossessed Gaels, Fenians bombers, multi-denominational religious zelots, loyalist and republican paramilitary psychopaths, bigoted, racist and tyrannical priests, 'touchy', territorial small holders, rapacious, unscrupulous land-grabbers and strongmen. Attesting to McCabe's polemical preoccupation with history, Eileen Battersby, the *Irish Times'* critic, has described his Ireland as "a bleak hell of angry sex and tribal hatred".[13]

Mc Cabe is a sort of Monaghan Solzhenitsyn; his *Tales from the Poor House* (1999) graphically portray Ireland's famine poor-houses, Britain's Gulags, while his *Cancer* (1978) explore similar themes of moral responsibility, resistance, revenge and passive involvement that exercised the conscience of 20th Century Russia. Likewise, McCabe delivers a relentless, neo-brutalist Joycean critique of both Caesar and Christ; Irish and British Nationalism and what passes for Christianity amongst south Ulster's various denominations. This paper will specifically focus on the themes of history, partition and politics in *Victims: A Tale from Fermanagh* (1976) and *Heritage and Other Stories* (1978).[14]

In *Victims,* which has resonances of Frank O'Connor's *Guests of the Nation* (1931),[15] the IRA take the Armstrongs, a 'Big House', Protestant family, hostage

12 Patrick Kavanagh, 'Epic', in *Collected Poems* (London, 1964, 68), p. 136.

13 Eileen Battersby. *Irish Times,* 15 January 2005.

14 E. McCabe, *Heritage and Other Stories* (London, 1978); idem, *Tales from the Poor House* (Oldcastle, 1999).

15 F. O'Connor, *Guests of the Nation* (London, 1931).

in order to secure the release of its prisoners from Long Kesh.[16] The active service unit comprises the bomb-making McAleer brothers, 'Tick' and 'Tock', who are dominated by their mother, "an Irish Queen Victoria, with de Valera's nose and Churchill's mouth".[17] She is in turn traumatized by her husband's incarceration and torture at the hands of Northern Ireland's security forces during the IRA's abortive border campaign of the late-1950s.[18] On his death-bed the patriarch extracts a promise of vengeance from his sons, thereby recruiting them to the 'Patriot Game'.[19] The brothers have imbibed and forcefully articulate an orthodox, unyielding socialist republican rhetoric. Their revolution will brook no compromise; "no Catholic gent on horseback, no Murphy in a wig" will lock them away, "no po-faced Prods" [Protestants] will whip them for white nigger trash.[20] In their world-view, the "wealth and privilege of the Armstrong" interlopers has been "gained by force and fraud"; "[i]f London refused to negotiate they would have to kill and be killed".[21]

Their hostages are similarly in thrall to their own colonial and imperial past; the McAleers have their Patriot Game, the Armstrongs are at the fag-end of Kipling's 'Great Game'. Colonel Armstrong guest Alex Boyd-Crawford boasts that his family "never employed Papists" [Catholics],[22] who "cheat", "lie' 'thieve" and are "dirty", "careless", "superstitious" and "stupid".[23] Canon Plumm, their Cambridge-educated guest concurs, suggesting that they have a "lower IQ than negroes". Furthermore, he gloats that "in sixty years" they [the Irish Catholics] have "ruined Dublin, painted pillar-boxes green, and produced more lunatics and alcoholics per square mile than any other country in the world".[24]

Harriet, Armstrong, the Colonel's wife upbraids Plumm by comparing him to the Rev Ian Paisley, the mealy-mouthed, Presbyterian demagogue of the 1970s, but "without the loudmouthed charm".[25] Furthermore, she dismissed the spurious, racist pseudo-science of his American Professor IQ "expert" or "indeed anything from

16 `Officially' H.M, The Maze Prison.

17 E. McCabe, 'Victims', p. 157, in: E. McCabe. *Heaven Lies About Us* (London, 2007).

18 Ibid., p. 158. See also B. Flynn, *Soldiers of Folly – The Border Campaign*, 1956-62(Dublin, 2009).

19 Ibid.; 'The Patriot Game', a song penned by Dominic Behan in memory of Fergal O'Hanlon, killed in the IRA's abortive attack on Brookeborough Barracks on 1st Jan 1957.

20 Ibid., p. 163.

21 Ibid., p 164.

22 There is a possible allusion here to Sir Basil Brooke, Lord Brookeborough, the Prime-Minister of Northern Ireland who famously exclaimed that he 'wouldn't have a Catholic about the place'.

23 E. McCabe, 'Victims', p. 170.

24 Ibid., p.170f.

25 Ibid., p. 171f. Paisley is the mealy-mouthed demagogue, who with Martin McGuinness, became one of the `Chuckle Brothers` in post-Good Friday Agreement Northern Irish politics

that glorious civilization".[26] The Armstrong matriarch then turns her ire on the third kindnapper, Lynam, a 23 year old Arts graduate and the only child of a divorced, drunken Fianna Fáil TD. She attributes Harriet's barbs to a failure to understand Ireland's colonial past.[27] Finally, Jack Gallagher, the last of the IRA quartet, deploys the imperial pin-up Sir Robert Baden-Powell, whose fictitious book, *The drama of Anglo-German Conflict in Africa in relation to the future of the British Empire* he has taken down from Armstrong's shelf. It provides him with the perfect prop with which to savagely critique an English/British imperial project which began with the first Elizabeth and continues with the second; "she [Elizabeth I] could pick good butchers … men with big swords, big cannonballs … still does … nice day for killing … that's what the paras said in Derry, Lizzie II's high-jumping men".[28]

Colonel Armstrong stoutly defends his ancestors, who reduced rents and mortgaged the estate during the Great Famine (1845-7) to feed their starving Catholic and Protestant tenants.[29] His wife attempts to engage Lynam on modern English poetry and Celtic Studies (her university subjects) and tells Lynam of her husband's dismay after the 'Bloody Sunday' massacre in Derry.[30] However, there is little room for accommodation between both sets of hostages. Gallagher responds to the Colonel's accusations of prisoner maltreatment with a characteristically withering put-down of British democracy and imperialism; "You talk of war and prisoners […] [w]hen we look for common rights the way you got your empire [i.e. by violence], all your lackeys in the Press and Commons yap; hang them, hang them, hang them. Mother of Parliaments? A fat knacker's wife who flayed the bloody world and you think the world is with you?"[31] The siege of Inver House ends in bloodshed and there is no escape from the deadly embrace of their disputed history. Canon Plumm concludes that "we are what we are because of history"[32], for Jack Gallagher "[h]istory cannot be altered"[33], a

26 Ibid., p. 172.

27 Ibid., p. 177f.

28 Ibid., p. 179f. For further considerations on this topic, See V. Carey. 'Elizabeth I and State Terror in Sixteenth Century Ireland', in D. Stump, L. Shenk, C. Levin (eds). *Elizabeth I and the Sovereign Arts: Essays in Literature, History and Culture* (Tempe, AZ, 2011) pp 201-6; D. Edwards. 'The escalation of violence in Sixteenth-Century Ireland', in D. Edwards, C. Tait and P. Lenihan (eds). *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp 34-78; D. Mullan. *Eyewitness Bloody Sunday* (Dublin, 1997).

29 Ibid., p. 189.

30 Ibid., p. 194f.

31 Ibid., p. 202. For further considerations on this topic, see P. Forde, *A Criminal History of the British Empire* (New York, 1915), in particular the illustrations.

32 Ibid., p. 209.

33 Ibid.

despairing end to the protagonists' Joycean attempt to fly the nets of nationality, religion and identity.[34]

In 'Cancer', the second last story in McCabe's *Heritage* series, Joady McMahon, a small Fermanagh farmer, succumbs to the disease while the adjacent morgue is filling with the shattered, dead bodies from an IRA explosion at nearby Trillick, County Tyrone.[35] Joady's terminal illness is symptomatic of the malevolence consuming Northern Ireland's body politic; his contrasting narratives of the event to Protestant and Catholic neighbours suitably underpin the fractured, duplicitous society in which he and his Protestant neighbours must operate.

However, the reality of their condition is rarely far from the surface. Under the whirring rotor-blades of a British Army helicopter, Dinny, Joady's brother, and Boyle, the driver, attribute the army's hectic activity and invasive curiosity both to this most recent atrocity and to their own "Catholic faces".[36] A scion of the McMahons, who were "[k]ings about Monaghan for near a thousand years, but "butchered, and driv' north to these bitter hills", Dinny despairs of change.[37] He recalls his altercation with Gilbert Wilson, his Protestant neigbour in Coranny Pub; they "talked land and benty turf, the forestry takin' over and the way people are leavin' for factories […] then all of a shot he leans over to me and says: 'Fact is, Dinny, the time I like you best, I could cut your throat'."[38]

In another ringing testimony to *in vino veritas* Dinny and Boyle stumble "the wrong shop", a euphemism for the Catholic or Protestant who finds himself in a pub frequented by 'the other side'.[39] The barmaid baulks at Dinny's request for Irish whiskey, while Boyle observes a notice for the "Linaskea and District Development Association Extermination of Vermin" which has been annotated to include a bounty of "one old penny" for "every Fenian [Catholic] fucker".[40] Confronted by George, an indignant loyalist firebrand who vows to fight to the last ditch, Dinny discards his drink and defiantly declares that he'd "as lief drink with pigs". On leaving the pub, he assures Boyle that those who "got it [his land] with guns, kep' it with guns and guns'll put them from it".[41]

34 You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets", J. Joyce, *A portrait of the artist as a young man* (London: Jonathan Cape,1960), ch. 5, p. 207.

35 E. McCabe, 'Cancer', p. 75, in: McCabe. *Heaven Lies About Us*. See also McKetterick et al. *Lost Lives*.

36 Ibid., p. 76.

37 Ibid., p. 77.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., p. 79f.

40 Ibid., p. 80.

41 Ibid., p. 81.

Eric O'Neill, George's nephew, a reluctant recruit into the ultra-Protestant UDR, is the tragic hero of *Heritage*, the last and signature story in the collection of that name. His genocidal uncle regales him at the outset on Catholic treachery: "To them a hundred years was yesterday, two hundred the day before". They are a "rotten race […] good for nothin' but malice and murder; the like of Hitler would put them through the burnhouse and spread them on their sour bogs and he'd be right, it is all they're fit for".[42] A fast captive of the history and politics of his family and partitioned country, Eric traverses a border landscape, "along an orchard and beech copse planted by his grandfather in 1921 to block off the view of the Fenian South".[43] As the body rises among Eric's comrades in the security forces, the threat of assassination is the elephant in a room filled with talk of land, neighbours and cattle prices.[44]

The black-edged threatening letter, the traditional calling-card of the Irish nationalist avenger, inspires anger not fear, as Eric tries to imagine which of his hard-working Catholic neighbours has put pen to paper. His continued UDR membership is a constant source of conflict between his parents. O'Neill's father reminds his wife that she made him "feel a coward if he didn't [join]; a gun, a uniform and the money's good, that's what you said … what he's got for himself won't bury him".[45] Likewise, he attempts to convince his son of the futility of his "someone must fight" stance, against "every second neighbour", "American money" and "gangs of street savages" who "can't all be locked up, hung or shot" and warns him that "they'll come again, and again, and again".[46] In another altercation with his wife, the indignant patriarch reminds her that his son will not be fighting for 'God, Queen and Country' but for "the big boys who splash more on weekends [of] whoring than he'll make in a lifetime".[47] Unlike his bigoted wife, who'd "live on black bread, water, the Bible and hating Catholics", O'Neill will not let "one neighbour in ten thousand who wants to kill me and mine" make him hate the rest.[48] She, for her part, idealizes her bigoted brother George as "a good straight man […] the best blacksmith in Ulster, afraid of nothing and no one"; whereas Eric's father says about George, "he's afeered of everyone and everything, drinks every penny he gets and [is] too mean to marry […] All that loud rough talk" and hatred of Catholic is self-hatred "and I

42 E. McCabe, 'Heritage', p. 88, in: McCabe. *Heaven Lies About Us*.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., p. 88f.

45 Ibid., p. 92.

46 Ibid., p. 93.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., p. 94f.

wouldn't fault him for that".[49] George, in turn, despises his brother-in-law, with his suspect, rebel name, who drinks "in Papist houses, and doesn't give an ass's fart when his firstborn marries one of *them*" and because he fathered Maggie Reilly, "the Papist hedge-whore's" "eegit son" [Willie].[50]

The armed standoff between the Planter [Armstrong] and the surly Gael [Dinny] at the start of the otter-hunt provide Eric and his girlfriend Rachel with a launch-pad to their problematic heritage. Although she disdains her parents' bigotry against their Catholic neighbours, she is captive to their prejudices; to her the Catholics are "so coarse and stupid", with their "holy magazines and rosaries", and the "fuzzy-headed priest going about blessing" them, and "the horrid way they sucked up to him".[51] For Eric, "we [the Protestants] *made* this country, they [the Catholics] *are* this country and know it, they won't rest till they bury us or make us part of themselves. Like you I don't want that, maybe that's why I joined".[52]

Rachel's and Eric's prejudices have been distilled into a murderous hatred by his uncle George. The upwardly mobile Martin Cassidy, whom Eric and George meet on the road, is a "cog in the murder gang, one of your Yankee mafia" who he [George] "mind[s] barefoot, his auld fella out for hire", and who has now "tricked his way into Protestant land".[53] Furthermore, he [Martin] "knows who sent that note, knows when, how and where you'll be got [assassinated], it's all linked: Rome, politics, America, gunmen".[54] George claims that "they're [the Catholics] diggin' graves for us night and day and we're standin' lookin' at them like the Jews in Europe". Nonetheless, he takes comfort from the fact that "[w]e bate [beat] them before and we'll bate them again".[55] However, there is no victory and no side secures its heritage. Traumatized by the IRA's murder of Rachel's brother and his uncle's bloody, indiscriminate retaliation against the witless Willie Reilly, Eric's desperate, possibly suicidal effort to escape ends in his death at a British Army checkpoint. Eric's repudiation of George's inheritance, his subsequent death and his brother's self-imposed exile has severed the planter line.[56] Similarly, one of the childless McMahons lies dying, while the other stand guard over his sour acres. The Border Gothic comes full circle; art imitates life and life imitates art. The artist [McCabe] heard shooting on a night in September 1980 and learned the

49 Ibid., p. 105.

50 Ibid., p. 106, p. 87.

51 Ibid., p. 120.

52 Ibid., p. 121.

53 Ibid., p. 125.

54 Ibid., p. 126.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., p. 139.

following morning that Ernest Johnston, the UDR reservist on whom he based his tragic hero [Eric O'Neill] had been shot dead; the character is dead, now the original had been shot as well.

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»Obmejna gotika« – zgodovina, nasilje in »meja« v delih Eugena McCaba

Eugene McCabe v svojih delih od opisuje širok razpon irske zgodovine in politike od delitve Irske pred sedemdeseti leti, pa tudi že prej od elizabetinske zasedbe in ulsterske plantaže v 16. in 17. stoletju, vse do novejšega obdobja in pojava civilnega gibanja ter podpisa sporazuma v belfastu leta 1998. Članek se spričo težkega in krvavega zgodovinskega ozadja osredinja na gotsko stalnico v njegovem pisanju o »meji« in delitvi naroda.

Ključne besede: Severna Irska, Eugene McCabe, delitev, gotika

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Gerard Manley Hopkins and Walter Pater: The Labyrinths of Transience

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Abstract

Transience forming life's very essence left an indelible mark on the creative explorations of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Walter Pater. The permanently indeterminable presence of mutability made both of them face the umbrous and unknowable aspect of death, thus revealing unto them the task of determining the role of art in life ruled by ceaseless corrosion. Pater accepts the flux of mutability as the primary particle in the revelatory act of the authentic creative experience. The power of that which is frolicsome in art augments the constitution of life's essence submerged in the unsettled condition of fate. Hopkins the priest particularly in his theoretic excursions recognizes in art itself only an approximate value to the timeless grandeur of God's ubiquity. His poetry, however, presents a dissimilar narrative. The poetic image that Hopkins forges corresponds to the mode of exposed individuality of the Romantic spirit, which Pater perceives as the harmony of strangeness and beauty. During Hopkins' student days at Oxford, Pater's relationship to the young poet was not confined to coaching only. Much of their time they spent in conversation, meditating upon the essential principles of artistic expression. Pater influenced Hopkins greatly and contributed impressively to the discipline of his poetic heart. Traces of this companionship do not find the path to Hopkins' religious ruminations; they announce their own existence, although very subtly, upon the individual levels of Hopkins' poetic yearnings.

Key words: Hopkins, Pater, Romanticism, Flux, Beauty

I.

The Trinity Term of 1866 Gerard Manley Hopkins began by moving into new lodgings at 18 New Inn Hall Street. That spring was unseasonably chill-stricken and the otherwise flamboyantly verdant hues of greenery shuddered withdrawn under the grim layer of frozen crystals. It was at that time when Hopkins started composing his new journal. In his first entry dated 2 May 1866, he in passing alludes to an early evening walk he had shared with Walter H. Pater, a Fellow of Brasenose, on 30 April: "Coaching with W.H. Pater this term … Fine evening bitterly cold. 'Bleak-faced Neology in cap and gown': no cap and gown but very bleak" (*Journal* 133). This terse observation unmasks a dense layer of the persona that was Walter Pater in the eyes of many an Oxonian.

The true nature of Hopkins and Pater's relationship to this very day lingers shrouded in the veil of mystery. In a similar vein, a number of contending views have been expressed as to how Hopkins first chanced upon Pater and his work. Hopkins may have first become acquainted with Pater's work, as Robert Bernard Martin suggests (131), through Samuel R. Brooke's account of his having attended a gathering of the Old Mortality Society, an academic group where Pater gave a reading of one of his essays on the affiliation of morality and beauty – or rather of beauty as the deciding measure of what can be conjectured as being moral – in a work of art, an essay which Brooke, whom Hopkins met in May 1863, in his diary decries as "the most thoroughly infidel production" of "eminently selfish principles" (qtd. in Monsman, "Old Mortality in Oxford" 371). The fact that Hopkins had by at least 1864 become cognizant of Pater's dilating renown may be corroborated by a diary entry that Reverend Henry Liddon, Hopkins' first confessor, made on March 7 1864: "Walk with Hopkins of Balliol. He told me about Pater's paper on Fichte's 'Ideal Student at the Old Mortality Club,' in which he denied the immortality of the Soul" (qtd. in Monsman *Walter Pater* 31), and, furthermore, by another entry produced mere four days later: "Hopkins mentioned to [me] the project of an essay club, of a church character, a set-off against the Old Mortality" (31). The essay club here invoked by Liddon, its first president, was to be named the Hexameron. Its principal ambition was to scale down, in their members' eyes, the nefarious influence of the unbridled peccancy promulgated by the Old Mortality Society.

In contrast, David Anthony Downes propounds that it was Benjamin Jowett, a Fellow of Balliol since 1832 and Tutor since 1840, who first introduced or at least made Hopkins conscious of Pater's stature in Oxford, and later also communicated to him that he was to undergo coaching for the Greats exams in 1867 under the tutorship of Walter Pater (22). This was still the time of Jowett's deep fondness for Pater, which he had most markedly intimated during his tutorship of

Pater by envisioning the strength of Pater's mind to climb upwards to reach "great eminence" (25). Jowett under the swell of his personal deeply held Broad Church attitudes identified Pater – whose incipient enthrallment by "the relative spirit" (28) of looking at phenomena in accordance with the essence that they purvey to the onlooker was becoming less attenuated – as a vehicle for steering Hopkins away from the shores of Puseyism to a certain degree and more so Newmanism.[1]

Hopkins' antonomastic reference to Pater as "bleak-faced Neology, in cap and gown" stems forth from Charles Turner's sonnet "A Dream," published in the volume *Sonnets* (1864), wherein he takes the not inconsiderable liberty of swiping down the *skepsis* of the latitudinarian ethos. *Neology* was a term coined in relation to the intemperate climates of rationalism in German theology and philosophy steeped in highly acquiescent exegetical and doctrinal readings of the Bible. Pater made his name as one of the most formidable exponents of German idealism in Oxford, which won him the Fellowship of Brasenose College, but also a legion of peers and students maligning him for it, with Hopkins, introducing him to the dawning pages of his journal as a proponent of enlightened theology, unequivocally being one of them. Not many days later Hopkins proceeds to underscore his discordance with Pater in yet another note: "A little rain and at evening and night hard rain.–Pater talking two hours against Xtianity" (*Journal* 138). The discord related to here by Hopkins in all probability has its provenience in Pater's conception of the *miraculous*. The inimitable semblance of the "penetrative suggestion of life" Pater locates in "the austere truths of human nature" (*Renaissance* 43). The strict accord of one's existence is to be sought after in the waning light of one's life, in the light not residing within the impassive prospect of the afterlife but flowering upon the bed of the unvanquishable eternity of the momentary clarity of perception.

From the Christian perspective, it is a not mildly unorthodox judgement of *the miraculous*. Pater does not in its entirety divorce it from the Christian creed, but removing an aspect of blankness from *the unseen*, he by proceeding to define that which is miraculous as not being forged by Christianity declares that Christianity itself is contained within the miraculous. In his later and yet unpublished manuscripts, Pater acknowledges a huge societal, communal, and even artistic value of Christianity. Even more emphatically does he utter the overpowering urgency of magnifying and exploring the extremities of this brief candle-like existence with "art and song" (*Renaissance* 120), for we are given an interval and "then our place knows us no more" (120). The brevity of an interval might breeze in as a sombre prospect, a pilgrim's quest of the manifold perils for the flame with-in called by Pater, according

1 Pater's beliefs and ever-growing aestheticism unwilling to conform to the prevailing atmosphere of the era would later grow intolerable to Jowett and impose severe strain on their personal and professional relationship. (Higgins, "Essaying 'W.H. Pater Esq.' 2)

to Brooke, "*Subjective Immortality*" (qtd. in Monsman *Walter Pater* 30). The indomitable cord of Immortality is weaved in the fond remembrances friends keep retrieving of the one whose life has expired. The opposed substance to this form of Immortality is Annihilation, a hollow ground of being forgotten. Brooke dissents resoundingly from the proposed distinction. He perceives subjective immortality as being indistinguishable from Annihilation because friends also die and with them memories, so that Pater's vision of Immortality sooner rather than later melts into nothingness and proves for Brooke as elusive as wind's puzzling movements (30-31). But ensconced within this duality is the image of a self-cultured aesthete, a scholar of hued perceptions, Wallace Stevens' "scholar of one candle" ("The Auroras of Autumn" 142), frightened and impacted not with the eminence of memory merely. The brief interval of effulgence likewise shines upon the Primal Scene and "empirical context of history" (Monsman, *Walter Pater* 33), wherein cultivated by the abiding impulses of beauty one becomes a progenitor of the age.

II.

Omnipresent in Pater's aesthetic propensities lingers Ruskin's spirit. In partial and relative conjunction to his central dictum developed in *Modern Painters III* that "to see clearly is poetry, prophecy, and religion all in one" (268), Pater in the preface to his seminal work *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* adumbrates the contours of the question that was to form the crux of his critical ruminations: "What is this song or picture, this engaging personality presented in life or in a book, to *me?*" (3)

Also under the spell of the "Ruskinese point of view" (*Further Letters of GMH* 202), Hopkins' intellectual debt to Ruskin first acquires a cognizable form in a letter sent to William Baillie, a fellow Balliol student, in which he summarily yet artfully documents the visionary fruits of one of the sketching trips he undertook with his brother Arthur:

> I think I have told you that I have particular periods of admiration for particular things in Nature; for a certain time I am astonished at the beauty of a tree, shape, effect, etc. then when the passion, so to speak, has subsided, it is consigned to my treasury of explored beauty, and acknowledged with admiration and interest ever after, while something new takes its place in my enthusiasm. (202)

The instressed shape, say, of a leaf affords the discerning onlooker an experience of a distinctive light of its selfhood, its *leafness*, or singular effect residing outside the intellect. In 1863 the skeleton of these cogitations represented mere fledglings of what would later grow into an impacted and particularized relief of Hopkins' poetic

excursions. Ruskin, who maintains that seeing precedes thought and that the Seers in contrast to the Thinkers "are wholly the greater race" (*Modern Painters III* 268), is unmistakably present in the ideational surroundings knitted by Hopkins. The onlooker's task is to record rather than reinvent Nature (White 75) and at the same time withstand the yen of projecting life upon it. Poets who prove not impervious to the impulse of adopting Nature to the projecting principle, called by Ruskin *pathetic fallacy,* fall in Ruskin's estimation within the category of Perceptive or Reflective poets who "feel strongly, think weakly, and see untruly" (*Modern Painters III* 164) as opposed to Creative poets who "feel strongly, think strongly, and see truly" (164). Ruskin regards the Romantic legacy of the "renewed encounters with the visible nature" (Bloom xii) as regressive defacement of "the pure physical nature" (Bloom xv).

In other words, psychologizing enquiries miserly exhaust the absolute essence of natural data. Citing two verses from Charles Kingsley's poem in *Alton Locke*: "They rowed her in across the foam / The cruel, crawling foam," Ruskin rather acerbically adds that "the foam is not cruel neither does it crawl" (*Modern Painters III* 160). Having a temperamental bias to over-mystify and smog facts, emotions must, for this reason, be guarded against. At this stage, it is crucial to bring up the notion of feeling, for being moved rather than overwhelmed by feeling, Ruskin regards as a nonpareil in terms of poetic potency. Dante according to Ruskin's norm stands as a strong poet unbent by the swirl of emotions, a poet who possesses a steadfast "centre of reflection and knowledge … and watches the feeling, as it were, from afar off" (164). Dante accepts the despotism of Nature without trying to rescind the primal balance. A weaker poet, however, exhibits intoxication with *the self* and is incapable of inhibiting the "overcharged expression" (165) generated by the fawning infatuations with the Natural law.

Pater, an ambivalent but undeniable disciple of Ruskin, swerves away from his precursor in one key respect; he does concede Ruskin the precept that to regard an object as it is in itself demands not small a measure of nobleness and instinctive modesty. Nevertheless, he does act out a fundamental revisionary shift to Ruskin's principle of singular unity by stating that in order to see the object in its singularity one must first become acquainted with "one's own impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realise it distinctly" (*Renaissance* 3). Pater is by no means a purveyor of the doctrine of over-clouding and enwrapping physical facts inside the mechanisms of psychological reductionisms. Where Pater writes of the significance of sensory acuity, he does not endorse the tyranny of the senses; on the contrary, he addresses those special and privileged moments of intellectual clarity, "pathetic fallacies raised to triumphs of perception" (Bloom xiii), which Wordsworth calls the "visionary gleam" ("Ode" 56). Wordsworth, Nature's own abandoned son, craves not the return to its pitiless bosom; such return would entail surrender of imaginative vigour to the antithetical flux of naturalized ambition. The visionary gleam – an appearance of wild temporality

– affords the poet an insight, of which he is terrified, for the child should go back only as the Father or "the Child [who] is Father to the Man," because "words are wild" (Hopkins, "A Trio of Triolets" 27), and the returning poet can survive Nature's dehumanizing lure only if willing or capable of lending myth of "human thought" (Pater, "Wordsworth" 131) to Nature and for that one instant of clear prophecy face the prospect of the darkening gleam. Blake informs us that "the Imagination is not a State: it is the Human Existence itself / Affection or Love becomes a State, when divided from the Imagination" ("Milton: A Poem in 2 Books, Book the Second" 32–33). In the "Postscript" to *Appreciations*, Pater defines an imaginative leap of Romantic poetry as strangeness added to beauty (211), naming Sir Walter Scott and Heathcliff among others as the spirits of "strange adventure" (209) and hence the paradigmatic representatives of the Romantic temper. Such a temper is further pronounced in the event of the desire of beauty being complemented by *curiosity*. That is to say, love of beauty entwined with an intellectually disinterested thirst for knowledge renders fruitful the quest for the *strange* union of "unlikely elements" (212).

The prospect of marriage between seeming antagonisms profoundly moved Hopkins. He intensely channelled his mental energy first into producing a theoretical examination upon the vital individualities of keen observation which can if only within a twinkling spot of time espy the *thisness* of the observed object, and then setting the revelatory fragments of this principled study into his creative outpourings. Despite Hopkins' early protestations against Pater and a chasm between their respective outlooks not so much on religious life as on the absolutist decrees of religion *per se*, Hopkins never gainsaid the immense impact Pater's thought had on his speculative and poetic reflections, and many a time made those kindred offshoots visible to a keen eye. This can also be attested to by a more conspicuously benevolent fashion Hopkins granted for his relationship with Pater to assume in the years following his departure from Oxford. In 1878, eleven years after taking his degree in Oxford, Hopkins, a Jesuit priest now, returns for the first time "except once for three quarters of an hour" to the city of dreaming spires (*Correspondence of GMH and RWD* 20), and while at St. Aloysius' sends a letter to his mother informing her that he "[dined] with the Paters" (*Further Letters of GMH* 151). Two years later still with fondness in a letter to Baillie he recalls this event and writes that during that 1878 stay in Oxford Pater was "one of the men I saw most of" (246).

III.

We have determined early on that Hopkins' initial impression of Pater might have been unduly volatile while our last remarks imply a major shift in Hopkins' disposition towards Pater. Since the inklings of personal cordiality between the

two of them first took shape within the boundaries of intellectual life, we will seek to expound upon the covert aspects of Pater's ascendancy inside the maze of Hopkins' – albeit metaphysical – *Weltanschauung*. Along with some of the essays Hopkins penned at Oxford, his critical perusal of Ruskin deliberated upon in light of the brief analysis of Pater's intellectual *agon* with Ruskin that we have already carried out will help us gauge the extent of influence the Brasenose don did have on the Jesuit poet.

Verbal sketches that Hopkins adopts in his writings he traces in great preponderance in Ruskin's *Elements of Drawing*; stems "send off a wild branch," "branches share in one great fountain-like impusle," and "boughs spring irregularly and at various angles … stoop less and less as they near top of the tree" (93). These verbal charts are conceived in order to outflank a periphrastic silhouette of a natural form so as to ingress the form and its *haecceity*, the intellect's individuating perception of a singular form. Ruskin calls such order of perception *signalement*, a quest for "the vital truth … of every natural form" (92). Hopkins gradually became aware that progression as a trait of painting was not particularly valued in the Victorian era, and the operative scheme of expression he commenced assuming was more and more confined to highly idiosyncratic and minutely detailed scrutiny of the natural phenomena. The chase after *thisness* of "every nut-tree, and apple-tree, and higher bit of hedge" (86) turns for Hopkins into the very air that he heartily longs for to endlessly breathe. On 12 December 1872, during his three-year stay at the Jesuit seminary at Stonyhurst studying philosophy, Hopkins went for a walk on the fells with a not infrequent walking companion Herbert Lucas SJ. In his journal for that day, he makes this note:

> Ground sheeted with taut tattered streaks of crisp gritty snow. Green-white tufts of long bleached grass like heads of hair or the crowns of heads of hair, each a whorl of slender curves, one tuft taking up another – however these I might have noticed any day. I saw the inscape though freshly, as if my eye were still growing, though with a companion the eye and the ear are for the most part shut and instress cannot come. (*Journal* 228)

Hopkins confesses that *inscape* of the kaleidoscopically tousled leaves of grass does for an instant reveal itself, yet *instress* refuses the courtship of more than one set of eyes. It might be helpful to fortify the point that instress is always "received *from* … [the] inscape," (263) meaning that instress embodies the act of seeing as much as the event of being seen. The progressive form of the verb *to grow*, denoting the operating process of instress buttressing the foundation of inscape, reflects a telling gesture of having to be intently open unto the possibility of uncovering inscape in that acutely epihpanic spot of time that is instress. Since the vision of inscape

is predicated upon the sonorous bond with instress, it is not "inscape," as Brian Willems contends, but more so instress where "God himself" (5) inheres, as is highlighted by Hopkins, who further clarifies in "Parmenides" that "all things are upheld by instress and are meaningless without it" (127). For inscape to become visible through the energy of instress it must be called upon in solitude. Declaring that "all the world is full of inscape," Hopkins discerns it even in "random clods and broken heaps of snow" (*Journal* 230), but early spring is when "the swelling buds" take "the spraying of trees" (205) to a perfect pitch of mind and nature, as Miller propounds, to ensure "for the stem of stress to leap out and bear things over to the mind" (294).

The Ruskinese standard of variety in oneness haunts Hopkins. Having abandoned the dream of becoming a professional painter, he began concentrating visual memoranda verbally, which he advances theoretically in "Notes on Greek Philosophy." He articulates the motifs on the relational anomalies of words, locating an indwelling spirit of multiple connotative shapes in words possessed through "a passion or prepossession or enthusiasm" (306). The texture and huskiness of words is tested against its rhyming potential. These relational patterns in words manifest themselves in the tripartite nomenclature of prepossessing feeling, definition or abstraction, and its application or, in Hopkins' phrasing, "extension" (306). Regardless of the prepossession subsuming a word's connotative aspect and extension being "a thing meant" (306) by a word, it is a word's abstraction met in expression which receives its lexical corporealness. Only expression is causally responsible for the "uttering of the idea in the mind" (307), and beyond even this underlying expressiveness of what really constitutes a word rest the veritable image, its visible and audible mark thronged with "refined energy" (307), and the conception of the idea. Energy released externalizes itself transitionally and contemplatively. The former mirrors the successive exhibition of "thought and sensation" undertaken actively in criticism or passively in reading, while the latter pleasurably wades into the mind which then in contemplation "dwells upon, enjoys, [that] single thought" (307). As Hopkins contends, these two energies are not mutually exclusive and can subsist simultaneously in art as even "the synthesis of succession" can – despite its focus on the totality of intermediacy – help securing the contemplative thrill of the parts bound in unity. In his work, however, contemplative supersedes transitional energy, for only contemplation adequately reflects the distinction between "the whole and the parts, the parts and the whole" (307), and it is in this distinctive possibility of contemplative energy where the real "sense of unity" resides (307). The vital truth of the word brought into being by virtue of expression, it takes a connotative and effortful leap back into the prepossessing flush for the oneness of the mind to seize the unity of truth. Prepossession under the creative aegis of Hopkins flouts mere impressionistic suggestiveness of words, seeking rather "an intellectual attraction for very sharp and pure dialectic or, in other words, hard and telling art-forms" (308).

Paul Mariani identifies Pater's aesthetic sentiment which he reduces to a level of overly pliant and self-indulgent "bifurcated and unwound" (67) layers of perception as inconsonant with Hopkins' pattern of sturdy and sovereign makeup of inscape. Miller makes even more resolute a comment that Hopkins in his youth was caught within "the prison of Paterian phenomenalism" (275), out of which he desperately struggled to escape. That Hopkins' aversion to subjectivism with the passage of time did grow in intensity can hardly be invalidated, yet the character of relativism Pater espoused has to be revisited at this point as this will assuage the path of determining a more genuine sense of Hopkins' contact with Pater's epistemology and the effect it had on both his poetic and religious mood.

In *The Child in the House*, Pater's autobiographical portrait, Florian Deleal, whose reveries constitute the elemental frame of this short account and hold many a key to the proper understanding of Pater's visionary aestheticism, is ruled by a tender and melancholy state of mind in constant desire of beauty which itself can coexist only with "the fear of death" inasmuch as "the fear of death [is] intensified by the desire of beauty" (11). The vast expanse of nothingness which death promises first engulfs Florian's highly impressionable senses during his summer ramble in a "fair churchyard," where "a dark space on the brilliant grass" (11), an open grave where some child will rest eternally, bestirs his soul, inducing his vernal elation of life to gain knowledge of "the physical horror of death" (11) for the first time. Desiring to know what the intensity of an expiring life might feel like, he meditates "how the last impressions of eye and ear might happen to him, how they would find him" (11). The ceaseless evanescence of one's existence, for "the fear of death [comes] upon [Pater] early" (23), accentuate his conviction that life is drained in the amorphous flux of vibrant and relentless continuity. Faced with life's transience, increasing the susceptibility of the senses "in dept and variety" (*Renaissance* 4) should never be hesitated against. For such increase and enrichment in the nuanced substance of that brief interval to arrive into being, an aesthetic and nourished training of one's mind is required. Sensation, "response to perception" (Bloom viii), demands an *ascetic* delving into the matter or form so as to procure the individuating sonority of an object, the exclusivity of which is incumbent upon the observer's nurtured openness to be "moved by the presence of beautiful objects (4). This view can easily get conflated with the type of base hedonism of the perilous delights many in Oxford imputed to Pater's critical undertakings. Pater is often cited as saying that he would have liked for the detractors to stop calling him a hedonist; it "[produces] such a bad effect on the minds of those who don't know Greek" (qtd. in Thomas 47). In his review of Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Pater extols the novel's exceptional aesthetic resilience, yet Dorian and Lord Henry, two of its main protagonists, both "lose too much in life" (265) to evade the seductions of ill-begotten Epicureanism, a province of crass

cynicism and scarred sensibilities that Pater sets in opposition to the virtuous and creatively charged life of Basil Hallward, whom Pater for these very reasons acclaims as a paragon of authentic "Epicurean economy" (265).

Any true prophet of Epicureanism was habitually quite acrimoniously discredited as a *hedonist*; a term which had through much misuse acquired a very unsavoury reputation as a system of thought advocating the low-minded and puerile worship of pleasure for pleasure's sake. Understanding that the real sense of hedonism was lost and vulgarized within the dusts of history by the institutions of the "righteous" cause, Pater, who had felt the oppressive scourge of such naïve vilifications, sought to offer a clear distinction between vulgar hedonism and Epicureanism. Unlike hedonism, Epicureanism had at least in the minds of the learned few retained a modicum of its unadulterated significance, "designating actual schools of thought and traditions of philosophic thought" (Shuter 48). Hedonism, originally very much inseverable from Epicureanism, deteriorated into a word of "large and vague comprehension" ("Marius the Epicurean" 124) no longer able to epitomize the ethos of Cyrenaic and Epicurean pleasure, the custodians of "insight" and "fullness of life" (125). Pater felt impelled much to his chagrin to sever the ties of hedonism and Epicureanism to render the latter impervious to the potentially analogous doctrinal reductionism and detritus of wilful ignorance the former had been subjected to:

> A true Epicureanism aims at a complete though harmonious development of man's entire organism. To lose the moral sense therefore, for instance, of the sense of sin and righteousness … is to lose, or lower, organization, to become less complex, to pass from a higher to a lower degree of development. ("A Novel by Mr. Oscar Wilde" 264)

A degree of harmonious development hinges upon the disciplined variety of both the heart and mind. His Epicurean discipline Pater mingles with Cyrenaic arching yet brief moments echoing within the exalted privacy of one's sensations: "Art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake" (*Renaissance* 121). To a greater extent, however, Pater dwells on facilitating the passage into the domain of *katastemic* pleasure, a static pleasure of tranquility or *ataraxia*, elicited into existence by the *kinetic* experience of joy. Seeing the fleeting aerial dance of a falling leaf *kinetically* can energize the mind to pass through joy or wonder, whereas having seen a subliminal vision produces the *static* and somewhat subtler yet less ephemeral a pleasure of comfort. Static pleasure could mislead one into thinking that the pleasure thus attained stands exposed to the gradually tougher ebbing tides of the intensity of sensation. If the heart and mind are impressible and grant to be

purged of intellectual dross, the accumulated impulses of introspective bliss may appear dormant, but they in concert with each impulse freshly forged within the soul augment the varied experience of pleasure. *Kinetic* pleasure arises in the process of removing the pain; once this has been achieved, *katastemic* pleasure is formed. The removal of pain, therefore, makes place for the experience of contentment. Pater, suffering a life-long ontological anxiety, endlessly yearns for the epiphanic moments in the swirling midst of the *kinetic* and *katastemic* duality, wherein the imaginative pleasure burning intensely along the bedimming pain gradually morphs into an amicable calm of equanimity. A seasoned eye can aim for the rarefied particularity of being present in an *apotropaic* encounter with death, one's unrelenting shadowy companion. Upon the exile of pain or anxiety, death becomes absent, although it still remains present in its absence as a lingering suggestion or possibility, so that *ataraxia* is never entirely unrestrained (O'Keefe 117–123). Pater understood that the restoring fruits of high pleasure can only be watered by the tears of life's transience, making him thirst even more for those brief intimations of immortality.

In an essay "The Probable Future of Metaphysics," Hopkins devises a system flowing against the tide of "the prevalent philosophy of continuity or flux" (120), by many regarded as being the favoured child of Pater's aesthetic theory:

> One sees that the ideas so rife now of a continuity without fixed points, not to say *saltus* or breaks, of development in one chain of necessity, of species having no absolute types and only accidentally fixed, all this is a philosophy of flux opposed to Platonism and can call out nothing but Platonism against it. (120)

Miller, for instance, analyzes Hopkins' conception of diatonic beauty as a supreme sign of the poet's "rejection of the Paterian philosophy of flux" (278). It is in his undergraduate essay "On the Signs of Health and Decay in the Arts" that Hopkins first presents his theory on the two discrepant spheres of beauty. To examine the veracity of Miller's assertion, we must first illuminate the rigid distinction Hopkins offers between two types of beauty. In the "science of aesthetics" ("Signs and Health" 75), as Hopkins refers to his theoretical model, he formulates a method for envisaging the true nature of beauty. The highest standard of beauty he locates in proportion, which communicates the character of beauty either by the strand of *continuance* or the tilt of *interval*. The latter Hopkins held in preference over the former. Beauty disclosed intervallary, quantitatively, or parallelistically is diatonic beauty, while beauty conveyed gradually or qualitatively he names chromatic.

Miller's assertion hints at Pater's rather servile reliance on the "shapeless slum" (278) of the flux, wherefrom spontaneous, non-predetermined, and evolutionary lawlessness sets up a patterning arrangement hostile to the tabulating order of *rhyme*. Against Miller we can read Wolfgang Iser, who astutely points out that

impression for Pater has the ability to lower the "barrier between art and life" (36) or what Hart Crane in the proem "To Brooklyn Bridge" calls the might of the "unfractioned idiom" in the awoken impressions to "condense eternity" (34–35). Iser adds that for Pater impression in its primordial solidity alone discharges an interval from "the 'permanent flux' and enables it to defy time by freezing the transient into a permanent image" (37).

Pater's *askesis* typifies a regulative gathering of order in time's unbroken wave, rephrasing amorphous figurations and their "restless iteration" (Stevens, "The Place of the Solitaries" 11) into the parallel stratum of the highly punctuated and minutely measured decree of rhyme. In a similar vein, Hopkins shapes his rhyming patterns as a panacea against the splintering vacuity of the flux. The rhyming undulations subsume phenomena which are alike in their unlikeness and unlike in their alikeness.

Pater was, not unlike Hopkins, profoundly scraped by the potential meaninglessness of mutability, so it is not incredulous that the capricious fluidity in Pater galvanized the ever-lingering propositions and flames of faith. Moments when the Muse of rooted revelation shrouded herself in silence made him re-turn "again and again toward the solemnities of faith" (Millhauser 216). Owing to Pater's multifaceted and warring notions on religious faith, Hopkins' ties to him were, as a result, even more elaborately interlaced. At the age of 18, he seriously wrestled with the idea of taking religious orders in the Anglican Church; so prominently were Pater's thoughts focused on devotion that he deemed Lancelot Andrewes' *Manual of Private Devotions* a book of such gravity that any person should read it. In all probability, such reasoning led him to present the book as a birthday gift to his friend John Rainier McQueen. (Thomas 22)

Church walls which Pater frequented insatiably allayed his existential trepidations; the tall embrace of church spires and Gothic arches extended him solace. Confronting the colossal and dehumanizing societal vicissitudes of the modern world, Pater exhorts his contemporaries to "rearrange the details of modern life, so to reflect it, that it may satisfy the spirit" (*Renaissance* 116). The overpowering sense of modern life that nothing else is there to be gained knowledge in steadied Pater in his missionary work to reiterate the need to see the spirit of the age as an untrammelled entity, as Higgins contends, "anterior to morality, myth, and religion" ("A 'Thousand Solaces'" 190). *Pace* Coleridge, who believed that in the event of rejecting the element of "the supernatural, the spiritual element in life will evaporate also" ("Coleridge's Writings" 448), Pater perceives religion as an outgrowth of the primal spirit of being and not its originating agent, toiling profusely to reanimate and attune that spirit to its moral, mythological, and religious undertones to make it withstand the surging stream of scientific determinism. Artistic synthesis in union with the inspired atoms of religious emprise is effected when the mind

proves susceptible to the ever-rejuvenating ecstasy of transporting experience partaking in the creation of "moral 'impressions'" (Higgins, "A 'Thousand Solaces'" 195), thus, according to Pater, keeping life from being "a mere grasping" (qtd. in Higgins 200). Much like artistic, religious sentiment winnows its way outwardly, and settles upon the arable plains of higher reality with "creativity, communality, and consolation" (191); for Pater, the three vital benedictions of religion. Although in the eyes of many who are devout, faith produces hope everlasting, Pater seeks no such gratification. The uncertainty of the flux can neither be overturned nor quelled. He is not willing to shade its real hazard, rather he embraces it as part and parcel of the facticity of human existence. In his view, authentic religious belief, an offspring of doubtful faith, but faith nonetheless, comes not by means of an original vision of revelation; on the contrary, such a vision being out of reach, a cure for belatedness may be procured only in the unique re-creation of the impulse which points amidst the flux to the momentary yet lifting salvation of life's sacred value. Prescriptive institutionalization and dogmatism is far removed from the essential cheerfulness contained in the disrupted and divided balance of faith. Faith not frosted upon the throne of absolute authority could only thaw on the wings of a concession that "there are aspects of the religious character which have an artistic worth distinct from their religious import" ("Coleridge's Writings" 448–49), for only in this manner does faith commanded by "longing, a chastened temper, spiritual joy" (449) not exhaust its innumerable modes of appearance.

Iser emphasizes that Pater's scepticism can be valued as either "negative (rejecting the norms of the absolute spirit) [or] positive (bringing to light the undefined and undefinable)" (17). This contrast could easily give rise to an erroneous portrayal of Pater's intuitive criticism as an apologia for radical egalitarianism, which Pater being aware of the metaphysical and despotic undercurrents present in it explicitly renounces:

> But a taste for metaphysics may be one of those things which we must renounce, if we mean to mould our lives to artistic perfection. Philosophy serves culture, not by the fancied gift of absolute or transcendental knowledge, but by suggesting questions which help one to detect the passion, and strangeness, and dramatic contrasts of life. (*Renaissance* 116)

The only semblance of permanence held in patent reverence by Pater is "a standard of taste which genius confesses" (98). Genius soundly tunes the "mortal truths of perception and sensation" (Bloom xxx) to the cultured and lofty discipline of noticing the radiant thingness of a thing not "in action but contemplation–*being* as distinct from *doing*," of opening life unto "the principle of all higher morality" ("Wordsworth" 139). It is not the solipsism of vulgar subjectivism

masking an idea within form and therefore life; his longings range from witnessing the unconcealedness of a beautiful idea to an inclusive and reciprocal sense of communal but *agonistic* kinship of ideas; an idea true unto its own reality, and then only to the principles of subjectifying and objectifying ratios.

Whereas Pater's philosophical, aesthetic, and creative wanderings rise unapologetically in consonance with one another, Hopkins' exertions to reach the highlands of mental congruence within his theoretical, theological, and creative undertakings are a matter of often tortuous forethoughtfulness; yet in a spirit of so much inquisitive ingenuity such unity of thought upon being achieved cannot be divested of brazenly unique splendour. In "The Origin of Our Moral Ideas," Hopkins writes that "all thought is of course in a sense an effort of unity" (83). Unity is disrupted by the flux, and in the world where everything is "seared with trade; bleared, smeared with toil" ("God's Grandeur" 6), the likelihood of salvaging unity abides with inscape of God's indwelling presence in all things living, in "designs of Greek vases, and lyres, the cone upon Indian shawls, the honeysuckle moulding, the fleur-de-lys" (Hopkins, "The Probable Future of Metaphysics" 120). The constellated structure of unity opens up the room for the character of thought where "the highest consistency is the highest morality ("The Origin of our Moral Ideas" 83). In morality the movement is always within a fixed point, but in art the motion transcends the point centripetally to attain a "permanence of law, likeness, but also, with it, difference, variety, contrast" (83). Neither Pater nor Hopkins shy away from expressing hopes in the re-emerging nature of timeless values in works of art with the difference being that Hopkins desires for these values to restore the realm of metaphysics, while Pater sees their task in enhancing the recovery from the metaphysical mould. Hopkins' general take on the timelessness of spirit is obviously steeped in a highly religious mood, so that the main recourse to certify values of this kind rests in the inauguration of an externally-imposed absolute law of order. We have already alluded to Hopkins' non-linear approach to the formation of the syntheses of artistic and moral dispositions. As the sense of morality alone cannot inject the substratal impulse essential for artistic creation, Hopkins holds the goal of achieving high moral pleasure through art in great regard. Not only does he crave for beauty because it is good, he also, like Pater, although with a larger degree of moderation hankers after goodness because it is beautiful, in which case goodness is subsumed as one of the primary facets constituting beauty.

Hopkins oftentimes assumes a banausic tone in his comments on poetry, stating that "the clearest and most disinterested appreciation of beauty comes of education" ("The Origin of our Moral Ideas" 218). In "Plato's View on the Connection of Art and Education," he makes no effort to disavow Plato's banishment of a poet from the Republic, where only "the more austere and less delightful poet" (223) is allowed to interact with the citizens. He was disheartened at the prospect

of upsetting the balance between goodness and beauty, of possibly tilting the moral compass inordinately to the vicinity of beauty *per se*, which could spawn his already piercing sensitivity to beauty to a riotous gallop of the daringly-inflamed senses, to a life of indulgence his religious constancy could not brook.

Art in the Paterian sense comes to be, so to speak, one of the enlargements of life. Hopkins feared that the enlargement of life in art if relished excessively could become larger than life of devotion itself, thus displacing "'the' end from life" (Iser 35), which Hopkins searched for in the unremitting service to God. *Daimonic* boundaries of poetry are treacherous and hardly perceptible and the defensive mechanisms Hopkins employed against the frenzy of poetic vocation were manifold. They were made plain in the steely and self-flagellating themes ruling over Hopkins' quotidian practices as a priest. The singular credence of God's wondrous emanation the poet identifies in the unmitigated contact of his senses with the incarnate ripeness and purity of God's glory:

> The world is charged with the Grandeur of God,
> It will flame out like shining from shook foil,
> It gathers to a greatness, like the ooze of oil
> Crushed. Why do men then now not reck his rod? ("God's Grandeur" 1–4)

The charged reality of experience bespeaking the inviolate presence of the divine body could best be sustained via an undeviating contact with God through the vibrating senses. Mystery of man's communion with God Hopkins describes as "incomprehensible certainty" (*The Letters of GMH to Robert Bridges* 187). He reprimands Bridges for seeing mystery crucially in different terms: "You mean an interesting uncertainty: the uncertainty ceasing interest ceases also" (187). The unknown entity mirrored in the unspent energy of Nature's fruits which "the mind reaches and still feels to be behind" (187) can be entered into by the non-complacent agency of the spirit. The signifying particle of God within the poet's soul markedly took shape in the idiosyncratic cosmos of Hopkins' language and sprung rhythm, of which he wrote to Bridges: "No doubt my poetry errs on the side of oddness … This vice I cannot have escaped" (66). This oddness escaped not the sharp eye of his Jesuit colleagues who often viewed him as a quirky brother in Christ. Recommending Hopkins for a post as Fellow in Classics and Professor of Greek and Latin Literature at the University College in Dublin, George Porter, an English assistant to the Jesuits' Superior General in Rome, salted the endorsement with a caustic remark that Hopkins is "clever, well-trained, teaches well but has never succeeded well: his mind runs in eccentric ways" (qtd. in Martin 362). Oddness of character and poetic word is reminiscent of the parallelism of beauty and strangeness Pater marked as the stamp of the Romantic spirit:

> There are the born romanticists, who start with an original, untried *matter*, still in fusion; who conceive this vividly, and hold by it as the essence of their work; who, by the very vividness and heat of their conception, purge away, sooner or later, all that is not organically appropriate to it ("Postscript" 218).

Although in hacking away at the raw materiality of the idea charged with the *caritas* of God Hopkins notices a deliberate destruction of nature, the purging away of the redundant layers to gain sight of the clear aspect of form – contained within the "marked parallelism" (Hopkins, "Poetic Diction" 84) of the opposed forces to which poetry aspires – Hopkins estimates as the cardinal imaginative measure against the blunting clasp of indifferentism. The Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola depicting the victuals upon which the souls are sustained, indifferentism is one of the aims which a devoted heart and mind should seek to achieve during the Exercises:

> One must grow cold to all things: love of friends, country, parents; particular interests; kinds of learning … In fine the ideal put forward is that of a soldier held by no tie of affection, burthened by no choice or fancy, utterly detached from all natural desire, having no preference … Indifferentism entails such an absorption in the final end … that it engenders necessarily an attitude of aloofness, coldness and ennui … Art and dreams have no value in themselves, and must be bartered for whatever helps piety. (Barrett 79–80)

The strict code of the Exercises could prove detrimental to "a temperament predisposed to melancholia" (White 187); melancholia is evident in the way Hopkins – despite being in a community generally quite supportive of his poetic endeavours – reacts to his poem "The Wreck of the Deutschland" being rejected by the *Month*. In one of the letters to his mother, he tells her: "About the *Deutschland* sigh no more, I am glad now it has not appeared" (*Letters to Patmore* 141). In spite of the outgoing tides, the excited and over-believing oddness of his poetic spirit is not un-selved. Julia F. Saville highlights a spiralled trajectory in Hopkins' instressing of "the common nature or inscape" (98). The poet postpones the passing of the momentary interval by "the act of stalling" (98) and by virtue of the concentration of the impressed impulses the pleasure thus heightened becomes "indistinguishable from the guilt of seeing too much" (98).

Rare moments of freedom from reticence in Hopkins prove tantamount to the temporary abandonment of the real in favour of the tentative encounter with the sublime, *hypsos*, or loftiness personified in nature's intimidation of the selfhood. Too much with-out the world and with-out the self, the sublime in Hopkins is balanced out in the more restrained cosmos of beauty. While Lichtmann's argument that Hopkins feels he has to refute the "Romantic and ultimately solipsistic

view" (175) is correct to a certain degree, it does fail taking into account that the real affects the experience of the sublime as much as the sublime impacts the experience of the real. The capacity of the spirit to linger in the unresolved tension between the two and be "in uncertainties … without any irritable reaching after fact and reason" (Keats 60) is a distinctive endowment of Romantic poetry. This vitality and absorption of the creative energy in building form Keats termed *negative capability*. Not only is the final answer postponed, the Romantic poet prefers the verisimilitude of the vision to remain beyond the grasp of total attainment. The tension being invariably present, the poet keeps revisiting the place of the primal vision and keeps acting as his/her own reminder of the interminable path of homecoming.

IV.

Florian Deleal at twelve years of age for the first time leaves his old home. The journey to a new place of residence is to be undertaken on the country road, familiar and tender to his vigorous heart. Several miles into the journey, Florian discovers a pet bird missing. He left it in the old house, to which he promptly returns. Upon entering of what is now no longer his home, the exact whereabouts of the bird within the house remain dim. Scouring the place for the deserted pet, he is whelmed by the sensation that something of the essence of youth and homeliness is to be left behind by the act of leaving. He finally finds the bird, and settling at last on the country-road again, and "in an agony of homesickness, thus capriciously sprung up within him, he [is] driven quickly away, far into the rural distance, so fondly speculated on, of that favourite country-road" ("The Child in the House" 15). In Florian a shudder of displacement is born. The trembling of the soul which alone can find both suffering and comfort in being far and near to what once seemed so homely and plain and is now distant and strange.

A similar double bind of displacement expressed by Pater found voice in Hopkins' constant geographical shifts and the shifts he yearned for in his poetical mind and were at times hard if not impossible to come by. When he moved to Dublin, the oppressive joylessness of what had once in the waning days of the 18th century been a city of vibrant and renewing energy sadly affected him. The daily preoccupations of teaching likewise took a shattering toll on Hopkins' fragile and declining health. In a letter to Bridges, he provides more than mere hints about the severity of crisis:

> I must write something, though not so much as I have to say. The long delay was due to work, worry, and languishment of body and mind–which must be and will be … I think that my fits of sadness, though they do not affect my

> judgment, resemble madness. Change is the only relief, and that I can seldom get … I have after long silence written two sonnets, which I am touching: if ever anything was written in blood one of these was. (216–219)

Change would be the sweet relief, but the boundless maze of daily routine relentlessly bogs him down. A sonnet "written in blood" belongs to a group of sonnets called "The Sonnets of Desolation" or "Terrible Sonnets"; which sonnet exactly Hopkins has in mind is not possible to establish. The overarching theme of the "Terrible Sonnets" bares a heavy-handed burden of anguish descending upon Hopkins in a growing and preponderant isolation and dejection he has to endure in Ireland. In one of the sonnets he writes that "in Ireland now" he is "at a third / Remove" ("To Seem the Stranger" 9–10). The first remove probably alludes to what had initially been a period of acute estrangement from his family due to his conversion to Catholicism, a relationship that had with time become less pernicious, but with a wrinkle of estrangement never wholly smoothed out; the second remove he may have felt in relation to his countrymen who were predominantly devoted Anglicans, while the third remove gives voice to a sharp pang of being stationed in a country whose disloyalty to England is proudly flaunted. His voice "heard unheeded" (14), silence wields the reign of dispirited sameness over the otherwise quickened and subtle movements of Hopkins' mind; it leaves him "a lonely began" (14). The wheel of exclusion is complete:

> To seem the stranger lies my lot, my life
> Among strangers. Father and mother dear,
> Brothers and sisters are in Christ not near
> And he my peace/my parting, sword and strife. (1–4)

A poet of imaginative prowess met with sheer formlessness of the natural cosmos, although ultimately defeated and shrunk by the overwhelming gleam of his/her own visionary incandescence, bridges forth from the arranged entities of ordered entropies to the singular and self-contained yet rhyming entropies, where nothing is "so pregnant and straightforward to the truth as simple *yes* and *is*" ("Parmenides" 127). Hopkins learns that the desire for the order of affirmation could sap the poetic self of its sprung language. In "Dejection: An Ode," Coleridge lends voice to a very poignant analogy to the type of grief Hopkins feels in proportion to his overly methodical existence:

> A grief without a pang, void, dark, and drear,
> A stifled, drowsy, unimpassioned grief,
> Which finds no natural outlet, no relief,
> In word, or sigh, or tear— (21–24)

The final consummation of dejection occurs when a poet finds the moments previously taking the "soul abroad" and making "it move and live" (18–20) beyond recall. Steep highs that once were at hand presently stand supplanted by the mind intent upon recreating the conditions for the self-edification of the soul. Hopkins' conscious perception that tempestuous monotony is what he righteously owes allegiance to flames the wilting embers of imagination, impelling him towards a dolent observation that the "mind has mountains, cliffs of fall / Frightful, sheer, no-man fathomed" ("No Worst" 9–10). So umbrous are those plunging slopes that none but those touching the lofty ridges and the castigating shadow of the falling could appreciate the mass of lost content in such a downfall. Joy being buried, it is only the assembled gravity of the flux which can halt the slumberous symmetry of the simple *yes* and *is* of the artificially-construed order where the poet not being afforded a ground for agonistic strife with nature ineluctably de-natures nature of its poetic *and* dreadful dynamism. Hopkins unlike Pater cannot renounce the regulative absolutism of form; although Pater is gingerly dancing between faith and the intervallary motions of the mind, he knows a teeming thought plucks its rhymes of things alike and things unlike beyond the hold of the unilateral real. This bargain Hopkins' pious mind dissents from pursuing. Mortal beauty is too perilous, "does set danc- / Ing blood" ("To What Serves Mortal Beauty 1–2); he aspires to "God's better beauty, grace" (14). Even God's beauty, however, is mortally expressed; if the conception of deity lies in its inimitable presence, a poet can resign to silence or a dying coal of what once appeared a towering vision. An alternative is to strive to strive towards the inexpressible, not to construe a definitive version of deity but find joy in that which is un-speakable or beyond the false clarity of immediate expression. Hopkins lies "wrestling with (my God!) my God" ("Carrion Comfort" 14); his is a highly personal struggle with language and rhymes – irregular and mirroring God's solitary and ever defying *inscape*.

Formal disparities between Pater and Hopkins are irrefutable. Pater discerns in Christianity the inestimable value as the building block of a "perfect culture" ("Coleridge's Writings" 449); rather than "craving for objects of belief" (449), he is captivated by the religion of "transcendental disinterestedness" (450) as one of the dominant inflections in art's indelible chants. Faith instituted and roped by doctrinal fixations he cannot bring himself to regard as the bulwark "against the stupidity which is dead to the substance, against the vulgarity which is dead to the form" ("Postscript" 220). The *first principle* of such defence he unearths in the Romantic intuition which in agreement with Stendhal he acclaims as the fundamental substance of all great art and the guardian of the uncanny within the beautiful. Pater realizes very early that some-thing receives holiness not by virtue of its being revered by Gods; holiness is some-thing which even in Gods invokes reverence. His reasoning leads us to the division of the life-affirming force of *the*

holy as opposed to the more religious form of *the sacred*. Hopkins, naturally, as a priest overturns this balance – the holy is enclosed in the sacred. In poetry, however, the temptations of having the voice of single-mindedness prove multitudinous. At the forefront of his writings is a somewhat mystical swoon directed to secure the salvation of his soul, with the fear of losing his poetic vitality having no smaller outreach. He writes of the first time he saw the Northern Lights:

> My eye was caught by the beams of light and dark very like the crown of horny rays the sun makes behind a cloud … This busy working of nature wholly independent of the earth and seeming to go on in a strain of time not reckoned by our reckoning of days and ears but simpler and as if correcting the preoccupation of the world by being preoccupied with and appealing to and dated to the day of judgment was like a new witness to God and filled me with delightful fear. (*Journal* 200)

The flares offer a spectacle of the self-governing authority while the earth seems insufficient with the gyres of temporality circumscribing its essential features. The image of the blazing sky is a carnivalesque mockery of a poet's inevitable inadequacy to subdue a nature's grandiose demeanour. Delightful fear is a trope of the balancing ratio between the realm of artistic alacrity and pious devotion. Undue fervor of any form may capsize the delightful fear of uncertainty, for the flare burns, cannot be presumed and, in consequence, contained. In contrast, should the primary intent become the containment of the light, a darkening commotion ensues, in which case delightful fear is overrun by prostrating despair.

The passage at least in its theme coincides with some of the famous pastoral elegies for the self in the language. Hopkins knows that "the dedications of priest and poet [are] too much alike to exist easily in one person" (Martin 165). Starting "with *form*" ("Postscript" 218), Hopkins the priest espouses the Word becoming incarnate as the point of origin. The Light he sees as of God, for God, and through God, is made to replenish an always impatient source of human belief. Hopkins the poet celebrates the Light and its form as the primal aim. The aim flourishes into a playground of words and ideas; in Pater's words, into an inlet for "the rudeness of [a poet's] strength" (>Pater, "Postscript" 219). Strangeness perforates the regular shape of life. The split of the holy and the sacred within the self, as conceived by the poetic genius, whose contemplative character, in Hopkins as much aesthetic as it is religious, renders possible the union of beauty and strangeness. The yearning for the authentic language of unity Pater and Hopkins share, yet it is the metaphysical ambition which Hopkins at the same time necessarily traces in it and cannot forego that motivates and confirms the formally philosophical if not visionary rift between the two poetic souls.

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Gerard Manley Hopkins in Walter Pater: Labirinti minljivosti

Minljivost, ki gradi jedrni tok življenja, je močno zaznamovala ustvarjanja Gerarda Manleyja Hopkinsa in Walterja Paterja. Permanentno nedoločena prisotnost spremenljivega je oba ustvarjalca soočila s temno in nespoznavno podobo smrti in jima razprla vprašanje o vlogi umetnosti v nezaustavljivem razkroju, ki vlada življenju. Pater sprejme tok spremenljivosti kot ključni delež razodetja samolastnega umetniškega izkustva. V umetnosti moč iskrivega razkrivanja dopolnjuje v negotovo usodnost pokopano konstitucijo življenjskega bistva. Hopkins kot duhovnik v umetnosti zlasti v teoretičnem oziru spozna le približek brezčasne veličine božjega obličja, a njegova poezija izpričuje drugačno zgodbo. Pesniška podoba Hopkinsu predstavlja izpostavljeno individualnost romantičnega duha, ki ga je Pater dojemal kot sorodnost tujosti in lepega. V času Hopkinsovega študija na Oxfordu Pater ni bil le mentor mladega pesnika. Mnogo časa sta preživela v pogovoru, prevpraševaje temeljna določila umetniškega ustvarjanja. Pater je na Hopkinsa torej močno vplival in doprinesel mnogo k vzgoji njegovega pesniškega srca. Sledi tega odnosa ne najdejo poti v Hopkinsova verska premišljevanja; svojo navzočnost razkrivajo, čeprav zelo prikrito, na posameznih ravneh Hopkinsovih pesniških hrepenenj.

Ključne besede: Hopkins, Pater, romantika, spremenljivost, lepota

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The Importance of Being Earnest: Strategies for Translating Irony from English into Macedonian

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Abstract

Irony has significant stylistic function in texts. Given that in many cases it works in a certain linguistic, cultural, social and political context, irony may present a major challenge for the translator. The challenge involves not only recognizing and understanding it, but, perhaps, more importantly, conveying it in the target language so that all its stylistic effects become accessible for the target language reader. The purpose of this paper is to examine the strategies used to translate irony from English into Macedonian as well as to identify if there is any correlation between the type of irony and the translation strategy used. The results are based on an analysis of Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* and its translation into Macedonian. The study focuses on ironic utterances and their rendition in translation. The method combines qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Key words: translating irony, strategies, Oscar Wilde

1 INTRODUCTION

Irony has significant stylistic function in texts. Given that in many cases it works in a certain linguistic, cultural, social and political context, irony may present a major challenge for the translator. The challenge involves not only recognizing and understanding it, but, perhaps, more importantly, conveying it in the target language so that all its stylistic effects become accessible for the target language reader.

In this paper we set out to examine the strategies used to translate irony from English into Macedonian as well as to identify if there is any correlation between the type of irony and the translation strategy used. To this end we will first explain what we mean by irony and present the classification of irony we use in the study. Then, we will briefly give a background of some of the existing studies of irony in translation and irony translation strategies. After that, we will present the purpose of the paper and the methodology employed. We will next sketch a general quantitative picture of the results and discuss instances from the corpus to illustrate the qualitative analysis. Finally, we will draw conclusions and give suggestions for future research.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Irony

The issue of irony has a very long history. Irony as a concept dates back to Aristotle's time when it was interpreted as a type of an offensive pretense and deceit, i.e. a special type of lying (Stanel, 2006: 14; Knox, 1989: 51).

In the course of time, understandably, the term irony has evolved and become a very broad and complex concept. Thus, today the term irony refers to several distinct but closely related phenomena such as: Socratic irony; situational irony; dramatic irony and verbal irony. What they all have in common is the existence of a discrepancy between the mental state and the real situation in relation to something, whereas what distinguishes them all is the way in which these discrepancies are manifested (Kreuz & Roberts, 1993: 98).

Socratic irony is normally defined as a rhetorical skill which is used when the speaker pretends to be simple-minded for pedagogical purposes, i.e. to discover a flaw in his interlocutor's mode of thinking. The origin of this type of irony is attributed to Socrates and his habit to pretend that he does not know the answer to a question only to make his interlocutors understand their own shallowness and ignorance.

Dramatic irony is a complex theatrical means which implies that the audience knows something more than the protagonist himself, namely the audience has a

specific piece of information which is unknown to the protagonist, who as a result of that acts contrarily to what is expected or what is deemed normal.

Situational irony, is in fact very closely related to verbal irony, as "both of them include opposing and contrasting some incompatibilities/incongruities, but in verbal irony that is caused by an expression uttered by an individual; whereas, in the case of situational irony a particular situation is simply perceived as ironic" (Gibbs, 1994: 363). In other words, situational irony appears when there is an incongruity between the reality and the expectations, for instance, when a fire station has burnt to the ground (Kreuz and Roberts, 1993: 99).

In the case of verbal irony, which is principally defined as a discrepancy between what the speaker says and what he/she believes (e.g. "What a lovely day!" – uttered during a terrible storm), the fact of the matter is that there exists no single definition which manages to account for all the instances of this extremely complex linguistic phenomenon (Cutler, 1974; Grice, 1975, 1978; Sperber & Wilson, 1981, 1986; Clark & Gerrig, 1984; Kumon-Nakamura et al., 1995; Attardo, 2000; Utsumi, 2000; Colston, 2000; Anolli et al., 2002; Partington, 2007, etc). Nevertheless, what can be inferred on the basis of all principal definitions of verbal irony offered so far is that an expression is ironic if it meets certain *conditions* (semantic negation, i.e. saying one thing but meaning the opposite; echoic mention/interpretation of somebody's thoughts, expressions, beliefs in order to express disapproval; pretending that we do not judge or notice anything when that is exactly what we do, etc.) (not all ironic expressions meet the same conditions) and if under the influence of certain *socio-cultural factors* (e.g. status of interlocutors, distance, gender, age, etc.) the expression could:

- perform certain *pragmatic functions* (criticism, humor, surprise, etc.),
- be realized in *various forms* (ironic questions, ironic compliments, ironic criticism, jocularity, etc.),
- contain (usually but not mandatorily) *ironic signals* which point to its ironic nature (verbal and non-verbal signals) and
- provoke certain *reactions* (ironic or non-ironic) on the parts of the interlocutors who have been addressed ironically (Neshkovska, 2014).

2.2 Basic notions in translation

Venuti's (2008) notions of domestication and foreignisation are used to discuss the findings of this analysis. Therefore, a brief discussion of these notions is in order. Domestication and foreignisation are two types of translation strategy Venuti uses to describe the general translation method and the choice of texts to translate in the contemporary Anglo-American translation culture. Domestication generally

refers to the strategy where the source text is assimilated in the target text culture and is translated following target text norms and expectations. Foreignisation, on the other hand, is the opposite strategy whereby the translator aims to reveal the foreignness of the source text in the target text culture so that the translator's presence is visible. Venuti's dichotomy does not seem to be new and is largely built on Schleirmacher's translation methods of "naturalizing" and "alienating" translation (Munday 2001: 146). In Schleirmacher's own words "either the translator leaves the author as peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader as much as possible and moves the writer toward him" (Schleirmacher 1813/2004: 49). Venuti uses the terms primarily to criticise the dominant domesticating translation strategies in Anglophone countries and to discuss issues such as the translator's (in)visibility, authorship, cultural dominance and the call for action (Munday 2001: 145). Nevertheless, the notions are useful for our study mainly due to their great explanatory potential and their prevalence in recent theoretical and empirical discussions on translation.

2.3 Irony in translation

When it comes to translating irony, there are a few studies (Mateo, 1995; Linder, 2001; Pelsmaekers & Van Besien, 2002; Chakhachiro, 2007; Ghazala 2007) that have addressed the issue. However, the most relevant for our purposes are Mateo (1995), Pelsmaekers & Van Besien (2002) and Chakhachiro (2007): Mateo (1995) and Pelsmaekers & Van Besien (2002) because they have both analysed a corpus of drama comedy texts (while the former studies a corpus of three English comedies[1] and their translations into Spanish, the latter analyse a corpus of ironic utterances produced by Edmund Blackadder in 12 parts of the BBC *Blackadder* series[2] and their subtitled versions into Dutch); and Chakhachiro (2007) because, apart from Mateo (1995), he also identifies translation strategies for irony translation.

The strategies Chakhachiro (2007: 232) proposes are two generic strategies, namely:

i. translating by using different form with similar function
ii. translating by substitution, addition and/or omission.

The strategies Mateo (1995: 175-177) proposes are:

1 Her corpus consists of: Oscar Wilde's "The Importance of Being Earnest", Richard Brinsley Sheridan's "The School for Scandal" and Ben Jonson's "Volpone".

2 Their corpus consists of ironic utterances produced by Edmund Blackadder in Blackadder II and Blackadder III series.

a) ST[3] irony becomes TT[4] irony with literal translation;
b) ST irony becomes TT irony with "equivalent effect" translation;
c) ST irony becomes TT irony through means different from those used in the ST (e.g. verbal irony becomes kinetic irony, the use of intonation is replaced by lexical or grammatical units, etc.)[5];
d) ST irony is enhanced in TT with some word/expression;
e) ST ironic innuendo becomes more restricted and explicit in TT;
f) ST irony becomes TT sarcasm (criticism is now overt, no feeling of contradiction at all);
g) The hidden meaning of ST irony comes to the surface in TT. No irony in TT therefore;
h) ST ironic ambiguity has only one of the two meanings translated in TT. No double entendre or ambiguity in TT therefore;
i) ST irony replaced by a "synonym" in TT with no two possible interpretations;
j) ST irony explained in footnote in TT;
k) ST irony has literal translation with no irony in TT;
l) Ironic ST completely deleted in TT;
m) No irony in ST becomes irony in TT.

The comparison between the two classifications shows that Chakhachiro's strategy i. is equivalent to Mateo's strategies b) and c), whereas Chakhachiro's strategy ii. encompasses Mateo's strategies c), d), e), f), g), h), i), j), k), l) and m). Mateo's strategy a) is not covered by any of Chakhachiro's strategies. Chakhachiro's classification is too general and does not allow for detailed and systematic analysis. Besides, it is ambiguous in itself. For example, it is not clear what is meant by substitution. Also, there is no clear distinction between "using different form with similar function" from strategy i. and "substitution". Namely, "using different form with similar function" may be understood as "substitution". For these reasons, we do not employ this classification in our analysis.

Mateo's classification has its own weaknesses too. As Pelsmaekers & Van Besien (2002: 251) note, it is not clear from Mateo's study how relatively important these strategies are in her data and there is also no explicit discussion of the categories as there are just examples given. Nevertheless, it is the only existing classification of strategies for the translation of irony we have come across. It is also the one Pelsmaekers & Van Besien (2002) use for the preliminary analysis of their corpus. Therefore, it is the one we have chosen for this study.

3 ST stands for "source text".

4 TT stands for "target text".

5 This strategy is not relevant for our study because we do not analyse other elements than linguistic.

3 PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this paper is to examine how irony fares in translation. More specifically, the study aims to provide answers to the following questions: What strategies do translators use to convey the source text irony? Is there any correlation between the type of irony and the translation strategy used?

We have also formulated initial hypotheses for the two questions. Based on Pelsmaekers & Van Besien's results[6] (2002: 248), our hypothesis for the first question is that irony will be preserved in the translation with the majority of the ironic utterances being conveyed by one of the strategies a) through e). Regarding the second question, our hypothesis is that dramatic and situational irony, due to the fact that they do not rely on the verbal elements but rather on the dramatic and situational context, will be conveyed by strategy a), whereas verbal irony will be conveyed by different strategies.

The corpus of the study consists of Oscar Wilde's comedy "The Importance of Being Earnest"[7] and its translation into Macedonian by Dragi Mihajlovski. More precisely, the results are based on the analysis of the first and the second act of the play. According to Mateo (1995: 175), comedies bring out the complex nature of irony, particularly because performance can always enhance the irony on stage. She, however, states that, apart from dramatic irony, the play relies a lot on verbal irony and is, therefore, a solid source for an analysis of irony. We have chosen this play for our corpus for the same reasons.

The study focuses on ironic utterances and their rendition in translation. The method combines qualitative and quantitative approaches. The steps we have taken in our analysis are: identify ironic utterances in the source text (ST); classify ST irony; identify ironic utterances in the target text (TT); identify translation strategy; make quantitative and qualitative analysis; draw conclusions. It is fair to note that a methodological limitation is the fact that we have worked with a text and used the textual/verbal hints as the only source of information for the identification of irony rather than the hints that stage performance may bring to the surface. This is a weakness that may be remedied by other studies wider in scope than ours.

4 ANALYSIS

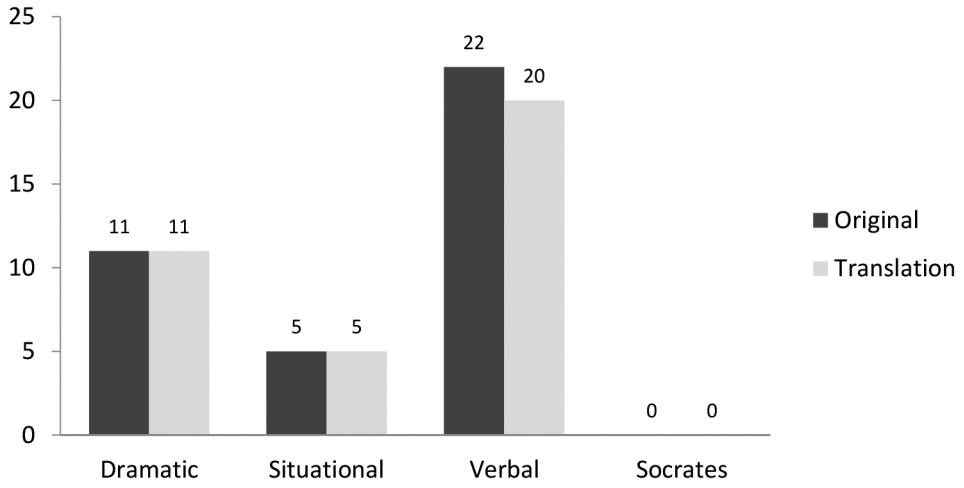
Following the steps outlined above, we have identified 39 ironic utterances in our English corpus and 36 in its Macedonian counterpart. Regarding the types of

6 Their results show that of the 211 ironic utterances they have analysed, 209 retain the ironic effect in translation.

7 We have used the Penguin Popular Classics 1994 edition of the play.

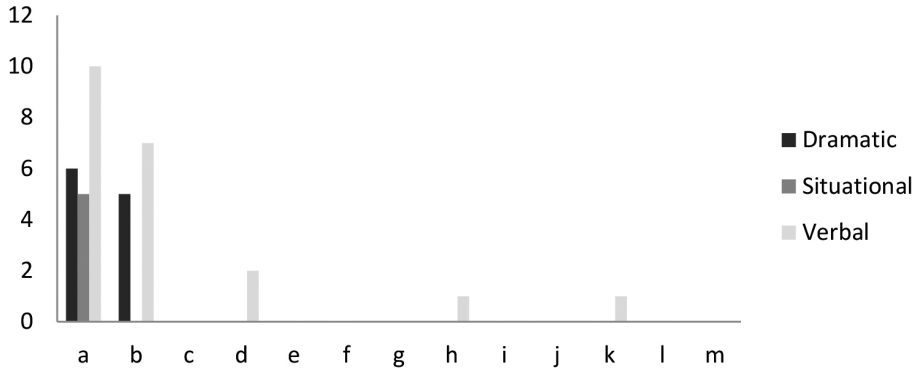
irony in the source text, 56.4% is verbal irony, 28.2% is dramatic irony, around 13% is situational irony and there are no instances of Socrates irony. The translation, as predicted, keeps almost all instances of irony. More precisely, 92.3% of ironic utterances retain their ironic effect in the translation. It is interesting to note that utterances carrying situational and dramatic irony are conveyed 100%.

Chart 1: *Ironic utterances in the corpus*



Regarding the translation strategies used, the analysis shows that a) and b) are the strategies used the most. The figures show that a) (literal translation) is the dominant strategy with 58.3% of the TT ironic utterances following that strategy. b) ("equivalent effect" translation) is used for 36.1% of the TT ironic utterances, whereas of the other strategies, there are instances of only d) (2), h) (1) and k) (1).

Chart 2: *Correlation between irony type and translation strategy*



When it comes to the correlation between irony type and translation strategy, the most general conclusion that can be drawn is that there is correlation between type and strategy. Situational irony presents the clearest case. 100% of the utterances with situational irony are translated literally (strategy a). For dramatic irony, literal translation (54.5%) and "equivalent effect" translation (45.5%) are used. As can been seen from Chart 2 above, for the translation of utterances carrying verbal irony, a range of different strategies is used. But, here too, the most predominant strategies are a) and b).

What follows below is an illustration of the qualitative analysis and the different translation strategies.

The strategy *literal translation* is the most prominent strategy in our corpus. It is used for the translation of all types of irony. Below we discuss examples illustrating each irony type.

> (1) Algernon:...[*Jack puts out his hand to take a sandwich. Algernon at once interferes.*] Please don't touch the cucumber sandwiches. They are ordered specially for Aunt Augusta. [*Takes one and eats it.*]
>
> Act I, pp. 9

> Теодосие. ...(*Манол сака да земе кифличка. Теодосие веднаш го спречува.*) Те молам, не гибај во кифличките. Специјално ги нарачав за тетка Теодора. (*Зема една и ја јаде.*)
>
> Чин први, стр. 20

Example (1) illustrates situational irony. Here what happens is contrary to what is expected in the situation. Algernon's action contradicts the audience's expectations, which are created by what he says. Notably, when he asks Jack not to touch the cucumber sandwiches because he has ordered them specially for Aunt Augusta, the audience expects that no one is supposed to eat them. But, right after saying these words, Algernon contradicts himself and takes one sandwich and eats it. Since situational irony is based on the situation rather than the verbal elements, it is expected that it would be conveyed literally in the target text. This is exactly what the translation provides. Although the translator changes the cultural references and the "cucumber sandwiches" become "кифлички со кашкавал" (cheese rolls) in the Macedonian translation, the situation around which irony is created remains the same.

> (2) Algernon [*picking up empty plate in horror*]: Good heaven! Lane! Why are there no cucumber sandwiches? I ordered them specially?
> Lane [*gravely*]: There were no cucumbers in the market this morning, sir. I went down twice.
> Algernon: No cucumbers!

Lane: No, sir. Not even for ready money.
Algernon: That will do, Lane. Thank you.
Lane: Thank you, sir. [*Goes out.*]
Algernon: I am greatly distressed, Aunt Augusta, about there being no cucumbers, not even for ready money.

Act I, pp. 15

Теодосие. (*Ја зема празната чинија ококорен.*) Господе боже! Трајче! Каде се кифличките со кашкавал? Оние специјално што ги нарачав?
Трајче. (*сериозн*о) Немаше кашкавал по продавниците, господине. Двапати барав утрово.
Теодосие. Немало кашкавал!
Трајче. Не, господине. Дури ни за кеш.
Теодосие. Толку, Трајче. Ти благодарам.
Трајче. Ви благодарам, господине. (*Излегува.*)
Теодосие. Длабоко сум потресен, тетка Теодора, што немало кашкавал дури ни за кеш.
Чин први, стр. 28-29

Example (2) is an instance of dramatic irony. What creates the irony is the fact that the audience knows something the characters do not. Specifically in this case, the audience knows that Algernon and Lane lie about there being no cucumbers on the market because they have witnessed in the previous scenes that there were cucumber sandwiches and that it was Algernon himself who ate them. Aunt August, on the other hand, is not aware of that. So, the fact that Algernon now pretends before Aunt Augusta that he is deeply distressed about there not being cucumbers on the market contradicts what the audience knows and makes this exchange ironic. The translation follows the original text closely and conveys the irony literally.

(3) Algernon: …Where have you been since last Thursday?
Jack (*sitting down on the sofa*): In the country.
Algernon: What on earth do you do there?

Act I, pp. 8

Теодосие. ....Кај си од четвртокот?
Манол. (*седнува на каучот*). На село.
Теодосие. Што правиш таму, жита мајка?

Чин први, стр. 19

Example (3) is an example of verbal irony where what is said contradicts what is meant. Algernon asks Jack what he does in the country not because he is

genuinely interested in finding out what Jack does there, but because he wonders what a member of the high society can possible do in the countryside. Using verbal irony, he criticizes Jack for keeping company with the low classes. The translation follows suit. The translator uses an ironical question, too, to convey the ST irony.

The *"equivalent effect"* translation is second in importance in our corpus. It correlates with the dramatic and verbal irony types. Examples (4) and (5) below illustrate this strategy.

> (4) Cecily: …I hope you have not been leading a double life, pretending to be wicked and being really good all the time. That would be hypocrisy.
>
> Act I, pp. 31

> Љубица. ...Не си водел веројатно двоен живот? Да не само си се преправал дека си лош а цело време си бил добар? Тоа е лицемерие.
>
> Чин втори, стр. 52

This example demonstrates dramatic irony. Here, too, the audience knows something that the character, in this case Cecily, does not. The audience knows that Algernon does exactly what Cecily hopes he does not. He is leading a double life pretending to have an invalid friend so that he can escape social events he does not find interesting and pursue his own pleasures instead. The audience knows that he has even invented a special word for the action ("Bunburying"). Thus, the fact that Cecily tells him that leading a double life would be hypocrisy while she is totally unaware that it is precisely what Algernon does, being a hypocrite, creates the irony in this exchange. The translation conveys the irony, but the strategy employed is "equivalent effect" rather than literal. Notably, closer analysis of the text indicates that the translator has chosen different means to convey the ironic effect. Instead of using declarative sentences, he uses interrogative ones ("You haven't possibly been leading a double life? Have you pretended to be wicked while being good all the time?"). Although the form is different, the utterances preserve their ironic effect.

> (5) Algernon: Literary criticism is not your forte, my dear fellow. Don't try it. You should leave that to people who haven't been at a University. They do it so well in the daily papers.
>
> Act I, pp. 13

> Теодосие. Не си го пикај носот, брат, во книжевната критика. Таа не е за тебе. Таа е за луѓе што не знаат каде е Универзитетот. Растур прават по весниците.
>
> Чин први, стр. 25

Example (5) is another example of verbal irony where words contradict the speaker's real intention. Algernon says that people who haven't been at a University are very good at literary criticism and they do it very well in the daily newspapers. He also tells Jack that he shouldn't try it. He implies that Jack is educated and as such he cannot write good literary criticism. Nevertheless, what Algernon really means is the opposite. His remark is meant to be social criticism for how society values education, what newspapers publish and who they admit as their contributors. The translation creates the same ironic effect through different means. Rather than translating it literary, the translator uses target language idioms and expressions to convey the irony. Thus, "Literary criticism is not your forte, my dear fellow" is translated as "Не си го пикај носот, брат, во книжевната критика" using the idiom "ne si go pikaj nosot" (don't mess around) and the word "брат" (brother) as a colloquial way of addressing a close friend. "They do it so well in the daily papers" is translated as "Растур прават по весниците" using the idiom "rastur pravat" (a colloquial expression used to say someone is very successful at something). The use of idioms and phrases typical of the informal style indicates that the meaning should not be taken literally and emphasizes the ironic intention of the speaker.

The strategies we discuss below are proportionally insignificant in our corpus as there is only 1 instance of each (only strategy d is used twice), but it is useful to illustrate them. Examples (6), (7) and (8) demonstrate strategies d), h) and k), respectively.

> (6) Algernon:...[*Jack puts out his hand to take a sandwich. Algernon at once interferes.*] Please don't touch the cucumber sandwiches. They are ordered specially for Aunt Augusta. [*Takes one and eats it.*]
> Jack: Well, you have been eating them all the time!
>
> Act I, pp. 9

> Теодосие. ...(*Манол сака да земе кифличка. Теодосие веднаш го спречува.*)
> Те молам, не гибај во кифличките. Специјално ги нарачав за тетка Теодора.
> (*Зема една и ја јаде.*)
> Манол: Ама ти цело време ги таманиш.
>
> Чин први, стр. 20

Example (6) illustrates strategy d) - *ST irony is enhanced in TT with some word/expression*. In this example, Jack states a true state of affairs (Algernon has been eating the cucumber sandwiches indeed), but the way he expresses it makes it obvious that he is irritated. His irritation results from the lack of congruence between Algernon's actions, on the one hand, and Algernon's words, on the other hand. Whereas Algernon has explicitly asked Jack not to eat the sandwiches,

he himself does not obey his own "rule" continuously helping himself to Aunt Augusta's sandwiches. The translation conveys the same meaning and style. In addition, the translation enhances the ironic overtone of the utterance by using the word "тамани" ("tamani") as a translational equivalent of "eat" (rather than the non-marked word "jade"). "Tamani" is a colloquialism meaning "to eat ravenously" and used in this context enhances the ironic effect.

> (7) Jack [*in a very patronizing manner*]: My dear fellow, the truth isn't quite the sort of thing one tells to a nice, sweet, refined girl. What extraordinary ideas you have about a way to behave to a woman!
>
> Act I, pp. 24

> Теодосие. Слушај брат, вистината не е работа што се кажува на една убава, мила, префинета девојка. Ама имаш откачени идеи за односот кон жените!
>
> Чин први, стр. 41

This example illustrates strategy h) – *ST ironic ambiguity has only one of the two meanings translated in TT* (*there is no double-entendre or ambiguity in TT therefore*). Jack says that truth is not supposed to be told to young girls and qualifies Algernon's ideas as extraordinary. The ST verbal irony centers around the ambiguity created by the word *extraordinary*. Namely, *extraordinary* is something unusual or surprising, but also something which is very much greater or impressive than usual, something incredible[8]. Hence, Jack's utterance may be understood as meaning "impressive ideas" and "unusual ideas" at the same time. This contradiction creates the irony where Jack says Algernon has impressive ideas and means he has unusual ideas. The translation, however, conveys only one meaning of the word *extraordinary* ("откачени" means "unusual", "crazy"), thereby failing to preserve the ambiguity contained in the ST.

> (8) Algernon: ....Now, my dear boy, if we want to get a good table at Willis's, we really must go and dress. Do you know it is nearly seven?
> Jack [irritably]: Oh! It is always nearly seven.
>
> Act I, pp. 24

> Теодосие: ...А сега, брат, ако сакаме да фати добра маса во „Лав" треба да брзнеме. Занеш дека ближи седум?
> Манол: Секогаш ближи седум.
>
> Чин први, стр. 43

8 Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English - http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/extraordinary

Sometimes, although rarely, in the case of translating verbal irony, the translator evidently opts for strategy k), i.e. literal translation of ST which eventually generates no irony in TT. This is illustrated well in example (8). In this exchange, Jack responds ironically because he is evidently not at all pleased with the situation he is in (he has to dine with his friend at Willis's), or, perhaps, because of his friend's conduct towards him (Algernon, in a way, forces him to go out to dinner with him). The fact that his response is ironic could be confirmed by the side comment "irritably" provided in brackets, and Jack's exclamation "Oh", both of which are omitted in the translation. Thus, Jack's comment in the translation comprises only the literal translation of "It is always nearly seven", "Секогаш ближи седум", and, consequently, loses its ironic appeal almost entirely.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of this study has been to examine how irony is translated in terms of irony types and translation strategies. Notably, our purpose has been to find out what strategies translators use to convey the ST irony and to establish if there is any correlation between the type of irony and the translation strategy used.

The analysis has provided answers to both research questions. Regarding the first question, the analysis has proved our initial hypothesis. Overall, irony is preserved in translation and the majority of the ironic utterances are conveyed by strategies a) and b), that is, ST irony is preserved either with literal translation or with "equivalent effect" translation. Both these strategies account for 94% of the translation strategies used.

With regard to the second question, the results show that there is correlation between the irony type and translation strategy. Situational irony is conveyed by literal translation, dramatic irony is conveyed by literal and "equivalent effect" translation, whereas verbal irony is conveyed by different strategies, the most dominant ones being literal translation and "equivalent effect" translation. Our initial hypothesis has been confirmed to a great extent. The analysis indicates that the variation in translation strategy is greater in verbal irony than in dramatic and situational irony. More precisely, we have identified 5 different strategies used in the translation of verbal irony, whereas only 2 in the translation of dramatic and situational irony.

The analysis has, however, brought to the surface a surprising result. Whereas situational irony is translated using strategy a) (literal translation) as expected, dramatic irony, contrary to our expectations, is translated not only using strategy a) (literal translation), but also strategy b) ("equivalent effect" translation). This may be due to the specificities of the play comprising the corpus as well as

the translator's awareness of the importance of dramatic irony in the play and his efforts and creativity employed to preserve it in the translation. Having said that, this result may not be so surprising in view of the fact that dramatic irony in this play depends on the pun in its title (the name Earnest, and the adjective *earnest*, meaning very serious and sincere[9]) to a large extent. Puns are usually considered to be difficult to translate because of their semantic and pragmatic effects in the source text which arise from the structural features of the source language for which the target language often fails to find a suitable equivalent (Delabastita, 1994:223). Since English and Macedonian have different structural features and lexical systems, the strategy a) literal translation for the dramatic irony around the `Earnest` pun would not be useful and it is necessary for the translator to find alternative ways to solve the issue. Therefore, to preserve the dramatic irony in the translation of this play the translator opted for an "equivalent effect" translation. He has used the proper name Bogumil ("dear to God") and, using the same root of the word, derived a suitable adjective ("bogumil") that allows for preserving the pun. With this ingenious solution for the pun, he has managed to create an equivalent effect in the translation and succeeded in keeping the dramatic irony, which is central to this play. This is a global strategy the translator uses for this translation.

As he elaborates in the preface to the play, in order to preserve the key pun contained in the title (where Earnest is not only a proper name, but it also contains other references), which is untranslatable, he had to replace the name. This, in turn, meant that all other names and cultural references should be replaced. Thus, the action of the play in translation happens in Macedonia rather than England, all the characters are given Macedonian names, all cultural elements are replaced with suitable Macedonian equivalents (Mihajlovski, 1999: 13). In Venuti's terms, the translator has used a pervasive domesticating strategy completely moving the action to the target language culture. The strong prevalence of "equivalent effect" translation allows for this interpretation. Driven by the central pun in the title, the translator has opted for a complete cultural shift, the result being that Wilde's characters in the translation have, in fact, become Macedonians. Not only do they speak Macedonian, but they also speak about Macedonian habits, customs and events in a typical contemporary Macedonian context. The irony they use is the irony a typical Macedonian would use in the same situation. The society of the translation is a typical Macedonian society. Apart from the original author's name, the Macedonian reader or viewer has no indication whatsoever that he is reading a text about the English culture and society that Wilde describes. Domestication is clearly the overall strategy

9 Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English - http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/earnest_1

driving the translator's work in this case. Having said that, in view of the fact that this study is based on a very small corpus of only 1 play, our findings need to be further tested. Future research may include additional factors such as: different genres, different translators, different time periods. The more factors are analysed, the more insight can be provided into the nature of irony translation.

To sum up, given its significant stylistic function, irony is one of the stylistic devices that should be preserved in the translation. Our analysis has shown that this is the case in our corpus. The analysis has provided further information both on the most prevalent strategies used to convey irony in translation and on the correlations between irony type and translation strategy. Literal translation and "equivalent effect" translation are the most dominant strategies used. Regarding irony type and translation strategies employed, correlations were found for situational and dramatic irony, whereas no correlation was found for verbal irony. Literal translation strategy is used to convey situational irony; literal and "equivalent effect" translation to convey dramatic irony, whereas verbal irony is translated through a range of different strategies.

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The Importance of Being Earnest: strategije pri prevajanju ironije iz angleščine v makedonščino

Cilje tega prispevka je raziskati strategije pri prevajanju ironije iz angleščine v makedonščino, kakor tudi identificirati morebitne korelacije med tipom ironije in uporabljeno strategijo prevoda.

Ključne besede: prevajanje ironije, Oscar Wilde

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Die Reporterin Alice Schalek an der Adria

Mira Miladinović Zalaznik

Abstract

The journalist, photographer and mountaineer Alice Schalek was the first woman journalist who was sent to the front during World War One, from where she reported from various battlefields, especially in the Dolomites and the Alps, where battles were for the first time waged at such a high altitude.

Keywords: Schalek, Kraus, Kafka, Schnitzler, *Neue Freie Presse*, *Neue Warte am Inn*, Adriatic Sea, Fleet-in-being

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird die Berichterstattung der einzigen Reporterin, die im Ersten Weltkrieg an die Front geschickt wurde, analysiert. Es handelt sich dabei um jene Artikel, die sich mit der k. u. k. Marine befassen. Schalek wurde wegen ihrer Berichterstattung über die Schlachten in den Dolomiten, am Isonzo, in Serbien, Montenegro oder an der Adria scharf kritisiert und sogar attackiert, da vor allem besonders rücksichtslos von Karl Kraus sowohl in seiner *Fackel* als in seinem Theaterstück *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit*. Er hatte an ihr einiges auszusetzen, unter anderem, dass sie eine Frau war und in ihren Artikeln Propaganda betrieb. Im Beitrag soll gezeigt werden, dass Schalek ihre Berichte zwar im Geiste der Habsburgischen Politik verfasste, dass es ihr darin aber nicht nur um Propaganda ging, sondern auch darum, den Kämpfenden eine Stimme zu geben, wobei ihr mitunter trotz Zensur Kritisches zum Zeitgeschehen weiterzugeben gelang.

Der Erste Weltkrieg bedeutet in slowenischen Gebieten sowohl im Hinblick auf die Kriegsführung (zum ersten Mal so hoch gelegene Stellungen und Kämpfe in den Alpen, Gasanwendung) als auch auf die Gestaltung und Lenkung der öffentlichen Meinung einen markanten Wendepunkt. Der Propaganda standen modernere Mittel zur Informierung und Beeinflussung der Bevölkerung zur Verfügung als *bis dato*: neben der alterprobten und zuverlässigen Presse, Fotografie, neben Plakaten und Ansichtskarten, der wissenschaftlichen und schöngeistigen Literatur, auch der Funk, das Theater und der äußerst effektive Film samt Kino.[1] All das trug zur (einseitigen) Informiertheit der Zivilisten im Hinterland, zum Aufbau der Truppenmoral im Allgemeinen und zur Unterstützung der Kämpfenden im Besonderen bei. Zum letzteren zählte man auch die regelmäßigen und nicht seltenen Frontbesuche des österreichischen Kaiserpaars Karl und Zita beim Heer.

Im Ersten Weltkrieg wurde die Bevölkerung ebenfalls von literarischen Erzeugnissen mobilisiert, die nicht nur von Berufsliteraten, sondern auch von Kämpfenden verfasst wurden. Es ist bekannt, dass kurz nach Ausbruch des Krieges allein im Deutschen Reich täglich an 50.000 vaterlandsliebende Gedichte an Zeitungen geschickt wurden, die meisten davon bereits aus dem Feld. Nicht viel anders verhielt es sich bei den Alliierten[2] und auch nicht bei den für die Habsburger Monarchie kämpfenden Slowenen, wie es das Beispiel eines Soldaten des k. u. k. Infanterieregiments Kronprinz Nr. 17, in dem 82% der dienenden Soldaten Slowenen waren (Štepec[1] 2010, 13–14), bezeugt:

1 Die Propaganda wurde damals von der Politik und vom Militär betrieben, da man auf psychologische Hilfeleistung von Fachleuten noch verzichtete. Psychologie war vor hundert Jahren noch eine junge Wissenschaft. Das wird sich im Zweiten Weltkrieg und vor allem danach grundlegend ändern.

2 Vgl. Kraus versus Schalek: Es wird scharf geschossen. In: DiePresse.*com* vom 28. 6. 2013 (http://diepresse.com/home/165jahre/1424146/Kraus-versus-Schalek_Es-wird-scharf-geschossen%20%2821 (Zugriff: 20. 8. 2016)).

Slednji polk med sabo / v hrabrosti tekmuje, / izmed vseh se ‚kranjski /Janez' odlikuje./ Kjer šrapnelov, krogel / dež se gosti vsuje, / kjer nevihta bojna / zadivja najhuje, / tja hitijo Kranjci / na usodno mesto, / kot neustrašni levi / se borijo zvesto (Štepec[1] 2010, 13).[3]

Auch slowenische Künstler nahmen an dem großen Krieg teil: In Tirol fiel als Soldat des 17. Infanterieregiments der blutjunge Lyriker und Maler Jože Cvelbar (1895–1916), es fielen der Bildhauer Anton Štefic (1878–1915) und ein Gottscheer Tischlersohn, der es ebenfalls zu einem Bildhauer schaffte, Julius Fornbacher (1880–1914)[4]. Am großen Krieg nahmen der heute berühmte slowenische Maler und Bildhauer Božidar Jakac (1899–1989) teil, der auch im Zweiten Weltkrieg kämpfte und Stationen aus dem Partisanenleben als Zeichnungen und Bilder protokollierte, oder der bis kurz vor seinem Tode in Paris lebende Veno Pilon (1896–1970), ferner der Begründer des Konstruktivismus in der slowenischen Malerei Avgust Černigoj (1898–1985), aber auch France Kralj (1895–1960) und Ivan Napotnik (1888–1960) etc. Unter den offiziellen Kriegsmalern der Isonzo-Schlachten befand sich Ivan Vavpotič (1877–1943), der Soldatenleben im Krieg darstellte und den Prototypen des gekreuzigten *Kranjski Janez* (Krainer Johann) entwarf. Andere wie Maksim Gaspari (1883–1980) und Hinko Smrekar (1883–1942), der im Zweiten Weltkrieg von italienischen Faschisten liquidiert wurde, malten Ansichtskarten, die unterschwellig vom Propagandamaterial zu traurigen Abschiedsszenen zwischen Soldat und seiner Familie mutierten. Fran Tratnik (1881–1957) zum Beispiel, der wegen schlechter Gesundheit nicht einberufen wurde, thematisierte das unglückliche Leben der Flüchtlinge in Ljubljana 1917 (Štepec[2] 2010, 85–86), das er aus eigener Anschauung kannte.

Will man die Stimmung jener Zeit punktuell erfassen, so scheint es aufschlussreich, auch private Äußerungen zum Kriegsausbruch zur näheren Betrachtung heranzuziehen. Die Notizen Kafkas dazu[5] sind mittlerweile legendär: Während das Attentat von Sarajevo von ihm mit keinem Wort erwähnt wird, hält er einen Tag vor der österreichischen Kriegserklärung an Serbien fest, dass er „*[z]weimal in der Schwimmschule*" (Kafka 1976, 298) gewesen war. Den Tag darauf wurde „*[a]m Nachmittag des 28. Juli […] Belgrad die Kriegserklärung übermittelt. Da Österreich-Ungarn in Serbien keine diplomatische Vertretung mehr hatte, geschah*

3 In profaner deutscher Übersetzung: Jedes Regiment wetteifert mit anderen in Tapferkeit, vor allen zeichnet sich der „Krainer Johann" aus. Wo der Schrapnellen, Kugeln dichter Regen niederprasselt, wo das Kampfesgewitter am wildesten lodert, dahin eilen die Krainer zum schicksalsträchtigen Ort, treu kämpfend wie unerschrockene Löwen.

4 Vgl. http://www.gottscheer-gedenkstaette.at/gottschee_kultur6.htm (Zugriff: 18. 8. 2016).

5 Vgl. http://wk1.staatsarchiv.at/diplomatie-zwischen-krieg-und-frieden/kriegserklaerung-oesterreich-ungarns-an-serbien-1914/ (Zugriff: 13. 5. 2015).

dies telegrafisch und im Umweg über Rumänien" (Rauchensteiner 2013, 133). Zu der neuen Situation seines Landes äußert sich Kafka erst am 31. Juli wieder mit dem Satz: „*Es ist allgemeine Mobilisierung*" (Kafka 1976, 304). Und unter dem 2. August liest man eine Notiz, die für nachhinein etwas seltsam anmutet, ist dabei immerhin von einem Krieg in nächster Nähe die Rede: „*Deutschland hat Rußland den Krieg erklärt. – Nachmittag Schwimmschule*" (Kafka 1976, 305).

Arthur Schnitzler, der die politische Lage sorgfältiger verfolgte als sein Prager Landsmann, hielt am 28. Juni in seinem Tagebuch fest: „*Nm. telephonirt uns Julius dass Franz Ferdinand und Gemahlin in Sarajevo erschossen wurden […] Die Ermordung F. F.s, nach der ersten Erschütterung wirkte nicht mehr stark nach. Seine ungeheure Unbeliebtheit*" (Schnitzler 1983, 123). Am 25. Juli findet man die Befürchtung Schnitzlers wortkarg festgehalten: „*Der oesterr. serb. Krieg in Aussicht*". Am 29. Juli, als die Kunde vom Krieg ihre Runde bis nach Engadin gemacht hatte, wo Schnitzler die Sommerfrische genoss und an einem „*Bachusfest*" teilnahm, werden „*Kriegsnachrichten*" (Schnitzler 1983, 127) erwähnt. Ein „*Schwimmbad*" (Schnitzler 1983, 130) findet bei ihm erst am 13. August seine Erwähnung.

Wie agierte aber die „*Mutter aller Schlachtreporter*" (Kalka 2003) Alice Therese Emma Schalek (1874–1956), eine ungewöhnliche Frau, die sich gewissermaßen vom Rande der Gesellschaft ins Zentrum der k. u. k. Welt meldete, im Krieg? Sie war Autorin, Journalistin, Fotografin und Erzählerin, Berufe, die damals alles andere als typisch für eine Frau waren. Dazu war sie Bergsteigerin[6] in einer von Männern dominierten Sport- und Lebensart, die es den Damen verhieß, die Berge in langen Röcken zu besteigen. Sie war eine Forschungsreisende, die mit 29 Jahren im Feuilleton der Wiener *Neuen Freien Presse* tätig wurde, wo sie sich als Autorin von Reiseberichten und Fotografin einen Namen gemacht hatte. Nach dem Ausbruch des Krieges gehörte sie zu den Gründern des *Schwarz-gelben Kreuzes*, einer Wohltätigkeitsorganisation, die am 31. August 1914 ins Leben gerufen wurde, um sich für die durch den Krieg in Not geratenen österreichischen Kriegsinvaliden und deren Familien einzusetzen.[7] Im Jahr 1915 wurde sie auf ihren ausdrücklichen Wunsch als Kriegsberichterstatterin zugelassen und beim *k. u. k. Kriegs-Pressequartier in Österreich* akkreditiert.[8] Die gebildete, mehrere Fremdsprachen beherrschende 40jährige Schalek zog, immer im langen Rock, zunächst in die Berge (Dolomiten, Alpen), wo sie die *bis dato* am höchsten gelegenen

6 Die erste Bergsteigerin war die Engländerin Lucy Walker (1836–1916), die auf Anraten des Arztes zur Bergsteigerin wurde, um ihren Rheumatismus zu kurieren. Sie musste in einer *anständigen* Frauengarderobe, d. h. in einem langen Rock die Berge besteigen, damit die Entrüstung ob dieser ungeheuerlichen Tat nicht noch größer gewesen wäre. Vgl.: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lucy_Walker_%28Bergsteigerin%29. (Zugriff: 3. 9. 2015).

7 Vgl. https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schwarz-gelbes_Kreuz (Zugriff: 21. 8. 2015).

8 Vgl. https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/K.u.k._Kriegspressequartier (Zugriff: 21. 8. 2015).

Bergschlachten dokumentierte, sodann ans Adriatische Meer. Von den Kriegsschauplätzen schickte sie ihre Artikel, die gut recherchiert waren und überwiegend im Sinne der offiziellen Propaganda verfasst wurden. So berichtete sie am 13. Februar 1916 in der *Illustrierten Beilage* der *Neue[n] Warte am Inn* von ihrem Besuch bei den U-Booten an der Adria (Schalek 1916, 3). Wieso dieser Beitrag in einem Wochenblatt in Braunau und nicht in ihrer Stammzeitung in Wien erschienen war, bleibt offen.

Die Lage des Landes war 1916, als ihr Artikel veröffentlicht wurde, alles andere als rosig. Große Teile der Bevölkerung wurden aus- oder umgesiedelt (z. B. 50.000 Flüchtlinge aus der Isonzo-Gegend, 5.000 aus Ost-Galizien). Die Städte im Hinterland wuchsen auch dadurch um das Vielfache an, dass sie Unterkunft für Verletzte in den Spitälern, aber auch für Invaliden, Kriegsgefangene oder Flüchtlinge bereitzustellen hatten.

> *Gefangene sollten mit Menschlichkeit behandelt werden und in Bezug auf Nahrung und Unterkunft den eigenen Truppen gleichgestellt sein*." Doch wurden die gefangenen Soldaten „*vor allem ab 1916 zum Arbeitseinsatz in Industrie, Bergbau und Landwirtschaft gezwungen, um den durch Fronteinsatz entstandenen Mangel an Arbeitskräften auszugleichen. Harte körperliche Arbeit bei unzureichender Ernährung führte bei vielen Gefangenen, die nicht auf Zusatzlieferungen aus der Heimat zurückgreifen konnten, zu teilweise hohen Todesraten*.[9]

Oder auch zu *Unfällen* wie Anfang März 1915 auf dem Vršič-Pass in den Julischen Alpen, wo die russischen Gefangenen die Passstraße zu bauen hatten. Unter einer Schneelawine sind damals um 110 Russen und 7 k. u. k. Wächter umgekommen.[10] In den Fabriken des Hinterlandes musste die zuhause verbliebene weibliche Population arbeiten, da die Männer an der Front waren, meist in der Rüstungsindustrie.

Die Moral der Truppen war nicht mehr auf dem höchsten Niveau, bedingt durch Verluste im Kampf, aber auch Selbstmorde, Selbstverstümmelung oder Fahnenflucht. Es herrschte Hunger. Die Zivilbevölkerung hungerte, da Lebensmittel (Kartoffeln, Reis, Mais, Getreide, Fleisch) äußerst knapp und teuer waren. „*Der Verkauf von Brot und Backwaren in Cafés und Restaurants war verboten*" (Rauchensteiner 2013, 686). Man streckte nicht nur Tabak, dessen Verkauf an Frauen untersagt war und für den 72 Streckmittel gefunden wurden, von denen für die gelungenste die Mischung aus 20 % Tabak und aus je 40% Buchenlaub und Hopfen gehalten wurde, sondern auch das Getreidemehl durch Gersten-, Mais-, Kastanien-, Kartoffelmehl, später durch Hafer, Bohnen, Wurzeln, Gräser und sogar Sägemehl, den

9 Vgl. https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/erster-weltkrieg/kriegsverlauf/gefangenschaft.html (9. 9. 2015).

10 Vgl. https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruska_kapelica (9. 9. 2015).

Kaffee durch Zichorie und Eicheln (Rauchensteiner 2013, 685–686). Eine Folge der „exotischen" Streckungen waren Krankheiten. Auch sonst lebte man in Not, da ein großer Mangel an Produkten wie Wolle, Textil, Leder, Papier, Holz, Fett, Seife herrschte. In dieser Lage hungerte auch das Heer. Weil es kämpfen, *ergo* essen *musste*, musste sich die Zivilbevölkerung die Lebensmittel für ihre Soldaten *abhungern*. Um dieser Situation beizukommen, wurden einerseits die Saatgutvorräte angegriffen, was sich als verheerend herausstellte, andererseits die Armeevorräte von den ursprünglichen 14 auf nur mehr einen bis zwei Tage herabgesetzt. Auf Lebensmittelwucher wurde Todesstrafe angedroht (Rauchensteiner 2013, 687). In Wien wurde im April 1916, wohl um die Lage professionell zu analysieren, ein „*'Wissenschaftliches Komitee für Kriegswirtschaft' eingerichtet*". Nichtsdestotrotz erlebten Kriegsgewinnler, Spekulanten und Wahrsagerinnen zur gleichen Zeit eine ihrer Sternstunden. (Rauchensteiner 2013, 686; Roth 1991). Man ließ sich auch sonst einiges einfallen. So wurde „*[a]b Juli 1916 [...] im kaiserlich-königlichen Wiener Prater eine große Kriegsausstellung gezeigt*", in der man sich in „*mehr als 30 Stationen*" täglich „*von 10 Uhr vormittags bis 11 Uhr nachts einen Schützengraben, ein Marineschauspiel, Görz und Umgebung, Kriegs- und Sanitätshunde und ein Kinotheater*" zu Gemüte führen konnte. Um sich ob dieser skurrilen Unterhaltung heute nicht allzu sehr skandalisiert zu zeigen: Die „*Eintrittsgelder [sollten] ausschließlich österreichischen karitativen Einrichtungen zugutekommen*" (Rauchensteiner 2013, 685). Die ungarischen karitativen Institutionen wurden nicht berücksichtigt, da sich die Ungarn an diesem Unternehmen nicht beteiligen wollten.

Welche war die Rolle der österreichisch-ungarischen Kriegsmarine, die vor dem Krieg unter der Aufsicht von Franz Ferdinand stand? Sie wurde nach dem strategischen Konzept *Fleet-in-being*, als

> *[...]eine Flotte, die durch bloße Existenz, ohne den Hafen verlassen zu müssen, das Kriegsgeschehen beeinflusst*", organisiert. D. h., sie „*existiert, agiert aber nicht. Die bloße Möglichkeit des Auslaufens dieser Flotte zwingt den Gegner, ausreichend Streitkräfte bereitzuhalten, um die* Fleet in being *im Fall eines Einsatzes bekämpfen zu können. Ein Gefecht mit feindlichen Streitkräften soll bei diesem Konzept vermieden werden, sofern der feindliche Verband nicht erheblich schwächer ist, da die entstehenden Verluste die von der* Fleet in being *dargestellte Bedrohung verringern oder gar beenden könnten. Dieses Konzept ist daher für Situationen gedacht, in denen die notwendigen Vorkehrungen gegen ein Auslaufen der Flotte dem Gegner mehr Schaden zufügen als die Flotte in einer Schlacht dem Gegner zufügen könnte.*[11]

Außerdem war diese Flotte auf den Dreibund (Italien, Deutsches Reich, Donaumonarchie) ausgerichtet (Rauchensteiner 2013, 266) und war 1914

11 Vgl. Fleet-in-being. http://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fleet-in-being (Zugriff: 7. 6. 2015).

verhältnismäßig modern, in einigen Schiffsklassen sogar überlegen. Dies aber änderte sich schlagartig nach dem französischen und britischen Kriegseintritt im Juli 1914 bei der gleichzeitigen italienischen Neutralität (Rauchensteiner 2013, 267). Der Dreibund wurde zum Zweibund und der Krieg an der Adria begann mit „*einem herben Verlust [...] Schon am 16. August 1914 hatten französisch-britische Seestreitkräfte in der Adria zwei älteren kleinen Schiffen der k. u. k. Kriegsmarine, dem Kreuzer ‚Zenta' und dem Torpedobootzerstörer ‚Ulan', den Weg in die Bucht von Cattaro verlegt und schließlich [...]* " den Kreuzer *Zenta „[...] versenkt*" (Rauchensteiner 2013, 266). Italien gehörte nach seiner Kriegserklärung am 23. 5. 1915 auch offiziell zu Feinden. Darauf brachte „*[...] die* ***deutsche*** *Kriegsmarine vermehrt U-Boote in die Adria [...]*". Schon 1915 kam es zu einer „*Vermischung deutscher und österreichisch-ungarischer U-Boote, wobei deutsche U-Boote unter österreichischer Flagge fuhren, aber unter deutschem Kommando standen*" (Rauchensteiner 2013, 704). Infolge dieser Parallelaktivitäten beider Länder kam es am 10. 6. 1915 in der nördlichen Adria, vor den Minensperren von Venedig, zur Versenkung des italienischen U-Bootes *Medusa*[12], wovon Monate später Schalek in ihrem Artikel berichten sollte. Dieser ist in der Nr. 7 der *Illustrierte[n] Beilage* der damals seit über dreißig Jahren erscheinenden „*unabhängige[n] Wochenzeitung für Oberösterreich" Neue Warte am Inn* (1881–1945, 1946–1988)[13] unter dem Titel *Bei den U-Boot-Leuten der Adria* erschienen.

Die *Illustrierte Beilage* war ein vier Seiten umfassendes Beiblatt, in dem man sich anhand von Illustrationen und im Sinne der k. u. k. Propaganda ein Bild der aktuellen Lage verschaffen konnte: Auf der ersten Seite der Nr. 7 vom Januar 1916 finden wir ein Foto des *König Peter I. von Serbien während der Flucht aus seinem Königreich*, das schon an sich beredt genug ist. Doch die Redaktion legte trotzdem Wert darauf, die Fotografie zu erläutern: „*Nur ein mit Ochsen bespannter, offener Wagen stand dem Entfliehenden zur Verfügung, auf welchem er unter großen Strapazen die Flucht durch das unwegsame Montenegro zu bewerkstelligen hatte*" (II 1916, 1). Darunter steht auf der gleichen Seite die *Totalansicht der* gerade von den österreichisch-ungarischen Truppen besetzten *Stadt Skutari an der Bojana in Nordalbanien*. Das Bild wurde, wie dem Blatt zu entnehmen ist, vom Leipziger Presse-Bureau zur Verfügung gestellt. Die beiden Fotos vermitteln anschaulich und auf der prominenten ersten Seite die wichtigsten Siege der eigenen Armee auf dem Balkan. Auf der zweiten Seite befinden sich vier viereckige Fotos aus dem Soldatenleben, u. z.: *K. k. Schützen-Baon. II, 4. Komp., 3. Zug*[14], *Feldbäckerei an der Südfront, Feldpost Nr. 18*, *Offiziersmesse vom südlichen Kriegsschauplatz*, *Fünf*

12 Vgl. http://www.forum-marinearchiv.de/smf/index.php?topic=3578.0 (21. 8. 2016).

13 Neue Warte am Inn. https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neue_Warte_am_Inn (26. 8. 2015).

14 Vgl. https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/K.k._Landessch%C3%BCtzen (21. 8. 2015).

„59er" im Felde bei der Arbeit und ein ovales Bild eines Mädchens in Pflegerinnenuniform und Kopftuch, mit gefalteten Händen und dem Blick gen Boden gerichtet, betitelt mit *Auch ein Opfer des Krieges*. Dieses Foto wurde ebenfalls mit einem kleinen Kommentar versehen: *„Fräulein Fannerl Wasserer aus Bad Ischl, welche als Pflegerin im Reserve-Spital Bürgerschule in Bad Ischl vom 12. Dezember 1914 bis 1. Oktober 1915 tätig war, starb am 26. Dezember 1915 unerwartet schnell im 25. Lebensjahre"* (Red.[1] 1916, 2). Warum die junge Frau ihren Dienst im Spital nach knapp zehn Monaten aufgegeben, litt sie an Depressionen, erkrankte sie an einer ansteckenden Krankheit, an der sie dahin schwand oder starb sie gar an Folgen eines Selbstmords, die nicht selten waren, bleibt hier unerwähnt. Erst unter diesen fünf Bildern finden wir einen Teil des in zwei Spalten gesetzten Artikels unserer *„Kriegsberichterstatterin"* (Schalek 1916, 2), der auf der dritten Seite fortgesetzt und abgeschlossen wird. Doch auch hier werden zunächst drei Fotos von drei im Krieg Vermissten abgedruckt. Auf der letzten, 4. Seite gibt es nur mehr 9 schwarz eingerahmte Fotos von Kriegsopfern im Alter zwischen 23 und 42 – sie alle sind *„[a]uf dem Felde der Ehre gefallen"* (Red.[2] 1916, 4).

Der Beitrag von Schalek ist das einzige Schriftstück dieser Beilage. Sie beginnt ihn mit dem Satz *„Wir sitzen in einem Unterseeboot …"* (Schalek 1916, 3). Sie berichtet darin über die Leistungen der österreichischen U-Boote, ohne die Lage der Kriegsmarine näher zu beleuchten. Auch die Verhältnisse im umgebenden Hinterland, mit denen Schalek sonst den Auftakt ihrer Artikel gestaltet, werden ausgespart. Vielmehr beginnt sie ihren Bericht mit den knappen Angaben zum schlechten Wetter, das ihnen Zuflucht in einer nicht näher beschriebenen Bucht zu suchen verhieß. Hier werden der Reporterin einige technische Details erklärt (Kurbeln, Ventile, Kalipatronen, Dieselmotore, elektrisch bewerkstelligte Unterseereise, Lederbänke), die sie an ihre Leser weiter gibt, ohne sich selbst dafür sonderlich zu interessieren.

Auch nachfolgend schildert sie weder das Land und Leute im Allgemeinen, noch die Adria im Besonderen. Sie nennt auch die besichtigten U-Boote nicht beim Namen, genauso wenig wie die darauf dienenden Offiziere oder Soldaten.[15] Sie erwähnt es nicht, dass es sich dabei um kombinierte deutsch-österreichische Einheiten handelt, da dies wohl Angaben waren, die man geheim zu halten hatte oder die unter Zensur standen. Dafür aber will Schalek den Lesern daheim ein Bild davon vermitteln, wie es sich *im* Meer, in der Tiefe, ohne genügend Luft, in Feuchtigkeit (Ausdunstungen), in ständiger Bedrohung durch feindliche Torpedos und unter Luftangriffen kämpfen und bestehen lässt. Der Leser merkt, es

15 *„Die Engländer haben ja große Prämien für die bloße Angabe der Lage unserer U-Boote ausgesetzt, der englische Gesandte in Athen bot beispielsweise für die Mitteilung, wo sich Kapitänleutnant Hersing befindet 2000 Pfund."* Schalek (1916, 3).

ist nicht nur die Zivilbevölkerung, die im Hinterland ihre Opfer bringt, sondern auch das Heer auf dem Kampffeld.

Schalek lauscht gespannt der Erzählung eines Maats[16], der ihr einen kleinen Erlebnisbericht zum ersten torpedierten feindlichen U-Boot, dem hier bereits erwähnten Kreuzer *Medusa*, erstattet. Merkwürdig mutet heute der Umstand, der im Artikel seine Erwähnung findet, dass sich feindliche Soldaten, obwohl in einem Weltkrieg, in der Not immer noch halfen. Hier wollte man die umher schwimmenden Italiener vom *Medusa* retten. Doch der feindliche Kommandant weigerte sich, sich ohne seinen, sich immer noch im versinkenden U-Boot befindenden verletzten Mann retten zu lassen. Man rettete schließlich alle beiden.

Eine zweite Geschichte, die von Schlaek wiedergegeben wird, ist die vom Torpedieren des feindlichen U-Bootes *Garibaldi* am 18. 7. 1915 (das Datum bleibt unerwähnt), das hauptsächlich den Missbrauch von *Rotes-Kreuz-Schiffen* durch Italiener thematisiert:

> *Inmitten der Flotte dachten [wir] aufzutauchen. Aber nichts war zu sehen als Trümmer und schwimmende Menschen, und von weitem sichteten [wir] Torpedoboote mit der Roten-Kreuz-Flagge. Aber als [wir uns] anschickten, zu retten, da schossen die Roten-Kreuz-Schiffe auf [uns], und es blieb nichts übrig, als zu tauchen* (Schalek 1916, 3).

In diesem Adria-Artikel fehlt auch der obligatorische Satz Schaleks nicht, der ihren schärfsten Kritiker, den österreichischen Schriftstellerkollegen Karl Kraus (1874–1936), regelmäßig zu Zornesausbrüchen verleitet hatte:

> *Was er denn **gefühlt** habe, möchte ich wissen, als er den Riesenkoloß mit so viel Menschen im Leib ins nasse, stumme Grab hinabgebohrt – – – / ‚Zuerst', sagte er ganz schnell, ‚zuerst eine wahnsinnige Freude, eine unermessliche Genugtuung – – all die Kanonen wollten ja uns vernichten – –' / ‚Und jetzt', fällt der andere Offizier ein, ‚will er uns immerzu einreden, es seien ihrer nicht mehr als hundert gewesen* (Schalek 1916, 3).

Vielleicht wurde die obligate Frage Schaleks in solchen Fällen nach den *Gefühlen* der Soldaten deswegen so oft formuliert, um die Soldaten leichter zu Wort kommen zu lassen. Ihr Selbsterlebtes brauchte die Reporterin somit nicht indirekt wiederzugeben, sondern sie ließ ihre Leser sich aus der ersten Hand zum Kriegsgeschehen informieren. Das war um einen schlagkräftiger und überzeugender, zum anderen animierte es die Leser zur Identifikation, wodurch ihr Mitleid und ihre Sympathie für die Männer an der Front wach wurden.

Abschließend will Schalek noch wissen, nach welchen Gesichtspunkten die U-Boot-Leute zum Dienst auserkoren werden: „*‚Ach', sagt der jüngere Herr [...] ‚es*

16 Unteroffizierdienstgrad: Vgl.: https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maat_(Dienstgrad) (21. 08. 2015).

sind ja so viele vorgemerkt, dass man schon eine gehörige Protektion braucht, um dazu genommen zu werden". Die Reporterin kommentiert die Information folgendermaßen: „*Der Begriff der Protektion hat im Kriege zwei Seiten. Es gibt Menschen, die Befürwortung suchen, sich opfern zu dürfen. [...]*" An dieser Stelle kommt die Reporterin zu einer für nachhinein falschen Schlussfolgerung: „*[...] mich dünkt, gegen solche Flieger und Taucher wird Italien mit Terzinen und Canzonen nicht aufkommen. Die Adria bleibt wohl unser*" (Schalek 1916, 3).

Es gehörte zu besonderen, ja *kühnen* Entscheidungen des k. u. k. Kriegspressequartiers, eine *Frau* an die Front zu schicken, sie über Gefechte und Waffen, über die Lage der eigenen Truppen, über die Moral der Einheiten und *nicht* über Hinterland berichten zu lassen, wo die Frauen als Pflegerinnen, Krankenschwestern oder Arbeiter*ersatz* in der Industrie zugelassen wurden.[17]

Schalek ihrerseits versteht sich als eine *Chronistin* des Krieges. Im Zentrum ihres Interesses befinden sich die kämpfenden Offiziere und Soldaten. *Ihnen* schenkt sie ihr Gehör, *ihre* Leistungen versucht sie, der Zivilbevölkerung näher zu bringen, auf dass sie nicht übersehen oder vergessen werden würden (Schalek 1916, 3). Dabei verherrlicht sie den Krieg nicht, doch sie bewundert die unter den widrigsten Umständen Kämpfenden. Ihre Haltung und ihr Verständnis des Krieges stehen im vollen Einklang mit der offiziellen Politik. Auch deswegen wurde sie von den Zeitgenossen, allen voran Karl Kraus, und noch mehr von den späteren Generationen von Intellektuellen ausschließlich als Propagandistin rezipiert. Ihre *kritischen* Äußerungen wurden übersehen und ihr *Mut*, an die Front zu gehen, ignoriert. Es mussten wohl 100 Jahre vergehen, ehe wir Heutigen nicht nur im Stande, sondern auch bereit waren, in ihren Texten eine Wiedergabe der von Mensch an Mensch verübten Gräuel, der widrigen Existenzumstände und mitunter sogar eine Kritik des Krieges zu erschauen.

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17 Über die letzterwähnte neue Frauenfunktion beschwerten sich vor allem invalide Soldaten, die in ihrem Zustand keine Beschäftigung fanden.

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Reporterka Alice Schalek na Jadranu

Publicistka, fotografinja in hribolazka Alice Schalek je bila med prvimi tega poklica sploh in kot edini reporter ženskega spola poslana na fronto, od koder je med prvo svetovno vojno poročala z različnih bojišč. Ravno dejstvo, da je bila planinka, je privedlo do tega, da se je udeležila bojev v Dolomitih in Alpah, kjer so se prvič v zgodovini bile bitke na tako visoko ležečih položajih. V prispevku je predstavljeno poročanje Schalekove o avstro-ogrski mornarici na Jadranu in njenih uspehih, o mornarjih in oficirjih, ki jih je v svojih člankih potegnila iz anonimnosti (ne da bi pri tem izdala njihovo identiteto) in jim dala možnost lastne artikulacije. Njenih člankov ni mogoče razumeti zgolj kot propagando v duhu habsburške politike, kar ji je zlasti očital pisateljski kolega Karl Kraus, marveč tudi kot kritiko časa in razmer, kolikor jo je dopuščala cenzura.

Ključne besede: Schalek, Kraus, Kafka, Schnitzler, *Neue Freie Presse, Neue Warte am Inn*, Jadran, Fleet-in-being

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Der Kulturtransfer und die Lesekultur in Laibach (Ljubljana) Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts

Tanja Žigon

Abstract

In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts zog die belesene Hedwig von Radics Kaltenbrunner samt ihrer Familie von Wien nach Laibach (Ljubljana) und gründete im Jahr 1886 in der Krainer Hauptstadt ihre eigene öffentliche Leihbibliothek. Aufgrund der Archivquellen und des erhalten gebliebenen Bücherkatalogs der Leihbibliothek aus dem Jahr 1898 (*Katalog der Leihbibliothek der Frau Hedwig von Radics*) werden im Beitrag Lesegewohnheiten des Laibacher Bürgertums rekonstruiert, verschiedene Themenbereiche dargestellt, zu denen in der Leihbibliothek die Lektüre zur Verfügung stand wie auch die zahlenmäßige Präsenz der Bücher aus der Feder diverser AutorInnen analysiert; dadurch lässt sich indirekt die Rezeptionsgeschichte der fremdsprachigen Literatur im Land Krain rekonstruieren. Darüber hinaus ermöglicht die Recherche auch den Einblick in die interkulturellen Transferprozesse und Wechselbeziehungen auf dem kulturellen und literarischen Gebiet in Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und sichert der Hauptstadt des Landes Krain den Platz auf der mentalen Karte der europäischen Lesekultur.

Schlüsselwörter: Leihbibliotheken, Lesekultur, Lesegewohnheiten, Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte, Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner, Land Krain, Kulturtransfer, Wechselbeziehungen

Der vorliegende Beitrag thematisiert kulturelle Transfers (vgl. Mitterbauer 2009) und kulturelle und literarische Wechselbeziehungen im mitteleuropäischen Raum mit besonderem Hinblick auf das Land Krain. Anhand der erhalten gebliebenen Quellen zu der ersten privaten Leihbibliothek in Laibach (Ljubljana)[1] werden die Lesegewohnheiten und die Lesekultur des damaligen Lesepublikums in der Krainer Hauptstadt erörtert.

Die Bibliothek wurde 1886 von einer Wienerin gegründet, und zwar von der nach ihrer Heirat nach Krain gezogenen Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner (1845–1919), Tochter des oberösterreichischen Mundartdichters Karl Adam Kaltenbrunner (1804–1867). In ihrer Leihbibliothek kam es zu einem regen Kulturaustausch, die Leser hatten die Gelegenheit *fremde* und *unbekannte* Akteure im kulturellen Bereich wie auch *ferne* Orte und deren kulturelle und literarische Produktion zu entdecken und haben dadurch auch ihr Wissen erweitert und das gesellschaftliche, geistige und kulturelle als auch das politische und wirtschaftliche Leben (mehr dazu Udovič 2011) in Laibach entscheidend geprägt.

1 EINIGE BIOGRAPHISCHE ANGABEN ZU HEDWIG VON RADICS-KALTENBRUNNER

Zeit ihres Lebens gehörte Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner zu den Mitarbeitern zahlreicher Zeitungen sowohl in Österreich als auch in Deutschland. Sie trat als Herausgeberin des literarischen Nachlasses ihres Vaters Karl Adam Kaltenbrunner (1804–1867) hervor, war Rezensentin und Kritikerin und hat sich auch sozial engagiert.

Die lexikalischen Werke aus jener Zeit, wie z. B. die übersichtliche Anthologie deutscher Schriftstellerinnen und Dichterinnen, verfasst vom Triester Gymnasialprofessor Heinrich Groß (1885: 216–225), oder biographische Skizzen, herausgegeben von Marianne Nigg (1893: 45–46), Adolf Hinrichsen (1891: 1074) oder Peter Thiel (1903: 268) bezeichnen sie als eine bekannte, in Krain lebende Schriftstellerin und berichten ausführlich über ihr Leben und Schaffen. Dessen ungeachtet schweigen die neueren Lexika über sie: Während Radics-Kaltenbrunner im deutschen Raum 1981 im Elisabeth-Friedrichs-Lexikon *Die deutschsprachigen Schriftstellerinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* zuletzt erwähnt wurde, stand ihre Arbeit in den slowenischen Gebieten stets im Schatten ihres illustren Ehemannes, Peter Paul von Radics (1836–1912), der bereits

1 Im Weiteren wird für die Hauptstadt des Landes Krain (die heutige Hauptstadt Sloweniens, Ljubljana) der historische Name Laibach benutzt.

zu seinen Lebzeiten als *der* berühmteste Krainer Polyhistor gerühmt wurde.[2] In den einschlägigen slowenischen Nachschlagewerken wird ihr dementsprechend kein einziger Lexikonartikel gewidmet, sie wird flüchtig nur in Zusammenhang mit ihrem Mann erwähnt (Kranjec 1960–1971: 6).

Hedwig Kaltenbrunner wurde am 11. Dezember 1845 in Wien geboren und entstammte sowohl väterlicher- als auch mütterlicherseits Dichterfamilien.[3] Ende der Sechzigerjahre des 19. Jahrhunderts lernte Hedwig Kaltenbrunner ihren zukünftigen Ehemann, den aus Adelsberg (heute Postojna) in Krain stammenden Peter Paul von Radics, kennen. Nachdem das Paar im Herbst 1869 geheiratet hat, standen dem jungen Glück schwere Zeiten bevor. Die wiederholten Erkrankungen und quälende Kopfschmerzen Hedwigs, der Umzug in die größere Wohnung in die Naglergasse im Stadtzentrum Wiens, was mit hohen Kosten verbunden war, wie auch die Sorge für die in die Jahre gekommene Mutter von Peter Paul von Radics und die Geburt des ersten Sohnes Erwin im Jahre 1873 – die beiden Töchter kamen 1882 und 1885 zur Welt – stellten die Neuvermählte vor völlig neue, bisher unbekannte Herausforderungen.

Die ungünstige finanzielle Lage zwang Peter Paul von Radics nicht nur dazu, sich mit Bienenfleiß der publizistischen Tätigkeit zu widmen, um mit Honoraren den Lebensunterhalt der Familie zu sichern, sondern sie ließ ihn auch seine Gattin dazu ermutigen, publizistisch tätig zu werden, weil er von ihrer künstlerischen Begabung überzeugt war. In diesem Sinne stellt die Heirat Hedwig Kaltenbrunners mit dem berühmten Krainer Publizisten, Historiographen und Germanisten eine bedeutende Wende dar, denn sie bekam Zutritt zu den literarischen und publizistischen Kreisen und wurde angeregt, selbst zur Feder zu greifen.[4]

In Wien nahmen die Eheleute rege am öffentlichen Leben teil und gehörten 1874, zwei Jahre nach dem Tode von Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872), zu den

2 Peter Paul von Radics war einer der ersten Freiberufler in den slowenischen Gebieten. Seine Texte (rund 70 Monographien und mehr als 500 längere wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen samt Zeitungsartikeln) beschränken sich nicht nur auf die Geschichte Krains, sondern er schrieb auch über das deutsche Theater in Krain wie auch über Volkskunde, Jagd, Post- und Gesundheitswesen, Naturphänomene, Tourismus und zeitgeschichtliche Ereignisse. Als Historiker fokussierte er sich am liebsten auf die wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Krainer Polyhistors, eines bemerkenswerten Gelehrten aus dem 17. Jahrhundert Johann Weichard Valvasor (1641–1693) und verfasste die erste wissenschaftliche Monographie über ihn. 1910 wurde er für sein Werk mit dem Titel eines Kaiserlichen Rates ausgezeichnet (mehr dazu Žigon 2009 und 2013).

3 Ihr Vater Karl Adam Kaltenbrunner wurde bereits in den Dreißigerjahren des 19. Jahrhunderts eine der wichtigsten Persönlichkeiten des damaligen literarischen Lebens in Oberösterreich und trat vornehmlich als Theaterkritiker hervor. Nach dem zu frühen Tod seiner ersten Frau ging er eine zweite Ehe mit seiner Bekannten Theresia Schleifer (1819–1878) ein, der Tochter des Lyrikers Mathias Leopold Schleifer (1771–1842), der in seinen späteren Jahren unter anderem auch mit Anastasius Grün befreundet war (vgl. Baur 1970: 73; vgl. auch Žigon 2012: 158–160).

4 Die bis dato vollständigste Bibliographie wurde in Žigon (2009: 351–358) veröffentlicht.

Mitbegründern des Grillparzer-Vereins (mehr dazu Žigon 2010: 365–380). Der Verein verfügte über eine eigene umfangreiche Bibliothek und gab einmal monatlich auch ein eigenes Vereinsorgan heraus, betitelt *Der Patriot.* Ferner organisierte der Verein auch sog. „populäre Literaturabende" und „Damen-Abende", die vornehmlich auf Fraueninitiative hin stattfanden. In diesem Rahmen wurden Lesungen veranstaltet, wissenschaftliche Vorträge gehalten und Theatervorstellungen zu Gunsten des Vereinsfonds aufgeführt. Neben den Schwestern Fröhlich war die treibende organisatorische Kraft Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner.

Doch hat sich die finanzielle Lage der Familie Radics in der zweiten Hälfte der Siebzigerjahre des 19. Jahrhunderts dermaßen verschlechtert, dass die Eheleute dringend die teure Residenzstadt verlassen mussten und so zogen sie nach Laibach, in die Hauptstadt Krains. Für Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner war der Abschied von Wien gleichzeitig auch der Abschied von der geliebten Heimat, von der Wiener Gesellschaft und von den Wiener Freunden. In der kleinen Provinzstadt musste sie sich zunächst mit diversen Anpassungsschwierigkeiten auseinandersetzen. Nicht nur, dass sie die Landessprache, das Slowenische, die man mitunter neben dem Deutschen benutzte,[5] nicht beherrschte, sie fühlte sich in Laibach auch sehr fremd und allein. Im Juli 1881 beklagt sie sich bei ihrer schriftstellerischen Kollegin Emma Laddey (1841–1892) aus München, indem sie schreibt: „Unser Knabe, der zur Zeit Ihrer Wiener Weltausstellungs-Anwesenheit $^1/_2$ Jahr alt war, wächst frisch heran, und geht in die hiesige Übungsschule, er hat als geborener Wiener mit der slowenischen Sprache, der sich die Lehrer zumeist bedienen, viel zu kämpfen" (Brief an Emma Laddey v. 20. Juli 1881). Ferner geht aus dem Brief hervor, dass sie samt ihrer Familie auch unter den nationalen Konflikten zwischen den Slowenen und Deutschen in Krain zu leiden habe. „Mein Mann" schreibt sie, „redigi[e]rt seit 1 Jahr die Laibacher amtliche Z[eitung], und hat in Folge des leidigen Nationalitätenhaders,

5 Im Land Krain war Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung slowenischer Herkunft, hier lebten mehr als ein Drittel aller Slowenen. Trotzdem ist in Krain in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts eine ambivalente Entwicklung zu beobachten. Obwohl es zu erwarten wäre, dass die Slowenen durch die zahlenmäßig stärkere nationale Präsenz ihre gesellschaftliche Position zur Geltung gebracht hätten, waren es die Deutschen in Krain, die politisch, wirtschaftlich und kulturell die leitende Rolle übernahmen. Aufgrund der historischen Gegebenheiten wurde ungeachtet der Muttersprache und der Abstammung in der Oberschicht wie auch im bürgerlichen Milieu Deutsch gesprochen, die Straßenschilder waren überwiegend auf Deutsch, es wurden deutschsprachige Zeitungen und Zeitschriften herausgegeben und gelesen, es wurden deutsche Vereine und Gesellschaften gegründet, wie die Kasino-Gesellschaft (1810), der Musealverein für Krain (1839) oder der Historische Verein für Krain (1843/1846), und auch den nationalbewussten Slowenen lag die deutsche Sprache noch immer näher als das noch nicht etablierte Slowenisch. Erst nach 1870 rückt es mit der jüngeren Generation der slowenischen Intellektuellen immer mehr in den Vordergrund. Für Laibach ist belegt, dass hier Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts etwa 5000 Deutsche lebten, was ungefähr 40 Prozent der Gesamtbevölkerung ausmachte. Die absolute Zahl der Deutschen blieb bis 1910 relativ konstant (vgl. dazu Brix 1988: 43–62).

der sich leider bei uns immer fühlbarer gestaltet, viel Fatalitäten, die ihm seine sanfte ganz annehmbare Stellung sehr erschweren" (ibid.). Dass Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner große Schwierigkeiten hatte, sich ans Leben in der Krainer Hauptstadt zu gewöhnen, ist auch weiteren Briefen an ihre Freunde zu entnehmen. Im Winter 1894 drückt sie in einem längeren Brief an Amélie Charlotte Lanna-Schmidt große Sehnsucht nach ihrer Heimat und nach ihrer Geburtsstadt aus.

> Mit vielem und dem antheilnehmendsten Interesse durchlas ich Ihre anregenden Mittheilungen über jenen geistigen Kreis, in welchem ich mich sehr gern hie und da auch körperlich verhelfen würde, wenn mich die *Oede des Provinzlebens* oft gar so packt! Doppelt bedaure ich es [,] nicht mehr in meiner lieben, theueren Vaterstadt zu weilen, wo so viel Leben und Bewegung ist (Brief an Amélie Charlotte Lanna-Schmidt v. 28. Januar 1894).

Die Einsamkeit und Abgeschiedenheit, die „Öde des Provinzlebens", wie Radics-Kaltenbrunner formuliert, die Sehnsucht und ihr tief empfundenes Heimweh bestärkten sie darin, in Laibach nach Beziehungen zu ihrer geliebten Heimat zu suchen und eine „geistige" Brücke zwischen der Provinzstadt und der Metropole zu bauen.

2 DER KULTURTRANSFER UND DIE GRÜNDUNG DER ÖFFENTLICHEN LEIHBIBLIOTHEK

In ihrer neuen Heimat angekommen, bemühte sich Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner nicht nur einen neuen Lebenssinn zu entdecken, sondern sie setzte sich auch für den allgemeinen gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Fortschritt des Landes Krain und insbesondere seiner Hauptstadt ein. Obwohl die Gründe für ihr gesellschaftliches Engagement zweifelsohne auch in der ökonomischen Lage der Familie zu suchen sind, fehlte es der jungen Frau in Laibach an ihrer gesellschaftlichen Integration und sie sehnte sich danach, aus ihrer Isolation herauszutreten. Sie begab sich auf den Weg der Selbstverwirklichung im Sinne des modernen bürgerlichen Individuums (Ritter 2008: 22) oder wie Jürgen Habermas konstatiert:

> Die Sphäre des Publikums entsteht in den breiteren Schichten des Bürgertums zunächst als Erweiterung und gleichzeitig Ergänzung der Sphäre der kleinfamiliären Intimität. Wohnzimmer und Salon befinden sich unter dem gleichen Dach [...] die zum Publikum zusammentretenden Privatleute räsonieren öffentlich über das Gelesene und bringen es in den gemeinsam vorangetriebenen Prozess der Aufklärung ein [...] Sie (die bürgerlichen Schichten) bilden die Öffentlichkeit eines literarischen Räsonnements, in dem sich die Subjektivität kleinfamilial-intimer Herkunft mit sich über sich selbst verständigt. (Habermas 1990: 115)

Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner errichtete die Bibliothekräume in den Räumlichkeiten der eigenen privaten Familienwohnung an der Ballhausgasse Nr. 2 (heute Igriška ulica), welche von nun an zum kulturellen Zentrum der Stadt avancierte. Obwohl Habermas in dem Prozess der Selbstverwirklichung die bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit als Fiktion[6] kritisiert, bleibt es trotzdem festzuhalten, dass Radics-Kaltenbrunner gerade in diesem Prozess zu einem modernen bürgerlichen Individuum geformt wird, ausgestattet mit Kompetenzen, Möglichkeiten und Freiheiten, die nun die Existenz des bürgerlichen Individuums im Gegensatz zur göttlichen Ordnung des Mittelalters bestimmen (Ritter 2008: 22).

Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner erwies sich als eine äußerst kulturbewusste Mitbürgerin, die ihre bisher gesammelten Erfahrungen aus Wien in Laibach gut einzusetzen wusste, denn als aktives Mitglied des Grillparzer-Vereins, der, wie bereits erwähnt, auch eine Bibliothek beherbergte (Žigon 2009: 365–380), erkannte sie die Notwendigkeit einer ähnlichen Einrichtung für die Krainer Hauptstadt. Zu ihren Motiven, die zu einer kulturellen Vermittlung führten, gehört ferner auch die Tatsache, dass durch die Gründung der Leihbibliothek ihr eigenes Haus zum Zentrum des literarischen Geschehens und des kulturellen Transfers wurde. Die neuen Strukturen und die Kulturgüter sind durch ihr persönliches Interesse in die aufnehmende Krainer Kultur gelangt.[7] Ferner bestrebte die Bibliothekseigentümerin stets einen regen Ideen- und Wissensaustausch wie auch eine „Vernetzung"[8] des damaligen Lesepublikums. Es wurden in Laibach nach dem Wiener Vorbild der Grillparzer-Vereinsbibliothek die geselligen „populären Literaturabende" und „Damen-Abende" organisiert, eine Art literarischer Salons. Im Sinne von Caroline Pichler (1769–1843) sind diese Abende als ein zumeist privater gesellschaftlicher Treffpunkt für Diskussionen, Lesungen oder musikalische Veranstaltungen zu verstehen, welche der sonst monotonen Privatwohnung

6 Bei Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner handelt es sich um den Prozess des Selbstständigwerdens, aber auch um eine Selbstinszenierung in den neuen gesellschaftlichen Gegebenheiten und bestehenden Konstellationen.

7 Im Rahmen der damaligen „Netzwerkgesellschaft" sind nach Bernd Kortländer, drei Aspekte von Bedeutung: Motive, die bei einer kulturellen Vermittlung von Bedeutung sind, die Wege bzw. die Umwege, über welche die Kulturgüter in eine aufnehmende Kultur gelangen und zuletzt ihre Integration (Kortländer 1995: 1–19).

8 Bereits in den 1990er Jahren veröffentlichte der berühmte spanische Soziologe Manuel Castells (2000) einen der bedeutendsten Texte zum Thema Soziologie und Medientheorie, das dreibändige Werk *The Information Age. Economy, Society and Culture*, worin er die Anfänge der modernen Netzwerkgesellschaft in das 18. Jahrhundert verlegt. Diese „frühe Vernetzung" ist anhand von drei Entwicklungsfaktoren plausibel zu erklären: a) die steigende Zahl der Druckwerke aller Art, welche die Gesellschaften durchdringen und einen Meinungsaustausch, zunächst in den elitären Kreisen fördern; b) Bildung zivilgesellschaftlicher Vereinigungen, die nicht nur politische, sondern auch kontinentale Grenzen überschreiten; c) Vernetzung des Wissens als solches (vgl. Schmale 2009: 10).

der Familie Radics eine ungeahnte und bedeutende Dimension verliehen haben (mehr zu der Bedeutung der bürgerlichen Salonkultur Stekl 2004: 250–253). Die neuen kulturellen Elemente wurden in Laibach mit Begeisterung aufgenommen und in die alten gesellschaftlichen Muster integriert. Die Leihbibliothek bedeutet eine willkommene Erfrischung im Bereich der Lesekultur, denn sie war die einzige derartige Einrichtung der Stadt. Die Bibliotheken-Tradition war in Ljubljana zwar vorhanden – bereits im 18. Jahrhundert verfügte die Laibacher *Academiae operosorum* über ein breites Sortiment an humanistischen und anderen Werken, allerdings waren die Bücher für die breite Öffentlichkeit nicht frei zugänglich (Berčič 1999: 281–289). Erst als sich die Laibacher Buchhändler im 19. Jahrhundert diesbezüglich organisiert hatten, die Rolle der Kulturmittler übernahmen und gegen Bezahlung an lesefreudige Bürger diverse Titel ausliehen (Dular 2003: 117), wurde die allgemeine Lesekultur gefördert und verbreitet.[9]

3 WAS VERRÄT DER ERHALTENE KATALOG DER LEIHBIBLIOTHEK?

Im einzigen erhalten gebliebenen gedruckten Katalog der Leihbibliothek aus dem Jahre 1898, der 58 Seiten samt einem weiteren dutzend Seiten mit Anzeigen der örtlichen Kauf- und Gewerbeleute,[10] umfasst, geht hervor, dass die Bibliothek über 3586 Bücher verfügte; relativ viele Titel waren darüber hinaus auch in mehreren Exemplaren vorhanden. In der damaligen Zeit war die Bibliothek in der Lage, selbst den höchsten Ansprüchen gerecht zu werden. Sie bot dem Publikum eine vielfältige Palette an meist deutschen und französischen Klassikern, an unterhaltender Literatur, leichteren erbaulichen Romanen wie auch an einigen Jugendbüchern. Die Mitglieder, schätzungsweise zwischen 500 bis 1000 LeserInnen, mussten einen Mitgliedsbeitrag bezahlen, der monatlich einen und jährlich zehn Gulden betrug. Dadurch konnte Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner ständig für den Erwerb neuer Bücher sorgen, darüber hinaus wurden ihre Bücherregale auch durch Rezensionsexemplare bereichert, die sie als anerkannte Kritikerin, die sowohl für Laibacher, Wiener als auch Berliner Blätter schrieb, von den Verlegern, aber auch von den Autoren selbst zugeschickt bekam oder sie selbst erworben hatte (Žigon 2009: 194–204).

Dem Bücherkatalog wurden die strengen Abonnementsbedingungen vorangeschickt, die von einer sehr hohen Lesekultur zeugen. Die Eigentümerin hob einleitend zwei Punkte hervor, die ihr besonders wichtig erschienen und in erster

9 Nach der Eröffnung der Radics-Kaltenbrunner-Bibliothek wurde erst Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts die Bibliothek des „Allgemeinen slowenischen Frauenvereins“ ins Leben gerufen (Dular 2003).

10 Dadurch konnte die Bibliothek-Eigentümerin den Druck finanzieren.

Linie pädagogische Ziele verfolgen bzw. die Möglichkeiten, die den Bibliotheksbenutzern zur Verfügung standen, erläutern:

> 1. Bei Beschädigung eines Buches im Allgemeinen insbesondere durch Herausreissen von Blättern, Einschreiben mit Blei oder Tinte u.s.w. oder bei Verlorengehen eines Bandes ist der volle Ladenpreis des betreffenden ganzen Werkes zu entrichten.
> 2. Der Umtausch von Büchern kann ohne Beschränkung der Wiederholung täglich, mit Ausnahme des Sonntags Nachmittags von 9–12 Uhr Vor- und von 3–7 Uhr Nachmittags erfolgen. Im Interesse der P. T. Abonnenten wird ersucht beim Umtausch von Büchern immer mehrere Katalogs-Nummern zu notieren, damit, im Falle, [dass] ein Werk vergriffen ist, ein anderes gegeben werden kann (Katalog 1898: 3).

Die im Katalog verzeichneten Werke wurden in mehrere Abteilungen gruppiert. Bei jedem Titel verzeichnete die Eigentümerin, ob es sich um einen Roman (R.), eine Novelle (N.), Erzählung (E.), Geschichten (G.), Reisebeschreibungen (Rsb.), Skizzen (Skz.), Kriminalgeschichten (Crim.), historische (Hist.) oder humoristische Werke (Hum.) handelt. Ferner wurden die Titel in weitere Gruppen unterteilt, was nicht immer schlüssig erscheint. So kommen beispielsweise die französischen Autoren bereits in der ersten Gruppe vor, obwohl am Ende des Verzeichnisses nochmals der Untertitel *Französische Literatur* folgt, wo man auf Namen wie Balzac und Zola stößt, was die Schlussfolgerung erlaubt, dass die im Sinne der Eigentümerin verstandene »hohe« Literatur eine eigene Untersektion verdiene.[11] Der Katalog ist somit nicht immer sehr transparent, jedoch sorgt die alphabetische Reihenfolge der Autoren für seine Übersichtlichkeit. Die meisten Bücher wurden in der Sektion *Allgemeine Roman- und Novellen-Bibliothek* verzeichnet, dieser folgte der Anhang, in dem weitere Titel, in verschiedene Gruppen geordnet, aufgezählt wurden:

1. *Eine Anthologie deutscher Classiker* (45 Bände)
2. *Classiker* (82 Bände)
3. *Bachem's Roman- und Novellensammlung* (30 Bände)
4. *Bibliothek der Gesammt-Literatur* (104 Bände)
5. *Engelhorns Roman-Bibliothek* (291 Bände)
6. *Collection Speman* (18 Bände)
7. *Jugend-Bibliothek* (129 Bände)
8. *Theater-Stücke* (90 Bände)
9. *Gedichte* (91 Bände). (Katalog 1898: 4)

11 Über die Rezeption der französichen Autoren in den slowenischen Gebieten vgl. Smolej (2009: 289–302; 2014: 475–488).

In der ersten Sektion, *Allgemeine Roman- und Novellen-Bibliothek* genannt, die gleichzeitig auch die meisten Titel lieferte, und zwar 2560, wurden die damals populären literarischen Werke angeboten, eine Mischung von Trivialliteratur, Familiengeschichten, Räuber-, Piraten- Indianer-, Kriminal- und Detektivgeschichten aus aller Herren Länder. Es handelt sich um leichte Lektüre aus der Feder zeitgenössischer Autoren und Autorinnen, meistens aus dem deutschen Sprachraum, aber auch Übertragungen aus dem Französischen (Jules Claretie; eigentlich Arsène Arnaud Claretie, Albert Depit, Alphonse Daudet, Henri René Albert Guy de Maupassant, Jules Verne), Schwedischen (Carlén Flygare), Ungarischen (Hedwig von Benitzky-Bajza), Englischen (Boz Dickens, William Wilkie Collins) und Russischen (Dostojewski, Wladimir Fürst Meschtschersky, Wladimir Iwanowitsch Nemirowitsch-Dantschenko), selbstverständlich in deutscher Übertragung. Bereits die aufgezählten Namen weisen darauf hin, dass Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner das Ziel verfolgte, den literarischen Trendlinien der damaligen Zeit zu folgen und für ständige Aktualisierung ihres Bücherangebots sorgte.

Auch unter den deutschsprachigen Autoren stehen in dieser Sektion der populären Literatur allen voran die Werke der damals meist gelesenen Autoren und Autorinnen, teilweise ließ Radics-Kaltenbrunner aber auch ihre freundschaftlichen Beziehungen spielen, und bereicherte ihren Katalog mit zahlreichen Texten aus der Feder ihrer künstlerischen Freundinnen, darunter vor allen Nataly von Eschstruth (1860–1939), der wohl bekanntesten Autorin der Wilhelminischen Ära. Eschstruth gehörte mit 22 Titeln, die alle in zwei Exemplaren vorlagen, zweifellos auch zu den meist gelesenen AutorInnen in Laibach. Radics-Kaltenbrunner kannte sie persönlich, stand mit der Berlinerin in regem brieflichem Verkehr und rezensierte fast alle ihre Werke sowohl für die Laibacher als auch für die Wiener Blätter, wobei ihre Rezensionen ausnahmslos lobend und positiv waren. Als beispielsweise 1897 in Leipzig der humoristische Roman Eschstruths *Jung gefreit* herausgegeben wurde, apostrophierte Radics-Kaltenbrunner, die von sich behauptete, „ein geübtes Recensentenauge“[12] zu haben, das neu erschienene Werk als „eine Bibel für junge Mädchen und Neuvermählte“ und als einen „herrlichen Roman“.[13] Jedenfalls handelt es sich bei den in der Bibliothek vorhandenen Unterhaltungsromanen von Eschstruth hauptsächlich um die Schilderung der wilhelminischen Adelsgesellschaft. Ihre Erzählungen verfolgen didaktische Ziele,

12 Es handelt sich um eine Rezension, die in der Zeitung *Der Cursalon* veröffentlicht wurde, Datum und Paginierung sind nicht feststellbar. Der Zeitungsausschnitt befindet sich im Privatnachlass der Familie Radics in Zagreb, Kroatien.

13 Die Rezension wurde „Jung gefreit. Humoristischer Roman von Nataly Eschstruth“ betitelt und erschien in einer unbekannten Zeitung. An dem Zeitungsausschnitt, der ebenfalls im Privatarchiv der Familie Radics in Zagreb vorliegt ist das Datum handschriftlich notiert (12. Oktober 1897).

indem sie von Irrtümern einer Kindergeneration berichten, die die Leserin nicht wiederholen soll. In ihren Romanen und Novellen liegt kein emanzipatorischer Anspruch im Sinne der Aufklärung vor, vielmehr sind ihre Charaktere idealisierte Typen, die die glückliche Vereinigung der weiblichen Schönheit und männlichen Tugend verkörpern. Trotzdem ist es ihr gelungen mit ihrer Erfindungsgabe und Glätte der Darstellung das Milieu, den Umgangston der Gesellschaft und ihre Lebensformen so darzustellen, dass ihre Werke in den Jahren von 1880 bis 1930 zu der beliebtesten Lektüre in bürgerlichen Kreisen aller Altersschichten gehörten (Petzsch 1959: 651–652).

An zweiter Stelle in Bezug auf die im Katalog angeführten Titel steht mit 21 Werken der „große Romancier Deutschlands" Friedrich Spielhagen (1829–1911), dessen Werke von seiner Liebe zum Meer geprägt sind und dessen Romane, welche, was die Themen und Techniken angeht, teilweise in Keyserlings-Manier geschrieben wurden und als antifeudal, radikal-demokratisch und liberal gelten. Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer mit 20 vorhandenen Titeln verdiente sich seinen Platz in der Laibacher Leihbibliothek dadurch, dass seine Werke zeitgemäße Aspekte des Lebens thematisieren, er griff als erster das Thema Industrialisierung in seinen Werken auf und ließ sich von zeitgenössischen Persönlichkeiten inspirieren. Ebenso war der Ägyptologe Georg Ebers vertreten (17 Titel) und weckte in Laibach mit seinen historischen Romanen und populärwissenschaftlichen Büchern das Interesse des Publikums, das sich nach fernen und unbekannten Ländern sehnte. Mit seiner Beliebtheit hat er wenigstens in der Radics-Kaltenbrunner-Bibliothek sogar den populären Karl May geschlagen, der nur mit 8 Titeln vertreten war. Ferner fehlten auf den Bücherregalen auch nicht die Werke des vielgelesenen, populären Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (16 Titel), dessen zahlreiche Romane und meist folkloristische Novellen teils als exotische, immer spannende, ja sogar als moralische Lektüre beliebt waren. Darüber hinaus sind Werke der Pazifistin und späteren Friedens-Nobelpreisträgerin Bertha von Suttner (1843–1914) vorhanden (12 Titel), ferner aber auch die Heimatromane von Ludwig Ganghofer (11 Titel), in denen die Geschehnisse aus der Geschichte Berchtesgadens aufgegriffen werden und die Ganghofer den Ruf des „Heile-Welt"-Schreibers eingebracht haben, was man oft als Kitsch verstand und später, beispielsweise Karl Kraus immer wieder satirisch attackierte. Im Vergleich mit anderen Autoren verfügte die Bibliothek über relativ wenige Werke der Bestsellerautorin Marlitt Eugenie (10 Titel) und nur 8 Titel der österreichischen Schriftstellerin Marie Ebner Eschenbach, die mit ihren psychologischen Erzählungen bis heute als eine der bedeutendsten deutschsprachigen Erzählerinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts gilt.

Von den Werken und Autoren, die im Anhang des Katalogs vorkommen, interessieren vor allem die ersten zwei Gruppen, die Anthologie deutscher Klassiker

und die Klassiker. Beginnend mit Gellert, Lessing, Herder, Wieland, Klopstock und Seume konnte die Bibliothek auch die Liebhaber gehobener Literatur bedienen. Vorhanden waren darüber hinaus auch noch Kleist, Jean Paul, Heine, Freitag und Goethes *Sämtliche Werke.* Überraschenderweise ist unter den Klassikern nur ein Schillerexemplar zu finden, und zwar *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*; diese Ausgabe war jedoch nur für den Schulgebrauch bestimmt. Unter den Theaterstücken sind mehrere Schiller-Werke zu finden, unter anderem *Maria Stuart*, *Braut von Messina* und die normale Ausgabe von der *Jungfrau von Orleans.* Allerdings war unter den dramatischen Texten am meisten Kotzebue vertreten, mit 16 Titeln, was nicht weiter überrascht, denn Kotzebue war bereits Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts der beliebteste und meistgespielte Autor im slowenischen Gebiet. Ferner verfügte die Bibliothek unter anderen auch über drei Werke von Grillparzer, vier von Friedrich Hebel und drei von Nestroy, der beispielsweise zur Zeit der Märzrevolution 1848/49 eher abgelehnt wurde.

Schließlich bleibt festzuhalten, dass in den Bücherregalen der Leihbibliothek keine deutschsprachigen Autoren aus Krain zu finden sind (außer drei Werke von Peter Paul von Radics), genauso überraschend ist jedoch auch die Tatsache, dass mit keinem einzigen Titel Shakespeare (vgl. dazu Zlatnar Moe 2012: 14–25; Rubik 2012: 33–52; Pezdirc Bartol 2011: 125–135) in deutscher Übersetzung vertreten war, was vermuten lässt, das die Bestände der Laibacher Leibibliothek im Großen und Ganzen dem persönlichen Geschmack der Eigentümerin, aber auch ihren finanziellen Möglichkeiten und Vernetzungen im restlichen europäischen Literaturraum entsprachen. Trotzdem handelt es sich bei den vorhandenen und zugänglichen Werken um die Lektüre, die dem Laibacher Bürgertum, vor allem den Deutschen in der Stadt, zugänglich war und zum Kanon der damaligen Zeit gehörte.

4 FAZIT

Die vorliegende Untersuchung gewährt einen segmentalen Einblick in das umfangreiche Thema des kulturellen Transfers und der Lesekultur Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Krainer Hauptstadt. Da nur die Bücherbestände aus der Leihbibliothek von Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner im Zentrum des wissenschaftlichen Interesses stehen, stößt die Untersuchung auf eine Einschränkung: Die Mitglieder der Bibliothek waren, wie aus den bisher bekannten Quellen hervorgeht, vor allem die Laibacher bürgerlichen Damen aus der höheren Gesellschaft und das deutsche Bürgertum; nur vereinzelt gehörten dazu auch die slowenischen gebildeten Schichten und höchstwahrscheinlich nie die Adligen. Das hängt erstens damit zusammen, dass slowenische Intellektuelle im 19. Jahrhundert wegen einer diglossischen Situation in ihrem heimatlichen Mikrokosmos

Deutsch meistens besser beherrschten als Slowenisch und gewöhnlich in Wien, an der Quelle der kulturellen Ereignisse studierten, wo sie Zugang zu den literarischen Werken hatten, zweitens besaßen die Adligen ihre eigenen gut bestückten Bibliotheken[14] und drittens betrug noch Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts die Analphabetenrate – vor allem unter der einfachen bäuerlichen Bevölkerung – in den slowenischen Gebieten noch gute 15 Prozent (Prunč 2005: 32).

Es bleibt festzuhalten, dass die Leihbibliothek von Radics-Kaltenbrunner, ähnlich wie das auch in anderen europäischen Städten der Fall war (Čuopek 2000: 369–370), ein zentraler Treffpunkt des Kleinbürgertums war. Damit erfüllte die Bibliothek mit ihren Beständen eine unschätzbare kulturelle und allgemeine gesellschaftliche Funktion im Laibach der damaligen Zeit und machte das Provinz-Lesepublikum mit den aktuellsten literarischen Strömungen nicht nur im deutschen Raum, sondern in Europa im Allgemeinen bekannt.

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Kulturni transfer in bralna kultura v Ljubljani konec 19. stoletja

V drugi polovici 19. stoletja se je z Dunaja v Ljubljano skupaj z družino preselila razgledana in načitana Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner, ki je leta 1886 v mestu ustanovila javno izposojevalno knjižnico. Na podlagi arhivskih virov ter ohranjenega kataloga knjig izposojevalne knjižnice iz leta 1898 (*Katalog der Leihbibliothek der Frau Hedwig von Radics*) so v prispevku rekonstruirane bralne navade ljubljanskega meščanstva, predstavljeni so tematski sklopi, ki jih je pokrivala knjižnična ponudba, analizirana prisotnost posameznih avtorjev in avtoric na knjižnih policah ter s tem posredno tudi njihova recepcija na Kranjskem. Nadalje prispevek ponuja vpogled v procese kulturnega transferja in medkulturne povezanosti v Evropi v drugi polovici ter predvsem konec 19. stoletja ter Ljubljano umešča na evropski zemljevid bralne kulture.

Key words: javna izposojevalna knjižnica, bralna kultura, kulturna in literarna zgodovina, Hedwig pl. Radics-Kaltenbrunner, Kranjska, kulturni transfer, medkulturne povezave

Cultural transfer and reading culture in Ljubljana at the end of the nineteenth century

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the knowledgeable and well-read Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner moved from Vienna to Ljubljana together with her family, and she established a public lending library in Ljubljana in 1886.

Based on archival sources and the preserved library catalog from 1898 (Germ. *Katalog der Leihbibliothek der Frau Hedwig von Radics*), this article reconstructs the reading habits of Ljubljana's middle class, presents the thematic areas covered by the library's holdings, analyzes the presence of individual writers on the bookshelves, and thereby indirectly analyzes their reception in Carniola. In addition, the article offers insight into the processes of cultural transfer and intercultural connections in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century and especially at its end, positioning Ljubljana on the European map of reading culture.

Key words: public lending library, reading culture, cultural and literary history, Hedwig von Radics-Kaltenbrunner, Carniola, cultural transfer, intercultural connections

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L'Équilibre de la chute : *La Porte de L'Enfer* et ses sources

Boštjan Marko Turk

Synopsis

La présente étude se donne pour but de répondre aux questions que soulève l'œuvre magistrale d'Auguste Rodin, *La Porte de l'Enfer*. Celle-ci puise dans les sources historiques et littéraires parmi lesquelles il faut mentionner, en premier lieu, la *Divine Comédie* de Dante. En réalité, en dehors des références que fournit le chantre florentin, l'œuvre d'Auguste Rodin serait impensable. Rodin lui-même avait une prédilection pour les cathédrales, les édifices qui reconstruisent le sentiment de verticalité en recompensant le porte-à-faux. Celui-ci pris dans le sens analogique fournit une explication à la structure de *La Porte*, surtout lorsqu'on la compare à *capolavoro* di Ghiberti *La Porta del Paradiso* qui est censé servir de modèle à Rodin. La conclusion du présent article serait que *La Porte de l'Enfer* est impensable en dehors du contexte philosophique du Moyen-Age.

Mots-clefs : Auguste Rodin, Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Divine Comédie*, enfer, verticalité, porte-à-faux, figure, Renaissance, Moyen-Age, érotisme, damnation

La Porte de l'Enfer (Néret, 2002 : 30)[1] serait l'œuvre la plus réfléchie, et pourtant la moins achevée, d'Auguste Rodin. Elle n'a été coulée dans le bronze que l'année de son décès : le sculpteur n'a jamais pu la contempler sous sa forme actuelle. Par ses origines, la sculpture remonterait à la Renaissance. C'est Lorenzo Ghiberti qui fit la *Porta del Paradiso* (Ghiberti, 2005 : 70) : celle-ci aurait servi de modèle à Rodin. La dissemblance entre les deux paraît pourtant frappante : « *Originally conceived as an 'infernal' response to Ghiberti's structured and orderly 'Gates of Paradise' Rodin's gates are all disorder and chaos* » (Néret, 2002 : 26).

La disparité s'expliquerait par le fait que les éléments phénoménologiques (structurels) dont se sont servis l'un et l'autre pour exécuter le *capolavoro* sont différents. La critique a souvent mis l'accent sur le fait que *Les Portes de l'Enfer* doivent la partie essentielle de leur inspiration à la Renaissance : « *Toutefois, c'est surtout à la Renaissance que l'œuvre fait référence, avec sa composition en lignes orthogonales, ses pilastres ornés et son entablement à modillons* ».[2] Or, Rodin avait une prédilection pour la période gothique[3] qu'il considérait comme « *l'histoire de la France* » et comme « *l'arbre de toutes nos généalogies* ». Étant donné que le sculpteur était en même temps un spéculatif, la citation suivante ne devrait pas surprendre :

> « *Avant de disparaître moi-même je veux du moins avoir dit mon admiration pour ces merveilles, moi qui ai le bonheur de les aimer et qui ai goûtées devant elles les plus belles jouissances de ma vie. Je veux célébrer ces pierres si tendrement amenées à la beauté par d'humbles et savants artistes, ces moulures amoureusement modelées comme des lèvres de femme, ces séjours de belles ombres, où la douceur sommeille dans la force, ces nervures fines et puissantes qui jaillissent vers la voûte et s'inclinent sur l'intersection d'une fleur, ces rosaces des vitraux dont l'appareil est pris au soleil couchant et au soleil du matin* » (Morel, 2011 : 104).

Deux constatations s'ensuivent : la prépondérance ontologique sur laquelle reposent les principes architécturaux de ces édifices (*la pierre « amenée à la beauté »*, étant donné la finalité de cette opération) et le style gothique,[4] comme l'analogie de la création de Rodin.

La dernière paraît être d'une importance majeure :

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1 Nous ne donnons dans la suite du texte plus cette référence: elle serait superflue et redondante. Au lieu de cela on se sert de l'abréviation où l'on ne retient que le premier élément du syntagme: *La Porte*.

2 http://www.musee-rodin.fr/fr/collections/sculptures/la-porte-de-lenfer-troisieme-maquette, consulté le 30 juin 2016

3 Pour le style ogival en France comparer: Aubert, Marcel : *Cathédrales et Trésors gothiques de France*. Paris : Arthaud, 1958.

4 A comparer: Pobé, Marcel : *Splendeur gothique en France*. Paris : Branin 1960 et Réau, Louis : *L'Art gothique en France*. Paris : Le Prat 1954.

> « *Tout le monde sait que le corps humain, dans le mouvement, porte à faux. L'équilibre est rétabli par des compensations. La jambe qui porte, rentrant sous le corps, sert de pivot au poids entier et fait seule, en cet instant, l'unique et total effort. La jambe qui ne porte pas sert seulement à modeler, à moduler les degrés de la station et la modifie, soit insensiblement, soit rapidement, jusqu'à se substituer à la jambe qui porte et à la libérer. C'est ce que le peuple appelle 'se défatiguer' en portant d'une jambe sur l'autre le poids du corps : ainsi une cariatide qui changerait d'épaule son fardeau […]. Les cathédrales sont ce porte-à-faux compensé, instinctivement employés par la vie qui ont inspiré les oppositions et les équilibres gothiques* » (Morel, 2011 : 107).

Une lecture approfondie du texte sur Rodin, l'essai de Rainer Maria Rilke, dévoile le caractère pertinent du « *porte-à-faux compensé* »[5] ayant pour conséquence « *la naissance du geste* » (Rilke, 2009 : 28). Au geste qui est la séquence évolutive de cette première démarche, Rilke identifie le soubassement de l'acte créateur de la sculpture entière : Le geste qui est le mouvement devient la souche d'élection de cet art : « *On pourrait dire de ce geste qu'il repose comme enfermé dans un bourgeon dur : il s'ouvre et voici qu'il surgit Saint Jean* ».[6] Celui-ci est le premier à incarner l'équilibre désormais inébranlable.

> « *Ce Saint Jean est le premier homme qui marche dans l'œuvre de Rodin. […] Il marche comme si toutes les étendues du monde étaient en lui et comme s'il les distribuait de son pas. Il marche. Ses bras témoignent de cette marche et ses doigts s'écartent et semblent dans l'air faire signe de la marche […]. Beaucoup d'autres viennent derrière lui. Viennent les Bourgeois de Calais et chacun de leurs pas semble préparer le grand pas provoquant de Balzac* » (Rilke, 2009 : 29).

Le mode de locomotion incarnant le premier geste est le phénomène le plus naturel de l'homme. Il ne prend son sens que juxtaposé avec l'autre prodige qui lui donne son sens définitif, celui de la spiritualité.

> « *J'étudiai ensuite de la même façon le Saint Jean-Baptiste. Et je vis que le rythme de cette figure se ramenait encore, comme me l'avait dit Rodin, à une sorte de l'évolution entre deux équilibres. Le personnage, appuyé d'abord sur le pied gauche qui pousse sur le sol de toute sa force, semble se balancer à la mesure que le regard se porte vers la droite. […] Or la science du sculpteur a consisté précisément à imposer au spectateur toutes ces constatations dans l'ordre où je viens de les indiquer, de manière que leur succession donnât l'impression du mouvement. Au surplus, le geste du Saint Jean-Baptiste recèle de même que celui de l'Age d'airain une signification spirituelle. Le prophète se déplace avec une solennité presque automatique. On croirait entendre ses pas sonner comme ceux de la statue du Commandeur. […] Ainsi la marche, ce*

5 Voir supra.

6 Ibidem.

> *mouvement, si banal d'ordinaire, devient ici grandiose parce qu'elle est l'accomplissement de la mission divine* » (Gsell, 1911 : 49).

Dans la démarche des figures de l'univers de Rodin, il y a donc le même porte-à-faux compensé que dans les édifices hiératiques. L'équilibre qui leur permet d'être, de compenser la chute est précaire de nature, et pourtant grandiose.

Il doit constituer le trait essentiel – au moins en ce qui concerne ces structures qui se réfèrent volontairement au contexte religieux. Et *La Porte de l'Enfer* relève exclusivement de ce domaine. En le comparant à la *Porta del Paradiso* (Ghiberti, 2005 : 70), il y a une dissemblance qu'on remarque en premier lieu. Lorenzo Ghiberti a divisé l'espace de deux baies en dix panneaux, tandis que chez Rodin une telle répartition n'a pas été faite. Le Florentin a ainsi, volontairement ou non, oblitéré toute impression de profondeur, de l'aplomb. Il a rendu son œuvre orthogonale pour suspendre toute tendance, surtout celle de la verticalité. Rodin travaillait dans le sens inverse. Au centre de la composition, il a instauré un trumeau sur lequel – au milieu du tympan – est assise sur un chapiteau la figure principale, *Le penseur*, qui regarde strictement en bas. Il est surplombé par la composition *Trois ombres*, dont les mains pointent aussi vers le fond. Rilke à ce propos constate :

> « *Le penseur est au centre de la porte, bien que, au-dessus de lui encore, à la hauteur du cadre, trois hommes soient debout. La profondeur agit sur eux et les tire de loin. Ils ont rapproché leurs têtes, leurs trois bras sont tendus en avant, ils courent ensemble et désignent le même point, en bas, dans l'abîme qui les attire de toute sa lourdeur* » (Rilke, 2009 : 41).

L'espace des deux panneaux est rempli de figures plastiques qui sont toutes distordues lors de leur chute sans fin. L'impression qui se dégage de l'ensemble est le vertige de la verticalité intégré à la chute, corporelle et spirituelle à la fois, sans aucune possibilité de porte-à-faux contrebalancé.

Or, la verticalité, impliquant un équilibre restauré, est le sens des édifices gothiques :

> « *Cet élan en hauteur de tous les organes de l'édifice, ces masses qui fusent de toutes parts vers le ciel, ce hérissement de tours, de flèches, de clochetons, de pinacle, c'est bien ainsi qu'il faut se représenter comment Notre-Dame de Laon ou Notre-Dame de Reims ont été conçues à l'origine* » (Lambert, 1943 : 7).

La verticalité qui tend vers la hauteur est le contraire de la chute. La *Divine Comédie* (Dante, 1910) est structurée d'après le même principe. Où chercher les raisons de l'effondrement ? L'enfer de Dante et celui de Rodin sont prismatiques, spectraux. L'enfer est la perte la plus immédiate de l'équilibre, le porte-à-faux

jamais neutralisé. Sur chaque élément, si minime qu'il soit, pèse le poids de l'ensemble. Les effets que la lourdeur de l'enfer fait ressentir aux protagonistes de la *Divine Comédie* sont saisis jusqu'aux détails les plus spectaculaires. Les tensions se transmettent verticalement. Le comte Ugolin della Gherardesca placé au dernier cercle et intégré au centre du relief de *La Porte*, ronge le crâne du prélat Ruggeri Ubaldini. C'est un geste prélevé dès le moment de la naissance qu'on laisse durer pour l'éternité. Ugolin fut un des tyrans les plus maléfiques qui vécurent dans l'Italie du 13è siècle. Il a livré sa ville natale, Pise, aux mains des ennemis ce qui ne l'a ensuite pas empêché de s'accaparer du pouvoir en se servant des manœuvres corrompus. Comme le cannibale fait partie de la tribu de ceux qui ont trahi leur patrie ou leurs compagnons, ce mouvement du corps est à jamais figé dans l'eau congelée. Il s'agit en même temps d'une communauté plus vaste régie par les lois morales. Le compte a commis une action néfaste vers l'ensemble structurel que l'homme concevait comme reflet de la volonté suprême. Ugolin appartient au groupe de ceux qui ont été le plus déséquilibrés se trouvant sur le lieu des supplices les plus infâmes. Il paraît que l'univers entier pèse sur sa culpabilité. Du haut de *La Porte* c'est Adam qui pointe vers le bas, aggravant sa peine. Ugolin et ses fils sont devenus l'analogie de la douleur, étant séparés pour l'éternité de la finalité de l'univers médiéval ainsi que de son ordre prescrit. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils figurent au milieu du relief central de *La Porte*.

La *Divine comédie* (Dante, 1910) est l'œuvre littéraire en même temps que le paysage spirituel. Par son pouvoir analogique il correspond bien à la sculpture en trois dimensions où se reflètent tous les actes que l'être humain accomplit sous les auspices de l'éternité. Chaque geste du mouvement y compte.

Les éléments qui caractérisent l'espace de *La Porte* sont les suivants. D'abord il y a l'impression omniprésente de l'horreur figée dans la verticale. C'est la perspective de la verticalité qui implique la chute irréversible vers le bas, conséquence logique de la métaphysique morale du Moyen-Âge. C'est le trait principal de *La Porte*. Qu'on rappelle que l'œuvre exhibe la synthèse des composants antérieurs qui figuraient déjà auparavant comme entités autonomes.

Dans *La Porte* ils sont intégrés dans l'ultime synthèse qui indique l'irréversibilité sans limite.[7] L'espace de l'horreur que renferme la porte est vertical et horizontal à la fois. Il y a la peur de la chute ainsi que l'appréhension de ce qui pourrait être derrière. Les deux dimensions agissent simultanément sur la conscience de l'homme. L'instrument, avec lequel la nature l'a muni pour contacter l'espace fermé du côté opposé à la face, est la main. *La Grande Main crispée* (Goldscheider, 1962 : 81) se lève afin de saluer : elle ouvre et referme la porte donnant l'illusion de pouvoir ralentir le cours des événements. En même temps son spasme traduit

7 Le sujet est abordé dans: Turk, Boštjan Marko : *Nitasti jezik*. Ljubljana : Nova revija 2009.

la douleur ineffable de l'adieu. Il paraît que la contraction qui l'a figée ne relâchera jamais. L'image de *La Grande Main crispée* pourrait être parallèle à celle du *Désespoir* (Matiussi, 2012 : 100) qui est, elle aussi, fondée sur le resserrement sans remède d'un corps capturé à jamais.

Ce n'est pas toujours le spasme qui contracte les muscles d'un corps jusqu'à l'infini. Le contraire peut bien mener à une situation pareille. Qu'on se rappelle l'engourdissement qui s'empare du fils de Dédale lors qu'il perd la poussée verticale est se trouve précipité dans la mer. Rodin a rebaptisé le mythe et s'en est servi à plusieurs reprises. Il y a *L'Illusion, Fille d'Icare* (Mattiussi, 2012 : 32) puis *Le Martyre* (Néret, 2002 : 33) ainsi que maintes préexploitations du même sujet mais toujours en fonction de l'affaissement ou de la descente : » *L'Illusion, la Fille d'Icare, cette éblouissante transformation en une chose d'une longe chute désarmée* « (Rilke, 2009: 43).

Le spasme qui passe à l'engourdissement fait songer soit à la léthargie de laquelle il n'y a plus de réveil, soit à un songe bizarre dont le contenu s'évanouira à jamais. Il laisse entrevoir la naissance de la conscience en face de la damnation. Dans la proximité immédiate d'une telle inspiration gémit l'image de *La Jeune Parque* (Valéry, 1957 : 96) dont la conscience s'éveille à la vie tandis que celle des figures de Rodin glisse vers la mort. On pourrait y joindre *La Danaïde* (Mattiussi, 2012 : 67) telle qu'elle a été saisie dans l'appréhension de Rainer Maria Rilke :

> « *Peut-être est-ce à cette époque qu'a vu jour cette Danaïde qui, hors de ses genoux, s'est jetée dans sa chevelure liquide. On éprouve une impression merveilleuse à faire seulement le tour de ce marbre : le long, le très long chemin autour de la courbe de ce dos, richement déployée, vers le visage qui se perd dans la pierre comme dans un grand sanglot, vers la main qui, pareille à une dernière fleur, parle encore une fois doucement de la vie, au cœur de la glace éternelle du bloc* » (Rilke, 2009 : 42).

Étant donné que la courbe est l'analogie d'un songe qui invite à l'au-delà les corps dans les formes arrondies ne font qu'un avec l'entité qui leur est préposée. Au sommet de *La Porte* il y a la sculpture *Les Trois Ombres*. Celle-ci détermine l'ensemble. Les mains de trois personnages pointent vers le bas. A gauche il y a le premier des *protoparentes*, Adam. Formant le tout avec deux statues anonymes, il laisse pressentir l'horreur derrière l'espace vide. Rodin avait l'intention de munir *La Porte* d'une gravure contenant les vers de la *Divine Comédie* : « *Vous qui entrez, laissez toute espérance* » (Dante, 1910 : 12). Finalement il s'est ravisé, non sans raison. Le chemin par où l'on passe dans la cité des pleurs et à l'éternelle douleur que subit la race perdue semble être mieux indiqué par la perspective que dénotent les membres des trois figures. Il paraît que dans l'espace au fond, en arrière, il y a l'accumulation d'une énergie dévastatrice qui menace de briser toute créature.

Comme si la diachronie, le mouvement que trace la ligne de l'espace-temps de la condition humaine changerait en synchronie fournissant à l'entourage immédiat de *La Porte* un vide ayant pour fonction de créer un univers nouveau, négatif cette fois. Cet univers serait doté d'une force inégalable menaçant de faire disparaitre tout ce qui est devant lui. C'est l'analogie efficace de la damnation éternelle.

En fait, l'espace vide derrière *Les Trois Ombres* laisse présager l'ineffable analogie de l'anathème. Le vide suffit. Il n'est pas besoin d'évoquer les « *pals et les grils* » (Sartre, 1947 : 12) les figures que le souffle vient de quitter, répondent seules à ce genre d'exigences. *L'Esclave* de Michel-Ange (Arbour, 1962 : 119) apparenté à ce groupe permet de comprendre pourquoi Rodin prit cette statue pour modèle : le motif en était qu'il avait besoin d'une opposition.[8] La plénitude d'un corps humain tel que la Renaissance l'a inspiré permet la comparaison avec les trois figures de *La Porte*. Bien que les esclaves de Michel-Ange fassent proprement partie de l'art funéraire, leur auteur ne manquait pas d'insister sur les éléments qui représentaient une force devant laquelle tout reculait, même la mort (et le péché comme sa partie intégrante) : « *Le tombeau de Jules II est conçu, à la Renaissance, comme un édifice consacré au culte de la personnalité, qui réunit dans sa composition devenue monumentale, architecturale même, les symboles de la vie terrestre du défunt et de son accession au domaine des élus* » (Arbour, 1962 : 118). Dans ce sens, même un esclave intégré au tombeau est un symbole de la victoire définitive : « *Les Esclaves et les Victoires dont il faut chercher les origines dans l'antiquité païenne, symboliseraient la victoire de l'Eglise et de la chrétienté sur l'impiété et l'incroyance* » (Arbour, 1962 : 121). Par contre, si l'on vidait ces figures de l'élan vital qui les redresse vers le haut, elles s'affaisseraient, car elles auraient perdu leur principe primordial. Elles deviendraient l'une des trois entités de la composition exposée à l'Hôtel Biron. Au lieu de tendre vers le haut, elles retomberaient vers le bas. Rodin avait besoin d'un modèle qui mettrait en relief l'opposition irréductible. C'est pour cette raison qu'il s'est tourné vers le Florentin.

L'appréhension que le palimpseste de Michel-Ange laisse derrière *Les Trois Ombres* et *La Porte* en tant qu'ensemble permet de contraster la tension verticale avec celle de l'horizontalité telle qu'elle se produit par l'impression de la porte fermée et l'épouvante de ce qui pourrait être de l'autre côté. Entre la pulsation spasmodique et le relâchement intégral il y a la dimension à travers laquelle s'exprime la vie. C'est là l'espace de sa lignée vitale. Entre l'intérieur de la contraction mortelle et la rêverie profonde il y a la place de la sexualité. Celle-ci est chez Dante et chez Rodin analogique : elle est *pars pro toto* dénotant la semence de la vie, sa continuité.

8 Rodin fut sensible dès le début à la représentation graphique par laquelle le sculpteur Florentin captivait les formes des phénomènes de la pensée: « *Il passe beaucoup de temps à la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, inaugurée quatre ans plus tôt. En consultant par hasard des livres de gravures d'après Michel-Ange, c'est la révélation : il décide qu'il fera carrière dans le dessin* « (Pinet, 1998 : 14)

Qu'on prenne la compagne du premier homme, *Eve* (Goldscheider, 1962 : 61), une des créations du sculpteur les plus réussies. Son corps laisse perdurer le souvenir du péché. Les mains qui couvrent le visage indiquent la honte. Comme si elle était à nu ne pouvant se réfugier nulle part devant les flèches qui l'attaquent. Son corps est lâche et flou. C'est le corps détendu de quelqu'un qui est épuisé et rassasié de l'amour charnel. Son pèlerinage touche à son terme. Les cercles que dessine la grossesse autour du ventre laissent entrevoir la conséquence fatale de l'évènement fatidique. Eve est enceinte : la progéniture qui naîtra sera maudite : la damnation s'en est emparée avant même qu'elle ait eu le temps de s'y soustraire. Eve, c'est la patrie de la mort, c'est pour cette raison que Rodin l'a figurée comme un *post festum sui generis*. Elle a détourné le visage de Dieu étant séparée à jamais de l'énergie qui la comblait, il y a un moment. Désormais le dénominateur commun entre elle et son compagnon sera le manque de l'élan vital : ils sont comme une outre jadis remplie qui s'est vidée pour de bon.

La sexualité est la force puissante des rythmes de la vie. Suivant cette idée on arrive au paroxysme du spasme voluptueux qu'expriment les figures de Rodin. Le plaisir sensuel est une dérivation morphologique de l'enfer, un porte-à-faux mal compensé. La porte, c'est de la perte. Notamment, il y a deux personnes unies, intégrées à *La Porte* qui soulignent la prédilection du sculpteur pour les enjeux du plaisir érotique : « *Les couples mettant en scène l'exubérance de leurs ébats amoureux furent l'un des thèmes privilégiés de Rodin* » (Mattiussi, 2013 : 77). Une production plastique est mémorable dans ce sens-là. C'est *Paolo et Francesca* (Rodin, 2014 : 26), une analogie de l'amour aveugle et non accompli. Il semble que « *la fuite de leur chute entraîne les étoiles* » (Rilke, 2009 : 42). Dante partagea leur fureur jusqu'aux bout de ses forces : « *Pendant qu'ainsi parlait l'un des esprits, l'autre pleurait tellement que de pitié je défaillis, comme si je me mourais ; et je tombai comme tombe un corps mort* ». (Dante, 1910 : 22). En s'appuyant sur le commentaire suivant, on peut constater la même chose : « *Dans l'Enfer il n'y a presque pas de figure qui fût davantage plus chère à son auteur qu'Ulysse celui qui appelle à la vertu de la connaissance. La seule qui puisse le rivaliser est Francesca, l'icône de l'amour* » (Capuder, 2005 : 228). Rodin est identique. À côté du *Penseur* (Néret, 2002 : 34), apparenté aux figures cruciales de *La Porte*, il y a *Le Baiser* (Néret, 2002 : couverture). Il a été conçu afin de figurer dans *La Porte* mais l'auteur ne put jusqu'à la fin se décider à l'inclure dans l'ensemble. La sculpture trace l'instant intense du plaisir sensuel de Paolo et Francesca : ils se livrent sans aucune défiance à l'émotion violente comme ils s'y livraient lorsque Giovanni Malatesta les surprit, transformant par un poignard le moment du bonheur dont ils jouissaient pour l'éternité. Ils fonctionnent désormais comme un couple doté d'un équilibre difficile, se reconstituant d'une circonstance à l'autre, trébuchant en conséquence d'un porte-à-faux mal balancé. « *L'anatomie de Rodin n'obéit pas à la loi immuable de chaque corps humain pris individuellement,*

elle est l'éphémère configuration d'un instant » (Mattiussi, 2013 : 45). Suivant cette perspective on retrouve dans *La Porte* plusieurs représentations sublimes de leur tragique amour. Celui-ci devint par la suite l'emblème de la contenance générale de l'homme quant à ce sentiment. *Fugit Amor* (Néret, 2002 : 46) exhibe les deux amants comment ils se déversaient l'un dans l'autre lorsqu'ils traversaient le temps. Comme si Paolo voulait se soustraire à l'étreinte de sa belle compagne afin de devenir par la suite l'*Enfant prodigue* (Goldscheider, 1962 : 69) qui – les mains grandes ouvertes – plaint la patrie, le bonheur et l'amour perdus qu'il ne ressentira plus. Le couple représenté par *Le Baiser* est réuni en ce qui conférerait à ce sentiment son but ultime. Rodin se focalise sur leur étreinte, notamment sur la passion qui rend les deux figures désormais inséparables. Elles sont tordues par la concupiscence qui fait fusionner leurs corps. L'emblème de leur posture est de nouveau la main, celle de Paolo avec laquelle il déborde sur la hanche de Francesca. On assiste à une contradiction ontologique lorsque l'énergie vitale se concentre sur la possession de l'autre étant en même temps aiguillée vers le point cardinal de la séparation, da la fin. Comme si l'étendue avoisinante de la statue était l'interstice où tout serait condamné à s'avancer vers son déclin perdant sa cohésion interne. Pourtant, Paolo et Francesca sont une des mises en abyme les plus réussies de l'équilibre qui est à la fois l'équilibre incontournable de l'existence : néanmoins, son porte-à-faux ne pourrait à aucun moment être compensé. Ainsi, les deux amants révèlent de manière *pars pro toto* l'énigme imparable de l'être humain. C'est l'érotisme intégral qui s'affirme par le biais de l'antinomie *eros – thanatos* conférant à la verticalité de *La Porte* le sens complet. Notamment, le propre de l'amour, c'est d'être d'avance décidé comme cette force qui précipite inéluctablement vers le fond.

La réflexion critique du chef-d'œuvre de Rodin ne peut donc pas se passer d'envisager la longue méditation poursuivie tout le long de sa carrière au sujet des édifices gothiques et de leurs éléments structurels, physiques et métaphysiques. Les cathédrales sont bâties sur le spirituel elles ont été conçues de façon à refléter la tension perpendiculaire à l'horizon suivant la direction de la pesanteur. Celle-ci a une dénotation morale implicite. Il y va de même pour la *Divine Comédie* (Dante, 1910). L'Enfer y est mis au point grâce à la forme d'un *vortex* creux qui, à travers les neufs cercles, disparaît dans la réprobation.

La Porta del Paradiso de Ghiberti a été construite dans la perspective opposée. Contre le dynamisme vertical de l'âge gothique s'y dresse l'équilibre stable, conséquence naturelle d'une période qui avait confiance en l'être humain. C'est la Renaissance. Il s'agit d'un univers dont l'homme est le seul maître. De son côté, l'univers du Moyen-Âge dans le sens général du terme se pliait aux lois contraires. Loin d'être une autorité indisputable, l'homme est plongé dans un environnement opaque où même ses sentiments les plus inhérents (l'érotisme en tant que la quête de l'autre) paraissent contribuer à sa perte.

Toutefois Auguste Rodin considérait que le dynamisme des lignes verticales tel qu'expriment la croyance et habitudes intellectuelles qui régissaient la collectivité du temps médiéval était la source de l'inspiration bien plus inépuisable que ne sont la philosophie et l'anthropologie de la Renaissance. C'est au même instant la seule clé qui puisse mener derrière les arcanes de *La Porte*.

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Porušeno ravnovesje: Avgust Rodin in filozofske matrike *Vrat pekla*

Pričujoči članek razdeluje literarno in filozofsko tematiko, ki je navdahnila eno največjih del Augusta Rodina, njegova *Vrata pekla*. Osnova je Dantejeva Božanska komedija, veliko pa delo dolguje tudi Rodinovemu premišljevanju gotskih katedral, predvsem njihovemu temeljnemu občutju, to je vertikalnosti. Prav slednja daja pogubljenim figuram *Vrat pekla* zagon nepovratnega drsenja proti dnu. V tem se Rodinova plastika bistveno ločuje od *Vrat nebes* renesančnega avtorja Lorenza Ghibertija, četudi jih je umetnostna zgodovina vselej jemala kot model, po katerem naj bi Rodin oblikoval *Vrata pekla*. Vendar se ena in druga umetnina v filozofskem sporočilu in arhitekturnem konceptu toliko razlikujeta, da je nekaj takega tudi teoretično nemogoče.

V *Vratih pekla* Rodin poustvarja dinamiko človekovega življenskega erosa v luči večnosti, smrti in pogubljenja: to so srednjeveške kategorije mišljenja, brez katerih bi *Vrata* ne bila takšna kot so. S tem pa smo stopili daleč stran od renesančne inspiracije, v ospredju katere je stal optimističen pogled na človeka, kot središče sveta.

Ključne besede: Auguste Rodin, Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Božanska komedija*, pekel, vertikalnost, kipi, drža v neravnovesju, renesansa, srednji vek, erotika, pogubljenje.

The Broken Balance: Auguste Rodin and Philosophical Matrix of *La Porte de l'Enfer*

The study tries to answer the questions opened up by the work of Auguste Rodin, *La Porte de l'Enfer*. It was inspired by earlier historical and literary sources among which Dante's *Divine Comedy* has to mentioned first, as it cannot be imagined without it. The study compares the structure of *La Porte de l'Enfer* with Ghiberti's masterpiece *La Porta del Paradiso*. The study concludes that the discussed Rodin's work is impossible to comprehend outside of the medieval philosophical context.

Keywords: Auguste Rodin, renaissance, Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Divine Comedy*

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Mémoires d'Hadrien entre fiction et autobiographie

Tina Osterman

Synopsis

L'article se présente comme une brève analyse de l'œuvre de Marguerite Yourcenar, grande femme de lettres et académicienne française, auteure des *Mémoires d'Hadrien*, son premier succès international au début des années cinquante. Notre objectif est de classer le roman dans une sous-catégorie littéraire et de dégager son originalité formelle à l'intérieur du genre des mémoires sous forme épistolaire. Le mélange entre le roman, les mémoires, la correspondance et la poésie présente un certain polygraphisme. La recherche permanente, l'érudition approfondie et la résistance à une approche unilatérale sont la garantie d'un individualisme et d'une originalité qui respecte profondément la tradition sans y être limitée.

Mots-clés : littérature française ; Marguerite Yourcenar ; *Mémoires d'Hadrien ;* roman historique ; autobiographie ; forme épistolaire

Mémoires d'Hadrien, peut-être le plus célèbre roman de Marguerite Yourcenar, a été écrit et publié relativement tard ; la première publication est réalisée chez Plon en 1951, bien que la conception du projet date déjà de 1924. L'origine des *Mémoires d'Hadrien* résulte d'une visite à la *Villa Adriana*[1] qui a initié un démarrage créatif et fécond qui va s'écouler tout au long de la trentaine d'années suivantes. Entre 1924 et 1929, la romancière a rédigé plusieurs versions qu'elle a finalement détruites pour recommencer beaucoup plus tard le roman sous la forme que nous lui connaissons. Les premières ébauches, qu'elle estimait précoces, n'ont pas atteint une maturité suffisante. Il y a eu « une longue cohabitation de l'auteur avec son personnage »[2] afin d'atteindre une certaine sagesse qui vient avec l'âge et pour acquérir l'expérience suffisante qui ne vient que lorsque l'on a vécu et aimé. La lente maturation de l'œuvre va parallèlement avec celle de Marguerite Yourcenar elle-même. Elle le dit : « Il est des livres qu'on ne doit pas oser avant d'avoir dépassé quarante ans. »[3] Le travail a exigé des années de recherches détaillées, une connaissance profonde de l'Histoire, une exactitude rigoureuse, un sens extraordinaire de la poétique et du lyrisme. Avec tout cela, elle a creusé les fondations d'un roman dit *classique*[4] au sens le plus respectable qu'on puisse lui donner.

Marguerite Yourcenar relie le passé et le présent, mélange le roman et la tradition historique (certains éléments relèvent de l'Histoire – le personnage d'Hadrien, qui a réellement existé), les mémoires apocryphes, la tradition du roman proustien, le roman à la première personne. Le mélange de traditions romanesques différentes, crée du nouveau à partir de références communes. Il y a là tout un travail de recherche approfondie sur l'environnement historique, culturel et philosophique. Ainsi, se pose la question fondamentale mais sous-jacente, celle du temps qui englobe l'univers complexe des différents thèmes dans l'œuvre. L'écrivain a cherché l'inspiration pour son roman historique assez loin dans l'histoire : « Ce II^e^ siècle m'intéresse parce qu'il fut, pour un temps fort long, celui des derniers hommes libres. En ce qui nous concerne, nous sommes peut-être déjà fort loin de

1 Hadrien y réunissait ses collections et ses souvenirs de voyages ; c'était en quelque sorte le résumé d'une vie et d'un Empire. L'explication se trouve dans Alain Trouvé : *Leçon littéraire sur* Mémoires d'Hadrien *de Marguerite Yourcenar* (Paris : P.U.F., 1996), 6.

2 Ibid., 5.

3 Marguerite Yourcenar, « Carnets de notes » dans *Mémoires d'Hadrien* (Paris : Gallimard, 1974), 323.

4 On peut classer l'œuvre de Marguerite Yourcenar parmi les œuvres classiques modernes. Le terme classique enveloppe ici l'ensemble des qualités dont fait preuve la romancière : son intérêt pour la culture grecque et latine ; un retour constant aux textes antiques ; sa quête permanente du savoir ; la recherche des valeurs humaines et sa perception *existentialiste* de l'homme, qui met en avant la liberté individuelle.

ce temps-là. »[5] L'éloignement de l'époque qui est décrite conduit à la réinterprétation et à la recréation dans le présent « Refaire du dedans ce que les archéologues du XIX^e^ siècle ont fait du dehors. »[6] Effectivement, il est possible de reconstituer le passé tel quel, malgré l'écart civilisationnel, en se servant des procédés et des techniques scientifiques et des connaissances que l'on a du passé.

C'est pourquoi il n'est pas étonnant que le roman *Mémoires d'Hadrien* apparaisse d'abord comme une biographie, étant donné qu'il s'agit d'une reconstruction fidèle de la vie d'un individu. L'historicité et le savoir profond du passé sont une façon d'accéder au passé. Il y a bien sûr d'autres manières plus subtiles que Marguerite Yourcenar a employées pour reconstruire l'image de l'empereur Hadrien : « Un pied dans l'érudition, l'autre dans la magie… »[7] Par la magie, elle entend des méthodes plutôt psychologiques et spirituelles, imitant les philosophes orientaux et grecs. La procédure qui s'appelle *table rase* ou le vide de soi sert à Yourcenar pour relever l'Histoire de nouveau. Elle avoue avoir aussi utilisé la méthode du délire[8], et plusieurs autres techniques télépathiques, qui lui ont servi comme approche à la pensée d'Hadrien : « Un pied dans l'érudition, l'autre dans la magie, ou plus exactement, et sans métaphore, dans cette magie sympathique qui consiste à se transporter en pensée à l'intérieur de quelqu'un. »[9] L'immense désir d'aboutir à la plus grande authenticité dans son roman la pousse à se faire prendre par des rêveries devant les statues et les tableaux qu'elle observe minutieusement dans les musées et ailleurs. D'autres méthodes sont aussi l'inlassable lecture des livres qu'elle étudie au fond, sans laisser échapper leur moindre détail. Ainsi parvient-elle à effacer la distance entre elle et son personnage, à entrer en contact directement, à nous faire participer à tous les domaines de sa vie quotidienne, à opérer un équilibre entre le savoir et l'émotion. Marguerite Yourcenar vit avec son personnage ; elle l'observe et cohabite avec lui afin de percer à jour sa méthode de pensée, sa manière de sentir et d'aimer, de saisir sa peur face à la maladie et la mort. C'est comme si elle parvenait à sentir les symptômes de la maladie dont Hadrien avait souffert. Son imagination créatrice l'a conduit à s'immerger totalement dans son personnage. Les traits communs unissant la romancière et Hadrien ont été insinués à maintes reprises, mais toutefois il faut dire qu'Hadrien n'est pas simplement un *alter ego* de la romancière – elle a elle-même réfuté avec force cette idée. On veut souvent imaginer que les personnages sont le double de l'auteur. À ce propos, Marguerite

5 Marguerite Yourcenar : *Les yeux ouverts. Entretiens avec Matthieu Galey* (Paris : Le Centurion, 1980), 342.

6 Yourcenar, « Carnets de notes », 327

7 Ibid., 330.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

Yourcenar dit assez sévèrement : « Grossièreté de ceux qui vous disent : Hadrien c'est vous. Grossièreté peut-être aussi grande de ceux qui s'étonnent qu'on ait choisi un sujet si lointain et si étranger. »[10] Ainsi, dans ses « Carnets de notes », elle dénonce le lecteur superficiel qui veut faire d'Hadrien son double[11].

Un roman est toujours *inventio*, même quand il possède toute la crédibilité et la fidélité aux faits historiques que l'auteur éprouve par son érudition et sa maîtrise de l'Histoire. Mais bien que le roman, comme genre de fiction littéraire, prétende à l'invention des personnages ou des intrigues, Hadrien ne peut être uniquement une fiction imaginée de l'auteur puisqu'il englobe une pensée formée et un destin concret. Il doit nécessairement être un reflet de son siècle, un portrait de ce qu'il a vraiment été comme personnage historique. Il appert que la vie intérieure d'Hadrien est, en revanche, matière à interprétation et, comme telle, à inventer. Le travail de la romancière consiste à modeler et à façonner l'esprit d'Hadrien tandis que sa vie doit demeurer fidèle à la réalité historique. Mais, d'autre part, même si l'auteur veut décrire l'histoire telle quelle, en amassant les faits historiques dans un ordre chronologique et légitime, le roman inévitablement nous raconte aussi une histoire, l'histoire personnelle d'un homme. En fin de compte, Marguerite Yourcenar est brillamment parvenue à décrire la vie intérieure d'Hadrien. Les faits historiques sont déjà plus ou moins connus et n'apportent rien d'essentiellement nouveau. Et c'est dans cette originalité que romancière excelle. Elle a fait d'Hadrien un contemporain, avec toute la véracité et fidélité historiques nécessaires, ce qui ne l'a pas empêché d'enlever la plausibilité et la vraisemblance du portrait psychologique d'Hadrien. L'expérience de la mort d'autrui est une composante majeure de la condition humaine, ce qui prouve qu'Hadrien même s'il écrit il y a vingt siècles, pourrait être notre contemporain. La figure d'Hadrien prouve que la nature humaine ne change pas réellement, que l'essentiel de l'homme est immuable. De fait, il faut avoir toujours présent à l'esprit qu'il y a un écart subtil entre la vérité historique et la vie intime. Il n'y a pas d'Histoire[12] sans histoire. Un roman est d'abord une œuvre d'art et sa vraisemblance est une qualité annexe. Et

10 Ibid., 341.

11 « Si j'ai choisi d'écrire ces Mémoires d'Hadrien à la première personne, c'est pour me passer le plus possible de tout intermédiaire, fût-ce de moi-même. Hadrien pouvait parler de sa vie plus fermement et plus subtilement que moi. » (Yourcenar, « Carnets de notes », 330.)

12 Le roman suscite aussi une question importante : qu'est-ce que l'histoire ? Nous signalerons la différence entre l'histoire avec majuscule et minuscule pour mieux discerner les deux termes. Comme *Histoire*, on entend le passé et les événements au passé qui englobent tous faits et personnages ayant déjà existé. Le terme *histoire* acquiert un sens différent dans un récit littéraire et relate les plus souvent une aventure humaine. Là où se dévoilent au fur et à mesure les circonstances et les situations tant physiques que psychologiques qui traversent un individu, sujet de l'*Histoire.*

d'ailleurs, les livres mentent dit Hadrien « et même les plus sincères »[13]. La vérité historique est aussi sujette à caution comme le dit la romancière : « on se trompe plus ou moins »[14]. En outre, la différence entre l'historique et le contemporain lui paraît forcée. Elle dit que c'est « la couche la plus superficielle des choses »[15]. On peut voir en cela un certain refus de la contemporanéité. La romancière ne voit aucun obstacle entre le passé et le présent. Hadrien s'observe au présent, mais se voit déjà comme appartenant au passé. Les limites temporelles sont effacées tout au long du roman.

D'abord, il faut dire que l'empereur et la figure historique d'Hadrien n'a pas écrit de mémoires dans sa vie ; celles-ci sont l'œuvre de Marguerite Yourcenar. Il s'agit donc d'une fiction, de mémoires apocryphes d'une figure historique parlant à la première personne. La romancière a voulu faire une reconstitution scrupuleuse du passé en construisant la fiction d'un homme exceptionnel de l'Histoire. *Le roman est* écrit sous la forme d›une ou plutôt de plusieurs lettres adressées par l'empereur Hadrien vieillissant à son petit-fils adoptif de dix-sept ans, Marc Aurèle, qui lui succédera en tant qu'empereur. C'est pourquoi il s'agit d'un récit testamentaire, qui prend la forme d'une prose épistolaire artistique. En effet, on ne lit pas les *Mémoires d'Hadrien* simplement comme un roman. L'histoire n'est pas tout à fait écrite linéairement, dans un ordre chronologique, c'est-à-dire de l'enfance jusqu'à la mort d'Hadrien. Cela est dû à plusieurs qualifications qu'on peut attribuer aux *Mémoires d'Hadrien*. La narration, qui prend forme d'un roman, sert seulement de toile de fond, un prétexte si on veut, pour de nombreux sous-genres littéraires : une méditation, un journal intime, des mémoires, un autoportrait, un récit personnel, un testament politique, une autobiographie, une biographie, des confessions intimes et, finalement, un roman historique. Ceci est, comme le dit la romancière, inévitable : « Le roman dévore aujourd'hui toutes les formes ; on est à peu près forcé d'en passer par lui. Cette étude sur la destinée d'un homme qui s'est nommé Hadrien eût été une tragédie au XVII^{e} siècle ; c'eût été un essai à l'époque de la Renaissance. »[16]

Au début, Marguerite Yourcenar a envisagé décrire *Mémoires d'Hadrien* sous forme de dialogues mais, au fur et à mesure que l'image de l'empereur se formait, elle s'est rendue compte que le monologue était une nécessité. Ainsi est né « portrait d'une voix »[17]. En fin de compte, l'introspection est une prédisposition pour toutes les formes littéraires écrites par un *je*. Le problème du dialogue est qu'il

13 Marguerite Yourcenar, *Mémoires d'Hadrien* (Paris : Gallimard, 1974), 30.

14 Ibid., 331.

15 Yourcenar, *Les yeux ouverts*, 64.

16 Yourcenar, « Carnets de notes », 340.

17 Ibid., 330.

détourne le regard du personnage principal. Le fait que les dialogues et les conversations ne trouvent pas leur place dans le texte, est dû également aux difficultés qu'éprouve Marguerite Yourcenar à enlever la vraisemblance et la crédibilité du récit. Choisir de les inclure aboutirait à des *pseudo dialogues* qui démentiraient l'authenticité de l'œuvre : « J'imaginais longtemps l'ouvrage sous forme d'une série de dialogues, où toutes les voix du temps se fussent fait entendre. Mais, quoi que je fisse, le détail primait l'ensemble ; les parties compromettaient l'équilibre du tout ; la voix d'Hadrien se perdait sous tous ces cris. Je ne parvenais pas à organiser ce monde vu et entendu par un homme. »[18] En fin de compte, le discours direct est omis pour mieux se concentrer sur Hadrien et lui donner une voix intérieure et extérieure, pour mieux entendre son ton, ses pensées et sa parole. Hadrien s'adresse très peu à Marc-Aurèle dans ses *Mémoires*, il n'est présent que d'une manière latente.

Quelle serait donc l'expression la plus juste et adéquate pour classifier le roman *Mémoires d'Hadrien* ? Autobiographie fictive ou fiction autobiographique[19] ? L›autobiographie est un genre littéraire assez récent puisqu'elle n'apparaît qu'au XIX^e^ siècle. Avec l'individualisme naissant au XVIII^e^ siècle, l'homme retrouve sa place centrale dans le monde. *Les Confessions* (1765-1770) de J. J. Rousseau sont un parfait exemple d'une des premières autobiographies[20]. La véritable autobiographie n'apparaît qu'assez tard avec la naissance de l'individualisme des temps modernes. Pourtant, l'examen de soi connaît déjà une longue tradition, et ce dès l'Antiquité. Cependant l'examen en forme de l'écriture avait à cette époque-là un but différent de celui qu'a l'autobiographie aujourd'hui. Elle servait surtout à former les jeunes ou de remède pour guérir l'âme. Dans *Mémoires d'Hadrien*, lorsqu'il s'agit d'un individu et de sa vie intime, les notions autobiographiques prennent souvent la configuration de mémoires. En tant que récit en prose, qui correspond à une confession rétrospectif qu'une personne relate afin de donner un témoignage de sa propre existence, le roman peut à juste titre être classé parmi les autobiographies. Mais, contrairement aux mémoires, qui mettent l'accent sur le caractère historique[21], l'autobiographie privilégie le regard intime de l'homme qui parle.

L'autobiographie est d'ailleurs un acte de hantise, il s'agit d'une sorte d'autojustification. Hadrien doit se raconter pour se confirmer dans sa propre existence. Hadrien est d'abord un homme qui, au-delà des devoirs officiels, est un homme de sentiments, un homme qui cherche à se connaître, qui vise à résoudre ses conflits intérieurs à l'aide d'une introspection analytique. Au départ, il se regarde avec

18 Ibid., 322.

19 Trouvé, *Leçon littéraire*, 29.

20 Ibid., 31.

21 L'idée est de Philippe Lejeune dans son livre *Le Pacte autobiographique* (Paris : Seuil, 1996).

maîtrise et contrôle, avec une critique impitoyable et sans complaisance pour ne rien se cacher et se dévoiler complètement. Il veut se regarder pour se voir clairement, objectivement, s'observer comme du dehors, et cela nécessite courage et discipline, qualités qui ne manquent pas à Hadrien. Il s'agit d'un regard presque neutre. On voit dans le roman un Hadrien insomniaque, un Hadrien toujours en veille. Hadrien qui se trouve au seuil de la mort, à cause de sa maladie incurable, qui avance sans pitié, révèle au lecteur page par page un témoignage personnel. Il donne un témoignage dont il est à la fois spectateur et acteur. Sa longue méditation sur la mort, l'amour, le *tempus fugit*, l'histoire et l'Histoire ainsi que le pouvoir forme un exercice spirituel, un examen attentif, une méthode d'observation de soi afin de mieux comprendre sa propre image. Marguerite Yourcenar compare cette méthode introspective à la méthode qu'utilisent les ascètes, les moines et les prêtres. Citons : « Les règles du jeu : tout apprendre, tout lire, s'informer de tout, et, simultanément, adapter à son but les Exercices d'Ignace de Loyola ou la méthode de l'ascète hindou qui s'épuise…»[22]

Le titre du roman fait allusion au fameux roman de H. Broch, *La mort de Virgile*. Marguerite Yourcenar a longtemps envisagé de choisir pour titre « La mort d'Hadrien », suivant l'exemple de Broch. Finalement, le titre des *Mémoires* l'a emporté, parce qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement de la fin physique que représente la mort, mais surtout de la conscience que possède le personnage principal qui écrit ses mémoires. Il sait qu'il va mourir et c'est dans cette conscience que réside l'invitation à regarder la vie et la mort *« les yeux ouverts »*[23].

Lire l'œuvre de Marguerite Yourcenar n'est jamais sans risque. Truffée de références, d'Histoire et de mythologie, elle nous ouvre une voie complexe, déconcertante à bien des égards. Tous les romans de la romancière exigent un effort considérable de la part du lecteur. Elle résiste à une première lecture, il faut y revenir plusieurs fois, c'est aussi la méthode de Marguerite Yourcenar, qui compose son œuvre toute sa vie et ne se limite pas, comme on l'a vu, à un seul genre ou une seule catégorie. La recherche permanente, l'érudition approfondie et la résistance à une approche unilatérale sont la garantie d'un individualisme et d'une originalité qui respectent profondément la tradition, mais ne se laisse pas enfermer à l'intérieur. Il y a chez Marguerite Yourcenar une mobilité qui peut nous déconcerter. L'écrivain relie le passé et le présent, mélange le roman et la tradition historique (certains éléments relèvent de l'Histoire – le personnage d'Hadrien, qui a réellement existé), les mémoires apocryphes, la tradition du roman proustien, le roman à la première personne. En résulte un mélange des traditions romanesques différentes, créé de nouveau à partir de références communes. Il y a là tout un travail de recherche

22 Yourcenar, « Carnets de notes », 332.

23 Yourcenar, *Mémoires d'Hadrien*, 316.

approfondie sur l'environnement historique, culturelle et philosophique. Ainsi, se présente la question fondamentale mais sous-jacente, celle du temps, qui englobe l'univers complexe des différents thèmes dans l'œuvre. L'immense complexité du monde yourcenarien déborde les catégories rationnelles humaines. Même si le roman *Mémoires d'Hadrien* se veut une œuvre intellectuelle et parfois didactique, le propos de Marguerite Yourcenar n'est pas de *rationaliser* mais de *scruter* pour découvrir ce qui est caché. Elle transforme son érudition en méditation ; le passé se défait, l'avenir se pressent, aussi le présent est un moment de grande convulsion.

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Hadrijanovi spomini med fikcijo in avtobiografijo

Pričujoči članek je poskus umestitve romana *Hadrijanovi spomini* francoske pisateljice Marguerite Yourcenar v literarno zvrst. Ker je bila pisateljica vseskozi zavezana zvrstnemu alteriranju, je roman težko uvrstiti v točno določeno literarno zvrst. Govori sicer prava zgodovinska oseba, resnični zgodovinski lik cesar Hadrijan, vendar so njegovi spomini izmišljeni oziroma so avtoričin zapis. Tako že iz naslova romana vidimo, da nimamo opravka z običajnim zgodovinskim romanom, čeprav se danes *Hadrijanove spomine* soglasno uvršča med zgodovinski roman. V romanu se tako nedvomno prepleta več literarnih zvrsti, od fiktivne avtobiografije, memoarov oziroma spominov do zgodovinskega romana. Vsaka od teh oznak ima svoje pomanjkljivosti, zato je roman težko enoznačno uvrstiti v to ali ono kategorijo.

Ključne besede: francoska književnost, *Hadrijanovi spomini*, Hadrijan, zgodovinski roman, literarne zvrsti, avtobiografija

Memories of Hadrien Between the Fiction and Autobiography

The article is a brief analysis of the work by Marguerite Yourcenar, the famous French woman writer, the author of *Memories of Hadrien*, her first international success from the early 1950s. The objective of the article is to contextualize the novel into a literary sub-genre and define its formal originality within the memoir genre in the epistolary form. The mixture of the novel, memories, correspondence and poetry creates a kind of polygraphism.

Keywords: french literature, *Memories of Hadrien*, autobiography, historical novel

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