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TEL ARBRE, TEL FRUIT: The Tristan as τραγωδία

Patrick Michael Thomas

In *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Joseph Campbell makes a profound and provocative statement:

Everywhere, no matter what the sphere of interest (whether religious, political, or personal), the really creative acts are represented as those deriving from *some sort of dying to the world*; and what happens in the internal of the hero's nonentity, so that *he comes back as one reborn*, ... (Campbell 35–36; italics mine)

Although it is disputable whether every hero would fit into this category, Campbell's *aperçu* seems to resonate the essence of the tragic hero. Is it for nothing that in tracing the origin of tragedy one alludes to the seasonal and cyclic death and rebirth of Dionysus:

... dont le corps, déchiré et bouilli par les Titans à l'instigation d'Héra, fut reconstruit et revivifié par sa grand-mère Rhéa – ou, selon une variante que recueille Diodore, par sa mère Déméter (Capellán 32, n. 60).

Going back to an even more primeval level, Robert Graves makes reference to the perennial birth, life, death and resurrection of the God of the Waxing Year and his losing battle with the God of the Waning Year, all for the love of the capricious and all powerful White Goddess, their mother, bride and layer-out (Graves 24). Male human sacrifice was an integral part of her worship (Graves 99). It would seem that at the very core of tragedy one finds the fatal twins of death and resurrection. We suggest that any definition of tragedy that does not take this *sine qua non* into account is missing the mark. And that includes Aristotle's definition¹ which, like others after him, tends to describe the outer trappings of tragedy, although the purgation of pity and fear implies a type of metaphorical death out of which the spectator arises anew.² The concerns, albeit legitimate, with *peripetia*, *anagnorisis*, and *hamartia* really do not go to the heart of the matter, it seems to us.

¹ "Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear, effecting the proper of these emotions" (Butcher 23). Not unnaturally, Aristotle is describing tragedy as it existed at that historical moment.

² Krishna Gopal Srivastava understands this purgation as an aesthetic catharsis (Srivastava 182).

Such a superficial approach has led G K. Bhat to say that cannot speak of a tragedy /Bhat 6) since he could not perceive any underlying pattern. Also missing the mark is the balanced attraction and repulsion of Richard H Palmer (p.11), as well as the involvement and detachment of the audience according to T. J. Scheff (p. 177).³ When Adnan K. Abdulla hypothesizes that the two essentials of tragedy are (1.) emotional arousal, leading to (2.) intellectual understanding (Abdulla 118), it would appear that he is approaching the quiddity of tragedy.⁴ As found in Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan sums it up in this refrain:

Isot ma drue, Isot mamie
en vus ma mort, en vus ma vie!

We suggest that it is precisely this antithetical union of life and death that defines the essence of tragedy, whatever superficial external forms may cover the tragic root.

One is therefore not surprised when Roberto Ruiz Capellán sees a similarity between Tristan and Dionysus:

... Tristan, qui paraît, surtout depuis l'ingestion du philtre, partager avec Dionysos un nombre considérable de traits, ... (Capellán 12).

Both Tristan and Dionysus come from another land (Capellán 16). As the Greek god is closely associated with the renewal of Nature, Capellán notes that the pine presides at the first scene of Béroul and Marie de France makes this connection even more explicit in her *Chievrefoil* (Capellán 22). Dionysus is delivered from the fire that destroyed his mother; Tristan escapes from being burned alive after he is caught *in delicto flagrante*, so to speak (Capellán 29). With justification, Capellán sees a parallel between the wine of Bacchus and the vin herbé of Tristan:

Le vin et l'enthousiasme bachique, d'une part, le philtre et l'amour, de l'autre, créent ce rêve, aspire à combler les désirs et l'espérance que refuse de donner la vie éveillée (Capellán 61).

Capellán sees Tristan's recovery after being wounded by the Morholt as a second birth, similar to the Dionysian rebirth (Capellán 32). The cyclic conception he finds in both the disappearance/reappearance of Dionysus (Capellán 94) and the beroulian summer solstice betokening renewal (Capellán 113) recalls our own study "Circle as Structure: the *Tristan* of Thomas," in which it is pointed out that the primeval life-death-rebirth cycle has been replaced in the *Tristan* by a similar "life-near – death-'rebirth'" cycle (P. M. Thomas 43).

It is precisely this tragic element that sets the *Tristan* apart from the other medieval romances:

³ These critics do have important things to say about tragedy, but they do not seem to get to the essence of what tragedy is.

⁴ We find it curious that G. K. Bhat states that tragedy demands a different set of values than theology and metaphysics as a way of explaining the paucity of tragedy in Sanskrit drama (Bhat 106).

It is significant that no other medieval romance ends in death: instead of culminating in a feast at King Arthur's court, the Tristan story ends ... with the hero's death and union with his ideal (Lewes 2)

Joan Ferrante is not incorrect in stating:

The dominant characteristic of Thomas's hero is his predisposition to tragedy and suffering which he inherits from his parents and the desire for death ... (Ferrante 80).

It seems, however, that Tony Hunt exceeds prudence in saying that, so far as the lovers are concerned, "it is not *fin'amor* but *thanatos* which dominates this poem" (Hunt 50). Although death apparently has the last word, the lovers are nonetheless "born again" as an exemplum in the minds and hearts of all sympathetic lovers (Kunstman 184):

Pur essample issi ai fait
Pur l'estoire embelir,
que as amanz deive plaizir, ...
Aveir em poissent grant confort.
(Wind, vv. 831-33, 836)

Would it not be more precise to say that in the *Tristan* love and death are equally dominating forces. Why else would Gottfried von Strassburg call Isolde Tristan's "levender têt" (v. 18472)? The tale of Tristan and Isolde would appear to illustrate that dictum from the *Canticum Canticorum*: "fortis est ut mors dilectio"⁵ (8.6). In discussing Tristan's combat with the Morholt, Michel Cazenave touches on a crucial point:

Aussi je me demande soudain, et dans la profondeur même de la légende, si l'ensemble de l'épreuve ne représente pas pour Tristan quelque initiation spirituelle où les puissances de mort et de vie ... sont les grands protagonistes du drame (Cazenave 36).

Almost as in a Greek tragedy, Life and Death are in a deadlock struggle fought on the playing field of Humanity. Or should we say Love and Death? Would not Tristan and Isolde agree with Bernart de Ventadorn when he says

Qu'eu no posc viure ses amar
que d'amor sui engenoitz⁶
I cannot live without love,
for I was engendered by love.⁷

⁵ In this context the instinctual "amor" would be more appropriate than the intellectual "dilectio," although "amor" is avoided in the Bible because of the potential meaning of uninhibited passion.

⁶ "Can lo boschatges es floritz" (Lazar, vv. 15-16).

⁷ Nichols 158.

When the fated lovers drank the philter, did they not "die" to their former life, as it were, with their place in a Christian society only to be "reborn" to a more primitive world of ineluctable passions?

Voilà Tristan et Iseut dans une joie qui les ravit de l'humanité et de ses calculs, de ses codes, de ses lois, ... (Canzenave 76)

Or as Joan Tasker Grimbert puts it:

... the dreadful split engendered by a conflict of two loyalties, each demanding priority like two warring liegelords (Grimbert 93).

The insoluble conflict of this tragic tale is apparent in these words of Daniel Poirion:

Il est difficile de ramener les idées morales évoquées par les mots du poème à une doctrine claire et cohérente (Poirion 31).

From the viewpoint of a lawless love, the wild wood of Morrois found in Thomas and Beroul is truly more appropriate than the idealized crystal cave of Gottfried. Does not Tristan "die" socially when he plays the fool in public only to be "reborn" in private when he can possess Isolde as her lover?

Dans les *Folie Tristan*, le héros fait semblant d'être fou pour tester et enfin posséder l'être aimé. Dans la *Folie Tristan* de Berne, le narrateur explique clairement que Tristan se déguise en personnage humble parce que l'amour l'exige: ... (Looper 346).

For us, who live in a post-Romantic era, much of the significance of Tristan's "humility" is lost. In the medieval age, your identity was established by your place in society much more than now. By disguising himself so humbly, Tristan really becomes a pariah. The same is true when he plays, not the aristocratic harp, but the lowly rote or vielle (Looper 347-350).

By way of contrast, let us consider the *Roman de Tristan en prose* (RTP). Here the tragic element is eminently missing. Instead of being a wanderer between two worlds, in neither of which he feels completely at home (Ruhe 157), Tristan now lives in a world where fatality is almost non-existent (Curtis 174). The essentially optimistic point of view of the RTP is in contrast to the tragic tradition of the poetic *Tristan* (Caulkins 91). Instead of two equal conflicting forces, what we find are parallel lives, lived separately, and private passions are sacrificed to the public social life (Kristenson 249). The balance has shifted. In other words, the *Roman de Tristan en prose* is truly prosaic. It lost its "frange d'ombre" (Baumgartner 24).

En éliminant le conflit entre la loi morale et la passion, le prosateur éliminait en effet du même coup les crises intérieures et plaçait la lutte sur un terrain purement extérieur (Blanchard 19).

The unidimensional RTP is a universe of facts, immediately accessible to the reader (Baumgartner 24-25). It is a world where the conflict is external, i.e., combat between two knights, not the tragic psychological conflict between love and honor.

One may wonder whether the tragic aspect of the *Tristan* could not be found in more immediate medieval sources. And, here, one must be perspicacious, for, as Philippe Walter stresses:

...la tradition tristanienne pourrait se comparer à un terrain géologique aux multiples sédiments. De nombreuses strates se superposent: les plus récentes recouvrent les plus anciennes et s'infiltrant même en elles (Walter 14–15).

For this reason certain critics like A. Varvaro⁸ have denied the existence of an ur-Tristan. As a result of his study of the *Folies Tristan* of Berne and Oxford, Jean-Charles Huchet concludes that the *Tristan* has multiple origins, not just one (Huchet 148).⁹ In sifting through the tristanian "strata," one is at first not cognizant of any tragic element. The name Tristan, for example, seems to go back to Drustan, the diminutive of Drust¹⁰ (Bromwich 329). In the Welsh *Triads* (12th century) he is mentioned four times: triad 19, where he is described as an enemy-subduer,¹¹ triad 21, where he is among the battle-diademed men,¹² triad 71, where he is mentioned as one of the lovers of Britain,¹³ triad 26, where he is depicted as a

⁸ "La teoria dell'archetipo tristaniano," *Romania* 88 (1967), 13–18.

⁹ This more recent view is in contrast to those critics who, like Maurice Delbouille, would place the "roman primitif" a little after 1165 (Delbouille 433). James Carney's dating of the *Tristan* as 800 is also not looked upon favorably. Pace S. Eisner and his ill-fated book *The Tristan Legend: a study in sources* (1969).

¹⁰ The forms in -i- may have been due to the influence of Old Welsh Tristan (where -i- would have been pronounced as a), a feature a French writer would have scarcely known (Neil Thomas 3).

¹¹ Tri Galouyd Enys Prydein:

Greidyawl Galouyd mab E(n)ael Adrann,
a Gweir Gwrhytvavr
a Drystan mab Tallwch

Three Enemy-Subduers of the Island of Britain:

Greidiawl Enemy Subduer son of E(n)ael Adrann,
and Gweir of Great Valor,
and Drystan son of Tallwch. (Bromwich 33)

¹² Tri Thalelthyavc Cat Enys Prydein:

Drystan mab Tallwch,
a Hueil mab Caw,
a Chei mab Kenyr Keinuaruawc.

Ac un oed talelthyavc arnadunt wynteu ell tri:

Bedwyr mab Bedravn oed hvnnv.

Three Battle-Diademed Men of the Island of Britain:

Drystan son of Tallwch,
and Hueil son of Caw,
and Cai son of Cenyr of the Fine Beard.

And one was diademed above the three of them:

that was Bedwyr son of Bedrawe. (Bromwich 37)

¹³ Tri serchawc ynys Brydein:

(cynon) mab Kyndo (am Forwyd ferch Uryen);
a Chaswallavn mab Beli; (am Fflur feich Vugnach Gorr);
a Drystan (mab T(r)allwch am Essylt gwreig Mar(a)ch y ewythyne)

powerful swineherd seeking a rendez-vous with Essylt.¹⁴ In the *Mabinogion*¹⁵ Tristan is mentioned as one of King Arthur's counselors in the "Dream of Rhonabwy" (Lambert 203). Although various critics have seen similarities between the *Tristan*, on one hand, and certain Old Irish and Persian romances,¹⁶ on the other (Grimbert xvi), the essentially tragic nature of the *Tristan* seems conspicuous by its absence (Trindade 77). Nonetheless, the link with Arthuriana may provide us with a significant clue. In *Bran the Blessed* Helaine Newstead notes that in Arthurian literature what we find is a debased mythology, most especially as regards to Bran whose mythological nature is generally conceded (Newstead 17). It would seem that the various wounded Grail kings, e.g. the Fisher King, Perlesvaus, Bron in *Didot Perceval*, are avatars of the wounded Bran (Newstead 168). Nor is it insignificant that Chrestien's Fisher King, Anfortas, and Baudemagur's wounded host in the Vulgate *Lancelot* are wounded in the thigh (Newstead 179), for that placement has erotic overtones (Meister 78). One recalls that Tristan is wounded by a poisoned spear in the same part of the body. Bran is killed, but in a way he lives on in a prophetic head. This is not to mention that he owns a magic cauldron of regeneration (Newstead 19). The tragic root of death/resurrection we found elsewhere seems to be present in Bran's mythology which is filtered through Arthurian literature, albeit non-mythologically.

(Bran) seems to have been associated with the world of the hereafter, or rather the underworld of fertility, ... (Spence 77-78).

Is it possible that the *Tristan* was influenced by this debased mythology through its Arthurian link? It would appear so. There are still other indications of a mythological origin. The name of the horse-eared King Mark goes back to "March ap Meirchiawn," i.e., "Horse son of Horses" (Rutherford 91). The triple wounding of Tristan in the "courtly" version is undoubtedly a reflection of the Triple Death¹⁷ exacted by Druidistic sacrifice (Rutherford 86).

... there is nothing inherently impossible in the idea that the ancient British religion and mysticism lingered in Wales and other distant

Three lovers of the Lovers of Britain:

Cynon son of Clydno (for Morfudd daughter of Urien);

and Caswallawn son of Beli (for Fflur daughter of Ugnach (?) the Dwarf);

and Drystan (son of Tallwch, for Essylt, the wife of his uncle March).

(Bromwich 189)

14 Tri Qwdrueichyat Enys Prydein:

Drystan mab Tallwch, a gedwis moch March mab Meirchiawn hyt tra aeth y meichyat y erchi y Essylt dyuot y"w gynnadyli;

Three Powerful Swineherds of the Island of Britain:

Drystan son of Tallwch, who guarded the swine of March son of Meirchiawn, while the swineherd went to ask Essylt to come to a meeting with him. (Bromwich 45)

15 Edited in the 13th century, but its materials go back to the 9th and 10th centuries.

16 Old Irish: "The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne" and "The Wooing of Emer" (9th and 10th centuries); Persian: "wis and Râmin" (11th century).

17 Compare the triple aspect of St. Brigit who replaces the triple pagan goddess Brigit: mother goddess, goddess of prosperity, seasonal goddess (Sjoestedt 25).

parts of the island for many centuries after the departure of the Romans (Spence 66).

Even from a more general point of view, a marked predilection for groupings of three can be seen among the Celtic peoples from the time of their earliest records (Bromwich xiii). It is almost as if, in this "roman de la forêt et de la mer" (Cazenave 83), Tristan and Ysseult were struggling to return to an older, more primeval tradition. It is perhaps significant that Bran was probably a god of the sea (Newstead 17). Dionysus is said to have been born of the sea (Capellán 28). It is in a boat at sea that the fated lovers drink the potion. The same sea that brought them together prevents Ysseult from coming ashore in time to cure Tristan by its turbulence. In the *Tristan* the sea functions as both life and death (Cazenave 84). Although the lovers live within the framework of a Christian society, the forces of Celtic paganism appear to erupt volcanically, sweeping away everything in its path.

We have attempted to elucidate how at the core of tragedy one discovers the primeval antithesis of death/resurrection. Capellán's comparison between Dionysus and Tristan points out the essentially tragic nature of the medieval romance as did our study in that the triple wounding results ultimately in a "resurrection" on a higher level. Before that ultimate, however, there are smaller examples of "death" like the drinking of the philter whereby the lovers "die" to the ordinary world around them, like Tristan disguising himself as a fool, thereby "dying" to his social self. By contrast, the prosaic *Roman de Tristan en prose* lacks this tragic element. A comparison of the twelfth-century *Tristan* and the thirteenth-century *RTP* reminds us of the difference between Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, not a perfect comparison, but close enough to get across the point: the poetic spirit has been replaced by something more mundane.

Granted that the *Tristan* is tragic, the question still remained as to what was the source of its tragic nature. Although not easily discernible, it would seem that the debased mythology of Bran the Blessed, filtered through Arthurian literature, may have been the ultimate source of the tragic in this tale of fated lovers. Bran is "reborn" in a talismanic prophetic head, and Tristan and Ysseult live on as an exemplum in the hearts of lovers.

City University of New York

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PETRARCA E IL PETRARCHISMO: ASPETTI DELLA TRADUZIONE DEL SONETTO IN CROATO

Ljiljana Avirović

La traduzione del *Canzoniere*

Il *Canzoniere* di Petrarca (1304-1374) ha ricevuto quasi sempre in croato il titolo con cui quest'opera è passata alla storia (e non già quello originario di *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*), seppure nella trascrizione ortografica della lingua di arrivo (*Kanconijer*). Non che ai traduttori croati mancasse l'opportunità di renderlo con il suo equivalente *Pjesmarica* (canzoniere) – che del resto è il titolo con cui spesso la storiografia letteraria croata designa il capolavoro di Petrarca -, ma nella loro scelta si ravvisa l'intento di indirizzare in qualche modo il lettore, che sin dal titolo del testo viene informato circa l'opportunità della traduzione di alcuni termini dalla forte connotazione semantica. Ciò vale anche per la traduzione di una delle forme metriche più frequenti nel *Canzoniere*, qual è appunto il sonetto. La trasposizione del sonetto italiano racchiude la *summa* dei problemi della traduzione metrica, richiedendo nella lingua di arrivo il massimo della versatilità traduttiva. La trasposizione dell'endecasillabo giambico del sonetto costituisce da secoli un problema particolarmente sentito presso i traduttori croati.

Le traduzioni del *Canzoniere* hanno rappresentato per molte generazioni di poeti croati un costante modello di riferimento, e il petrarchismo, in terra croata, si è misurato inevitabilmente con il problema della definizione dell'opera tradotta, vale a dire con i criteri che consentivano di ritenerla quasi un originale (come nel caso di Menčetić, di cui ci occuperemo in seguito), un plagio o una traduzione in senso stretto. Il metro del sonetto petrarchesco è sconosciuto ai primi epigoni croati del poeta di Arezzo. L'endecasillabo giambico è infatti caratterizzato da una spiccata tendenza alla rigidità delle rime, fatto questo che rende particolarmente ardua la sua trasposizione in una lingua diversa dall'italiano. La stilizzazione nella lingua d'arrivo sfiora in questi casi i limiti del consentito, con una inevitabile perdita rispetto alla creazione originale. L'altro problema nella traduzione delle rime è il collegamento semantico delle unità all'interno del verso, possibile unicamente nella traduzione da lingue che hanno una solidarietà etimologica trasparente¹ (J. S. Holmes, 1988:23-33). Per tali ragioni è impensabile che il

¹ A questo riguardo cfr. James S. Holmes, *Translated Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 1988.

sonetto riesca a preservare in croato le proprie caratteristiche formali. Per superare questa difficoltà la tradizione poetica croata è ricorsa all'impiego nei distici del dodecasillabo doppiamente rimato, accanto ad altre forme metriche storicamente esistenti. L'esempio più illustre in tal senso è dato dalla versione di un celebre sonetto di Petrarca a opera di Šiško Menčetić¹ (1457-1527), il quale si attiene al canone petrarchesco della rima, dei temi e della rappresentazione graduale della bellezza femminile. Con il suo dodecasillabo *Blaženi čas i hip najprvo kad sam ja* Menčetić riesce infatti a ricalcare il modulo del petrarchesco *Benedetto sia 'l giorno, e 'l mese, et l'anno* (R.V.F. 61), anche se in questo caso si va ben oltre la traduzione in senso letterale. Il dodecasillabo doppiamente rimato è anche alla base del *Ranjinin zbornik* di Nikša Ranjina Andrečić (1494-1582)².

Il dodecasillabo di Šiško Menčetić ha questa forma:

Blaženi čas i hip najprvo kad sam ja
 vidil tvoj obraz od koga slava sja.
 Blažena sva mista kada te gdi vidih,
 dni, noći, godišta koja te ja slidih.
 Blažen čas i vrime najprvo kada čuh
 ljeposti tve ime kojoj dah vaš posluh.
 Blažene boljezni ke patih noć i dan
 cić tvoje ljubezni za koju gubljah san.

Blaženi jad i vaj ki stvorih dosade
 želeći obraz taj sve moje dni mlade.
 Blaženo vapin'je kad ime tve zovih
 i gorko trpin'je u željah kad plovih.
 Blažen trak od uze ljuvene u kojoj
 stvorih plač i suze, želeći da sam tvoj.
 Blažena ljepos tva, blažena tva mlados,
 pokli se meni sva darova za rados.

Così invece l'originale di Petrarca:

Benedetto sia 'l giorno e 'l mese et l'anno,
 e la stagione, e 'l tempo, et 'l ora, e 'l punto,
 e 'l bel paese, e 'l loco ov'io fui giunto
 da' duo begli occhi che legato m'anno;
 et benedetto il primo dolce affanno
 ch' i' ebbi ad esser con Amor congiunto,

¹ Šišmundo (Šiško) Vlahović Menčetić è tra i più illustri rappresentanti della tradizione petrarchista croata. Ricopri per due volte l'incarico di rettore della Repubblica di Ragusa/Dubrovnik, sua città natale.

² Discendente di una famiglia di nobili ragusei, compilò un'ampia raccolta di versi dei poeti petrarchisti di Ragusa (*Ranjinin zbornik*) nella cui seconda parte figurano anche alcuni esempi di poesia popolare. In Croazia il florilegio di Ranjina è stato pubblicato nel 1870 e nel 1937 all'interno dell'antologia *Stari pisci hrvatski* (Scrittori classici croati).

et l'arco et le saette ond' i' fui punto,
et le piaghe che 'nfin al cor mi vanno.

Benedette le voci tante ch' io
chiamando il nome de mia Donna b sparte,
et i sospiri, et le lagrime, e 'l desio;

et benedette sian tutte le carte
ov' io fama l'acquisto, e 'l pensier mio,
ch' è sol di lei, sì ch' altra non v'à parte.

Nel caso di Menčetić è possibile parlare solo entro certi limiti di poesia »originale« prodotta a imitazione del modello petrarchesco. Ci troviamo infatti di fronte a ciò che è lecito definire un metapoema (J. S. Holmes, 1988:25). L'originalità risiede nel concetto stesso di traduzione che fu proprio di Menčetić e che gli consentì di prendere le distanze e di imporsi, per così dire, sul testo di partenza. La rima è presente in tutti i distici (*ja/sja, vidih/slidih, čuh/posluh, dan/san, dosade/mlade, zovih/plovih, kojoj/tvoj, mladost/rados*). Si noti tuttavia che l'aggettivo *blaženi* (benedetto) ha otto occorrenze rispetto alle quattro del testo di partenza (vv. 1,5,9,12), indizio non solo di un distacco dalla struttura del sonetto, ma anche dell'assegnazione di una maggiore enfasi al tema petrarchesco dell'avvicinamento all'amata. Un altro tratto distintivo della versione di Menčetić sta nella lingua da lui impiegata, molto vicina al dialetto raguseo (*Blažena sva mista kada te gdi vidih, dni, noći, godišta, koja te ja slidih.*), dialetto che ha influito su tutta la poesia croata come pure sulla traduzione classica e contemporanea del sonetto. Pertanto *Blaženi čas i hip najprvo kad sam ja*, per quanto possa sembrare una trasposizione aderente al sonetto petrarchesco, va oltre la traduzione propriamente detta e può essere ritenuto quasi una »creazione in proprio«, intesa come forma mimetica dal peculiare carattere poetico, sostanziato anche dalla ricerca lessicale. Si tratta di un metapoema che, partendo dal materiale semantico, finisce per acquisire una sua originale forma lirica (J. S. Holmes, 1988:27), ragione per cui non c'è da stupirsi se l'esempio di Menčetić sia divenuto un costante riferimento per le successive generazioni di traduttori.

Marko Marulić³ (1450-1524) fu il primo in Europa a tradurre in latino i due sonetti di Petrarca *Poi che voi et io pijù volte abbiām provato* (R.V.F. 99) e *I'vo piangendo i miei passati tempi* (R.V.F. 365), nonché la celebre canzone finale del *Canzoniere*, *Vergine bella, che, di sol vestita* (R.V.F. 366), aprendo la strada ai traduttori successivi come pure al dibattito circa l'approccio alla traduzione poetica in genere.

Tradurre *ut interpres* o *ut orator* (Cicerone) oppure *verbum de verbo* o *sensum de senso* (San Girolamo) è stato il tema di un'accesa disputa fra i traduttori classici croati impegnati sul fronte della letteratura italiana, di cui erano profondi conoscitori sia perché si erano formati sulle fonti originali, sia perché si recavano spesso in Italia per pubblicare i loro lavori. Nella trasposizione dei grandi classici italiani, la maggior parte di essi optò comunque per il modello proposto da San Girolamo, ritenendo che la traduzione *ut orator* oscurasse il significato dei testi. Inoltre si sa per certo che essi leggevano le introduzioni ai loro lavori redatte dagli

autori italiani, i quali confutavano, mediante argomentazioni diverse, il metodo della traduzione letterale. A tale proposito va ricordata la dedica autografa che accompagna la versione di Lodovico Dolce (1508-1568) dell'*Oratore* di Cicerone (1547), dove il traduttore, in riferimento alle cosiddette "soluzioni di mezzo" suggerite da Fausto da Longiano, propone un certo distacco dal testo di partenza. La maggior parte degli esempi di traduzioni poetiche del periodo rinascimentale, unitamente alle asserzioni dei loro artefici sull'impossibilità di trasporre l'armonia del verso petrarchesco, testimoniano come la traduzione poetica avesse sin da allora assunto una valenza di opera autonoma, di creazione originale (F. Čale, 1994:7-36).

Il petrarchismo, ovvero l'imitazione del *Canzoniere* di Petrarca, si affermò tra i poeti croati tra il XVI e il XVII secolo, benché vi siano esempi che attestano la loro adesione a questa corrente letteraria sin dal XV secolo (Džore Držić). Pertanto il petrarchismo croato è, dopo quello italiano, tra i più precoci in Europa. La risonanza petrarchista è meno presente nel secolo XVIII. Nel periodo illuministico, in cui veniva assimilandosi la cultura letteraria europea, si assiste invece a un rinnovamento della tradizione della traduzione del *Canzoniere* avviata da Marko Marulić (Tomasović, 1996:90).

Petrarca era consono al gusto dell'epoca non solo per l'armonia formale delle sue rime, ma anche perché problematizzava il rapporto amoroso con la donna in ordine all'onnipresente bipolarismo corpo-spirito, terra-cielo. Con il petrarchismo l'estetizzazione della donna assurse a formula europea vettrice di un lessico galante, di un modo innovativo di esprimere i sensi, le forme di corteggiamento, le descrizioni della bellezza e la gradualizzazione del desiderio (Tomasović, 1997:85).

Nel suo recente libro *Traduktološke rasprave* (Dispute traduttologiche)⁴ Tomasović⁵ parla di come i traduttori croati abbiano affrontato nel corso dei secoli il problema della trasposizione del metro italiano, nonché della sua personale esperienza a questo riguardo. Le traduzioni dell'ottava del Tasso e del sonetto di Petrarca sono tra i punti focali di questo studio denso di esempi che testimoniano la coerenza della cultura letteraria croata nella ricezione delle opere e dei gusti letterari europei classici e moderni, dal 1500, anno in cui Marulić tradusse *De*

3 Marko Marulić nacque e morì a Spalato/Split. Come autore di opere in latino è noto con il nome di Marcus Marulus (Marullus) Spalatensis, Delmata. Nella dedica del suo capolavoro, *Judita*, si firma come Marko Marulić, ma in altre opere in croato figura con il nome di Marko Pečenić. La sua formazione umanistica avvenne a Spalato sotto la guida dell'italiano Tideo Acciarini. In seguito il poeta fu a Padova, dove si specializzò in diritto. Marulić fu uno scrittore trilingue. La parte più cospicua della sua produzione è in latino. Quanto ai suoi scritti in italiano, sono ancor oggi poco conosciuti. Ritenuto "il padre della letteratura croata", è l'autore croato più tradotto in assoluto. La sua fama a livello internazionale è data dalle opere *De institutione bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum*, *Evangelistarium* e *Quinquaginta parabole*, che in Europa hanno avuto ben novanta traduzioni. La sua poesia *Carmen de doctrina Domini nostri Iesu Christi pendentis in cruce* è stata tradotta in croato (4 versioni), italiano, spagnolo, inglese, francese, sloveno e ceco, ma probabilmente ne esiste una versione anche in lingua cinese. Di recente, a Londra è stata scoperta la sua biografia di s. Girolamo (*Vita divi Hieronimi*) e a Glasgow un manoscritto di epigrammi in latino caratterizzato da temi profani, anche erotici. Pur essendosi formato sui modelli della letteratura classica e italiana, Marulić restò comunque legato alla sua madrelingua e scrisse di aver composto la sua *Judita* nei versi del suo popolo (*u versih harvacki složena*). Oggi Marulić è sempre più al centro dell'interesse degli studiosi europei e croati. A tale riguardo, cfr. Tomasović, M. in *Hrvatski leksikon*, Naklada Leksikon, Zagreb, 1997, p.73.

imitatione Christi, sino ai giorni nostri, con la proposta tomasoviciana di una nuova traduzione di Petrarca e del Tasso. La critica della traduzione non serve unicamente a valutare gli esiti del testo di arrivo, ma anche a impostare nuovi parametri operativi e a suggerire nuovi orientamenti letterari. La traduzione poetica ha in molti casi la stessa dignità della creazione originale, poiché oltre a svolgere quella funzione di tramite comunicativo che è propria di ogni traduzione, assume il carattere di una “creazione autonoma” e in quanto tale influisce in modo determinante sulla versificazione nella lingua di arrivo. A quest’ultimo fenomeno è consacrata la parte centrale dello studio di Tomasović, in cui si considera il profondo influsso esercitato dalle traduzioni in croato di Dante (1265-1321), Petrarca e Tasso (1544-1595) sulla poesia in questa lingua. Qui l’autore presenta l’intera fenomenologia traduttiva del metro italiano – e in particolare dell’endecasillabo – sino al momento in cui il verso tradotto (*prijevodni stih*) inizia a svolgere la funzione di una vera e propria »versologia« (Tomasović, 1996:11).

Tomasović cominciò a tradurre Petrarca quando era ancora studente universitario. Fu il suo professore a proporgli di tradurre un celebre sonetto del *Canzoniere* (il sonetto XVI), ricco di figure retoriche.

Così il sonetto nell’originale:⁶

1	Movesi il vecchierel canuto et bianco	A
2	del dolce loco ov'à sua età fornita	B
3	et da famigliuola sbigottita	B
4	che vede il caro padre venir manco;	A
5	indi trahendo poi l'antiquo fianco	A
6	per l'extreme giornate di sua vita,	B
7	quanto più pó, col buon voler s'aita,	B
8	rotto dagli anni, et dal camino stanco;	A

4 Tomasović, Mirko, *Traduktološke rasprave (Dispute traduttologiche)*, Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu (Istituto di Scienze letterarie della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell’Università di Zagabria), Zagabria, 1996.

5 Mirko Tomasović è nato a Spalato nel 1938. Laureato in letteratura comparata e in lingua e letteratura francese, è titolare dal 1971 delle cattedre di letteratura comparata e di storia della letteratura croata presso la Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell’Università di Zagabria. Nel 1979 ha presentato la tesi di dottorato di ricerca dal titolo *Mihovil Kombol – književni povijesnik i prevodilac (Mihovil Kombol – traduttore e storico letterario)*.

Ha pubblicato una quindicina di opere tradotte da varie lingue romanze: dall’italiano ha tradotto Dante, Petrarca, Gaspara Stampa, Tasso; dal francese Boileau, Lamartine, De Vigny, Hugo, Musset; Nerval, dal portoghese Camoes, Verde, Pessoa e dallo spagnolo Cervantes e Triso de Molina. E’ autore di numerosi studi consacrati alle problematiche della traduzione: *Komparativistički zapisi (Note di comparativistica)*, Zagreb 1976; *O hrvatskoj književnosti i romanskoj tradiciji*, (Letteratura croata e Tradizione romanza, Zagreb, 1978); *Zapisi o Maruliću i drugi komparativistički prilozi*, (Note su Marulić e altri contributi, Split, 1984); *Analise i procijene (Analisi e valutazioni)*, Split, 1985; *Tradicija i kontekst*, (Tradizione e contesto, Zagreb, 1988); *Marko Marulić Marul* (Zagreb, 1998); *Komparativističke teme*, (Temi comparativistici, Split, 1993); *Slike iz povijesti hrvatske književnosti*, (Immagini dalla storia della letteratura croata, Zagreb, 1994); *Ranjina/Desportes*, Zagreb, 1994; *Sedam godina s Marulom*, (Sette anni con Marul, Split, 1996). Attualmente è impegnato nella traduzione della *Gerusalemme liberata* di T. Tasso, di cui ha pubblicato i primi due canti.

6 Petrarca, Francesco, *Canzoniere*, edizione e commento a cura di Marco Santagata, Mondadori, Milano, 1996, p.68.

9	et viene a Roma, seguendo 'l desio,	C
10	per mirar la sembianza di Colui	D
11	ch'ancor lassù nel ciel vedere spera:	E
12	così, lasso, talor vo cerchand'io	C
13	donna, quanto è possibile, in altrui	D
14	la disiata vostra forma vera.	E

La prima versione di Tomasović, qui di seguito riprodotta, risale al 1962 e fu pubblicata due anni dopo dalla rivista »Zadarska revija« in un articolo intitolato *Četiri soneta iz Petrarkinog Kanconijera* (Quattro sonetti del Canzoniere di Petrarca).

1	Odlazi starac osijedjeli, bijeli	A
2	Iz dragog mjesta gdje mu mladost cvala.	B
3	U čudu gleda porodica mala,	B
4	Kako se od nje mili otac dijeli.	A
5	Pokreće se mukom ostarjele kosti,	C
6	Dok mu se vijeku zadnji dani bliže,	D
7	Dobra ga volja posustala diže,	D
8	Shrvana putem u teškoj starosti.	C
9	I stiže u Rim želju da utaži,	E
10	Onog da vidi lica otisnuće	F
11	Kog će u rajskoj ugledati slavi.	G
12	Umoran tako i ja stalno tražim,	E
13	Kod drugih djeva, kol'ko je moguće,	F
14	Lik Vaš, gospojo, žuđeni i pravi.	G

(Tomasović, 1962)

Sarà proprio intorno a questa sua prima prova che Tomasović imbastirà la propria riflessione sull'invecchiamento delle traduzioni, sulla conseguente necessità dell'apporto di correzioni metriche, lessicali e stilistiche, nonché sull'evoluzione della metrica croata in rapporto al sonetto italiano. E' noto infatti come il fattore tempo incida profondamente su qualsiasi traduzione letteraria.

Dieci anni dopo la pubblicazione sulla rivista zaratina, a Tomasović viene offerta l'opportunità di ripubblicare questi versi, che per l'occasione subiscono una sostanziale revisione da parte del curatore del volume, Frano Čale⁷. La tradizionale

⁷ Frano Čale, italianista, traduttore contemporaneo di Petrarca, è scomparso nel 1993. E' stato docente di letteratura italiana presso l'Università di Zagabria e ha tradotto in base a criteri rigorosamente filologici gran parte dei sonetti di Petrarca, il *Ninfaie fiesolano* di Boccaccio, *Le rime* di Dante, l'*Aminta* di Tasso, i *Sonetti*, le *Odi* e i *Sepolcri* di Foscolo, nonché gran parte della poesia di Pascoli e di Saba. Come storico della letteratura croata è stato autore di una serie di magistrali studi su Marin Držić (1508-1567), scrittore raguseo come lo stesso Čale.

disputa sulla traduzione del metro italiano prosegue. Nel 1974 Čale pubblica, insieme a una decina di traduttori tra cui lo stesso Tomasović, una versione integrale con testo a fronte del *Canzoniere*⁸. Alcuni traduttori coinvolti nel progetto reagiscono molto polemicamente alla sua revisione filologica; le scelte del curatore chiamavano infatti direttamente in causa la metodologia impiegata dalla pleiade dei traduttori-petrarchisti, che rivendicavano la legittimità delle loro versioni (Tomasović, 1996: 241-248). Tomasović reagisce con molta pacatezza, accogliendo le proposte di Čale, ma ribadisce alcuni punti fermi della sua versione, sui quali ritornerà anche in seguito.

Così, nel primo verso del sonetto tradotto da Tomasović, in luogo del sostantivo *starac* (il vecchio) appare la forma diminutiva *starčić*, più aderente all'immagine petrarchesca. Nel terzo verso *porodica* (famiglia) viene sostituito da *obitelj*, sostantivo dalla connotazione più marcatamente affettiva. Nel sesto verso il sostantivo *vijeku* (età, evo) viene reso con *žice* (vita, esistenza), che, oltre a costituire l'equivalente semantico del lessema impiegato nel testo originale, possiede in croato una connotazione arcaica. Nel settimo verso l'aggettivo *posustala* (sposato) viene reso con *posustalog* (sposato) onde evitare che il lettore attribuisca quel *posustala* al sostantivo *volja* (desiderio) anziché a *starčić* (*vecchierel*). All'ottavo verso si registrano due interventi; il primo elimina un refuso linguistico-grammaticale (il sostantivo *putem* viene rettificato in *putom*, camino) e il secondo sostituisce l'aggettivo *shrvan* (rotto) con *tegoban* (sposato), molto più vicino all'originale. In quest'ultimo caso Tomasović difende la propria soluzione e obietta che l'aggettivo *shrvan* corrisponde meglio all'originale *rotto*, essendo riferito al vecchio e non alla strada.

L'undicesimo verso, che in Tomasović recita *kog će u rajskoj ugledati slavi*, viene trasformato da Čale in *kog nada se u rajskoj vidjet slavi*. Il traduttore accoglie la rettifica, ma fa notare come il petrarchesco »sperare« sembra piuttosto un verbo ausiliare che agevola l'uso della rima, e come nel contesto del verso *ugledati* (scorgere) sia più incisivo di *vidjeti* (vedere). In genere i traduttori non hanno nulla da obiettare quando le loro versioni subiscono cambiamenti a livello grammaticale o lessicale; il problema nasce quando le modifiche intervengono a livello della sinonimia, essendo i sinonimi portatori di caratteri stilistici.

Tomasović, nella sua prima versione del sonetto XVI, incorre in un errore nel dodicesimo verso, errore che a Čale non poteva sfuggire: il termine *lasso* viene da lui inteso come aggettivo, laddove invece si tratta di un'esclamazione. Errori di questo genere, ammetterà in seguito Tomasović, non sono infrequenti nella traduzione, e ogni nuova ristampa costringe a fare i conti con essi. Ma la trasposizione di un testo poetico implica altri importanti elementi di cui bisogna tener conto, se si vuole raggiungere la sintonia con l'originale. Una particolare attenzione va riservata al metro e alla rima, il più delle volte in traducibili se a contatto con un sistema linguistico diverso da quello del testo originale. Per

⁸ Petrarca, Francesco, *Canzoniere/Kanconijer*, edizione bilingue a cura di Frano Čale, tr. di: F. Čale, M. Maras, T. Maroević, M. Tomasović, O. Delorko, M. Grčić, M. Kombol, N. Miličević, Z. Mrkonjić, P. Pavličić, K. Quien e J. Torbarina, Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, Hrvatsko filološko društvo, Zagreb/Dubrovnik, 1974.

Tomasović la traduzione poetica ideale consiste in una totale equivalenza di forma e contenuto, come categorie inscindibili.

Gli ultimi due versi della versione tomasoviciana non hanno invece subito sostanziali rettifiche da parte del curatore, fatta eccezione per qualche spostamento lessicale. Quanto alle rime, restano invariate lungo tutto il sonetto.

Una ventina di anni più tardi (1982) Tomasović, traduttore esperto, rivedrà il suo sonetto giovanile accogliendo i suggerimenti di Čale, in vista di una nuova ristampa del *Canzoniere*⁹, e il sonetto in questione assumerà la forma seguente:

1	Odlazi starčić osijedjeli bijeli,	A
2	iz dragog mjesta gdje mu mladost cvala;	B
3	u brizi gleda obitelj mu mala	B
4	kako se od nje mili otac dijeli;	A
5	pokreće s mukom ostarjele kosti	C
6	dok mu se žiću zadnji dani bliže,	D
7	dobra ga volja posustalog diže	D
8	tegobnim putom teškoj u starosti.	C
9	I stiže u Rim želju da utaži,	E
10	onog da vidi lica otisnuće	F
11	kojeg u rajskoj ugledat će slavi:	G
12	nesretan, jao, tako i ja tražim	E
13	u drugih djeva, koli je moguće,	F
14	gospojo, lik vas žuđeni i pravi.	G

(Tomasović, 1982).

A una prima lettura questa versione sembra identica alla precedente. L'impressione deriva soprattutto dal fatto che i cambiamenti (vv. 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14) sono intervenuti a livello lessicale, in accordo con lo sviluppo della versificazione croata. Al terzo verso il termine *porodica* viene sostituito da *obitelj*, mentre al tredicesimo a *kod drugih* subentra il più poetico *u drugih* (in altrui) e *kol'ko*, forma devocalizzata dello štokavo *koliko* (quanto), viene reso nella sua forma più arcaica *koli*. Come si vede anche in questa versione l'assetto metrico e della rima resta invariato. Un loro perfezionamento avrebbe infatti richiesto un notevole sforzo per ridefinire l'intonazione dell'endecasillabo giambico. A ogni modo il traduttore è intervenuto anche a questo livello, modificando nei versi 11 e 14 l'intonazione del metro. Così *Kog će u rajskoj ugledati slavi* (1962) diviene *kojeg u rajskoj ugledat će slavi* (1982) e *Lik Vaš, gospojo, žuđeni i pravi* (1962) viene reso con *gospojo, lik vaš žuđeni i pravi* (1982). Tomasović sostiene di non aver apposto alcuna modifica all'undicesimo verso, mentre nel quattordicesimo, per accentuare il primo e il terzo verso, ha introdotto il sostantivo raguseo *gospojo* (per il petrarchesco *donna*), che offre una resa migliore, sempreché venga letto con

⁹ Petrarca, Francesco, *Pjesme Lauri*, Znanje, *Evergrin*, a cura di Mirko Tomasović, p.33.

l'accento tonico sulla seconda sillaba, come appunto avviene nel vernacolo raguseo.

Ma l'atteggiamento autocritico, che dovrebbe essere proprio di ogni traduttore, ha spinto Tomasović a un'ulteriore revisione dello stesso sonetto, che nel 1995 risulta così formulato:

1	Odlazi starčić osijedjeli bijeli,	A
2	iz draga mjesta gdje mu mladost cvala,	B
3	u brizi gleda obitelj mu mala	B
4	kako se od nje mili otac dijeli,	A
5	pokreće s mukom ostarjele kosti,	C
6	dok mu se žiću zadnji dani bliže,	D
7	dobra ga volja posustala diže	D
8	tegobnim putom teškoj u starbsti;	C
9	i stiže u Rim želju da utaži,	E
10	onog da vidi lica otisnuće	F
11	kog u rajskoj se nada vidjet slavi:	G
12	ah, jadan, kadšto tako i ja tražim,	E
13	u drugih gospo, koli je moguće	F
14	oblik vaš žuđen, istiniti, pravi.	G

(Tomasović, 1995, in Petrarca ed. Tomasović, 1996, p.9).

Questa traduzione viene inclusa in un'antologia a cura dallo stesso Tomasović, dal titolo *Prepjevi iz romanske lirike* (Traduzioni poetiche della lirica romanza), nel volume pubblicato da Čakavski sabor (Spalato 1979, p. 33). In una seconda raccolta dal titolo *Prepjevi iz romanskog pjesništva* (Traduzioni poetiche della lirica romanza), pubblicata da Književni krug (Spalato 1990) e molto più consistente della prima, il sonetto giovanile tradotto da Tomasović viene invece escluso per volontà dello stesso traduttore, che non lo riteneva sufficientemente elaborato. L'occasione di un suo rimaneggiamento si presentò al momento di pubblicare *Soneti Lauri*, ovvero *Kanconijer*,¹⁰ in cui Tomasović, cosciente degli sviluppi intervenuti nella versificazione croata, propone una quarantina di sonetti petrarcheschi in una versione modernissima. Zoran Kravar, che nel saggio *Tema »stih«* (Il tema »verso«) esamina le tipologie dei nuovi rapporti tra verso originale e verso tradotto, constata come il principio che anima la traduzione poetica in Croazia sia l'ottenimento della somiglianza (*sličnost*), parametro riscontrabile, a suo avviso, anche nella critica della traduzione, laddove valuta il rapporto tra il testo di partenza e quello di arrivo (Kravar, 1993:51).

Il valore di quest'ultima prova di Tomasović sta nel suo richiamarsi ai modelli della poesia classica croata (Zoranić, Zlatarić, Gundulić...), ma soprattutto

¹⁰ *Soneti Lauri*, era il titolo proposto dal curatore Tomasović per questo volume, al quale la cura redazionale ha invece assegnato il titolo di *Kanconijer* (*Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1996*).

nel suo porsi come ulteriore tentativo di aderire allo schema metrico e alle rime dell'originale, ovviamente nei limiti imposti dalle caratteristiche della lingua di arrivo, a cui sono di gran lunga più affini norme prosodiche diverse da quelle in uso nella poesia italiana e che non tollera, in linea di principio, figure metriche quali sinalefe, dialefe, sineresi e dieresi come in italiano.

Lo stesso sonetto, tredici anni dopo, viene sottoposto a nuovi perfezionamenti. Al v. 2 e al v. 7 gli aggettivi *drag/a* (caro) e *dobar/bra* (buono) pongono spesso problemi di scelta tra la forma determinata e quella indeterminata. Al v. 8 il sostantivo *starbsti* (vecchiaia) viene accentuato in funzione giambica, per non indurre a un'errata lettura della nona sillaba in luogo della decima. Il v. 11 viene reso ancor più aderente all'originale (*ch'ancor lassù nel ciel vedere spera*), mentre nell'ultima terzina risulta armonizzato il contenuto, ora quasi letterale, che racchiude in sé l'idea base del sonetto. Nel penultimo verso viene revocato il lemma *djeva* (donna), soltanto sottinteso nell'originale, mentre l'ultimo verso (*la disiata vostra forma vera*) risulta rafforzato nell'intonazione e nello stile dall'introduzione dei due epiteti *istiniti* e *pravi per vera*.

I cambiamenti intervenuti tendono alla scorrevolezza giambica nei vv. 11, 12 e 14. A distanza di trentatré anni dalla sua prima versione del sonetto petrarchesco, Tomasović va alla ricerca di una metrica più consona e di un lessico più aderente all'originale, lessico che ora tende a distribuire meglio. Nel 1995 il traduttore non interviene ancora sulle rime, problema che non ha ancora risolto, ma rimarca la centralità di questo aspetto nella traduzione del sonetto petrarchesco in una lingua di ceppo diverso. E' vero che la prassi contemporanea europea ricorre spesso alla traduzione interlineare e fa largo uso della parafrasi (Tomasović, 1996:244), ma la tradizione croata, a partire dalla traduzione della *Divina Commedia* per opera di Mihovil Kombol¹¹, ha imposto una ricerca che si prefigge come obbiettivo la fedeltà metrica all'originale. Tomasović, pur cosciente dell'incongruenza dello schema della fronte ABBA CDDC rispetto al petrarchesco ABBA ABBA, aveva deciso di mantenere egualmente le rime ottenute, ma si trattava di una "scorciatoia" che in qualche modo lo turbava e lo induceva a tentare nuove, possibili strade. Il rispetto delle rime petrarchesche imponeva giocoforza un riordino lessicale.

La versione del 1995 vede ancora inquinato il sistema metrico, nella misura in cui la rima della prima quartina non corrisponde a quella della seconda. Risultano in tal modo compromessi anche gli equilibri tra fronte e sirma, a scapito dell'armonia metrica dell'insieme. A questo punto il traduttore ricorre al più difficoltoso degli artifici, e nella ricerca di collegamenti interni ed esterni si risolve per il riordino del sonetto dal punto di vista sia metrico che lessicale. I traduttori croati, e in special modo quelli che traducevano dall'italiano, si erano da sempre sottratti a quest'ultimo confronto, ritenendolo inevitabilmente destinato all'insuccesso (Tomasović, 1996:244-245). Convinto che nella traduzione dell'endecasillabo giambico l'armonia metrica debba imporsi come obiettivo prioritario, Tomasović si sforza di non infrangere l'euritmia e l'eufonia tipiche del

¹¹ Mihovil Kombol, storico della letteratura e traduttore. Nato a Ni' nel 1883 e morto a Zagabria nel 1955, ha tradotto Dante e Goethe.

sonetto. Le rime delle due quartine vengono percib armonizzate in ABBA ABBA, laddove quest'ultima revisione globale restituisce al testo tradotto una maggiore aderenza all'originale:

1	Polazi starčić sjedokosi, bijeli	A
2	iz dragog mjesta gdje mu mladost cvala,	B
3	sa strahom motri obitelj mu mala	B
4	gdje jur se od nje mili otac dijeli;	A
5	on jedva vuče korak ostarjeli,	A
6	dok mu se svrha žića primicala,	B
7	a dobra volja snagu mu je dala	B
8	da nemoć dobi i put svlada veli.	A
9	i stiže u Rim, gdje ga žudnja vodi,	C
10	da onog lica vidi otisnuće,	D
11	kog ufa gledat u Nebeskoj slavi.	E
12	Ah, i ja tako ponekada hodim	C
13	u drugih tražeć, koli je moguće,	D
14	oblik, gospo, žuđeni i pravi.	E

(Tomasović, 1996:245-246)

Nel rispetto della rima petrarchesca Tomasović rielabora anche il lessico. Cib è più evidente nella seconda quartina, mentre la prima resta come base per le rime successive. Il verbo *utažiti* (colmare, soddisfare) ricorda l'oggetto *žed* (sete) e *strast* (passione), e non corrisponde al significato del testo originale, dove si tratta di sete spirituale. Il verbo *utažiti*, espresso alla terza persona singolare, reca l'accento sulla prima sillaba (*ūtaži*) e non corrisponde all'endecasillabo giambico, che richiede una chiara segnalazione delle sillabe nona e decima (la nona deve essere non accentata e la decima accentata). Per ottenere il giambico, la prima sillaba del verso deve essere non accentata. Nella versione del 1962 tale presupposto viene a mancare in ben otto versi (vv. 1,4,5,7,8,10,12,14), mentre in quella del 1996 risulta soddisfatto soltanto nel primo. E' interessante notare come nella versione del 1962 la cesura intervenga sempre dopo la quinta sillaba non accentata (la terza è parimenti accentata), il che secondo Tomasović rappresenta un'altra condizione imposta dal metro giambico ancora da soddisfare nel verso croato.

A distanza di alcuni anni Tomasović constata che le traduzioni invecchiano e che, a prescindere da questo dato oggettivo, il traduttore deve costantemente perseguire la massima solidarietà con lo spirito della tradizione dei classici. Nella versione del 1996 interviene nuovamente sui significati, sulla lingua, sul metro, sulla rima e sulle figure retoriche. Nel primo verso accantona *osijedjeli* (canuto) per introdurre al suo posto *sjedokosi* (canuto). Il suo *Osijedjeli bijeli* è invece una forma di rima allargata assente nell'originale, mentre *sjedokosi* (canuto) viene messo in relazione con l'*ostarjeli* (invecchiato) del v. 5, instaurando così la rima *osijedjeli-bijeli*. Nella versione del 1962 al v. 3 figura *u čudu* (meravigliato),

mentre nelle versioni successive, in posizione identica, appare *u brizi* (preoccupato). Infine, dopo aver consultato vari dizionari, il traduttore si risolve per *sa strahom* (impaurito), che avverte come più corrispondente all'italiano »sbigottire«.

Il v. 11 ha subito modifiche in ciascuna delle revisioni tomasoviciane fuorché nella rima, essendo quest'ultima determinante per il verso finale del sonetto. Nella sua ultima revisione, in luogo del verbo *nadati se* (sperare) Tomasović introduce il sinonimo arcaico *ufati se* (sperare), che in croato funziona anche in assenza di enclitica riflessiva e che richiama immediatamente la tradizione della traduzione petrarchesca. Da quest'ultima Tomasović attinge anche altri elementi, come *jur* (già), *gospa* o *gospoja* (donna), *savrha* (scopo/motivo) o anche *veli* (grande), incastonando nel testo questi termini desueti¹² in funzione delle rime interne, ma soprattutto quale riferimento alla tradizione lirica croata. A trentaquattro anni dalla prima versione del sonetto in questione risultano invariati solo il v. 2 (*iz dragog mjesta gdje mu mladost cvala*), nonché otto delle sue quattordici parole-rima. Tutto questo giunge a conferma di come la ricerca dell'armonia delle rime, del ritmo e del metro rappresenti il problema cruciale della traduzione poetica in croato, ma anche di come la perseveranza nella ricerca di possibili alternative ottenga esiti sempre migliori. Contribuisce a questo scopo la tendenza dei traduttori croati contemporanei del sonetto italiano a impiegare sempre più di frequente il lessico della letteratura classica croata, pur rimanendo strettamente legati al canone della lingua contemporanea.

* * *

I quaranta sonetti inclusi nel *Kanconijer* (1996) esemplificano l'attenzione di Tomasović nel riprodurre il metro italiano. Osserviamo ora il VI sonetto del *Canzoniere* petrarchesco:

1	Sì traviato è l' folle mi' desio	A
2	a seguitar costei che 'n fuga è volta,	B
3	et de' lacci d'Amor leggiera et sciolta	B
4	vola dinanzi al lento correr mio,	A
5	che quanto richiamando più l'envio	A
6	per la sicura strada, men m'ascolta:	B
7	né mi vale spronarlo, o dargli volta,	B
8	ch'Amor per sua natura il fa restio.	A
9	Et poi che 'l fren per forza a sé raccoglie,	C
10	i' mi rimango in signoria di lui,	D
11	che mal mio grado a morte mi trasporta:	E

¹² Un'operazione analoga è stata condotta da Čale nella traduzione dell'*Aminta* del Tasso. A questo proposito cfr. Čale, Frano, *Torquato Tasso e la letteratura croata*, Zagreb/Dubrovnik, 1993.

12	sol per venir al lauro onde si coglie	C
13	acerbo frutto, che le piaghe altrui	D
14	gustando affige più che non conforta.	E

così reso nella versione di Tomasović:

1	Ta luda žudnja toliko me mori	A
2	da slijedim svugdje onu što mi bježi,	B
3	što, izmikavši Amorovoj mreži,	B
4	lagano letti pred krokom mi sporim,	A
5	da što je više pozivljem i skrećem	C
6	na pravu stazu, mene manje sluša;	D
7	i uzalud je suspregnuti kušam,	C
8	jer pokorit se, po Amoru, neće.	C
9	A jerbo uzde silom sebi vodi,	E
10	nada mnom vlada po noći i danu,	F
11	te smrt mi protiv moje volje spravlja,	G
12	da dođe samo k lovoru s kog plodi	E
13	gorki se беру, a kad jest' se stanų,	F
14	boljezni više dadu nego zdravlja ¹³ .	G

(Tomasović/Maroević, 1996)

E' subito ravvisabile come il verso tradotto riproduca l'endecasillabo giambico (*Ta-lu-da-žud-nja-to-li-ko-me mo-ri*) e come la prima quartina rispetti appieno questo dettame. Le rime in ABBA e i canoni della lingua contemporanea non sono stati elusi, fatta eccezione per il sostantivo *korak*, devocalizzato e quindi leggermente arcaicizzante, nonché per la rima della seconda quartina, che non ricalca l'originale.

Il XVII sonetto del *Kanconijer* presenta alcune curiosità a livello lessicale, riguardanti lo spostamento del canone della lingua letteraria contemporanea.

1	Piovonmi amare lagrime dal viso	A
2	con un vento angoscioso di sospiri,	B
3	quando in voi adiven che gli occhi giri	B
4	per cui sola dal mondo i' son diviso.	A
5	Vero è che 'l dolce mansueto riso	A
6	pur acqueta gli ardenti miei desiri,	B

¹³ A tale proposito occorre precisare che le traduzioni contenute in questa edizione nel *Kanconijer*, elaborate tra il 1962 e il 1974 e in alcuni casi effettuate con la collaborazione di Tonko Maroević, sono state interamente riviste da Tomasović proprio dal punto di vista metrico e delle rime interne. In tal senso possono essere quindi considerate versioni "nuove" e definitive per il periodo in esame.

7	et mi sottragge al foco de' martiri,	B
8	mentr'io son a mirarvi intento et fiso.	A
9	ma gli spiriti miei s'aghiaccian poi	C
10	ch'i veggio, al departir, gli atti soavi	D
11	torcer da me le mie fatali stelle.	E
12	Largata alfin co l'amorose chiavi	C
13	l'anima esce del cor per seguir voi;	D
14	et con molto pensiero indi si svelle.	E

così reso nella traduzione di Tomasović/Maroević¹⁵:

1	Ko dažd niz lice gorke suze lijem,	A
2	tjeskoban vjetar uzdaha ih prati,	B
3	čim dogodi se da mi pogled svrati	B
4	k vama, zbog koje od svijeta se krijem.	A
5	Taj osmijeh ljupki, mili vrućim mojim	A
6	žudnjama daje uistinu melem,	B
7	i betega mi stiša ognje vrele,	B
8	dok, motreći vas, ko ushićen stojim.	A
9	No, odmah mi se duh posvèma sledi,	C
10	kad vidim kako, odhodeć od mene,	D
11	izvrću blagi znak mi zvijezde sudne.	E
12	Ljuvenih ključa lišena, tad krene,	C
13	iz srca duša da vas sveder slijedi,	D
14	i otud dijeli uz misli se trudne.	E

Al settimo verso figura il sostantivo *betega*, derivante dal localismo kajkavo *beteg* (*bolest*), »malanno«, e qui impiegato in luogo del petrarchesco »sottragge« fors'anche a fronte della sua breve quantità sillabica (è noto tuttavia che il poeta croato Petar Zoranić - 1508 – 1569 ca - ricorre a questo stesso termine nel suo romanzo pastorale *Planine* - Montagne -, pubblicato a Venezia nel 1569). Un'altra

¹⁵ Poeta, traduttore e storico dell'arte, Tonko Maroević è nato a Spalato nel 1941. Dal 1970 lavora presso il Dipartimento di Storia dell'Arte dell'Università di Zagabria. Dal 1980 al 1983 è stato lettore presso l'Università Cattolica di Milano. Redattore delle riviste "Život umjetnosti" e "Republika", ha pubblicato numerosi saggi di critica d'arte e una decina di monografie dedicate ad artisti croati. Traduttore di Dante, Petrarca, Sciascia, Papini e Borges, è autore di un'antologia della poesia catalana (*Bikova koža*, 1987). La prima fase della sua produzione poetica è conosciuta come *poezija oka* (poesia del riduzionismo fenomenologico, come specie del verso concretistico) mentre la seconda lo vede prediligere la forma del sonetto. Le sue raccolte di versi sono: *Primjeri* (*Esempi*, 1965); *Slijepo oko*, (*L'occhio cieco*, 1969); *Motiv Genoveve*, (*Il motivo di Genoveve*, 1986); *Sonetna struka*, (*Il mestiere del sonetto*, 1992); *Četveroručno* (*A quattro mani*, 1992) e *Black & Light* (1995). sua produzione saggistica ricorderemo: *Polje mogućeg* (*Il dominio del possibile*, 1969); *Zrcalo Adrijansko*, (*Lo specchio dell'Adriatico*, 1987), *Dike ter hvaljenja* (*Plausi et elogi*, 1986).

curiosità lessicale si registra al v. 13, dove figura l'avverbio *sveder* (sempre), un altro arcaismo in genere impiegato sia nella sua forma breve *sved* che in quella lunga *sveder*. Il dato interessante è che in questa versione non si riscontra alcuna voce di derivazione classica o antica. Tutto il lessico aderisce ai canoni del croato contemporaneo, fatta eccezione, forse, per l'aggettivo *ljuven* (amato) che comunque, grazie alle traduzioni di Čale, aveva già acquisito una propria "cittadinanza" nell'ambito della poesia croata contemporanea. L'armonia tra le rime e il lessico rispecchia anche qui un buon livello di equivalenza con l'originale, pur riproponendosi la divaricazione tra la prima e la seconda quartina.

Non di rado l'aggettivo *ljuven*, ovvero *ljubljen* (amoroso), in uso nella lirica rinascimentale croata, ha sollevato polemiche fra i traduttori dei sonetti di Petrarca. In particolare per quanto concerne la versione del *Canzoniere* a cura di Frano Čale, il suo impiego, voluto da quest'ultimo, ha sollevato le critiche di alcuni traduttori coinvolti nel progetto (Tomasović, 1996:240-241)¹⁵. Nelle traduzioni di Tomasović, invece, lo si riscontra di frequente. Ad esempio in *Ljuvena zvijezda već je plamtjet stala* per *Già fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella* (R.V.F. 33, v.1), dov'è senza dubbio più appropriato del corrente *ljubavni*. Nel contesto della letteratura croata rinascimentale *ljuven* si modella sull'aggettivo dell'antico slavo ecclesiastico *ljubven* (*ljubōvenō*). Un'analoga funzione stilistica è rivestita dal termine *lijepost* (bellezza), anch'esso derivante dalla letteratura rinascimentale e, come *ljuven*, pienamente acquisito dalla versificazione contemporanea.

Una visione più approfondita dei criteri impiegati da Tomasović nella trasposizione di Petrarca potrà venire dall'esame delle sue traduzioni dei petrarchisti dalmati, italiani e romanzi in genere.

Si continua
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¹⁵ Negli anni Settanta, gli studenti che frequentavano i corsi di letteratura italiana tenuti da Frano Čale presso l'Università di Zagabria apprendevano questo termine come se fosse contemporaneo.

CERVANTES Y LA MONARQUÍA ABSOLUTISTA

Ludovik Osterc

La vida de Cervantes es un rosario de contratiempos, adversidades, vejámenes y sufrimientos. Miguel conoció la pobreza desde la cuna y la vida errante hasta la muerte.

Apenas tocado por el hálito del prestigio literario en su juventud, habiendo escrito algunas poesías con motivo del fallecimiento de la tercera esposa del rey Felipe II, Isabel de Valois, por encargo de su maestro López de Hoyos quien lo llamó »mi caro y amado discípulo«, se vio envuelto en un duelo con un tal Antonio de Sigura, andante en la Corte, al cual había inferido varias heridas, según parece, por razones de honor. Este desafortunado suceso tuvo por consecuencia una cédula real que lo condenaba en rebeldía a que »en vergüenza pública le fuese cortada la mano derecha—¡la mano de la pluma y la espada! —y a diez años de destierro.« Pero, como no hay mal que por bien no venga, Cervantes huyó a Italia cuyo arte y cultura renacentistas lo fascinaron, salvando así su integridad física del bárbaro fallo. En Roma entró en el servicio del cardenal Acquaviva en calidad de camarero.

Mas, no sintiendo vocación por la Iglesia, pronto abandonó el Vaticano y abrazó la carrera de las armas soñando con la gloria militar. La ocasión no tardó en presentarse. Así, cuando el papa Pío V organizó la Liga Santa de los países cristianos para luchar contra el imperio otomano, que los amenazaba desde el Oriente, Cervantes se enroló en el ejército. Participó en la batalla naval de Lepanto contra los turcos, brillando con luz propia. A pesar de estar enfermo y con calentura, peleó con extraordinaria bravura en uno de los puestos más peligrosos de la galera *Marquesa*. Allí fue herido en el pecho y el brazo izquierdo, cuya mano perdió el movimiento »para la gloria de la diestra«, según escribe en el *Viaje del Parnaso* (I,216).

El Manco de Lepanto, lisiado pero glorioso, pasó el invierno en el hospital de Messina y, una vez curado de sus heridas, volvió al servicio activo y tomó parte en los combates de Navarino y la expedición a La Goleta de Túnez. Cuando regresaba a España, esperando ser ascendido a capitán como recompensa por su heroico comportamiento, llevando consigo cartas de recomendación de don Juan de Austria y del duque de Sessa, el infortunio volvió a cebarse en él, pues la galera *Sol* en la que viajaba en compañía de su hermano menor, Rodrigo, y otros españoles, fue apresada por naves piratas turcas y llevada a Argel, donde quedó, primero, como cautivo, y después, como esclavo, durante 5 largos años.

La vida, de los cautivos cristianos en Argel era toda una vía crucis de padecimientos, humillaciones, atropellos y atrocidades perpetrados por los verdugos turcos y árabes. El mismo novelista, la describe en las páginas del QUIJOTE por labios del capitán cautivo, su *alter ego*: »Ninguna cosa nos fatigaba tanto como oír y ver a cada paso las jamás vistas ni oídas crueldades que mi amo usaba con los cristianos. Cada día ahorcaba el suyo, empalaba a éste, desorejaba a aquél...« (I,40). Tal era el ambiente de terror y represión que reinaba en el cautiverio. Pero Cervantes no se dejó amilanar. Desde el primer momento de su captura por los corsarios, lo obsesionó la idea de recuperar su libertad a cualquier precio. El padre Diego de Haedo, autor de »Topografía e Historia General de Argel« (Valladolid, 1612), escribe al respecto: »Del cautiverio y hazañas de Miguel de Cervantes se pudiera hacer una particular historia.« En efecto, si en la batalla de Lepanto se cubrió de gloria y heridas, mostrando su gran valentía, el cautiverio reveló su figura noble y manifestó su carácter indomable. Cuatro veces intentó fugarse. La primera hacia Orán en Marruecos, ciudad fortificada, en poder de los españoles. Pero, el conato de evasión fracasó debido al abandono de Cervantes y sus compañeros por parte de un moro, al que había contratado como guía. Después planeó una fuga colectiva en una fragata enviada desde España por su hermano Rodrigo, rescatado en 1577. Y otra vez la Fortuna le dio la espalda, ya que también esta tentativa se frustró. Denunciado por un cristiano que quería hacerse musulmán, había aceptado toda la responsabilidad ante el virrey de Argel. Más tarde, envió a un moro de su confianza a Orán secretamente con cartas al señor marqués don Martín de Córdoba, general de Orán, y a otras personas principales, para que le enviasen algún espía de fiar que con dicho moro viniesen a Argel y lo llevasen a él y otros tres caballeros principales, que el virrey turco en su baño¹ tenía. Pero sucedió que el moro, sospechoso de alguna misión secreta, fue prendido y traído a Argel—ante la presencia de Hasán Bajá. Este, vistas las cartas firmadas por Cervantes, mandó empalar al moro y dar dos mil palos a Miguel, castigo que no se realizó, ya sea por intercesión del renegado Maltrapillo, amigo de ambos, ya sea por temor a que Cervantes sucumbiera, a la pena, lo cual privaría a Hasán de un opimo rescate.

La cuarta y última tentativa de fuga fue la más importante. Corría el año de 1579, el quinto de su cautiverio y tan cruel que no podría menos de impulsar a Cervantes para buscar nuevos medios de evadirse. Una esperanza lo alentó por aquel tiempo. Estaba en Argel un renegado español de apellido Girón. Tanto lo convenció Cervantes, valiéndose del arrepentimiento que mostraba, y deseos de volver a la religión de sus padres, que se dispuso a favorecer a Cervantes y los cautivos que con él se fuesen en un nuevo intento de fuga. Para eso persuadió a Onofre Exarque, mercader de Valencia, a la sazón en Argel, que adquiriera una fragata; y así se hizo, estando el renegado a las órdenes de Cervantes. Cuando todo estaba listo, sucedió un hecho increíble. Un perverso delator se ocultaba entre los cristianos, el cual había descubierto el plan a Hasán Bajá. Hubo lágrimas y persecuciones en lugar de libertad y alegría. ¿Quién fue ese nuevo delator? Vergüenza y dolor causa decirlo: fue un sacerdote, y, para colmo, ¡un familiar de la

¹ cárcel turca

Inquisición, el doctor Blanco de Paz! Que un simple cristiano en peligro de una muerte cruel haga una delación, sea por su debilidad física o de ánimo, es explicable, pero que un ministro de Dios, y además miembro del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, denuncie a sus compatriotas cristianos al virrey moro – »homicida de todo el género humano,« – como lo llama dicho capitán cautivo, sosia del autor – (I,40), es algo horrible y repugnante.

Sucedió, pues, que Hasán Bajá, enterado ya del proyecto, disimuló por algún tiempo con intención de dar el golpe sobre seguro. Pero en aquel ínterin la noticia se expandió, supose la traición jugada. Los que habían intervenido en la proyectada fuga, se arredraron y desistieron de su intento, y entre ellos en primer lugar, Onofre Exarque. Temía el mercader que al joven Saavedra, como el más comprometido, le amenazasen de muerte y le diesen tormento para arrancarle confesión de los que le habían ayudado; y viendo en peligro su hacienda y su vida, lo instaba con lágrimas a que se rescatase y pusiese a salvo. Pero esto no era propio de un caballero a carta cabal como era Cervantes. Por ello, le replicó que ninguno de los tormentos, ni la muerte misma sería bastante para que condene a ninguno sino a sí mismo. Acto continuo, para tranquilizar a los demás cautivos, les hizo saber secretamente que tuviesen confianza en él, pues iba a echar sobre sí todo el peso del asunto, aunque estaba cierto que le costaría la vida. Y, así lo hizo en realidad. Viendo Hasán frustrado su propósito de sorprenderlos en el momento de embarcarse y que se habían ocultado, hizo pregonar a Cervantes el cual, tan pronto como supo el pregón, fue por su propia voluntad a presentarse al virrey. Hasán, para intimidarlo, mandó le atasen una soga al cuello como que querían ahorcarlo, y comenzó a inquirir sobre los cómplices de su osada empresa. A todo respondía Cervantes que él era el único autor de aquel plan y, para eludir el peligro que corría el mercader Exarque, dijo que todos los fondos y ayuda necesarios para llevar a cabo su proyecto, se los habían proporcionado algunos caballeros españoles, amigos suyos, que se habían rescatado recientemente y partido para su patria en aquellos días... medio discreto e ingenioso que, junto con su serenidad inalterable, el encanto de su mirada y el desenfado de su carácter, cortó el ímpetu de la cólera de Hasán. En vez de castigos feroces, el virrey no hizo más que condenarlo a llevar grillos en la prisión, mientras los demás prisioneros se salvaron sin el menor castigo, por cuyos actos creció la fama de Miguel y la admiración de todos por su conducta tan heroica. El propio Cervantes lo da a entender en su obra cimera: »Sólo libró bien con él (Hasán) un soldado español llamado tal de Saavedra, el cual con haber hecho cosas que quedarán en memoria de aquellas gentes por muchos años y todas por alcanzar libertad, jamás le dio palo, ni se lo mandó dar, ni le dijo mala palabra y por la menor cosa de muchas que hizo, temíamos todos que había de ser empalado, y así lo temió él más de una vez« (I,40). Mirado con imparcialidad, Hasán Bajá, es el único coetáneo que midió a Cervantes con la genuina vara de su grandeza.²

2 La conducta tan valiente de Cervantes dio pábulo a varios hispanistas conservadores, para difamarlo atribuyéndole inclinaciones sodomitas. Entre ellos destaca Fernando Arrabal, quien en su escandaloso libraco: *Un esclavo llamado Cervantes*, trata de probarlo, pero lo único que prueba es que entiende del gran novelista y su obra como el asno de la lira, pues en su caletre reaccionario no caben sino estupideces de la gente retrógrada, incapaz de elevar sus miras más allá de sus intereses materiales y sensuales.

Y, mientras Miguel organizaba las tentativas de fuga, don Rodrigo, padre de los dos hermanos, elevó su solicitud al Consejo de Castilla en demanda de ayuda económica, y más tarde, también al Consejo Real. Pero, como nada obtuviera de estas instituciones y en aquellos días se organizara una redención en Argel, antes de perder tal oportunidad, la madre de Miguel se fingió viuda para despertar compasiones, y presentó otra petición, esta vez al Consejo de la Cruzada. La pobreza demostrada en ella y la viudedad fingida debieron de surtir cierto efecto, ya que se dispuso una real cédula por la que se consignaban sesenta escudos para el rescate de ambos hermanos, a raíz de treinta para cada uno. Era muy poco dinero en comparación con quinientos escudos que el avaro Dalí Mamí pedía sólo para el rescate de Miguel.

Cuenta el susodicho historiador Haedo que, además de los proyectos que ideó Miguel para alcanzar su libertad y la de sus compañeros, intentó alzarse con la ciudad de Argel y entregarla a Felipe II, dándole un reino a cambio de la indiferencia en que a los españoles tenía. Para este gran golpe se aprovechó nuestro escritor de muchas circunstancias: Había en Argel veinte mil cristianos opresos, hombres aguerridos y, además un gran número de vasallos de Hasán descontentos de su codicia e tiranía y exasperados por la carestía de víveres, poquedad de cosechas y epidemias que casi a un mismo tiempo los azotaron. Esto pareció a Cervantes coyuntura para animar a sus compatriotas, ponerse al frente de ellos y organizar una sublevación que hubiera derrocado al virrey turco y puesto la plaza en manos de los que peleaban por su libertad. Movíanlo a ello también las noticias que entonces llegaban de su patria, sobre grandes preparativos bélicos que Felipe II hacía juntando muchas tropas armas y municiones. De todo lo anterior avisaba Miguel al secretario de monarca, Mateo Vázquez, a quien había tratado en su juventud, en una carta redactada en magníficos versos, en la que invitaba al monarca descargar el golpe contra Argel. He aquí los versos respectivos más significativos:

La gente es mucha, mas su fuerza poca,
 desnuda mal armada, que no tiene
 en su defensa fuerte, muro o roca

 Cada uno mira si tu armada viene,
 para dar a sus pies el cargo y cura
 de conservar la vida que sostiene.

 Haz, ¡oh buen rey!, que sea por tí acabado
 lo que con tanta audacia y valor tanto
 fue por tu amado padre comenzado.

Tal ofensiva de la poderosa armada española en coordinación con la sublevación de los cautivos sería, además, estratégicamente adecuada, si se toma en consideración el que los piratas turcos y árabes efectuaran sus algaradas contra las mismas costas de España, teniendo por base de ellas a Argel.

¡Y, cuál no sería la desilusión de Cervantes y sus compañeros cautivos al enterarse que aquellos grandes preparativos de guerra sirvieron a Felipe II para invadir a Portugal y anexarlo a su imperio, junto con sus extensas colonias y poderosa armada, país vecino no menos católico que España! Este abandono a los cautivos cristianos españoles –una verdadera traición – fue sin duda el motivo que hizo cambiar la simpatía de Cervantes por el rey en profunda antipatía, que con el tiempo se convertiría en odio hacia el monarca y su política.

La misiva de Cervantes dirigida a Mateo Vázquez es un auténtico documento político con que su autor dio una lección al mismo monarca y su política hipócrita. En efecto, la mención del número de esclavos que en la ciudad había, el desánimo de la morisma y el escaso armamento de los turcos, son indicio de que aquel paso que daba, escribiendo a un favorito del rey, era para preparar su proyecto en combinación con el movimiento de las fuerzas españolas. Por esto, dice el mencionado cronista Haedo: Si a su ánimo, industria y trazas correspondiera la fortuna, hoy fuera el día que Argel fuera de cristianos..."

Esta decepción y su amarga experiencia vivida durante su cautiverio constituye el momento más dramático de la vida de Cervantes que transformó sus convicciones sociales, políticas e *ipso facto* también literarias. Dicho momento divide su vida, en dos mitades. El Cervantes anterior al cautiverio, es todavía el soldado de la época imperial. Es el combatiente victorioso de Lepanto, el español que anda por las ciudades de Italia, empleando su juventud en el doble juego del amor y del dominio. El Cervantes posterior al cautiverio es, en cambio, el hombre que va viendo derrumbarse todas las ilusiones políticas y estéticas de su juventud. Frente a las armas victoriosas de Carlos V y don Juan de Austria, la cobardía de Felipe II; frente al mundo italianizante de Garcilaso y Boscán, la torsión barroca de Góngora; frente a la evocación de las florecientes ciudades de Italia, los pueblos empobrecidos de Castilla; frente a la Alcalá erasmista, la Trento contrarreformista; frente a Lepanto, »La Armada Invencible«.

Finalmente, fue rescatado en 1580 por los frailes trinitarios mediante el pago de quinientos escudos. Regresa, pues, a su patria, y en su capital se reúne con su familia sumergida en una muy penosa situación económica. Es precisamente en Madrid donde empieza su verdadero calvario, y no en Argel como él había creído. Pide la merecida recompensa por sus extraordinarios méritos de gran soldado y leales servicios en el cautiverio. Se dirige a varias instancias del gobierno, sigue al rey en Portugal, y lo único que consigue son puertas cerradas y negativas tras negativas. Desesperado solicita un puesto en América y le es negado. Cuatro años eran pasados desde que volvió a España y todavía no había obtenido ni un pequeño favor de la »Real magnificencia« Suplicaba, rogaba, presentaba cartas de recomendación, hacía constar su heroísmo, su patriotismo y sus grandes virtudes, pero todo se estrellaba en el frío dedén del »gran Filipo«, como él lo llamó en su carta a Mateo Vázquez. Un profundo desencanto se apoderó de su alma dolorida y atormentada.

En este período que exhibe ya la profunda decadencia, la corrupción desenfundada y el favoritismo generalizado del ambiente cortesano, notamos la transformación del Cervantes animoso y crédulo, con fe en los valores humanos y con entusiasmo para sacrificar su vida en defensa de su patria, de su rey, en un

hombre que comienza a desengañarse cruelmente. Los primeros indicios de su desilusión los manifiestan los siguientes versos de su primera novela, *La Galatea*:

El falso, el mentiroso
mundo, prometedor de alegres gustos

.

la Babilonia, el caos que miro y leo
en todo cuanto veo;
el cauteloso trato cortesano,
junto con mi deseo,
puesto han la pluma en la cansada mano.

Esta animosidad anticortesana obtiene acentos aún más vigorosos en los versos que siguen:

¡Oh una, y tres, y cuatro,
cinco, y seis y más veces venturoso
el simple ganadero,
que con un pobre apero,
vive con más contento y reposo,
que el rico Craso o el avariento Mida,
robusta, pastoral, sencilla y sana,
de todo punto olvida
esta mísera falsa cortesana!

.

No le levanta el brío
saber que el gran monarca invicto vive
bien cerca de su aldea
y aunque su bien desea
poco gusto en no verle rescibe,
no como el ambicioso entrometido,
que con seso perdido anda tras el favor, tras la privanza,
sin nunca haber teñido la espada o lanza
en turca o en sangre mora.
(Libro IV).

Para el rey absolutista y su camarilla podrida hasta los tuétanos, las solas circunstancias de haberse hallado en la batalla naval de Lepanto y haber servido en la milicia, se consideraban méritos bastantes para ulteriores medras, sobre todo si se trataba de gente con sotana; por ejemplo, un clérigo valenciano de nombre Juan Ramírez, por méritos no superiores a los mencionados y muy inferiores a los de Cervantes, obtuvo una renta anual de ciento sesenta escudos, en tanto que a Cervantes, cuando pidió uno de los cuatro puestos vacíos en el Nuevo Mundo, se le

despachó con esta desdeñosa respuesta: »¡Busque por acá en que se le haga merced!»

¡Qué sarcasmo! ¡Qué descaró! ¡Qué modo tan indigno de insultar a la pobreza, al mérito, a la virtud y al talento! ¡Que buscara por acá en que se le hiciera merced, y había visto siempre Cervantes desatendidas sus solicitudes! ¡Que buscara por acá en que se le hiciera merced, y eso lo decía aquel rey que no una, sino muchas veces, fue rogado por Cervantes y su familia para que los protegiera, y, sin embargo, los olvidó y despreció! Y, para colmo, aquel mal hombre y peor clérigo, llamado Juan Blanco de Paz, delator de Miguel y sus compañeros de cautiverio en Argel, durante su última tentativa de fuga, logró que Felipe II *le hiciese merced de doscientos ducados*! Lo cual quiere decir, ni más ni menos, que el monarca-déspota premiaba a sus súbditos no por sus méritos y servicios a la patria, por grandes que fuesen, sino en función de si eran eclesiásticos o aduladores, o no, sin importarles su ¡baja calidad humana y traidora!³ Tan monstruosas injusticias no pudieron no encontrar eco en el alma de Cervantes, héroe de Lepanto y cuatro veces héroe en Argel. Y así sucedió en realidad: a la muerte del monarca en 1598, cuando se construyó en su memoria un enorme y costosísimo catafalco, Cervantes aprovechó la ocasión para componer un ingenioso soneto intitulado »Al túmulo del rey Felipe II« cuyos versos presento a continuación:

Voto a Dios que me espanta esta grandeza,
y que diera un doblón por describilla.
Porque ¿a quién no sorprende y maravilla
Esta máquina insigne, esta riqueza?

¡Por Jesucristo vivo, cada pieza
Vale más de un millón, y que es mancilla
Que esto no dure un siglo, oh gran Sevilla,
Roma triunfante en ánimo y nobleza!

Apostaré que el ánima del muerto
Por gozar este sitio hoy ha dejado
La gloria donde vive eternamente.

Esto oyó un valentón, y dijo: Es cierto
Cuanto dice voacé, señor soldado,
Y el que dijere lo contrario, miente.

Este soneto ha hecho correr mucha tinta y generó puntos de vista cual más encontrados. Así, los hispanistas conservadores sostienen que expresa la gran veneración y afecto de Cervantes hacia Felipe II. No pongo en duda que existieran en él tales sentimientos en la juventud, pero de ninguna manera, en su madurez, sobre todo, después que vio lo disparatado de su política y su hipocresía religiosa:

3 Rodríguez Marín, Francisco: El doctor Juan Blanco de Paz. (En *Estudios cervantinos*, pág. 408).

desatendidas sus indicaciones sobre lo que debía intentarse en Africa, invertidos los tesoros nacionales en inútiles guerras en Flandes, en suntuosas iglesias y basílicas, así como en reliquias mandadas traer de toda Europa católica. Del todo otro fue el sentimiento de un hombre de altos vuelos, sensato y superior, hacia el fautor de tantos desastres. El propio Cervantes lo tiene en muy alto concepto, cuando en el »Viaje del Parnaso«(IV) lo llama *honra principal de mis escritos*. Yo lo interpreto de este modo

Yo el soneto compuse que así empieza
(*El más burlón quizá de mis escritos*)
Voto a Dios que me espanta esta grandeza...

En efecto, analizándolo con objetividad, es decir, sin prejuicios sociales, políticos ni religiosos, descubrimos que en lo formal el soneto representa, sin duda, una joya literaria, pero no a tal grado que eclipsara todas las demás poesías suyas. El meollo del soneto hay que buscarlo, por lo tanto, en sus ideas. Éstas, de facto ofrecen un abanico de ironías y sátiras, de mera apariencia fanfarrónica. La primera se refiere al colosal costo del túmulo en un tiempo en que el pueblo se debatía en la más pavorosa miseria; la segunda alude a la pomposidad del monarca, pobre en medio de su grandeza y frío en medio de su falso fervor religioso. Tratándose de un católico creyente, se entiende que abandone todos los bienes y fausto de la tierra por gozar un instante de la gloriosa presencia del rey de los cielos; y éste fue el deseo universal de todos los perfectos devotos de Dios. Lo inconcebible es, que un alma poseedora ya del cielo quiera escabullirse y dejar aquella magnificencia y esplendor por gozar de la vista de oropel y hojarasca, lo que prueba que en su sentir gustaba más Felipe de las apariencias que de la sustancia, de la vanidad ostentosa y perecedera, que de los bienes eternos, y de la jerarquía y ceremonias mundanas con preferencia a las cosas divinas. Y la tercera: el autor mezcló la más refinada sátira con la bizarria exagerada del carácter andaluz. Por cierto, ¿puede comprenderse que el hombre que había visitado y admirado las maravillas arquitectónicas de Roma, elogiase de buena fe la *máquina insigne, la belleza* de aquel monumento de lienzo, pasta, papelón y madera, con dorados, colorines, luces y garmbainas? ¿Podía haber *espanto* para Cervantes en la *grandeza* y relumbrón teatral del túmulo de Felipe II? ¡Ni por asomo! Estamos, por ende, ante una tremenda burla de un rey, cuya estatura de enano estaba en grotesco contraste con las dimensiones monumentales del túmulo.

A la luz de lo anterior, podemos asentar que la España oficial ha sido para Cervantes más madrastra que madre. Este hecho tan ignominioso para las clases directoras de aquel tiempo, tiene por añadidura un final aún más deshonoroso. Tengo en la mente la muerte y el sepelio del magno novelista. Efectivamente, finaba Lope de Vega o Calderón o cualquier otro luminar de las letras españolas, y todos se disputaban el honor de elogiarlos. La muerte de esos literatos famosos era un evento de tacado, sus exequias, casi un duelo nacional. Pero fenecía Cervantes y ¡qué frialdad, qué desdén, qué sepulcral silencio se notaba! Parece que todos, la nobleza y el clero y el pueblo, los poetas y los simples mortales, se confabularon a fin de pasar inadvertida la muerte de Cervantes. Así lograron sus enemigos lo que

anhelaban. Así consiguieron que el más grande genio que ha engendrado España muriese en una pobre vivienda, sumido en la indigencia más espantosa, rodeado sólo de una esposa apesumbrada, de un sacerdote virtuoso y de algún amigo sincero; así fueron conducidos sus despojos mortales, casi de limosna, sin pompa ni cortejo, a las Trinitarias de Madrid. Dos misas del alma por todo viático espiritual, el burdo sayal franciscano por toda vestimenta y un tosco ataúd de los de caridad, eso fue todo. Ni lápida, ni la menor indicación de a quien se enterraba. Ninguna ofrenda floral adornaba su sepulcro, sólo Francisco Urbina y Luis Francisco Calderón, ingenios medianos, pero almas sinceras, cantaron sus alabanzas y pusieron humildes flores sobre su tumba. ¡Qué vergüenza indeleble para aquella sociedad santurrón que se autollamaba cristiana, pero obraba como la más abominable escoria de la humanidad!

No menos indigna e inverecunda fue la manera con que trató a Cervantes y su familia, el propio rey-tirano, Felipe II. Este monarca al que la historiografía española tradicional presenta como un rey grande, excelso, magnánimo, pío y prudente, de facto no fue sino un individuo vil hipócrita, astuto, vengativo y cobarde. Sin vocación bélica, nunca tomó parte en guerra alguna. Sus armas consistían en simulación, maquinación y asesinatos. Todos los días asistía a misa, pero provocó la muerte de su primogénito, don Carlos; se consideraba el primer católico del mundo, pero invadió a Portugal, no menos católico que España, en vez de liberar a los cristianos cautivos de Argel; se tenía por pío, pero mandó a degollar a los próceres flamencos, Egmont y Horn, y estrangular en secreto al barón de Montigny, y puso precio a la cabeza del príncipe de Orange, gobernador de Flandes y paladín de la libertad e independencia de los Países Bajos.

En cuanto a Cervantes, Felipe II sabía perfectamente que el autor del QUIJOTE se había distinguido heroicamente en Lepanto: a él le constaba que había merecido recomendaciones de hombre tan íntegro y capitán tan célebre como don Juan de Austria. A sus oídos habían llegado no una sola vez las quejas de los desvalidos padres y los lamentos de la desventurada hermana del cautivo... Y, sin embargo, aquel rey «prudente», «pio», «justiciero», «excelso» y «magnánimo», se mostraba ruin y bajo despreciando el heroísmo y la virtud; y era impío y cruel, porque exacerbaba más y más los padecimientos de aquella desatendida familia con su indiferencia reprensible; y era, en fin, por todo extremo injusto, porque no tuvo decisión de reconocer en Cervantes un gran soldado, cuando en 1578 se le rogaba tomase en cuenta sus grandes méritos y acciones, ni tuvo tampoco la prudencia de reconocer en él, en 1585, un ilustre escritor, como lo acreditaban ya algunas de sus obras literarias.

Mas, no extrañemos, después de todo, tal conducta. En vista de los asesinatos antes mencionados, no podía proceder de otra manera con el héroe de Lepanto. Felipe II era un compuesto de miserias, de venganzas de ruindades, de hipocresía, de maldad y de ingratitudes. Cervantes, en cambio, era la personificación de la grandeza, del heroísmo, de la magnanimidad y del altruismo.

Por ello, la historia objetiva, que es el mejor juez, ha puesto a cada uno en su lugar: En tanto, Felipe II representa a uno de los monarcas absolutistas más mezquinos, pusilánimes, santurrónes y ultrarreaccionarios, el nombre de Cervantes brilla siempre más y más, conforme pasa el tiempo. Su obra cumbre – EL QUIJOTE – sigue traducándose a nuevas lenguas y continúa estampándose en

nuevas ediciones. En breve, como escribe el mismo Cervantes en »el Viaje del Parnaso«, por conducto de Mercurio quien dice:

Tus obras los rincones de la tierra
llevándolas en grupa Rocinante
Descubren y a la envidia mueven guerra...

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

ESTUDIOS SOBRE EL TEATRO DE GIL VICENTE: OBRAS DE CRÍTICA SOCIAL Y RELIGIOSA*

Stanislav Zimic

A FARSA DO CLÉRIGO DA BEIRA

La crítica más severa de la *Farsa do Clérigo da Beira* es la misma que se suele hacer a muchas obras gilvicentinas: "é muito desarticulada e consitutida por uma série de sketches".¹ Contribuyen a tal conclusión los dos títulos de la obra, pues en el *Índice de los libros prohibidos* de 1551 se conoce como *Auto de Pedreanes*, del "demonio" que "profetiza" por boca de Cezília.² El primer título correspondería sólo a la parte inicial del texto, protagonizada por el Clérigo disoluto, su hijo Francisco y el ingenuo villano Gonçalo. Toda la actuación de Pedreanes "se afasta... tanto... do assunto da peça" porque fue una ocurrencia posterior a la concepción original: "quase no final da composição é que o autor teve a ideia de aproveitar o ensejo para fazer graciosas alusões à côrte";³ "some unexpected exigency forced him to change course and conclude the piece in such a weak fashion, from a dramatic point of view".⁴ Además de no haber conexión lógica alguna entre la parte inicial y la final de la obra, ¿de qué modo—se preguntan los críticos—se relacionan éstas con la materia intermedia, las escenas protagonizadas por los dos "moços de corte", Almeida y Duarte, y por Gonçalo y el Negro? Siendo las situaciones "completamente desconexas", no puede haber "enredo nem mesmo tema dominante".⁵ Único contrapeso a estas supuestas deficiencias sería la "grande comicidade" del "pormenor da cenas",⁶ de acuerdo con la consabida tendencia crítica de atribuir a la comicidad de Gil Vicente el propósito principal de provocar divertidas carcajadas, sin apreciar debidamente tras ellas "il volto caprigno del Poeta, sempre con quel sorrisetto beffardo all'angolo della bocca e con quegli occhi socchiusi in una perenne canzonatura",⁷ en además

* Estudios anteriores de esta serie en AN, XVI (1983); XVIII (1985).

1 P. Teyssier, *Gil Vicente. O Autor e a Obra*, Lisboa: 1982, pág. 79.

2 O. De Pratt, *Gil Vicente. Notas e Comentários*, Lisboa: 1931, pág. 246.

3 *Ibid.*, pág. 247.

4 J. I. Suárez, *The Carnival Stage. Vicentine Comedy Within the Serio-Comic Mode*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press: 1993, pág. 102.

5 A. J. Saraiva, *Gil Vicente. O Fim do Teatro Medieval*, Publicações Europa-América: 1965, pág. 127. P. Teyssier, *Gil Vicente. O Autor e a Obra*, Lisboa: 1982, pág. 80.

6 *Ibid.*

7 E. di Poppa Vólture, *Gil Vicente. Teatro*, Firenze: 1957, vol. II, pág. 645.

satírico y condenatorio, diríamos, de las necedades y maldades humanas, individuales y colectivas.

Según nuestra lectura de las obras gilvicentinas, su heterogeneidad no responde a la mera preocupación de producir la variedad por la variedad, con una combinación al azar de elementos dramáticos y teatrales, por el deseo preponderante de entretener a su público. Incluso entre los elementos aparentemente más dispares de todas las obras estudiadas siempre descubrimos una relación lógica que los armoniza, revelándolos, en su conjunto, como vehículo o metáfora artística, dramática y teatralmente ingeniosa y, a la vez, ideológica y moralmente significativa, importante. En este aspecto fundamental, la *Farsa do Clérigo da Beira* no es una excepción.

Advirtamos, ante todo, que hasta en el aspecto más externo de la trama hay por lo menos un "tenue filo conduttore",⁸ pues la escena inicial—en la que, entre otras cosas, el Clérigo hace referencias críticas a la corte—se enlaza naturalmente con la siguiente, en la que Gonçalo va camino de la corte para vender "uns marmelos", una "lebre" y "un par de capões", para "haver dinheiro dos cortesões", por lo cual el Clérigo le advierte que éstos "são lobos pera michos e raposos de nação" (525).⁹ En efecto, en la escena siguiente, Almeida y Duarte, "rascões" cortesanos, le roban, con burdos trucos, toda su mercancía, aún antes de llegar a la corte (526-529). Muy desengañado, Gonçalo concluye: "As almas dos cortesões são coma nau sem governo" (530);¹⁰ pero el Clérigo le advierte que aquellos no son los únicos tramposos que hay en el mundo; en el camino debe guardarse también de un "Negro" que es "o maior ladrão do mundo" (531). Pese a esta advertencia y a sus previas experiencias con gente engañosa, Gonçalo, confiado en la protección divina ("Vou-me e Deus vá comigo", 525) es engañado de nuevo, quedando en cueros: "Jesu! E o meu chapeirão / e o cinto e esmoleira?" (532-538). Gonçalo reconoce su propia culpa por haber sido tan ingenuo ("Agora merecia eu / um par de trochadas boas", 538), pero poco después cae víctima de Pedreanes, al revelararle éste por boca de la "demoninhada" Cezília, el destino tan "inconcebible" de la "lebre" y los "capões" "assados", y al "profetizarle", o más bien imponerle astutamente el matrimonio con una mujer de ciertos atributos físicos y morales grotescos,¹¹ so pena de graves consecuencias para él, en caso de que reaccione con alguna reticencia: "Esta mesma há tu d'haver /.../ senão pouco has-de viver" (540). Y es que la voz de Cecília disimula la ventriloquía de la "velha" que la conduce por el mundo, probablemente una "endemoniada" tercera. A Gonçalo se le presenta, sugerentemente, como "tia" (538). Parte de su disimulación es autopresentarse ella también como beneficiaria de las profecías de Pedreanes: "Pedreanes, não vos vades, / rogo-vo-lo" (541). En la última escena, reaparecen Almeida y Duarte, con pretextos mentirosos para no tener que pagarle a Gonçalo lo robado, por lo cual Pedreanes, el demonio, apela al espíritu cristiano de Gonçalo: "Sei tudo lembrado / que dixeste que por Deus / lhe havias por perdonado / pola

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Citamos por la *Copilaçam de todas as obras de Gil Vicente*, Lisboa, ed. M.L. Carvalhno Buescu, 1983, vol. II.

¹⁰ Gonçalo es "uma personagem patética cuja voz acusadora tem acentos comoventes" (A. J. Saraiva, O. Lopes, *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, Porto: 1976, pág. 209).

11 Lo ha visto ya J. J. Suárez, *The Carnival Stage*, pág. 102. Quizás por el acento grave que se pone en el "engaño" en esta obra, la "velha" no se nos presenta con rasgos tan humorísticos como otras terceras gilvicentinas, particularmente la Feiticeira del *Auto das Fadas*. Esta se presenta al rey, tratando de justificar sus tercerías, con el argumento de que ella las practica "pera fazer bem":

... havendo piedade
de mulheres mal casadas

e as ver bem maridadas

...
[de] namorado sem conforto,
desejando antes ser morto,
que ter aquela paixão.

...
[de] homem solteiro,
que quer casar com Costança,
sem nenhũa esperança,
triste, morto de paixão.

...
Assi, que as tais feitiçarias
são, Senhor, obras mui pias.

(*Copilaçam de todas las obras de Gil Vicente*,
Carvalho Buescu, vol. II, págs. 402-403).

Justificación "moral" de la tercería, solicitada por todo el mundo:

... Genebra Pereira
nunca fez mal a ninguém;
mas antes, por querer bem,
ando nas encruzilhadas
às horas que as bem fadadas
dormen sono repousado. (*Ibid.*, 405)

Orgullo profesional en el manejo de toda clase de "feitiços" y en la eficacia de sus intervenciones. Son fácilmente reconocibles los rasgos fundamentales de los congéneres anteriores, particularmente de la Celestina de Rojas, pero independientemente de las posibles influencias, esta Feiticeira se nos impone como creación original y como uno de los más extraordinarios retratos literarios de Gil Vicente. "Magistrale rapidità nel ritratto della strega" (E. di Poppa Vulture, *Gil Vicente. Teatro*, II, 457), realizado casi sólo por medio de la elocuencia "hechiceril", imaginativa, pintoresca, graciosamente prepóster de Genebra Pereira, delicia para el oído atento a los juegos fónicos y verbales y, también, claro está, a los deliberados traviosos sinsentidos:

Ladainha da Pereira,
escrita em pele de rata,
tinta de pingo de pata,
assada per mão de nogueira

...
Pitas, pitas, pitas, pitas,
patelas, patelas, patelas.
Bem venhais, minhas donzelas,
linguadas frescas fritas. (*Ibid.*, 416)

De particular encanto "lingüístico" es el altercado de la Feiticeira con el Diabo, cuya "língua picarda" es comprensible más o menos como el francés y el italiano del *Auto da Fama*—(véase P. Groult, "El diablo picardo de Gil Vicente", en *Literatura espiritual española*, Madrid: 1980, págs. 191-204; M.J. Palla, "La Sorcière et l'entremetteuse dans le théâtre de Gil Vicente", en *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd'hui*. Actes du 115^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Avignon, 1990, [Paris, 1991], págs. 165-175)—y con el Frade "escomulgado", de cuyos congéneres dice: "não

arma de teus eréus, / e não te devem cornado?". Sin embargo, no le aconseja perdonar a todos los que lo han engañado: "Vai pedir o chapeirão / ao negro do maracote" (542), pues, despachado Gonçalo de tal modo, Pedreanes puede dedicar toda su atención a sus nuevos clientes Almeida y Duarte. Estos, en la última escena, le hacen preguntas relacionadas con ciertos altos cortesanos, pero no se trata de un mero juego de palacio para concluir la pieza y sin relación con todo lo anterior, según se cree generalmente, pues algunas de esas preguntas "graciosas"—que alternan astutamente con otras inocentes, para no revelar la intención—son, en realidad, inquisiciones perversas de los dos "rascões" en la vulnerabilidad de sus potenciales víctimas en la corte:

Duarte: O Conde de Marialva
sabes quanto há-de viver?

...

Sabes quantos anos há
que Vasco de Fois é nado?

Almeida: Afonso d"Albuquerque, irmão,
porque a sua condição
não poderá ser melhor?

...

Duarte: ... Jorge de Melo

...

traz sempre contas na mão,
mas nno sei lá no capelo
como vai r devaço.

...

Almeida: Ele reza pola rua
... por galanteria?

Duarte: Que lhe pede [a Dios] na oração?

...

E Brezeanos guardado
das damas qu'es perro viejo? (544-546)

nos posso ouvir nem ver" (415)—¿no podía faltar la nota anticlerical—, y a quien encarga un sermón sobre el tema, "Amor vincit omnia", en castellano, asimismo muy entretenido y relacionado con la actuación del religioso en la *Farsa dos Físicos*. E. di Poppa Vólture piensa que el *Auto das Fadas* es una obra para el "passatempo" de la corte, compuesta "a costo di piú alta ispirazione", sin implicación ideológica alguna (*Gil Vicente. Teatro*, II, 457). En cambio, J. N. Alçada encuentra muchas sutiles implicaciones satíricas, particularmente con respecto a la Iglesia, en el altercado entre la Feiticeira y el Diabo ("Charivari, Rébus e heresia na fala do Diabo picardo do *Auto das fadas*", *QP*, 15-24 (1984-1988), 51-147). Convenimos en que en los textos gilvicentinos a menudo hay implicaciones difícilmente perceptibles a primera vista.

La pesquisa malévola de las debilidades ajenas (vejez, mala salud, condiciones, inclinaciones, pasiones, devociones, pensamientos, "fantasías", etc., cuestionables) es, claro está, lo primero que los dos "rascões" emprenden para atrapar eventualmente a sus superiores cortesanos, como antes atraparón, aunque con mucha mayor facilidad, al ingenuo villano, representante de toda la gente campesina, carente de toda "sofisticación" cortesana. Al verse despojado de sus bienes por los "rascões", Gonçalo observa que "quem furta um furto tal, / outro melhor furtará" (530), con total acierto, pues su predicción está a punto de cumplirse, según lo sugiere la última escena. Esta es así un remate lógico, con que se destaca que ninguna esfera social es inmune al engaño y a la explotación, pues "já todo o mundo é raposo, / já não há í que fiar /.../ Quem se faz mais verdadeiro / crede que é o mentiroso" (538). Por esto en la pieza se abarca un ambiente social nacional representativo, "corte y aldea", y una gama humana correspondiente: "altos" y "bajos", cortesanos y rústicos, ricos y pobres, religiosos y laicos, "educados" e ignorantes, hombres y mujeres, viejos y jóvenes... La última escena representa también un remate de muy irónica justicia poética, con poderosa implicación satírica: "se cosecha lo que se siembra"; "de tal palo tal astilla".

Almeida y Duarte representan "a invasão da nobreza por camadas vilãs, a permanencia junto do rei de numerosos cortesãos vindos de estratos inferiores da sociedade", pero no creemos que Gil Vicente se proponga condenar con ellos "o afastamento, cada vez mais acentuado, da sociedade portuguesa em relação a um modelo estratificado e de contornos rígidos, organizado conforme criterios jurídicos que distribuía os individuos segundo as suas funções e demarcava claramente a fronteira entre o nobre e privilegiado e as camadas vilãs",¹² ni mucho menos la "movilidad social" en sí. Tomando como base nuestros estudios, nos resulta evidente que para Gil Vicente la calidad de la persona se demuestra principalmente mediante su integridad y moralidad, por encima del estado social, y que la aspiración a la genuína, honesta mejora personal, incluso en el aspecto social, de clases, no es de ningún modo condenable. Es cierto que Gonçalo ridiculiza a Almeida y Duarte como vanidosos—vienen "muito louços"—pese a su origen humilde ("mais propinquos dos arados / que parentes de meneses" 526, 528); pero, además de tratarse de una oportuna reacción a una conducta ostentosa particular, cabe preguntarse si no es la corte misma la que principalmente fomenta tan deplorables actitudes. Muy significativamente, Almeida mismo lamenta, en un momento de excepcional candidez:

A tormenta da má vida
que eu levo neste Paço,
sabes que conta lhe faço?
Que vou n'ũa nau perdida,
rota pelo espinhaço. (526)

¹² M. L. García da Cruz, *Gil Vicente e a Sociedade Portuguesa de Quinhentos*, Lisboa: 1990, pág. 144.

Nave "perdida", "rota", "sem governo" en la "tormenta", que lleva a todos sus tripulantes a una inexorable perdición, en el sentido moral, claro, pues corolario de los tropiezos de la conciencia es el medro material. Esta inevitable correlación la destaca de modo muy explícito el Clérigo, evidentemente muy familiar con la vida en la corte:

Medrará este rapaz [su hijo]
na corte mais que ninguém,
porque lá não fazem bem
senão a quem menos faz.

...

Nunca diz bem de pessoa,
nem verdade nunca a traz.
Mexerica que por nada
revolverá São Francisco;
que pera a corte é um visco,
que a caça toda a manada. (519)

Se nos sugiere que el Clérigo educó a su hijo de tal modo anticipando ya su carrera en la corte. En ésta aprenderían, pues, con toda probabilidad, Almeida y Duarte todas las maldades y "manhas" que todavía no sabían para "medrar" en la corrupta e intrigante sociedad cortesana y para engañar y explotar a cualquiera. De los estratos más altos de la corte, pues, se impartiría la lección de la deshonestidad y del engaño, y la prueba más contundente de que los hombres son "lobos", "raposos de nação" (525): "homo homini lupus", con la advertencia de que "já não há í que fiar" de nadie, con desastrosas consecuencias morales para toda la nación.

De todos modos, en Almeida y Duarte reconocemos fácilmente a los "rascões" de la corte real, a quienes Gil Vicente hace protagonizar, con papel humana y políticamente muy odioso, ya en su primera obra teatral, *Auto de ãa Visitação*, 1502:

Un "vaqueiro" entra en la "câmara" de la reina Dona Maria, recién parida, para darle a ella y al príncipe, el futuro Juan III, los parabienes, en nombre de su "consejo y aldea" (20).¹³ Sin embargo, según informa a la familia real allí reunida, al querer él entrar en el palacio, unos cortesanos, "rascones", lo maltrataron, tratando de hacerle renunciar a la visita a la reina:

Pardiez! Siete arrepelones
me pegaron a la entrada,
mas yo di una puñada
a uno de los rascones. (19)

¹³ Citamos por la *Copilaçam de todas las obras de Gil Vicente*. Ed. Carvalhão Buescu, vol. I.

Logró sobreponerse a esos malévolos individuos, pero confiesa que, la experiencia lo ha dejado muy desanimado y que, pese a su genuino amor y profunda admiración por la familia real ("Oh que bien tan principal, universal"),

si [él] tal supiera,
no viniera;
y si viniera, no entrara;
y si entrara, [él] mirara
de manera
que ninguno no [le] diera. (19)

El Vaquero teme que lo mismo que le ha pasado a él les pase también a sus "compañeros, porqueros y vaqueros" que han venido a dar al "nacido esclarecido"—como los pastores de Belén al niño Jesús—parabienes y regalos: "mil huevos y leche..., y un ciento de quesadas..., quesos, miel", todo "lo que han podido". Por esto, vacila mucho en llamarlos para que acudan a ver a su "príncipe excelente" y participar en la alegría que debiera ser de todo el reino:

Quiérolos ir a llamar:
más según yo vi las señas,
hanles de mesar las greñas
los rascones al entrar. (22)

Es que estos "rascones", son para los rústicos veneradores del "príncipe", un obstáculo mucho más formidable que el que supuso Herodes para los veneradores de Cristo.

Esta obrita que, quizás por su obviedad, no se suele apreciar mucho, revela un magnífico contraste entre los tonos de exaltación y alegría y los de amargura y pesimismo que, de hecho, informan, significativamente, hasta los últimos versos, impregnanándolos de penosa ironía. Ésta cobra su verdadero impacto al proyectarse sobre el fondo histórico, social y político de la época: el conflicto multisecular entre los estamentos y, en particular, la preocupación de la nobleza de todos los niveles por salvaguardar sus intereses políticos y económicos, manteniendo, en todo lo posible, al rey separado de su pueblo. Éste desea obsequiar a su "señor natural" con todo su amor y lealtad, pero queda frustrado en sus nobles, sinceros deseos por los malévolos e importunos "rascones". Este es, pues, el tema del "sencilísimo" *Auto de ãa Visitação*, que, inspirándose en la notoria "visita" de los pastores bíblicos y Herodes—que personifica la mala intención de los "rascones" simultáneamente frente al pueblo y al monarca—se revela como una sutil alegoría de una histórica crisis social nacional. Por el conflicto político esencial que en ella se dramatiza, implícitamente, se impone también como sugerente precursora de la *Fuenteovejuna* de Lope y otras piezas afines del teatro del Siglo de Oro.¹⁴ De

¹⁴ Observaciones adicionales sobre el *Auto de ãa Visitação* en nuestro estudio sobre el *Auto das Ciganas*.

acuerdo con la acotación final, "a Rainha velha... pediu ao autor que isto mesmo [el mismo *Auto*] lhe representasse as matinas do Natal, endereçado ao nascimento do Redentor". Sin embargo, al autor le pareció que "a substância [del *Auto*] era mui desviada" del tema navideño, por lo cual, "em lugar disto fez" otro, el *Auto Pastoril Castelhana* (22-23). Es comprensible la reacción de Gil Vicente, pues ¿cómo podría ser navideño el *Auto de la visitación*, en que el resquemor y el odio amenazan con imponerse al mundo sofocando el natural impulso amoroso?

Es oportuno comprender que su clasificación entre las obras "de devoción" sólo es lícita si se entiende como tal la devoción del pueblo al monarca,¹⁵ o si "devoción" se nos sugiere en un sentido muy irónico.

No cabe duda de que la *Égloga primera* de Encina inspiró el *Auto de ña Visitaço*,¹⁶ pero cabe observar el hecho significativo de que mientras en aquélla se dramatiza un conflicto muy personal del autor, con ciertos cortesanos envidiosos de sus talentos artísticos, en la pieza gilvicentina se eleva lo personal al nivel nacional, colectivo, que así adquiere mayor transcendencia como estreno del teatro secular nacional.¹⁷

Almeida y Duarte representan, pues, a los "rascones" de la corte que, no sólo procuran impedir el contacto directo entre el rey y su pueblo, sino que desuellan a éste en cualquier circunstancia, como voraces parásitos. Por motivarlos sólo la codicia, entre sí mantienen relaciones de acerba envidia, que los induce a contraminarse del modo más dañino y humillante posible:

Duarte: Assi como bafejais
ainda me cheirais a nabos.

Almeida: Bem parece que a dois cabos
coseis tudo o que falais. (527)

Ambos de origen humilde, no dejan de echarse en cara mutuamente su rústica ascendencia: "Logo falais por mondar, / como homen daquela terra". Ambos corruptos, no vacilan en reprocharse descaradamente su deshonestidad: "Viva o Conde do Redondo, / que lhe furtais quanto tendes" (526-528). Cómplices en la explotación y en los robos—"partiremos como irmão com irmão" (529)—en la repartición del botín, previsiblemente, tratan de sacar el mejor provecho, mintiéndose y engañándose mutuamente:

Almeida: Duarte, tendes vós í
dinheiro na faltriqueira?

Duarte: Eu vendi patos na feira?

Almeida: Nem eu tão poco os vendi,
nem tenho eira nem beira. (542)

¹⁵ M. Calderón, *Gil Vicente. Teatro castellano*, Barcelona: 1996, "Prólogo", XXXIX.

¹⁶ R. E. Surtz, *The Birth of a Theater. Dramatic Convention in the Spanish Theater from Juan del Encina to Lope de Vega*, Princeton-Madrid: 1979, págs. 85-86.

¹⁷ S. ĩimic, *Juan del Encina. Teatro y poesía*, Madrid: 1986, págs. 47-48.

El "alto" engaña y explota al "bajo", pero éste, debido a que tiene tan buen maestro, también sabe hacerlo, si la ocasión se le presenta para ello. El Negro—que, en su categoría de esclavo, ocupa el peldaño más bajo en esa jerarquía social—roba a Gonçalo lo que todavía a éste le ha quedado después del encuentro con los tramposos "rascones" cortesanos. Es chocante el cinismo con que el Negro pretende indignarse por el robo de los "rascones" ("Jeju! Jeju!... Aramá, tanta ladrão!"), y simpatizar con la víctima y, particularmente, sorprende el cinismo con el que relata sus propios sufrimientos y desgracias para desarmar al ingenuo villano de toda cautela:

Ele [el dueño] comprai mi primero;
quando já paga a rinheiro,
deira a mi fero na pé
É masa tredora aquele. (532)¹⁸

Víctima de la crueldad humana, ¿sería concebible de alguna manera que pudiese victimizar a otros? Es, en gran parte, por tan ingenua racionalización íntima, astutamente calculada por el Negro, que Gonçalo, olvidado de la advertencia del Clérigo ("Não olhes no que falar, qu' é muito falso o cabrão", 531), se queda al fin en cueros. ¿Es también la historia de la esclavitud del Negro, al menos en sus particulares, una invención, parte de la manipulación psicológica de sus víctimas?

La explotación y la crueldad caracterizan hasta las relaciones de familia, según lo ilustra el desapacible episodio del Clérigo y Francisco, su hijo bastardo. Aquél trata a éste como despreciable criado, abusando de él con pedidos irrazonables, como cuando en el monte, a una "legua" de camino, le manda llevar a casa el "breviario", inmediatamente después de haber vuelto Francisco con la "furoa" que fue a buscar por mandato anterior (518-520). Los encargos del Clérigo parecen revelar un deseo sádico de hacer que el muchacho se afane tras tareas innecesarias, frustrantes. Este, probablemente víctima frecuente de semejantes abusos por parte de su "pai"—así lo llama tal vez con irónica implicación de la palabra pervertida tanto en el sentido secular como espiritual—se percata de ello claramente: "Eu creio que cuidais que sou correio / que vai e vem polas postas" (518). De ahí que le responda con mala voluntad y falta total de respeto: "Vá la quem tiver coroa...; Ide vos: não tendes pés?" (519). Con maliciosa gratificación, se complace en recordarle al disoluto sacerdote sus muchas impropiedades y descuidos del deber:

Vós haveis de celebrar
missa da festa em pessoa
e não fazeis a coroa

¹⁸ En traducción de R. da Costa e Sá:

Ele [el dueño] me comprou primeiro,
e assim que pagou o dinheiro,
deitou-me ferro nos pés.
Ele é mais traidor.

antes que vamos a caçar?
Pois, pai, não haveis de olhar
que sois Clérigo da Beira...? (518)

Como reflejo fiel de todo lo impropio—moral, espiritual y cívicamente—que se acepta y practica rutinariamente en la sociedad, el Clérigo considera su sacrílega irresponsabilidad profesional y su burda impropiedad personal como algo completamente normal. En vísperas de Navidad manda a su barragana que se encargue de todos los preparativos, "se [ele] para la missa solemne tardar [de la caza]". Se demuestran sus prioridades y su total indiferencia por lo que más profundamente debiera inspirarle el espíritu. Su grotesca profesión religiosa se refleja, de modo artísticamente muy ingenioso, en su paródica oración para que la caza le sea propicia (520-523) y en la estridente incongruidad de lo sagrado y lo material en su vida cotidiana: "os corporais... ficam na cantareira. / E o cáliz achará no almario... atado c"os seus toucados, / e os amitos pendurados / onde a minha espada está /.../ E solte a cabra também, / que está presa pola estola" (524). Incluso estos encargos de "ordenar" la iglesia se deben tan sólo al temor de una posible visita de Marcos Esteves "da corte", pues "a achar [éste] tudo dessa sorte..." (524).

Incapaz de sentir compasión ni caridad, el Clérigo se hace obedecer con amenazas de violentos castigos:

Creio que a vara ha d"andar
se isso vai dissa maneira;

...

Requeiro-te que vás embora,
ante que se assanje o abade. (518, 519)

Con hiriente sarcasmo le echa en cara a Francisco, su hijo: "Filho de clérigo és, / nunca bom feito farás" (519), con egregia ironía para el lector. Por oportunismo del momento, pero seguramente no con menor sarcasmo, le asegura después: "filho és de bom pai, / e ta mãe boa mulher" (523). Con la barragana, glotona: "Já minha mãe tem tascada / a regueifa do baptismo /.../ que ela não lhe escapa nada"; tonta, según lo sugieren varios detalles (520, 524); y mujer y madre "postiza", se completa el retrato de esta nada amable familia, de esta "antifamilia". No, este episodio no representa un mero altercado cómico de familia, como se suele alegar, sino una imagen desconsoladora de una terrible animosidad y de una inescrupulosa explotación que infecta al mismo núcleo elemental, al microcosmos de la sociedad entera.

Todas las situaciones de la obra se reflejan mutuamente y se complementan representativa, significativamente, en la implicación esencial de una nación como "nau perdida" en un total vacío moral, "rota" en la violenta "tormenta" de la codicia, del egoísmo y del engaño, que hace al hombre "lobo" de su prójimo. "Tormenta" peligrosa, fatal, en que la ausencia o la irresponsabilidad del piloto ("nau sem governo") es particularmente lamentable y condenable. La total ausencia

de valores morales orientadores en la sociedad, de lo que todos somos conscientes y de acuerdo a lo cual ajustan sus vidas, se expresa de la manera más elocuente y comprensiva en la racionalización del Negro: "¿para que furtá?"

Dira mundo turo canseira:
senhor grande, canseira;
hombre prove, canseira;

...

negro cativo, canseira;
senhor de negro, canseira;

...

vira reza mundo turo, turo é canseira. (533-534)¹⁹

Todo en el mundo es "misericordia" y todo acto humano, bueno o malo, es asimismo "misericordia", en realidad, moralmente indiferente para esa sociedad. Entonces, ¿"para qué [nno] furtá"?, en nombre de todos, se pregunta el Negro, justificando sus robos, presentes y futuros. Sí, también ha oído que "no ir al paraíso" es "grande, grande, grande canseira" (534), pero que es un peligro fácilmente evitable, con tal de rezar puntualmente por el favor divino, como, de hecho, hace al implorar la asistencia de la Virgen en sus hurtos:

... Semo Santa
Maria dinheiro me lá darno
que é vê esa carta d"que mucho
que furtar cantara Furunando (535)²⁰

En el epígrafe de la pieza se nos dice que se trata de "outra farsa de folgar" (517), pero, exceptuando algunas cómicas salidas lingüísticas, dialectales, realmente no podemos encontrar motivos para la risa. Luis, autor de dicha

19 No mundo, tudo é canseira:

senhor grande, -canseira;

homem pobre, -canseira;

...

negro cativo, -canseira;

senhor de negro, -canseira;

...

vida de resar o mundo todo,

tudo é canseira. (Ibid., 172)

20 R. da Costa no traduce este fragmento, pero creemos que el significado queda claro. En su evocación imaginativa de las posibles situaciones en que como dueño de dinero se encontraría (536-537), el Negro nos hace recordar *Emperor Jones*, de O'Neil. Se trataría de una muestra precoz de una modalidad teatral moderna, quizás digna de estudio más detenido.

aseveración, probablemente interpreta mal el pensamiento y la intención de su padre, como esto ocurre con cierta frecuencia en su empresa editorial de la *Copilaçam*. La presencia del rey, Juan III, en la representación de la *Farsa do Clérigo da Beira* sería una adicional razón formidable para que Gil Vicente expresase su visión alarmada del estado moral de la nación.

University of Texas, Austin

MARY JUGG MOLEK AND HER FIRST WRITINGS

Irena Milanič

In this paper I present the life and work of Mary Jugg Molek (1909-1982) an American writer of Slovene roots. So far she was mainly known as the wife and translator of her much more famous husband Ivan Molek, a prolific writer and a very influential Slovene-American editor. Whilst Mary Molek's publications of the seventies have already been reviewed, most of her earlier writings, in particular those of the thirties and forties have been overlooked.

Mary Jugg was born of Slovene parents in Mineral, Kansas, on June 9, 1909. She was a brilliant student and one of the first immigrant girls of the area to finish college at the age of eighteen, assisted by scholarship loans and self-employment. She completed her studies (English Major, Education Minor) at Kansas State Teachers' College in Pittsburg. When she was attending college she helped at the local school magazine and wrote poetry encouraged especially by her English teacher, Margaret E. Haughwout. After graduation she worked as a high school teacher, but being soon out of work, due to the Depression cuts in education, in 1932, she moved to Chicago. There she found a job in the *S.N.P.J.* headquarters.¹ From 1932 to 1943 Mary Molek contributed to *Mladinski list* (*Juvenile*), publishing ninety poems, thirty-seven short stories and nine one or two-scene plays. In *Prosveta* (Enlightenment) and in the Slovene-American progressive papers *Proletarec* (The Proletarian) and *Majski glasnik* (*The May's Herald*) she wrote articles which are relevant because they reveal the writer's main interests – her deep faith in socialist reformism, her concern in women's issues and in second-generation identities. In some of her articles she was rather radical. She advocated how women and the *S.N.P.J.* youth should be given not only more space but also power inside the benefit society. Significantly she provocatively entitled her weekly *Proletarec* column "For Women Only" (1st January 1936 – 1st July 1936), and her milder *Prosveta* column "Women's Round Table" (15th July 1936 – 22nd July 1938). Professor Christian points out that the appearance of Mary Jugg's articles, particularly her column "Women's Round Table", in July 1936, represented a "more positive sign for *Prosveta*".² In 1934 she started to organize

1 *S.N.P.J.: Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota- Slovene National Benefit Society* (1904–) is one of the major Slovene insurance societies in the United States. Apart from insuring its members in case of sickness, injury and death, it also has a central cultural function of binding together its Slovene members. The society had its own publishing house, a newspaper (*Prosveta-Enlightenment*) and from 1922 a monthly magazine for its young members, *Mladinski list-Juvenile*.

the Red Falcons, the youngest generation of the Yugoslav Socialist Federation. In 1938 she helped at the establishment of autonomous juvenile clubs: she prepared an outline of very practical advice, which aided the rise of new circles and gave the local leaders new ideas for their activities. These suggestions were published in several issues of *Mladinski list*.

Not always, however, was her work adequately appreciated. She expressed her disappointment in her report delivered at her last YSF Convention, "[...] we are good talkers, sympathetic with the idea for very strong children's organizations, but when it comes to the genuine enthusiasm that should be given as the real support for such an undertaking, we fail."³ Her analysis reflects a mutual misunderstanding, a consequence of the generation gap. The senior members did not attend the children's programs, which were probably disregarded as "children's matter". Mary Jugg advocated a greater collaboration of the Red Falcons in the official programs of the Branch. She was annoyed by the traditional programs full of "pretty tunes that run the full gamut of emotions"⁴, a sentimentality which she found superfluous. At the same time, she was never fully accepted. This exemplifies how the older generation was unable to admit that the second generation was primarily an English-speaking generation. At the same YSF Convention, in fact, it was admitted that "Mary Jugg was doing a good job" with her articles in the *Proletarec*, trying to attract women to the socialist movement, but it would have been better if a Slovene column for women had been established too.⁵

The Moleks married on 1st May 1934, she was his second wife and twenty-seven years younger than he. They remembered their marriage in their respective works: Ivan Molek indirectly in his *Veliko mravljišče* (The Great Anthill), and she in her *Immigrant Woman*.⁶

It was officiated in the Chicago City Hall, without witnesses, without wedding rings, and without anyone having been informed. After the brief exchange of vows, I took off for a two-week vacation to my family in Kansas, and Ivan returned to his office.⁷

In those years Ivan Molek was editor-in-chief of all *S.N.P.J.* publications. He was well-known among the Slovene-American readers, who liked his direct and acute editorials. He was a first generation immigrant who had come to the United States in 1900 when he was eighteen. The majority of his works are written in Slovene. He was one of the few Slovene American writers to have some of his works first published in Slovenia and then distributed in America. The most apparent difference between their works is that Mary Jugg wrote mostly in English,

2 Henry Christian, "The *Prosveta* English Section: Certainly Not Hard News And Never Intended to Be, *Dve domovini – Two Homelands*, 1992, 2-3, p. 37.

3 M. Jugg, "The Work of JSF among Children", Minutes of the XI Yugoslav Socialist Federation Convention held in Chicago, 03, 04, and 05 June 1936, *Proletarec*, 23, 09, 1936, p. 14.

4 M. Jugg, "Sidelights", *Proletarec*, 12, 09, 1934, p. 7.

5 In the minutes of the YSF Convention, cit., p. 7.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151. I. Molek, *Veliko mravljišče*, pp.125-127.

7 Mary Molek, "Through the Eyes of the Bibliographer," in *A Comprehensive Bibliography of the Literary Works of Ivan(John) Molek*, Mary Molek Inc. Dover, Del. 1976, pp. 8-9.

while the majority of Ivan Molek's literary contributions, especially his books, are in Slovene. But there are other differences as well. While Ivan Molek's books are always about Slovene immigrants, Mary Jugg Molek rarely mentions Slovenes or her Slovene background directly. The Moleks were both devout socialists who believed in a gradual improvement (not overthrow!) of the capitalist society through the aid of socialist reforms. Mary Molek, however, also saw socialism as an anational cauldron where all the different ethnicities can melt. Therefore, in her writings she felt as more compelling to depict particular aspects of American society that are common to different ethnic groups rather than to limit herself to one only.

In 1936 the Moleks withdrew from the Socialist Party because they could not agree any more with the radical orientation the American Socialist Party took after the Detroit convention. Nevertheless, they remained loyal socialists throughout their lives even after 1944, when Ivan Molek lost his job as editor, because he refused to agree with the political orientation *S.N.P.J.* took in relation to the Old Country in the 1940s. He refused to write in favor of the communists who were becoming the dominant leaders in the Liberation Front in Yugoslavia. In making such a choice he remained consistent with his socialistic convictions, his deep faith in democracy and democratic means as the only possible ways of improving society.

This affair happened just when Mary was about to finish her Ph.D. She enrolled at the Chicago University in 1940, achieved the M.A. degree in education 1942, and was admitted to the Ph.D. candidacy. From 1944 on, the Moleks were forced to live very modestly only on the wife's salary as a school psychologist, counselor and adult teacher. About that she wrote:

When it came my turn to take over the financial responsibilities for the period of the last 18 years of our 28-year married life, the transition was natural, easy, without even a comment about woman's role. "Women's lib" was not yet a popular term, although we had both been propagating the idea for thirty years previously.⁸

This was also a "barren period" when she did not publish, although she continued to write.⁹ Only after her husband's death, in 1962, did Mary Molek resume publishing. In 1963 she brought most of his very large archives to Minneapolis-St. Paul. This collection constituted the beginning of what has become known today as the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota. Within a period of five years the material of some twenty other ethnic groups was added to the Archives, under the supervision of Professor Timothy L. Smith.¹⁰ Mary Jugg Molek was appointed its first curator in 1963 and she compiled Ivan Molek's bibliography.

⁸ Mary Molek, "Through the Eyes of the Bibliographer," cit., p. 7.

⁹ This emerges from the correspondence of Mary Molek with Margaret E. Haughawout (July 1932 – December 1961). Unfortunately, only the Haughawout replies are available at Pittsburg State University, Special Collections.

¹⁰ John P. Nielsen, "Mary J. Molek Wins Author Award", *Ameriška domovina*, 8, 12, 1978, p. 3.

In 1969 she moved to Dover, Delaware, and all the works she wrote or translated now were published at her own expense. Besides the bibliography, she translated and published Ivan Molek's autobiography and his novel *Dva svetova – Two Worlds*. When her own original work, *Immigrant Woman*, was published in 1976, it soon became a considerable success within the Slovene community. The book had three reprints and earned for Mary Jugg Molek the 1978 League of Slovene-American Award for contributions to Slovene-American literature.¹¹ Influenced by the "ethnic revival", which began in the 1960's along with the Civil Rights Movement, Mary Molek searched in it for her own ethnic past. The book is a testimony of her mother's life as she, the daughter, had experienced it. Mary Jugg Molek was also an active member of the Society for Slovene Studies, which she joined in 1977. She participated at its conferences and in 1980 she attended the Society's annual meeting in Philadelphia, presenting the paper entitled "Louis Adamic: Political Activist." After her death in 1982 she left 15,000 dollars for the constitution of the Molek Endowment Fund of the Society for Slovene Studies. According to Professor Velikonja she probably left a similar sum to the Slovenian Heritage in Cleveland.¹²

Mary Jugg always signed her early works with her maiden name. She started to contribute to *Mladinski list-Juvenile*, the *S.N.P.J.* monthly magazine for the youth, in February, 1932, while her first article was published in *Prosveta* on April 5, 1933.¹³ She became one of the first contributors to write only for the English sections of – at that time – predominantly Slovene written immigrant papers.

The poems, short stories and plays written in the thirties are thematically very close to each other. In the thirties Mary Jugg's main concern is a realistic depiction of the Depression in its different aspects. From the very beginning, her writings are distinguished by the fact that they are entirely rooted in American society and in its social realities. She describes the Depression through its everyday urban scenes: workers' strikes, unemployed men sitting on benches in the Central Park, young people, although gifted and smart, unable to find a place in society. Her short stories present the rapid decline of a mining town, the stories of youth entrapped in the economic system, stealing because of hunger, youth unemployment, disrupted families, where older children have to take care of the younger. When the general economic situation started to improve she shifted her interest to contemporary international events and in particular she followed the turmoil in Europe. While in the thirties her writings are imbued with socialism, in the forties her fervent socialist faith wanes, becoming mainly a pacifist conviction. At the same times on the one hand, her interest in depicting nature, present already in her first writings, increases, and on the other, more and more fairy tales and children's rhymes started to appear.

In the thirties the *Juvenile's* aims were, on the one hand, to infuse the young readers with the socialist doctrine and, on the other, to make them aware of their Slovene roots. Jugg, on the other hand, felt that it was more important to teach the young readers the socialist principles, rather than to nourish their ethnic pride.

11 John P. Nielsen, "Mary J. Molek Wins Author Award", *Ameriška domovina*, 08, 12, 1978, pp. 1 and 3.

12 Joseph Velikonja, "Mary Molek", personal e-mail, 22, 12, 1997.

13 Mary Jugg, "The Dialog", *ML*, 2, 1932, p. 49, "Facts For Considerations", *Prosveta*, 05, 04, 1933 p. 6.

Therefore, although Mary Jugg's writings were published in a Slovene-American youth magazine, they had only a Slovene background. For example, some of the characters that appear in her short stories have Slovene names and partly a occasionally interjections of Slovene words or phrases.¹⁴

With her first contributions she felt she had the task to make her young readers aware of the true causes of the contemporary hopeless economic situation, but she had to help them to develop a new and independent vision of what they saw. On the one hand, the socialist doctrine is the means that reveals the discrepancies in the American egalitarian ideology. The capitalist system is seen as mainly responsible for the division of people into rich and poor, the oppressors and the oppressed. The only accepted alternative to social injustices is that of a future socialist world, based on social democracy. On the other hand, her idea of socialism mingled with the American ideology, recharging anew the American ideals of democracy, freedom and equal opportunities for all. She considered the socialist doctrine in actual, pragmatic terms: as science put at the service of all men, as the right for everybody to improve his/her situation by education, and as an idea of mutual help through brotherhood. This implies also the responsibilities that every individual has to assume, so that the society can work properly. Rights as well as duties are emphasized. The socialist values of work and brotherhood assume a new American dimension. She gave particular importance to the individualistic potentialities of every single man and woman, which they should use for the benefit of the larger community. Unselfish work becomes the only means to gain immortality. The pioneers of the future are

[...]

Men who their talents all will give –
Men who will live that all may live –
Pioneers –

Such unknown roads now beckon you –
Such Romance now is calling you –
Pioneer!¹⁵

The poem is an example of how the poet reconsiders certain values from the American experience, and recharges them with a new significance. The poem starts with a youngster sighing that those exciting years when one could be a pioneer are gone forever. Past figures from American history are mentioned. Columbus, the colonists, the "forty-niners" – all are pioneers of the past and all of them died in glory. But the youngster's interlocutor scolds him, reminding him that these people fought for selfish gain ("Think you of naught but wealth and fame/ And power...?"). She indicates a new frontier to him – science and scientific discoveries that will aid people. The new romance is in scientific altruism. The scientific adventure is open to everybody, and the poem ends with a direct appeal

¹⁴ "Brothers", *ML*, 03, 1934, p. 81; "Nationality", *ML*, 05, 1933, p. 145; "Friends", *ML*, 01, 1934, pp. 22-23.

¹⁵ M. Jugg, "Pioneers", *ML*, 06, 1936, pp. 177-178.

to the reader/youngster ("Pioneer!"). Brotherhood signifies not only a shelter, but also a commitment stressing personal responsibilities. The new pioneer will work for all humanity, where altruistic loyalty will be the rule, rather than the exception.

Another way through which Jugg reveals the discrepancies in American ideology is by presenting the dichotomy between school and the outside world. It has to be remembered that when she started to write for the *Juvenile* she was not much older than her readers and she more easily drew material for her contributions from the readers' closest experiences, school realities in particular. As a matter of fact, school is one of her favorite settings both in her poems and especially in her short stories such as "Conversational Scraps" (1932), "Labor Lost" (1934), "Tomorrow Did not Come", (1935). School is seen as a happy place, because detached from American reality. There, all the expectations are still real, because they exist only in the students' minds and they have not yet been crushed by the reality of experience. School is a physical place, but it is also an enchanted palace that encloses the American Dream. Once out of it, the world is not able to provide the students with what school has promised them. A return is impossible.

Some of her first writings anticipate certain aspects that will be later elaborated in *Immigrant Woman*. For instance, in her book she describes how the worlds of the immigrants and their children are divided. The children are not aware of their parents' economic problems. They are deceived by the promising American ideology, conveyed not only through education, but also through movies and other spheres of life. Other themes which appear later in her book are anticipated in her short stories. The most significant is the setting. *Immigrant Woman* is set in a small mining town in Kansas. Many of her short stories, too, are set in small American towns. A similar setting implies also a similarity of themes: particularly hard economic conditions, where all the family members have to contribute financially to the family well-being, the monotonous passing of life, where nothing exciting ever happens, young children assuming responsibilities sometimes bigger than themselves, such as taking care of and providing for the younger brothers and sisters, helping in the hard domestic chores, and walking miles upon miles to school.

If in the thirties Mary Jugg is interested in portraying the Depression in its different, tragic paradoxes, in the forties her concern is projected into the complicated world situation. In the forties Mary Jugg's attitude towards socialism changes. The play "A League of Nations" exemplifies this. The characters' names show that they are children of different national groups, but they share the same neighborhood. They suddenly learn that the site where they used to meet and play will no longer be "theirs", and another block will be built there. But the boys decide to build a memorial composed of their favorite toys. At that point of the play they are very proud of being capable of cooperation required to create an original monument. Their teamwork is on a micro-level, what the big nations should do on an international level. They mention the persecution of Jews in Germany, which they see as one of the gravest consequences of this inability to collaborate with one another. But there is a sudden change in the mood of the play. The boys unexpectedly start to quarrel over a triviality and everybody takes back his own "piece" of the monument.¹⁶ If the socialistic antidote is right, people are still not mature enough to understand its full value and significance.

In 1938 *Mladinski List-Juvenile* underwent a general reorganization. This influenced Mary Jugg's writings too. In this year she started a series of short stories entitled "Nifty and His Friends". It is about a dog and his animal friends. Nifty is an "intelligent" dog, whose common sense is sometimes better than humans'. From 1938 onwards, animals are increasingly given voice in her poems and short stories. She allows objects such as a clock, a radio or an old armchair to speak and this enables her to show facts from a different perspective. If at the beginning of her career any fantasy dreaming was discouraged, now, in contrast, it is being fostered. More children's rhymes, simple jingles and fairy tale stories start to appear from that year on. Humor replaces her sarcasm. Moreover, none of her 1938 poems and short stories deals with any specific social problem.

Both in the thirties and in the forties in addition to her "committed" writings she also produced poems depicting nature and her own response to natural elements. She tries to explain the human condition and actions by employing images of the sea and the different characteristics of the winds. Mary Jugg has different attitudes towards nature. Generally speaking, the image of spring appears frequently in her poems. She depicts May as a young, beautiful maiden, she sees both the time of May and youth as too fleeting: the girl's "[...] basket of Hopes" does not last long enough "to combat Despair".¹⁷ From a careless lassie, spring becomes the symbol of social rebirth ("There Will Come Spring", 1933), and of a personal (female) emancipation ("Lines on Spring", 1934). The Springtime rebirth of nature is then perceived as empowering in "Opinion", 1940. All its small manifestations (the touching of the trees, the vision of busy bees and the scent of the just-cut grass), rather than being just a transitory "spring fever", represent life and all the happy moments that make our life worth living. By contrast, in "April Showers", 1939, she sees the catastrophe of the forthcoming war. Men's "killing showers" – the falling bombs – go against Nature and its natural course. These April showers are "foul mockery to 'bringing May flowers'".¹⁸ If the time of rebirth has become the time of death, if all values are trampled on, then what future is destined to men? A similar interrogative is expressed in her poem "Nineteen-Forty", 1940, where she again refers to the contemporary world situation. The war's destruction is associated with cold and with the December freeze. Traditional values are "frozen" by war, and Spring, which stands for peace, is too weak "to thaw the aged ice" and counteract the destruction of war.

[...]

Then wilder, yet still wilder storms
Unlashed across the lands,
Sweeping vaster, ever vaster, –
Crushing, twisting, beating, blighting
Men and homes, and all that Home has meant,

¹⁶ "A League of Nations", *ML*, 05, 1939, pp. 5-7.

¹⁷ "Month of May", *ML*, 05, 1932, p. 148.

¹⁸ "April Showers", *ML*, 04, 1939, p. 3.

And all that Man and Woman meant,
And all that Spring has meant. –

If Man beats Spring into a pulp,¹⁹
What can the year bring forth?

In some of her earliest poems there prevails the idea that man could master nature through the aid of science. In the poem "Credo", 1933, she expresses the positive idea that the powerful natural elements such as the wind and the sea acquire meaning only if they are subdued by man to his service. In other poems she sees Nature as a perfect, organized world, and in comparison human reality appears fallacious and illogical. The purpose of the parallel between the animal and human world is sometimes social. In "Management", 1933, she describes the self-sufficiency of the animal world where work and stored provisions guarantee a survival in the winter. The same can not be said about conditions of the workers and their families, deprived of everything and condemned to beg from door to door for food. Sometimes examples from the animal world help her to elucidate the human condition ("The Ant and I", 1939), and to reassure us that the connection still exists between the animal and human worlds. She frequently considers nature as something alive and anthropomorphous ("Seen from Above", 1935; "Nocturne", 1936).

In "Nocturne" every element from nature becomes associated with the miners' life. The poet moves freely between three spatial dimensions: the sky, the human realities on Earth and the mines underground. The speaking voice selects different natural elements and transplants them into the human world. In this way the star becomes the light in the miner's shack, "[...] a wee kerosene lamp, on a table near a window" that illuminates the sewing done by the miner's wife, or the room of a sick child, or is just the light waiting for the son coming home from a night shift. The washing hung on a line day after day are clouds ("Tomorrow you'll be there again./Mrs. Clancy takes in washing".) The trees are the nightwatchmen and the garden suddenly becomes the city factory. With the introduction of trees, the natural elements are not used simply descriptively, but start to be directly addressed:

[...]
Can you smell and see and hear all?
Choking gases can kill many men;
Rotten props will let rocks fall.
Can you sound a warning, trees?²⁰

In the last stanza the crows appear. In contrast to the other elements the speaker can neither see nor locate them, but she hears their calls. She does not establish a clear parallel, but the crows represent the miners or, generally, the

¹⁹ Mary Jugg, "A Column", *Prosveta*, 31,12, 1940, p. 7.

²⁰ "Nocturne", *ML*, 07, 1936, p. 210.

workers. They are "lost", "scattered", "groping", "stumbling" and their calls are "distress signals". The poem ends up with the poet's invocation to join their voices and to manifest their problems united.

Jugg's most frequent stanza pattern is the quatrain where the second and the fourth line rhyme; but the traditional ballad stanza undergoes a series of changes, rhythmical adaptations and variations. According to Jerneja Petrič, Mary Jugg Molek is probably the first to introduce free verse into Slovene-American literature.²¹ When the poet uses free verse, she strives to maintain a unity. Apart from alliteration and assonance, the repetition of the same consonant or vowel sounds, her poems often have a mirroring structure, so that the stanzas have the same number of lines, the same length and the same layout. The same mirroring effect is constructed if the stanza ends or begins with the same line or a slightly changed line. Enjambment is used repeatedly, contributing to the general impression of spontaneity and smoothness. Furthermore, the text achieves unity by the use of words from the same semantic area. In the poem "To Let", 1932, the poet works around the act of counting. First she presents an unemployed man sitting on a bench and counting cobbles in the side-walk to kill time. From time to time he is distracted in his calculations by swift steps passing by. And he "follows their retreating tread/To count the steps to such and such a place". She then proceeds to explain that there was a time when he was one of them – one of the employees – and he was looking for an apartment – ("He thought that from the legion of apartments/ Upon his every side, all marked 'To Let',/ He surely might accede to one of them"). But "his hopes dissolved to merely counting matters". Then the vision is reversed and he is only a number on the unemployed list ("He is a number in the endless counters–/ Vast armies of reserved energy 'To Let'") as if he had become one of the stones in the walk. Then follows a verbal revolt:

He will shatter numbers, stop the counting,
Crush the cobblestones upon the walk
So that the frenzied steps will shove into the dust
To lose their clack upon his mind.

But nothing really happens. The man is seized by a rude policeman's hand and urged to keep on moving "[a]nd 'To Let,' vaunts the bench in Central Park."²² In the poem "The Sun Breaks Through", 1934, she both constructs on the central opposition light/shadow and uses a series of words with the same root or from the same semantic area. In the poem are mentioned the *sun*, the *rays*, the *light*, *Sunny* State of California, "the streaks of *sunlight* bare the face/ Of him who *lies*". In a new stanza she then continues:

Not often has he *lain* thus;
Time was when he was active on the *lines*.

21 Jerneja Petrič, *Naši na tujih tleh*, Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana 1982, p. 475.

22 "To Let", *ML*, 10, 1932, p. 306. (the italics are mine)

He is then beaten with the *shiny* stick, on the *shin* and on the legs. However, the poem's end is quite propagandistic and its purpose is to settle things and to proffer a message of rebellion and change:

The shafts of light now bare the face,
And they rise and extend upward and onward
To columns that some day will expand and burst
And shatter the streaks of the shadows forever...²³

As a matter of fact, this contrasting of light and shadow is one of her frequently used dichotomies. She employs this antithesis on different levels: for simply realistic descriptions, as a black and white depiction of the scene, for its metaphorical component and for its symbolic weight. In the above poem the light assumes the function of the camera eye, narrator describing what we can see. Then, as the poem proceeds, the shadows of the bars are presented both in their "physical" way and in their symbolic meaning as the visual representation of injustice.

In her poems the shadows are not always charged with only negative connotations, and the word is used also as a synonym for "the invisible", "the not considered", but present. The shadows are sometimes the workers marching round on a picket ("Shadows", 1934), or it is the blackness of the crows standing for the miners in the poem "Nocturne", 1936. In "Vigil", 1933, and "Christmas Eve", 1934, the darkness is the moment of expectations and hopes. As soon as the day appears, the "fires [will be] grown cold, and glad dreams gone."²⁴ Often, however, the shadows are just present in the realistic descriptions of the immigrants' shacks and dwellings.

The poem "Night Sketch", 1932, written in free verse, presents a peculiar outlook and again the light and shadow are two predominant elements around which the poem is constructed. As it is not determined what they stand for, the poem is open to a variety of interpretations. As it is already indicated by the title, the poet uses an impressionistic technique:

Owl sounds – piercing, intermittent,
unflinching rent the atmosphere,
And I awakened.

Barking – subdued, mournful,
aided in the penetration,
And I arose.

Through a distant window a single light
Uprooted darkness.

²³ "The Sun Breaks Through", *ML*, 09, 1934, p. 271.

²⁴ "Christmas Eve", *ML*, 12, 1934, p. 367.

Josh, the cobbler's son, had yesterday been brought in
a long, white carriage.
Whizzing of motors, worn-out laughter, unknowing,
continual, on distant moonlit roads.

Behind the window
The light is flickering.

The light is probably that of a candle and it is the central "sight" of the poem, and the scene is created through the sounds of the night. The general atmosphere is ominous – continuous owl sounds, mournful barking can be heard – all elements that contribute to the suggestion that the light was put for the vigil for the dead cobbler's son ("Josh, the cobbler's son had yesterday been brought in a long, white carriage").

The poem is remarkable for its formal structure and layout. It is divided into six short stanzas, of one sentence each. The first two are of three lines each, similar in structure, and an "I" appears. Then in the third stanza there is a description of what the poetic persona can see from her window, after she has been awakened by the dogs and the owl. The "I" is detached, just an outside observer and hearer, not involved in what is being described. All the following stanzas are of two lines and all are impersonal sentences. Two of them, the third and the fifth stanza, are without an active verb form. So if the central event of the poem is the wake for the dead, and the sight of the light implies all the tragedy and mourning connected with it, that vision is contrasted to the "whizzing of motors, worn-out laughter, unknowing, continual, on distant moonlit roads". This is a hint of a different world, maybe of a better-off society, careless of the tragedy of the working class; or the passing cars can just stand for an impersonal society, where the death of a person is no longer a moment of gathering, when the whole village comes together as in the Old Country.²⁵

"To Wheels", 1935, is another social poem in free verse, where the poet employs all the possibilities the text offers to convey her message. It is a very interesting experiment since the poet expands the image of the wheels in both content and structure. The wheels stand for the workers and in this poem Mary Jugg is re-evaluating "the wheels" that make this society work:

Oh, wheels!
In you I see
The strapped energy of a thousand men
The stifled groans of a mighty horde,
The cruel lash of a heavy whip.

For you are small wheels, giant wheels,
Intricate wheels, impatient, unmerciful wheels.
You turn and roar and clash and grind.

²⁵ "Night Sketch", *ML*, 06, 1932, p. 177.

The poet depicts their might and energy, concentrating on the sounds both of the machine and of the humans operating it. The wheels personify the hard physical labor. The machine compels the workers to work at a certain tempo and it represents the system where all its components are interrelated, regulated and controlled. It is a master, ("You are a gang boss without a soul;"), but it also depends on men's command ("You are a babe waiting to be led,/ Moving not a single arm without command."). She hopes for a general improvement. All men should become masters (owners) of the machines and they should work together in harmony in the same way as the wheels she has just described:

For slaves have turned about and become masters,
Striking and heaving all for one and one for all
In unison, even as you,
Oh, wheels!

The wish for a change in society that will put things upside down is expressed very effectively in this poem. The turning effect, already suggested by the repetition of the word "wheel", and by the expressed wish for an overturning of the workers' conditions, is mirrored in the formal structure of the poem. A clear contraposition is made on the layout level, by putting two structurally equal sentences, both relatively short, at the center of the poem, creating in this way a mirroring effect. Yet in content the two sentences stand poles apart. They both refer to the wheels:

You are a master and a tyrant.

You are a slave at the foot of man.²⁶

The poem is composed of contrapositions: boss/babe, master/slave and blessing/curse. But all of them are instrumental to this central part, which is a momentary poetical pause and it represents the axis of the poem. The two short, lapidary and simple sentences represent a break in the general rhythm of the poem, since all the other stanzas are long sentences, covering three, four or five lines.

"The Call of The New Year", 1937, presents an interesting metaphorical approach. The poem is composed of five stanzas, where iambic tetrameters alternate with trimeters; in the first three only the second and the fourth lines rhyme, while in the last two stanzas the lines rhyme alternately. The poem starts with a vision of a field covered with snow with fresh footsteps across it. In the following stanza this vision is broadened by comparison. The field is presented as a neat image in a pool on a street suddenly shattered by a stone. The sound of the creaking snow expresses a state of mind. The poem is enriched by associations and by new details:

Dull is the sound of the cheerless heart
Stumping across the snow –

²⁶ M. Jugg, "To Wheels", *ML*, 03, 1935, p. 79.

A violin robbed of its every tone –
Missing, the strings and the bow.

The third stanza starts with an explicatory sentence, where for the first time the "New Year" is introduced, but the language is still metaphorical. The scene is mainly apprehended through sight and hearing.

Stretch of a soft, clean snow is the New Year
Furrowed to deep, slushy mud;
Blaring, metallic, falsetto notes
That fall with a deafening thud.

The end is not optimistic, especially not in the socialist sense that sees the victory of the working class through united action. In fact, Jugg becomes aware that her plans for an improvement of society crash with the general amorphous attitude of the masses:

Humanity bleeding; humanity starving;
Humanity bound with a chain –
Humanity trampled – afraid of awakening –
This is the New Year's refrain.

She cries out for somebody, a "traveler across the virgin plains", capable of changing the tune ("discover the strings and pick up the bow") so that events will really take a new course with the New Year. But there is no appeal to the positive potentialities of all people, the idea of community is not stressed. In fact, not only are people seen as a mob incapable of organizing themselves, but also as "afraid of awakening". She is calling for someone who will be able to give these people strength, through "songs and strains", but not for an uprising, an active en masse attempt to change the desperate human situation. These songs will only "muffle the drone of humanity's woe."²⁷ In other words, their function will be only to reduce and not eliminate the severity of the human condition.

The reason why no progress has been achieved in society does not only lie in "the system", but also in the individual and his own responsibilities. Jugg realizes that there are impediments of other kinds that bar our good intentions. She notices how all the resolutions, usually uttered at the beginning of the New Year, are soon forgotten and never carried out. She speaks from her own experience. She investigates the causes of such a behavior and concludes that it is because of man's fear and doubt. She frequently uses images of doors that are closed, chests that are locked, insurmountable walls and clothes that cannot be discarded. All these images also suggest a sense of entrapment and immobility. In her program poem, "Decision", 1933, she looks at the future promising a commitment, but realizes the risky and the frightening part of it. Her approach is metaphorical. In this poem she compares the future to a closed book with stiff covers, and then to a chest:

27 "The Call of The New Year", *ML*, 01, 1937, p. 17.

I hold before me a closed book;
Not a page has been scanned nor a cover lifted;
The words, inspiration, and message
Are held within bounds of stiff, coarse buckram
That encloses.

A chest of potent ideas
Lies locked somewhere within power of my reach.
Their strength has never been tested;
They are held by strong padlocks
Of doubt.
[...] ²⁸

At the end she decides that her New Year will be "a read book/ and an opened chest." But this ending is too plain and contrasts with the general uncertain atmosphere of the poem.

In "Deferment", 1934, she represents her longings as a vision of a white house on the top of a hill, which promises a kind of paradise of oblivion ("Enter, and all will be forgotten"). But the "I" hesitates, afraid of the steep and long road uphill, whilst knowing that she had better go. When she finally decides and climbs the hill, she realizes that she has just missed the given opportunity forever.

At last, after a great while, I summoned courage
And climbed the hill and reached the top,
Only to find
That a high wind had slammed the door before my eyes
And locked it fast-inside. ²⁹

In her "Lines on Spring", 1934, she expresses a yearning for renovation which is swiftly followed by a sense of impotence and immobility. Spring is a time of a year when a rebirth in everybody's life is expected, and the poet sees it as a powerful and dynamic moment when a sudden innovation is possible. But this outside force is not enough. The inside, conservative, elements of society, its customs and traditions, continue to dominate it. The four walls of the house, where the protagonist works as a cleaner, suggest her entrapment and the walls automatically become "the walls of ignorance". The "I" of the poem could be seen as a specifically female voice, and her discourse as an invocation for a woman's independence. She knows that other people share her entrapped position to which she feels constrained. The poem is composed of one extended sentence, where the main clause is the second stanza, and the subordinate is the first stanza. The poem is written in free verse:

²⁸ "Decision", *ML*, 01, 1933, p. 17.

²⁹ "Deferment", *ML*, 08, 1934, p. 240.

If I could only
Burst the shell
And
Crumble the barriers
That shut us in...

But I can only
Do private housecleaning,
Remembering
That the walls of ignorance
Are strongly cemented
By traditions of the many.³⁰

To dare and fear are a constant dichotomy in her poems and it is associated with the concept of cutting with the tradition of the fathers and taking new roads "across the virgin plains"³¹ "and strike out into new, better directions".³² But in the "Sea of Memory", 1932 she admits: "At times we were a helmsman bold, / But oft submerged in flood of fears".

Along with her social poems Mary Jugg composed reflective and subjective poems. The above examples show that they cannot be extricated so easily from her social poems. As soon as her poems become autobiographical they gather complexity, becoming introspective. There is a desire to expose herself, but at the same time she hides in a metaphorical language. Many times in her poetry the inexplicable feelings, sentiments and abstract concepts become natural elements. In one of her earliest poems, "The Sea of Memory", 1932, she uses different sights of the sea to represent our past:

Across the sea of memory
The waves now surge, now flow;
Always on shores of mind they splash,
Deluge the sands, and then they go.

Sometimes the breakers cruelly
Rich-laden cargoes dash on rocks;
Again the tides to Hope give rise
And vessels reach their ports and docks.³³

It is quite common to find the *Juvenile* contributors reflecting upon their past experiences, especially upon their being students, but usually their poems stop at the descriptive level. In her poems sometimes Mary Jugg is the observer, in some others she is the direct protagonist. For instance, her two poems about graduation

³⁰ "Lines on Spring", *ML*, 05, 1934, p.115.

³¹ "The Call of The New Year", *Ibid.*.

³² "Educational Education", *Prosveta*, 19, 09, 1934, p. 7.

³³ "Sea of Memory", *ML*, 04, 1932, p. 122.

"Graduation", 1932, and "Graduate-1933", 1933, treat the same theme from two different perspectives. In the former poem she presents the school scene from the point of view of a teacher, following her students through their school days to their graduation. The poet tries to define the word graduation, and she searches for a significance that goes beyond the "shuffling and the going" and "a sheet of paper marked with plus and minus signs". Her line is cumulative. This is how the poem starts:

You say,

I see long procession every morning filing into small classrooms;
Chairs moving, shuffling, scratching of pencils,
A few words said, then again—

Going

To return the following day,
And so continuing through weeks and months.

After some years they call it graduation.
What does it mean?³⁴

The visual outlook of the poem and the structure are peculiar. The stanza presenting the formal part of the graduation – the examination and the tests handed in – is given in brackets, in order to concentrate the readers' attention on the final section of the poem, where the poet reveals, in direct speech, the expectations, not so much of the students but of their parents, who worked hard to provide their children with an education. The poet employs this strategy to suggest she is just reporting what she has heard on that day among the public. The direct speech provides her poem with reliability.

While in this poem she looks positively at the generation just graduating, in the autobiographical "Graduate-1933", 1933, she is much more pessimistic. The point of view changes, since now she remembers her own graduation. She recalls how she was told that it was a crucial moment in her life ("They told me I stood at the crossroads/ Of momentous importance – four years ago"). After that she has taken her own road in search of success. A general sense of insecurity starts to permeate the poem as soon as it shifts to her present situation. The language becomes obscure and metaphorical. She describes her condition as coming to a standstill at a wall that bars her view of success and threatens her, but she also realizes that other ex-students are in her position. She is at a crossroads again and she does not know whether to join the others, or continue on her own road. The poem ends with a question: "where must I go?"³⁵

Maybe the best comment on this poem would be Mary Jugg's own words expressed five years later in an article:

³⁴ "Graduation", *ML*, 07, 1932, p. 209.

³⁵ "Graduate – 1933", *ML*, 05, 1933, p. 145.

How many of the graduates of the '27 and '28 have unwillingly but firmly resigned themselves to working on jobs that offer slight compensation above mere existence – jobs that were most remote from their expectations?³⁶

Both in her poems and short stories Mary Jugg refers to fairy tales and riddles freely, since she feels that her readers are at home with them. Sometimes she reworks them charging them with new content, as the following reference to climbing the bean stalk to enter a new world. Again there is a sense of revolt and at the same time of helplessness, expressing hesitancy and fear of daring:

I will tear from my latticed window
The creeper vines, one by one,
And fling from the diamonded trellis
The bars that enlase the sun.

I will grasp stout beans of the morning
To draw me aloft in their sphere,
And cling to the rays of the ascending sun
Lest I fall to the earth in fear.³⁷

Finally, it has to be considered that Mary Jugg writes especially for the *Juvenile*. Therefore, it is obvious that she is influenced in her selection of themes both by her readers' expectations and by the directives the magazine has. She is further influenced by the different times of the year the paper is issued, since many of her poems celebrate the first of May, various important *S.N.P.J.* events, the starting of a new season or the end of the year. For instance, many of her poems appear on the first pages of the January issues, usually celebrating the coming of the New Year and the departure of the Old. These poems, though similar in themes, are very different in terms of complexity.

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³⁶ "Women's Round Table", *Prosveta*, 25, 05, 1938, p. 8.

³⁷ "Ambition", *ML*, 07, 1933, p. 210.

LOUIS ADAMIC AND VATRO GRILL: A PARTNERSHIP OF EQUALS?

Mirko Jurak

In 1956 Anton Melik, Professor of Geography at the University of Ljubljana, published a travelogue *Amerika in ameriška Slovenija* (America and American Slovenia). The author points out in his "notes" the pride of American people regarding their achievements, social and racial antagonisms which exist in the United States, and the fate of Slovene immigrants who must have found it difficult "to establish for themselves an equal position with other immigrants and old settlers due to their insufficient education and lack of knowledge of English".¹ A large part of Melik's book is devoted to his encounters with American Slovenes. Among them he also mentions his conversations with Vatro Grill, who knew Louis Adamic well and was a close friend of his.² Melik says that Adamic and Grill were members of the same generation, they even attended the same secondary school in Ljubljana and they left for America in the same year, in 1913. When they met they discovered that they had the same or very similar views upon problems Slovene immigrants had in America. Melik also suggests that when a book is going to be written about Louis Adamic, Grill is the right person to contribute to it.

These suggestions and particularly the admiration expressed by Vatroslav Grill in his autobiography *Med dvema svetovoma* (Between Two Worlds, 1979)³ for Louis Adamic to whom he dedicated his book, arouse in me questions about the nature of this relationship, more precisely, whether this relationship was mainly a one-sided one, or whether Adamic found in Grill not only an ardent supporter but also an equal intellectual partner, a man whose opinion he took into consideration or which even influenced his life and work. In order to solve this puzzle I have not just read very closely Grill's autobiography but I have also researched Adamic's correspondence with Vatroslav Grill and other material on Grill kept by the Manuscript Department of the Slovene National and University Library (NUK) in Ljubljana.⁴ By now a number of books and many articles have been written on Louis Adamic and therefore it is not necessary for me to repeat the story of his life,

¹ Anton Melik, *Amerika in ameriška Slovenija*. (*America and American Slovenia*.) Ljubljana: DZS, 1956.

² See n. 1, 233-234.

³ Vatroslav Grill, *Med dvema svetovoma*. (Between Two Worlds.) Ljubljana: MK, 1979. The abbreviation *MDS* is used from now on.

⁴ I wish to thank Mr. Mihael Glavan and Ms. Rozina Švent from the National and University Library in Ljubljana for their help.

or present an analysis of his literary achievements. However, Vatroslav Grill is much less known not only in Slovenia but also in America and some facts from his life and work may help us to illuminate his personality more clearly.

Vatro (Vatroslav) Grill was born as Ignacij Gril on February 1, 1899, in the village Soteska near Moravče, Slovenia. He attended the elementary school at Moravče and then finished three years of the secondary school in Ljubljana. In August 1913 he left with his mother and sister for Cleveland, where his father had been since March of the same year. The family went to America because they were afraid of the approaching First World War, and of poverty, which had already begun to affect life at home. At first Grill was not sure what he wished to do and what he could actually become in the States, so he learnt type-setting and got a job with one of the Slovene newspapers published in Cleveland. In 1918 he got a regular job with a Slovene newspaper *Enakopravnost* (*Slovenian Equality Daily*), but already at the end of 1919 he became a journalist and the sole editor of *Enakopravnost*, which he edited between 1919-1936, 1943-1948 and finally from 1950 until April 6, 1957, when *Enakopravnost* merged with another Slovene newspaper, *Prosveta* (*The Enlightenment*). This newspaper has been published since 1917 by one of the two largest Slovene societies in the United States, by the Slovenska narodna in podporna jednota (The Slovene National Benefit Society). This society still exists and it still publishes *Prosveta*, but it is mainly in English now.

Grill soon realized that his achievements in life would be higher if he finished the secondary school and obtained the university education. He went to night classes at Cleveland Preparatory School and he simultaneously attended the Cleveland Law School. He got his Bachelor of Law degree in May 1925 and a month later he also passed his Bar exams in Columbus, Ohio. During the following decades he held various public posts. Among others, he became Assistant Public Prosecutor in Cleveland in 1942, and in 1959 he became Assistant Attorney General for the State of Ohio. Grill retired from this position in 1963. After the Second World War he visited Slovenia several times and gathered here the material for his autobiography and wrote the first draft of his *Med dvema svetovoma*. He died on March 21, 1976 in Santa Clara, California, three years before the publication of his bulky manuscript, which was prepared for publication by Professor Jerneja Petrič.

Although Grill's professional position was relatively high in the ranks of Ohio administration, he often mentions in his autobiography that he always freely expressed his views on political and social issues. But he really became known among members of the Slovene emigrant community by his journalistic and cultural activities. He was an actor in the "Ivan Cankar" theatre society and he even directed some plays performed by this group. He was also a member of the "Zarja" singing society, and a member of various benefit societies, the Director of the Slovenski narodni dom (Slovene National Home) in Cleveland, the President of the Slovenska svobodomiselna podporna zveza (Slovenian Freethinking Benefit Society, 1928-1936). In the 1930s and 1940s Grill also translated a number of Adamic's articles, which had been previously published in various reviews (e.g. in *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, *Harper's*, *Time* and *Tide* etc.), from English into Slovene. Although he also tried his hand at translating literature (Dickens, Kipling)

and also wrote some poems for *Prosveta* and *Rodna gruda*, as late as in the 1960s, he must have realized quite early in his life that his real forte was journalism and not creative writing.

On Dec. 24, 1921, Ivan Cankar's short story "Simple Martin"⁵ appeared in the American weekly *The Living Age*, published in Boston. Vatro Grill noticed the appearance of this and several other short stories, which were translated from Slovene literature, and he began to wonder who the translator might be, because his name did not appear together with the translation. He reported about this in *Enakopravnost*, but the question remained unanswered for several years.⁶ Then, in July 1928, Louis Adamic published in the avantgarde monthly, *The American Mercury*, his essay "The Bohunks". It was written in a slightly satirical tone and Adamic dealt in it mainly with weaknesses – but also with some positive sides – of the Slovenes, both at home and in America. One of the main faults that he mentions is the servility of the Slovenes towards people who have an authority, be it secular or religious, and their tendency to accept the worst side of American materialism, their becoming insensitive for moral values, which they "brought with them" to America. But on the other hand Adamic stresses that without their contribution America would not be what it is. Adamic also attacks in this essay the yellow press, including the immigrant papers.⁷ The response among Slovene reviewers was mainly negative (as e.g. in the Catholic oriented *Ameriška domovina* – *American home*), or the newspapers only mentioned the essay without giving any opinion or even kept quiet about it (e.g. *Prosveta* and *Proletarec* - *The Proletarian* in Chicago, *Glas naroda* - *Voice of the People* in New York, respectively).⁸ Vatro Grill praised the article in his editorial in *Enakopravnost* (August 15, 1928) and he expressed in it his firm belief that this was not the last what one could hear about Adamic. He also believed that the Slovenes in America did not pay enough attention to their intellectual and cultural needs and that Adamic's points were true and relevant.

History has proved Grill was right, for Adamic published in the 1930s a number of books which placed him among the best, most eloquent and also most critical American writers of the period. Several of his most important works were actually published in this decade: *Dynamite: the Story of Class Violence* (1931), *Laughing in the Jungle* (1932), *The Native's Return* (1934), *Grandsons* (1935), *Cradle of Life* (1936), *The House in Antigua* (1936), and *My America* (1938). This was, no doubt, Adamic's most prolific period, and it was also the time when he and Vatroslav Grill had very frequent personal contacts.

Louis Adamic and Vatro Grill met in Cleveland at the end of December 1933, when Adamic and his wife Stella stayed there for a few days. Grill introduced Adamic to a number of people, who were active in social, political and cultural life of the Slovene community in Cleveland, among others to Anton Terbovec, the editor of *Nova doba* - *New Era*, to the editor of *Cleveland Press*

⁵ Ivan Cankar's story is included in his *Izbrana dela* (Selected Works), published by CZ in Ljubljana in 1955 as Bebec Martin one of the stories in 1. Cankar's collection *Podobe iz sanj* (Images from Dreams).

⁶ MDS, 178-180.

⁷ MDS, 546-560 (translation by V. Grill).

⁸ MDS, 179

Frederick Sterbentz, to Frank J. Lausche, who soon became the mayor of Cleveland and who was later on five times the governor of the state of Ohio and for twelve years a member of the senate, and to many others. The visit was preceded by a brief correspondence between Adamic and Grill, which is rather important as regards their relationship. In December 1933 Adamic sent Grill a set of galley-proofs of his new book *The Native's Return* asking him to read the book and tell him what he thinks of it.⁹ Let me say right away that Adamic continued with this practice during the following years too. Adamic let Grill know about his literary creativity, his plans for future work and responses he got from various other people. Thus, e.g., Adamic very enthusiastically wrote to Grill about the progress he made with his novel *Grandsons*¹⁰ and a year later with the *Cradle of Life*.¹¹ Adamic must have been happy when Grill wrote with such high praise about his novels in *Enakopravnost*, as was the case with *The Native's Return*, which helped increase Adamic's popularity among the Slovene emigrants.¹² There can be no doubt that Adamic found in Grill a judicious, competent reviewer, whom he trusted, and who was very well acquainted with the general opinion of Slovene emigrants about contemporary issues not only in Cleveland, but also elsewhere in America.

Adamic believed that *The Native's Return* would be "of considerable importance to the Yugoslavs in this country and to Yugoslavia."¹³ It seems that Adamic was himself surprised how positive the response was. He wrote to Grill that the book was "a big hit .. it became a best-seller in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Boston in less than a week after publication, which seldom happens unless one is a big shot like Sinclair Lewis."¹⁴ The book even became a part of the regular university syllabus at some well-known schools, as e.g. at Columbia University, Cornell University, Smith College etc. However, the politicians in Belgrade must have been furious about Adamic's picture of political and social situation in Yugoslavia. Adamic learnt about some of these views and so he turned to Grill for help. He writes to him:

Dear Vatro: When you have a chance, I suggest that you write something to this effect – that you understand that the Yugoslav consul-general in New York, Mr. Jankovich, stated in a private conversation that "The Native's Return" was a fine book, just what we needed in this country; only he was sorry I dealt with politics in Yugoslavia. Mind you, he did not say I did not tell the truth. He said he wished he had a chance to talk to me before I published the book so that he could have advised me. Don't say where you received this

⁹ L. Adamic to V. Grill, Dec: 11, 1933.

¹⁰ L. Adamic to V. Grill, Od. 29, 1934.

¹¹ L. Adamic to V. Grill, July 2, 1936.

¹² V. Grill, "Ameriška kritika pozdravlja *The Native's Return*." *Enakopravnost*, Feb. 5, 1934

¹³ L. Adamic to v. Grill, Dec. 11, 1933.

¹⁴ L. Adamic to V. Grill, April 19, n.y. (1934).

report from. Jankovich said the above to Ivan Mladineo, but don't use Mladineo's name either.¹⁵

Adamic complains in the same letter that the "klerikalci", i.e. people holding the extreme right-wing, clerical political views, wished to make Adamic even a supporter of Mussolini, what enraged him a lot.

Due to Adamic's frankness in expressing his political ideas and due to his independence from political parties, he was not liked either by the political right or the political left. The right would accuse him to have revolutionary political ideas, and the left would complain when he criticised their co-operation with the tyrannical government in Belgrade. In one of his letters to Grill Adamic mentions how it came to a crisis between him and Frank Zaitz, the editor of the newspaper *Proletarec* (The *Proletarian*), when at a meeting in Milwaukee Adamic expressed his opinion that many social-democrats in Yugoslavia "had jobs with the dictatorial government and were thus co-operating with the dictatorship. Even Molek took me to task for this, later"... and he adds further on, "in Yugoslavia, there is only one opposition group worth anything: and that's the underground Communist Party".¹⁶ Although Grill never expressed any admiration for Communism, he probably accepted such views as topics about which he and Adamic had somewhat different positions. How keen Adamic was to inform Grill about his political experiences – at least in the 1930s – can be seen from another letter he sent to Grill on the very same day, i.e. on April 15, 1939, when he met in Chicago Dr. Edvard Benes. He was a former Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs (1918–1935), President of the Czechoslovak Republic (1935–1938) and during 1938–1945 the Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic in exile, in London.

Louis Adamic was very much impressed by what Dr. Benes had told him in confidence during their meeting in Chicago. Adamic specifically points out in his letter to Grill Benes's persuasion that "... we must work for a free Europe, for the small countries cannot exist in a dictatorial Europe. He foresees a federated Europe, or a United States of Europe. But Europe must go through another war. That's the hell of it. The economic system in this future federated Europe, he said, will be state capitalism." And further on, Adamic reports, that Benes would like these views to be spread, but without mentioning the source, that is his name. Another important point Benes made, was "... to organize. Form communities. Yugoslavs, he said, are in the same boat as the Czechs etc."¹⁷

Adamic also asked Grill to inform people like Terbovec, Molek, Sabec "to start gradual propaganda for this idea."¹⁸

The tone and the style of Adamic's writing make it clear that he expected Grill's support and also indicate that he completely trusted Grill. The latter was in a good position as an editor who knew people in Slovene emigrants' journalism, and could also predict their reactions. Besides, Grill was known among leaders of various political parties and societies and therefore his help for Adamic was

¹⁵ L. Adamic to V. Grill, May 5, 1934.

¹⁶ L. Adamic to v. Grill, Nov. 20, 1934.

¹⁷ L. Adamic to V Grill, April 15, 1939.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

definitely not negligible. They both agreed on many important points, as e.g. in their belief that in the United States religion was a personal matter and that the clergy should not be involved in politics; they both believed that free thinking was the essence of democracy; they both disapproved of crude, materialistic, extreme liberal capitalism, however, they did not think that what was then known as its counterpart, either socialism or communism, could be accepted as a solution of class antagonisms in America. Further on, they had very similar views on the importance of the emigrant's awareness of his roots, even more, they believed that emigrants should acknowledge their roots and make the best out of them. They were both unhappy because the Slovenes in America did not create a compact ethnic body not by force, but by their own free will, and they disapproved of their division into the Catholics and the liberals and socialists. Even though this cleft seemed to have diminished when the Second World War started it appeared again already during the last years of the War and the Slovene emigrant population in America has been divided again as regards politics after the War, too. Maybe they were both too optimistic in their views upon ethnic questions, politics and religion, because the solution – at least among the Slovenes – has not been found yet.

Let me return briefly to one of Grill's most known articles in which he expressed some of the views briefly indicated above. Already in 1936 he published an editorial entitled "Ali je slovenstvo v Ameriki borbe vredno? (Is Slovenhood in America worth fighting for?)"¹⁹ Grill's starting point is that it is natural for an emigrant to be torn between two countries. However, he suggests, one should first of all accept one's natural ethnicity and only then can one contribute to the adopted land and its values. People who do not see anything good in their origin, are only likely to become servile ministers in their new homeland. Grill attacks in this article "false prophets", among them also emigrant political leaders – without naming them individually – and indirectly also each emigrant, who has forgotten the value of Primož Trubar, France Prešeren and Ivan Cankar and their contribution to Slovene ethnic heritage. From among Slovene artists in America Grill mentions only two: Louis Adamic and a painter Gregorij Perušek. His final question is: what are we, each one of us, and the Slovene emigrant community as a whole, going to be like in twenty, thirty years time? How do we bring up our children, looking only after their personal good, or as self-aware people who are proud of their ancestors?

Grill was, as he himself admits, pleased when Adamic praised the article and suggested to Grill that the article "should be sent to the old community – to Juš Kozak, to Oton Zupančič, and people like that."²⁰ In his autobiography Grill says that he did not send the article to anybody so that people might not think that he was being conceited.²¹ It is interesting to note that more than thirty years later he found an abridged version of his article published by father Kazimir Zakrajšek in his publication of Raphael's Society, but without acknowledging Grill's authorship.

Louis Adamic and Vatro Grill corresponded regularly in the 1930s, and Adamic frankly expressed in his letters to Grill views he held on various Slovene

¹⁹ V. Grill, "Ali je slovenstvo v Ameriki borbe vredno?" *Enakopravnost*, April 9, 1936.

²⁰ L. Adamic to V. Grill, Oct 31, 1936.

²¹ *MDS*, 203.

Americans, as e.g. Frank Lausche, Ivan Zorman, Janko N. Rogelj, Vincent Cainkar and many others, who played an important role in the Slovene political and cultural life. Grill states though that in the 1940s their contacts were "generally more indirect than direct."²² They met at various conferences of organizations supporting the struggle of Slovene and Yugoslav peoples (SANS, ZOJSA) for liberation in Yugoslavia. Adamic was very much involved in these efforts, he became definitely more interested in what he was saying and less in how he was saying it, although he undoubtedly also tried to keep the literary standards he had achieved in his earlier works. When Adamic's last work *The Eagle and the Roots* posthumously appeared in 1952, Grill expressed in his review his belief that in this work one can find "all well known virtues of a psychologically acute observer, who looks at his surroundings primarily spiritually and only then with his eyes, the virtues of a born narrator, whose joy and satisfaction is in his use of the word as a vessel of beauty and truth. As a literary work *The Eagle and the Roots* stands side by side his other best works".²³ Twenty-two years later, in 1974, when Vatro Grill was interviewed on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, he said, among others: "It is obvious that for us, American Slovenes, Adamic was not so much important as a writer but as a phenomenon."²⁴ Grill did not explain what he meant with his use of the term "phenomenon", although one may conclude that he wished briefly to define with this concept Adamic's achievements in cultural and political sphere; however, this statement also indirectly recognizes the fact that Adamic has become less interested in pure fiction and that he was by now a "social revolutionary", "sceptical about defined philosophies, social and others", "occasionally totally overwhelmed by an idea, which could be called fantastic", as V. Grill characterized him in his autobiography, in the 1970s.²⁵ Even Rev. Jurij M. Trunk (1870–1973), a journalist and the author of one of the earliest books written by a Slovene on America (*Amerika in Amerikanci* /America and the Americans/ Celovec, 1912) expressed in his letter to L. Adamic in 1943 his belief that Adamic's views upon the situation in Yugoslavia seemed to him "true, right and correct" and that Adamic played with his "extremely brilliant gift to write, to observe, to express, to characterize and to put before the broader public an extraordinary role".²⁶ This opinion may help us to understand the popularity Adamic had in America, even though some of his opponents denied him every merit. Although Vatroslav Grill can be counted among those intellectuals who admired Adamic, but he definitely was not such a charismatic personality; however, I hope that I have shown that Adamic found in Grill a trustworthy, intelligent and reliable friend, who, as we have seen, helped Adamic in many ways. Grill summarizes their relationship in the following statement: "As an American I also wished that we, the Slovenes, would join America in a creative and meaningful way, but on the other hand, I wished, as a Slovene, for the Slovenes to preserve our identity to remain true to ourselves until the very end."²⁷ Although –

²² *Ibid.*, 206.

²³ *Ibid.*, 222. (*Enakopravnost*, June 27, 1952.)

²⁴ Bogdan Pogačnik, "75 let Vatra Grilla", *Delo*, Feb. 11, 1974.

²⁵ *MDS*. 215.

²⁶ Geo. M. Trunk (-Jurij M. Trunk) to L. Adamic, April 11, 1943.

as has been shown above – they had a lot in common the above mentioned view might be the platform of their mutual understanding and co-operation. Therefore, I believe, the central question which I raised at the beginning of this paper can easily be answered, namely, that their relationship was, generally speaking, a partnership of equals.

University of Ljubljana

²⁷ *MDS*, 223.

SLOVENE POETRY IN THE U.S.A.: THE CASE OF IVAN ZORMAN

Igor Maver

Ivan Zorman was both a musician and a poet, born in 1889 in Šmarje near Grosuplje and died in 1957 in Cleveland (Ohio). In 1893 his family emigrated to the United States of America, first to Ely, Calumet, Cleveland and then to some other American towns. After a brief return to Slovenia in 1898/9, where Zorman attended elementary school in Velesovo near Kranj, they finally settled down in 1904 in Cleveland. In 1907 Zorman took up the study of modern languages (English, French and Italian), history and music at Western Reserve University and graduated only in music in 1912. For a number of years, during 1908 and 1956, he was chief organist and choir leader (like his father) at the parish church of Sv. Lovrenc in Newburgh near Cleveland. During 1920 and 1925 he was professional director of the "Zorman Philharmonic". Not only was he known as a musician, he was very much present in the public life of the Slovene community living in Cleveland, as the enthusiastic teacher of Slovene literature in the Slovene school of the "Slovenski narodni dom", as a poet, translator and public speaker.

Although it has been claimed that Ivan Zorman is somehow "forgotten" as a poet, this is perhaps not entirely the case, taking into account the relatively high number of extant studies and entries written about him and his work. However, his work as a poet and translator has not been analyzed in great depth nor has it been properly contextualized within Slovene literary history. From among the studies of his work should especially be mentioned Janez Stanonik's detailed entry on Zorman in *The Slovene Biographical Dictionary*,¹ Jože Bajec's article published in *Slovenski izseljenski koledar*, Jerneja Petrič's entry in her anthology *Naši na tujih tleh*,² Edi Gobec's introduction to his anthology of Zorman's poems *Slovenski ameriški slavček Ivan Zorman* celebrating the hundredth anniversary of his birth, and, most recently, Rozina Švent's article on his books and manuscripts available in The Slovene National Library.³ Also, among the most recent reprints of Zorman's poems is his frequently quoted poem "Izseljenec" (from his collection *Iz novega sveta*), published in *Misli* (1993) and in *Slovenski izseljenski koledar* (1997).

1 Janez Stanonik, "Ivan Zorman", *SBL*, XIV. Ljubljana: SAZU, 1986: 855-56.

2 Jerneja Petrič, "Ivan Zorman", *Naši na tujih tleh*. Ljubljana: CZ, 1982: 443-46.

3 Rozina Švent, "Ivan Zorman", *Slovenski izseljenski koledar* '98. Ljubljana: SIM, 1997: 127-33.

A number of short reviews have been written about Zorman's poetry over the years by all the major cultural exponents of Slovenes living in America, and some in Slovenia,⁴ most of them favourable, although "they were often intended to be encouraging and positive, but taking into account the circumstances in which the sensitive poet and composer worked, this seems only right and human".⁵ Aleš Debeljak, however, wrote in 1925 somewhat critically about his verse collection *Lirični spevi* (1925) that it is "a modest train from which you can see only a wee bit of the not very big Slovene homeland" and that "the search of this book is not very deep".⁶ On the other hand, Debeljak liked the poetic images taken from nature and Zorman's smooth-flowing verse rhythm. Zorman published his poems in a number of magazines in America and Slovenia alike, and privately in Cleveland five collections of poems: *Poezije* (1919) as the very first Slovene verse collection published in the United States, *Pesmi* (1922), *Lirični spevi* (1925), *Pota Ljubezni* (1931), *Iz novega sveta* (1938) and a bilingual book of English translations from Slovene poetry *Slovene (Jugoslav) Poetry* (1928), which served Janko Lavrin (1887-1986) as the basis for some of his own verse translations from Slovene into English. Ivan Zorman may not be the very best Slovene poet ever to have written abroad, although he belongs among the first Slovene Expressionist poets, but due to the great variety, formal simplicity and especially the great popularity of his poems among the Slovenes living in America, many of which have been put to music, he can perhaps be said to belong to the very peak of Slovene literature produced in America in the first half of the twentieth century.

Zorman's first translations of Slovene poets into English were published for the first time in his collection of poems *Pesmi* (1922). He translated Prešeren, Jenko, Gregorčič, Levstik, Župančič ("Duma"), Funtek, Medved and Sardenko. A few years later, in 1928, he published a separate bilingual volume of translations into English along with their Slovene originals titled *Slovene (Jugoslav) Poetry*.⁷ In the Preface, where he thanks his friend Dr. F. J. Kern for helpful suggestions, Zorman first states that he has not attempted to produce a fully representative anthology, for it could scarcely be the work of a single translator. The objective of the book was "only in the hope of bringing our younger Slovenes and other students of Slav literature closer to the source" that these translations have been prepared from (v). The important thing, he writes, is that he intentionally left untranslated most of the Slovene feminine rhymes and, in a few instances, the masculine rhymes, "in an effort to remain closer to the original" (ibid.). He also tried to preserve the original rhythm and meter. In the Introduction Zorman limits himself to a few general observations about Slovenia and poets translated in the book, although "it would be interesting to delve into Slovene history: the position of the Slovenes in the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy of which they were a part until the close of the First World War; their labors and struggles for a place among

⁴ Edi Gobec, *Slovenski ameriški slavček Ivan Zorman*. Celovec, Dunaj: Mohorjeva založba, 1991: 22-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶ Aleš Debeljak, "Ivan Zorman, Lirični spevi", *Ljubljanski zvon* (1925): 558.

⁷ Ivan Zorman, *Slovene (Jugoslav) Poetry*. Cleveland: privately published, 1928. All further references in the text will be to this edition.

the free and enlightened peoples of the world; the various stages in their literary development; their present greater opportunities in independent Yugoslavia, and so on" (ibid.). He maintains that given its small size, Slovenia has produced a remarkably large number of gifted men, in literature, music, painting, sculpture and science. In describing the Slovene landscape "of unsurpassed beauty" Zorman, being primarily a musician, stresses the fact that just because of this it is "a country rich in song", for "the principal source of Slovene poetry was the folk song" (x).

Zorman's Introduction to the anthology is from a scholarly point of view exceptionally well written and the same is true as regards the themes and ideas which are very contemporary and not at all dated. He interestingly defines as the chief characteristics of Slovene poetry "the typically Slav dreamy cadences and elegiac moods, tenderness, intensity, directness, and singing quality" (xi). It is thus no coincidence, as he himself notes in the Introduction, that more than half of the poems he chose for translation have been actually set to music. He wanted to preserve the original rhymes at all cost, which, of course, sometimes makes the rhyme scheme somewhat forced and artificial, though not too often. As in his own poems, many of which were also set to music by himself or other composers, he was fond of simple, formally consistent lines of verse, primarily quatrains with alternating male and female rhymes without any caesura.

As regards the choice of authors for translation, Zorman seems to have been fascinated by those whose work was characterized by the strong nationally aware feelings. In his brief sketches of the poets translated he makes clear some of his prime concerns in making his selection. First he writes that Prešeren "stepped before the Slovene people unheralded, with scarcely a precursor to prepare the way in poetry" (xi). He goes on to say that although he uses known forms (e.g. the sonnet) and he has learned a lot from other classic European poets, his "subject-matter is altogether original". He says that despite the fact Prešeren's work ranges from the simple lyric to the "grandiose epic", all of his poems are characterized by a distinct Slovene national individuality. In referring to Fran Levstik, he stresses his philological studies and critical essays as "invaluable contributions to the Slovene language and literature" (xiii). The poem "Two Gulls", which Zorman masterfully rendered into English, is described as the first Slovene poem to depict the poet's mood, although it is not quite clear whether he meant it to turn out Romantic or Impressionistic. To Zorman, many of Simon Jenko's poems reflect the spirit of the Slovene folk song and "some of them show Heine's influence" (xiii). He also finds a deep melancholy and an ardent love that pervade his poems, which evidently appealed to him as he chose several of Jenko's poems for translation. He says it "seems strange that a poet of Jenko's nature should have written the war-like Slovene national hymn 'Advance!'", which is written in a pan-Slavic spirit and used to be the Slovene national anthem before the state independence in 1991 and which he also decided to translate into English.

Simon Gregorčič seems to have grown closest to Zorman poetic sensibility, because his poems are "characterized by melody, tenderness and intensity" as well as "smooth, melodious quality" (xiv). If Zorman is very modern in briefly describing the poets translated, then he is just somewhat too enthusiastic and exaggerates in the description of Simon Gregorčič's work, his first collection of verse, published in 1882, which was "received with an enthusiasm and joy never

equalled by any other volume of Slovene poetry" (ibid.). Anton Aškerc is labelled as the foremost Slovene epic poet, although Zorman concentrated on his lyrical pieces, which also reveal his "direct, realistic style". There are also Anton Medved and Anton Funtek, nowadays less read Slovene poets. In Medved's verse Zorman found "lofty thoughts", "pessimistic musings", and "classic repose", while some of Funtek's "lightly contemplative" poems attracted him for their "effective musical settings" (ibid.). Looking at the selection of texts for translation into English, it can be observed that Ivan Zorman primarily relied on the following features of poems: their rhythmical, musical qualities, their nationally aware feelings of Slovene and/or Slavic awakening, and finally the simple, most frequently rhymed structure that easily lends itself to be set to music.

Zorman's book of verse translations *Slovene (Jugoslav) Poetry* contains altogether 34 poems by the earlier mentioned poets, most of them by Prešeren, Jenko and Gregorčič. All the poems are published bilingually, which was for his time rather exceptional, if not daring, and even today bilingual editions of verse translations, as many critics maintain, represent one of the best possible ways to publish a selection of any verse in a foreign language. Most of Prešeren's poems translated are very well known to a Slovene reader: "To Music", "Lost Faith", "Whither?", "The Sailor", "The Unwedded Mother", "Memento Mori", and "Sonnet". "Whither?" ("Kam?") is translated into an immaculate English, and British English it is, not American English as it would perhaps be expected. Also the rhyme scheme is mostly perfectly recreated in English, in rhymed couplets (aa, bb, etc):

When rushing on in stormy wrath,
Friends ask me: Whither speeds thy path?

O rather ask the gloomy cloud,
O rather ask the sea wave loud

When Master Storm with might profound
Drives on and madly hurls them round.

The cloud knows not, nor wave, nor I
Where my despairful goal may lie.

I only feel, I only know
That I before her may not go,

And that on earth there is no place
Where I my woe could e'er efface (11).

The well known Prešeren's poem "Nezakonska mati", translated as "The Unwedded Mother" (17), bears witness just how difficult it is sometimes to transpose a poem from one system of linguistic signs into another, from one culture into another. Though translated in mostly consistently structured quatrains,

Zorman added or slightly changed the meaning of individual lines. In the fourth line he, for example, translates "neporočeni materi" (to an unwedded mother) as "a shameful motherhood", where the adjective "shameful" adds a negative value to Prešeren's rather neutral original "neporočeni", although shame can indeed be implied from the rest of the poem. A feature that can immediately be discerned, when looking at the original and the *translatio*, is that his English translations are frequently longer, for paraphrase is used, especially since the poems are rendered from the quantitative metrical system in which the duration of feet is counted (Slovene) into the (English) accentual-syllabic metrical versification system in which the accents and syllables are measured.

Kaj pa je tebe treba bilo,
dete ljubo, dete lepo,
meni mladi deklici,
neporočeni materi? -

*

Oh, that to me you should have come,
Dear little one, beautiful!
I, a youthful maid, unwed -
Into a shameful motherhood led (16, 17)!

Prešeren's sonnet "Memento mori" (21) is, as regards its form, rendered into English most conscientiously following the rhyme scheme consisting of quatrains and tercets. The content closely follows the original, but its details, may one say as a matter of course, occasionally slightly depart from it. For example, instead of the word "slepoto" (the blindness) of this world, Zorman uses "pleasure", while the expression "v mrtvaškem prtu" (in a death shroud) is simply omitted altogether in order to secure the required number of feet and the appropriate rhyme scheme. It should be said, though, that such frequently unavoidable changes performed on the original are in Zorman's verse translations as rare as they can be, which testifies to his masterful command of both the source and target languages of translation, Slovene and English alike, although he never attended Slovene schools but read most avidly in Slovene.

Naj zmisli, kdor slepoto ljubi sveta,
in od veselja do veselja leta,
da smrtna žetev vsak dan bolj dozori.

Znabiti, da kdor zdaj vesel prepeva,
v mrtvaškem prtu nam pred koncem dneva
molče trobental bo: "memento mori!"

*

May he, who pleasure ever contemplates,
And of frivolity and vainness prates,
Think well: death's harvest ripens constantly.

Mayhap that he, to-day with mirth aglow,
To us to-morrow will with trumpet blow
And sound: Memento mori! silently (20, 21).

Fran Levstik's verse opus is usually considered to be lesser than his critical and prose writings. It is interesting that Zorman should choose five of his lyrical (Romantic) pieces for translation. One possible reason for his selection, and selections are always arbitrary, is that he could easily identify with them, for example with the moody and lonely speaker of the poem in the well-known "Utvi" ("Two Gulls") or the clearly nostalgic "Domotožnost" ("Longing for Home"). The theme of nostalgia and longing for home meant a lot to him, an emigrant abroad, probably more than to an average Slovene reader of these poems at home in Slovenia. It goes without saying that a common motive for all the poems chosen for translation by Ivan Zorman, essentially a trained musician, collected in the bilingual anthology *Slovene (Jugoslav) Poetry* was, as he himself pointed out in the introduction, that all of them were very melodious and were easy to be put to music. In "Two Gulls" (27), consisting of two quatrains, interlocking rhymes are preserved, while the original verb "premišljam" (I contemplate) is more to the point than the translated "I look at":

Premišljam iz okna dve utvi,
a v meni utriplje srce,
zamakneno v dneve nekdanje
na lice usiplje solze.

*

I look at the gulls from my window,
My heart with emotion beats fast,
Hot tears down my cheeks come streaming
As I think of the days that are past.

Levstik's poem "Longing for Home" (32-3) definitely harps on the strain of emigrant homesickness abroad combined with a nostalgia for youth that is no more, for "There bloomed the blossoms of my youth, / There first I felt love's magic spell, / There I rejoiced in my own dear land, / On native soil my tear-drops fell" (33).

Simon Jenko was most appealing to Ivan Zorman, since he decided to translate six of his poems into English, among them the former (i.e. before the state independence gained in 1991) Slovene national anthem "Naprej!". The choice comes as no surprise in view of Zorman's patriotic feelings in producing this bilingual anthology. The translation itself appears less accomplished than the original, with stress on some sort of pan-Slavonic or Slavic idea within the American "melting pot", which Zorman expressed also on several other occasions. Jenko's poem "Adrijansko morje" ("The Adriatic Sea") was likewise probably chosen for translation by Zorman because of its strongly expressed national awareness, as well as because of its great rhythmical musicality of verse. In contrast to Zorman's other translations, there are relatively numerous changes in

"The Adriatic Sea" (43) with regard to the original. The translation is slightly longer in terms of the length of individual lines, and it also is more abstract than the original, e.g. words like "happiness", "freedom", "fame", "glory" appear in the translation only:

Ko ob tebi mesta bela
naših dedov so cvetela,
ko so jadra njih vojske,
so nosile njih ime.

*

On thy shores their cities towered,
Happiness and freedom flowered
While their vessels bore their name,
And their sails proclaimed their fame.

Simon Gregorčič's work, the harmony, national consciousness, lyricism, and above all the melodiousness of his verse, seemed a natural text for Zorman's lyrical and musical bent to be translated into English. All of the chosen Gregorčič's poems are lyrical, moody, meditative ("Looking into Innocent Eyes"), and, it could be added, extremely Romantic in stressing the aloneness and melancholy of the speaker of each poem. The choice thus to some extent reveals Zorman's own nature. Gregorčič's poems are beautifully translated into English, into a literary and perhaps slightly archaic English, which adds to the historical patina of the texts. The poem "Sam" ("Alone", 68, 69), along with its unmistakable Romantic feeling, indirectly and metaphorically also shows Zorman's own relative isolation from the contemporary Slovene literary creativity. Zorman's English versions are impeccable, in terms of technical aspects, content and the rhythmical-melodious movement of Simon Gregorčič's verse. It must be noted that Ivan Zorman's own poems were likewise formally simple (a predominant four-line stanza), always most consistently rhymed, which is why many of them were put to music by major music composers, e.g. Emil Adamič, Anton Šubelj, Matija Tomc, etc. Zorman's close affinity with Gregorčič's musical ear and Romantic poetic sensibility made some authors call him, by analogy with Gregorčič, "the Slovene American Nightingale" (Gobec). From among the few translated poems by Anton Aškerc, Anton Medved and Anton Funtek, Aškerc's poem "Mi vstajamo!" ("Our Day is Come", 79) is very indicative of Zorman's pan-Slavic feeling and pride of belonging to a Slavic nation, with some kind of grudge or even threat against the Anglo-Saxon (and Germanic) immigrants in America.

Our day is come! And - you're afraid?
Why all your fierce excitement!
You fear the Slav indictment?
Your conscience feels a heavy guilt,
Your trembling hand is on the hilt?
Is it revenge you're fearing
As countless hosts are nearing?

It is true that Ivan Zorman frequently chose for translation those poems that showed a great sense of national awareness, but it is also true that he chose from the respective opuses of Slovene poets mostly highly melancholic and musical pieces. He was, after all, essentially a musician, and looked for poems that could be easily put to music. This selection reveals and is somehow confirmed also by his own poetic creativity, which, despite its occasional Baroque expression and sentimentality, "brings into Slovene poetry new themes, expresses emotional depth and concern for the destiny of the nation and the future of Slovene emigrants to the U.S.A.". ⁸ Many of the Slovene poems translated into English published in Zorman's bilingual anthology *Slovene (Jugoslav) Poetry* could be used also today, in an anthological representation of the older classic Slovene literature in the English language. For, translation activity is a two-way traffic: if we Slovenes do promptly translate many and most representative foreign authors, then, we should also do the opposite, "export" our literature and culture to the world, and not just the most recent one, as has most frequently been the case.

University of Ljubljana

⁸ Janez Stanonik, "Ivan Zorman", *SBL*, XIV. Ljubljana: SAZU, 1986: 855-56.

THE FUSION OF THE IMAGINATION AND
THE MATERIAL UNIVERSE:
HUGH HOOD, *FLYING A RED KITE* (1962)¹

Aleksander Kustec

Let her live a week, he thought, and she
may go on living into the next generation, if
there is one...

Hugh Hood, "After the Sirens"
(*Flying a Red Kite*, 1962)

I have often been treated as a writer who
relies upon actuality, on what has happened, for
his material, whereas I know myself to be a
writer in whose work imagination and fantasy,
the purely private and extra-historical, take the
primary place.

Hugh Hood, "Introduction"
(*Flying a Red Kite*, 1962)

In the first weeks of January 1957 Hugh (John Blagdon) Hood moved to
Hartford, Connecticut, U. S. A, where he became Professor at Saint Joseph
College. This is how Hood remembers this period:

I was going to get married that April and I wanted to have a substantial
body of material on hand to prove to my wife-to-be that I was no idler,
that this writing business was something we must both take seriously.
Many times afterwards when I couldn't get anybody to accept my first
stories, I said to Noreen, 'If in the course of my life I can get half a
dozen stories, I'll be satisfied. I'll know that I've done the best I could
with what I had. And that would be an honourable record, six.'²

¹ The study is a continuation of my research on Hugh Hood's writing, which I started in my MA thesis
"Tipično kanadski elementi v sodobni kanadski kratki zgodbi" [Typical Canadian Elements in the
Contemporary Canadian Short Story], University of Ljubljana, 1996.

² Hood, "Introduction" in *Flying a Red Kite: The Collected Stories I*, p. 17.

At the time Hood did not know that he was going to become one of Canada's greatest stylists and contemporary short story writers. Between January 1957 and March 1962, when he was going through a final selection of short stories for his first book, *Flying a Red Kite* (*FRK*), Hugh Hood wrote thirty-eight short stories and two novels (*God Rest You Merry* and *Hungry Generations*). The numbers show that Hood was an extremely productive writer in that period. From the thirty-eight stories he chose eleven for *FRK*, fourteen of them were published in subsequent collections, in various journals and short story anthologies, while thirteen of them have not been published yet.

Hood's *FRK* represents the beginning of a new era in Canadian short story writing, or as John Metcalf would say, "one of the foundation stones in a tradition which is building."³ It represents an unusual fusion of the imagination and the material universe, which is very hard to find in earlier Canadian short stories. In comparison with Morley Callaghan, Hood uses a discourse, which is much purer and more explicit. He wishes to elicit emotional reactions from his readers. His stories are deeply imaginary, less closed, and contain a high degree of subtlety, nicety, and precision. We need to get deeply engaged, return and re-examine our viewpoints and constantly redefine our positions. Hood masters the modern technique, which reflects his religious belief, and creates a poetic balance between observation and contemplation. He is capable of penetrating into the human mind and the literary work as well. Callaghan, on the other hand, wants to impose his presence between the reader and the story and retains complete control over the narrative. In his stories he interprets, explains and accents his didactics and moral doctrine in a way not acceptable for the modern reader.

Hugh Hood is a typical contemporary Canadian short story writer, who has strongly contributed to the formation and the proliferation of the contemporary Canadian short story. He is an expert in genially and skilfully hiding, uncovering, and explaining the unknown. His characters are highly credible and all of them appear in probable situations. These characters are exposed to changes that strongly effect the growth of their personality. The road to success is unmerciful and perplexing, intertwined with self-abnegation. They are religiously devoted pilgrims on a long journey to some sacred place, brought face to face with various kinds of temptation. A divine force leads them to the Promised Land, gives them hope and opens their eyes, so they are able to see and, as a result, come to a greater understanding of the meaning of life.

In *FRK* one can find eleven extremely exciting short stories.⁴ Each story is a unified piece of literary craftsmanship, in which Hood tries to enlighten his readers on issues concerning moral values, aesthetic and human relations. Success is the central subject and "the ability of the protagonists to synthesise concrete and abstract, timely and timeless, daily and divine".⁵ In all his stories we can sense a dialogue in progress between two worlds: the imaginary and the material.

³ Metcalf, *Canadian Classics*, p. 73.

⁴ "Fallings from Us, Vanishings", "O Happy Melodist!", "Silver Bugles, Cymbals, Golden Silks", "Recollections of the Works Department", "Three Halves of a House", "After the Sirens", "He Just Adores Her!", "Nobody's Going Anywhere!", "Flying a Red Kite", "Where the Myth Touches Us", "The End of It" In the order as presented in *FRK*.

In "Fallings from Us, Vanishings" and "O Happy Melodist!" Hood deals with the complexity of relationships between partners. One half (Arthur Merlin, Alexandra Ellicott) sees the world with a romantic vision, whereas the second half (Gloria, Jim Savitt) does not. The repeated accusations between the partners are the driving force of both stories. For example, in "Fallings from Us, Vanishings" Arthur, emotionally hurt, tries to make Gloria visualise the world that has inspired him for so long, but without success: *Don't you feel anything about the ocean, about the water?* (FRK, 35). Gloria is a 23-year-old woman who can see only what her eyes permit her to see. She does not believe in ghosts and is not interested in the past. The only thing that matters to her is bare physical existence: *I feel what I am, she realized, with intense joy. I can tast myself being me. I'm this woman.* (FRK, 38). That is not enough for Arthur, his romantic soul has to deal with the past, for it is the only way he will come any closer to a greater understanding of the present. But it is labour lost for both of them and the parting of the couple is inevitable:

He watched her go; and as she began to merge with the twilight and the firm outline of her figure wavered, she seemed to him to be one, only one, of a long file of daffodil girls marching out of the past and into the future, girls he'd read about in story books, girls he'd known, girls he hoped still to meet some day. Multitudes forever young, beautiful golden girls long dead and others unborn, the descending heirs of Eve, all going out of the light through the twilight and into the dark. Away up the beach her form quivered in his sight, and then his eyes lost her and he was standing alone in a sandy place. I'd rather be lonely, he thought.

I'd rather be lonely
Than happy with somebody new. (FRK, 41)

Hood continues with his romantic peregrination in "O Happy Melodist!". This time the male and female exchange roles. Jim Savitt (40 years old) is a very shallow and senseless chap, who spends most of his days reading *Playboy* and dreaming about tying the knot with Alexandra. On the other hand, Alexandra Ellicott (36 years old) is a *monolith of insideness* (FRK, 49), who has no intention of becoming the property of any man that sees her only as an object resembling a *comfortable divan for lounging* (FRK, 61). She wishes to have a man who can talk to her without her sex getting in the way and, above all, to come to respect her as woman.

In "Silver Bugles, Cymbals, Golden Silks" and "Recollections of the Works Department" Hood uses the first-person narrator and focuses on the growth of the individual. Both stories are the fruit of Hood's imagination, but at moments we can sense that much of the material does contain autobiographical elements. We follow two boys growing up, one in an orchestra, the other in a constructional enterprise. Both of them recognise that they have outgrown their comrades and the environment they have lived in for so many years. The need to move on. We feel

5 Copoloff-Mechanic. *Pilgrim's Progress: A Study of the Short Stories of Hugh Hood*, p. 21.

the presence of romantic imagination acting as a progressive force, uniting together the past with the present, so as to form a homogeneous or harmonious whole. This force keeps the characters from stopping and from giving up their dreams. It would be wrong for them to resist. They need to allow themselves to let things drift with all their being. This force is also present in "Three Halves of a House", where the house is given emblematic extensiveness. In the town of Storerville, where life has come to a standstill, one can find two families: the Boston's as tenants and the Haskells (Ellie, Grover) as landlords. The whole plot revolves around Maura, who is now living in Montreal, and who once lived in the house with her husband. She is to inherit the estate, but the problem is that she is seen as *an outsider who's gotten stuck fast inside* (FRK, 127). In fact, Maura is the only one who has succeeded in escaping from "death-in-life"⁶, and is not prepared to accept the pathetic generous offer from Grover, the *monster of selfishness* (FRK, 124):

'You'll take it, won't you? Look at me, Maura, please! It's so dark I can't see you.' He turns to face her and throws his arms stiffly wide apart. 'It's yours! I don't want it. You will take it, won't you? Take it, take it, please!' (FRK, 135)

"After the Sirens" is my favourite story, and also one of Hugh Hood's most anthologised short stories.⁷ It was written in Hartford in January 1960 and was his seventh short story, along the previously mentioned two novels. It has a special place in FRK. Before he wrote the story, Hood had read a 400-page brochure on personal protection, which he received one day in the mail. He read it, contemplated about his family and the possibilities, if an atomic catastrophe were to happen. The story is the result of the author's imagination, but the family, which has the central position in the short story, is actually his own. The cellar, which the family uses after the catastrophe, is the same cellar we can find on 140 Hawthorn Street, where the Hood's were living at the time the author was writing the story. Hood used the brochure as material, but made up the whole section in the story where he described in detail the nuclear attack and the events that followed. He wanted to let the public know about his concern of the dire consequences of an atomic chaos. Hood is convinced that every short story writer can use material from different sources:

The resources of a writer of fiction are deeply divided, but fortunately into only two parts. He or she can derive material either from observation of the external world and from material communicated by other such observers, in short from experience, from

⁶ Cf. Copoloff-Mechanic. *Pilgrim's Progress: A Study of the Short Stories of Hugh Hood*, p. 37.

⁷ One can detect a strong tendency of the canonisation of the short story in English-Canadian literature. Since 1960 over 60 editors (David Helwig, John Metcalf, Maggie Helwig, Sandra Martin, Robert Weaver and others) have published more than 100 anthologies of Canadian short stories. The greatest interest was shown in the seventies and eighties. The most anthologised Canadian contemporary short story writer in English is Alice Munro, followed by Mavis Gallant, Hugh Hood, Norman Levine, Clark Blaise, Margaret Laurence, Margaret Atwood etc. Cf. Kustec, "Tipično kanadski elementi v sodobni kanadski kratki zgodbi" [Typical Canadian Elements in the Contemporary Canadian Short Story], pp. 63-85.

what has actually happened to him and others, or he can derive material from the inner world of imagination and reflection. These are the two wells at which one drinks. Any writer's stories therefore can be shown to be stories of observation or imagination, or a composite of the two. (*FRK*, 18)

That is precisely what he does in "He Just Adores Her!". By using exactly the same model as in his previous stories, Hood makes up a story, putting two neighbours, who are total opposites, in the spotlight. The Roseberys are all in all happy in their marriage, but their everyday life is extremely boring and monotonous. On the other hand, life has just started for the Lovelaces, who are their neighbours and have just got married. Their love is inexhaustible and full of passion:

FALLING ASLEEP, Larry couldn't keep her image out of his mind. He remembered a cold night just after they were married, when he'd awakened to discover his arm hanging outside the covers, icy cold. Purely by reflex, he'd yanked the arm inside and slapped his frozen palm into Elizabeth's bare belly. Instead of squealing, as he'd expected, she'd stirred slowly, and waking gave the dearest of soft sighs. Ever afterwards, remembering, his nerves had rung with pleasure. (*FRK*, 159)

A marriage without passion is actually a dead marriage, and that is what Hood is trying to convey to his readers. Unfortunately, the Roseberys are not aware of their suffering and narrow-mindedness, and, as a result, have no understanding for their neighbours.

The following story in *FRK*, "Nobody's Going Anywhere!", opens many issues - for example, assimilation, semitism, refugeedom, identity and death. Even though Peter is the central character, it is his daughter Sally who is the driving force. She keeps asking her father all kinds of questions, which urge him to reflect upon his thoughts. For Peter life is only a story in which *nobody's going anywhere* (*FRK*, 183). It is not until Peter has answered all her questions that he gets the feeling that *he had gotten the story straight* (*FRK*, 183).

The central and most symbolic story in Hood's collection *FRK* is, without doubt, "Flying a Red Kite". After a long bus drive, Fred Calvert, the merchant and main character, returns home all tired and dirty. He is extremely angry because of the cynical statements made by a drunken priest on the bus while driving past the cemetery Notre Dame des Neiges. Fred, the character referring to Hood himself, decides to take his family on a pilgrimage into the mountains where he wants to fly his red kite. The red kite pervades through the whole collection. It is a *natural symbol* (*FRK*, 186), as Fred points out, and "an emblem of this merging of divine host and mortal witness, and a tribute to the imagination that seeks to apprehend it".⁸ Upon releasing the kite, Fred experiences epiphany. Doubt is replaced with

8 Copoloff-Mechanic. *Pilgrim's Progress: A Study of the Short Stories of Hugh Hood*, p. 22.

faith in the divinity of the spirit. At the same time he feels a certain degree of personal satisfaction, knowing that the priest was mistaken:

They gazed, squinting in the sun, at the flying red thing, and he turned away and saw in the shadow of her cheek and on her lips and chin the dark rich red of the pulp and juice of the crushed raspberries. (FRK, 196)

The action of turning back and fixing one's thoughts on some subject; meditating, and giving deep and serious consideration before making a final judgement is what Hood expects from his readers. We need to explore and explain our responses; clarify, explain, and evaluate our experiences, and, above all, communicate our ideas. With a close reading of Hood's short stories, we are given the opportunity to capture the essence, the meaning, of meaning, and, nevertheless, the cardinal message which the writer is trying to get across to us. His stories are of immense literary value. The redemption of man becomes our firm belief, something that is open to everyone, irrespective of our aspirations, cultural and psychological growth. Catholic theology is a moral force, which inspires deep in thought visions, or as Keith Garebian asserts in his study entitled *Hugh Hood*:

Hood's Catholicism infuses hope into his art, and, with his monism, allows him to see life and art as a continuous relationship shot through with trinitarian structures. The three highest forms of human activity for him are religious worship, art and love, and all his fiction makes a single tapestry of these three interrelated motifs. Because his emphasis is on hope, grace, and redemption, his critics say his art lacks drama and an adequate sense of evil. (Garebian 8)

By using Christian images, he assimilates them with reality, and in a unique way studies the alegoric understanding of reality.⁹ Hood's understanding of allegory can be compared to that of Northrop Frye's, who is convinced that "genuine allegory is a structural element in literature"¹⁰ and that commentary is "an allegorical interpretation, an attaching of ideas to the structure of poetic imagery".¹¹ Hood has rejected the dichotomy between dreamy Romanticism and down-to-earth realism, by showing the abstract in concrete form - a typical characteristic of his writing. His use of Christian imagery is highly sophisticated, and by assimilating it with reality, "he is able to bring together various meanings at a single moment of action, by conducting correspondences of the natural to the supernatural".¹² Hood uses simple objects from the material universe (streets, buildings, etc.) and fuses them into his imagination. He uses visual imagery,

⁹ In a way Hood's graduate studies at the University of Toronto led the author of *Flying a Red Kite* to do research on the meaning of allegory. He reached a conclusion that there exists a casual correlation between Dante, Spenser, the Holy Bible, and his writing. Without doubt, Hood is closer to Dante than to Spenser who is too dualistic and platonistic, and without a true perception of the certainty of the mortality of things. He explained his views in detail in his dissertation "Theories of Imagination in English Thinkers 1650-1790" (1955).

¹⁰ Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism, Four Essays*, p. 54.

¹¹ Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism, Four Essays*, p. 89.

¹² Cf. Garebian, *Hugh Hood*, p. 13.

images that resemble moving pictures. By doing so, he unifies the aesthetic with the moral didactic. These images symbolise completed ideas and constitute a specific structure. Even though his analogies and emblems lead us into static meditation, they rise from actions and not from the world of absolute imagination. This world is real and not fictitious. We cannot be satisfied with staying on the surface; only by getting under will we be in the position to understand the permanent substratum of things. We become aware that this can only be achieved with uninterrupted contemplation. Hood believes that his prose is "super-realistic". He agrees with Aristoteles that soul and body are one. Imagination and active intellect are not separate conceptions, they need to be regarded in context with each other. The same can be said for emotions and ideas, for "the power of abstraction is an intimate penetration into the physical reality of living beings."¹³

The last two short stories in *FRK*, "Where the Myth Touches Us" and "The End of It", become "the secular testament to the genuine presence embedded within the manifest".¹⁴ In "Where the Myth Touches Us" Joe Jacobson represents the young generation of ambitious writers, waiting for their moment of glory. David Wallace, on the other hand, is a member of the older generation, which is in the eventide of life and has no understanding for the newcomers. Hood deals with the question of conduct. The existence of writers, as Hood declares, *has a certain shape of its own* (*FRK*, 202), but every writer goes through the same episodes - *the early works, the middle period, the periods of stagnation and doubt, the triumphant later years, and the final apotheosis* (*FRK*, 202). At the beginning the relationship between David and Joe is of respect without professional rivalry. David acts even as his mentor:

Don't sit down and write up all those easy stories right off the bat, do you see? Save them, and build your early stories while you're learning how to write. When you've formed your style, then you can do those stories that come along line for line. Don't shoot them off all at once.' (*FRK*, 203)

The gap between the older and younger generation becomes apparent as the story further develops. Hood wishes to demonstrate to us how difficult the writer's profession is, how much self-abnegation is needed, and how important it is to hold on and be firm for any price:

There's a point where the myth, if you want to call it that, the great story of which you've stumbled into a small part, assumes a kind of possession of you. You don't use it; it uses you. I don't mean that you're inspired. But the myth touches you, gets into you and begins to tell the story for you, through you, making the decisions for you. (*FRK*, 210)

David's words sound like magic to Joe's ears, for only *a short-story writer knows of the secrets of the heart [...] the talent is the diligence* (*FRK*, 213).

¹³ Cf. Hood, "Sober Coloring: the Ontology of Super-Realism" in *Narrative Voices*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 97.

¹⁴ Copoloff-Mechanic. *Pilgrim's Progress: A Study of the Short Stories of Hugh Hood*, p. 43.

Unfortunately, David loses his touch for reality and, literally, becomes the victim of his own myth. He is totally blind and can only see himself riding his Pegasus, which will bear him in the flights of poetic genius. The prevailing moral tone in Hood's stories is not doctrinaire. We do not get the feeling that Hood wishes to preach to his readers, he is only inclined to observation, therefore, does not thrust himself upon us, but allows us to make our own judgements. It is high time that we speak our thoughts, and stop closing our eyes to reality. We are encouraged to interpret issues of great importance to mankind.

The last story, "The End of It", was written upon request by Hood's editor. It represents a unique closure to the composed cycle in *FRK*. We get to know another artist, Philip Sanderson, who, similarly as Arthur Merlin in "Fallings from Us, Vanishings", is searching for a passageway to aesthetic eternity. Sanderson is a cameraman, who is working for the Canadian National TV and is trying to achieve *the whole present* (*FRK*, 230). He is convinced that life cannot be imitated, it is up to us to arrange it as we wish. Life is like a photocomposition: it has to be captured at the right moment, otherwise, it will be lost forever or will have no artistic value.

When Hugh Hood started writing, he had no clear perception of what he was going to write about. By using moral realism, Hood wants to deal with credible characters in credible situations, showing us that people in totally common everyday circumstances may carry out melodramatic, violent and unpredictable actions.¹⁵

Hood is considered by many as the master of style in Canadian literature.¹⁶ He has an extremely visible sense for language and an elegant and polished style. His sentences in *Flying a Red Kite* are systematically arranged and morphologically well organised. He is inclined to use metaphorical language, colourful adjectives, long sentence forms, and other typical elements of practical stylistics, but it must be stressed that he does not overuse them. Hood believes that we need to read and write more short stories. Furthermore, he is convinced that it would be very hard to live without them. As a result from what has been stated, the short story writer has a very important and responsible task:

The man who makes art out of stories, the tale-teller, is satisfying one of the oldest human needs by giving public expression to his habit of fantasy. He illustrates for his listeners the human ability to organize

¹⁵ Cf. Hood, "Sober Coloring: the Ontology of Super-Realism" in *Narrative Voices*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 95.

¹⁶ Hugh Hood a very disciplined writer who works according to a fixed timetable and synchronised rhythm:

"I have made it a habit for many years to work on a novel in the months from January to May. I'll do a first draft, take the ensuing summer and fall for other matters, then return to the novel the following winter and finish a final draft in May of the second year. / In the fall I'll write three or four stories. Novels: winter and spring. Stories: summer and fall."

There is a very strong symbiosis between his short stories and novels. When writing a novel, Hood often ruminates about his short stories. Above his desk one can find a list of the following eight stories to be written. When the story matures to the point that a title for it is chosen, Hood starts writing it. Cf. Hood, "Floating Southwards" in *Making It New*, edited by John Metcalf, pp. 105-106.

experience and interpret it by arranging events in formal patterns. Narrative doesn't have to be written down in a book. Books are just one of the ways of preserving and re-telling stories. [...] The story-teller's art is as rooted in nature as the arts of building and cooking and the rituals of courtship and the choice of a partner for life. Stories are the sweat produced by a man's effort to control and understand the world.¹⁷

University of Ljubljana

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A COMMUNICATE VIEW OF ENGLISH TEACHING

Yu Zuchen

What does it mean to take a communicative view of language and teaching? This leads to an examination of language from different views.

The structural view of language concentrates on the grammatical system, describing ways in which linguistic items can be combined. It explains the operations for producing different sentences and describes the word-order rules. Linguistic knowledge, linguistic facts and operations make up a student's linguistic competence and enable him to produce new sentences to match the meanings that he wishes to express.

The structural view of language has not been in any way superseded by the functional view. However, it is not sufficient on its own to explain how language is used as a means of communication. For example, the sentence "Why don't you close the door?" might be used for a number of communicative purposes, such as asking a question, making a suggestion, or issuing an order. In other words, whereas the sentence structure is stable and straightforward, its communicative function is variable and depends on specific situational and social factors. Communication is a two-sided process. When we speak, we are constantly estimating the hearer's knowledge and assumptions, in order to select language that will be interpreted in accordance with our intended meaning. The most efficient communicator in a foreign language is not always the person who is best in manipulating its structure. It is often the person who is most skilled in controlling the complete situation involving himself and his hearer, taking into account what knowledge is already shared between them, and selecting means which will communicate his message effectively.

Another important factor determining the speaker's choice of language is his interpretation of the social situation in which communication is taking place: language carries not only functional meaning, it also carries social meaning. To a large extent it is a question how a speaker can conform to linguistic conventions without being obtrusive. He can choose a socially appropriate speech as far as his repertoire permits. For example, a student may say "Shut the door, will you?" to his classmate, but to a stranger on a train it would be more appropriate to say "Excuse me, would you mind closing the door?" To use the formal version with a classmate, or the informal version with a stranger, would be equally likely to cause offence.

One of the most characteristic features of communicative language teaching is that it pays systematic attention to functional as well as structural aspects of language, combining these into a more fully communicative view.

The communicative view opens a wider perspective on language learning. In particular it makes us more strongly aware that it is not enough to teach students how to use the structures of the foreign language. They must also develop strategies for relating these structures to their communicative functions in real situations and real time. We must therefore provide students with ample opportunities to use the language themselves for communicative purposes. We must also remember that we are ultimately concerned with developing the students' ability to take part in the process of communicating through language rather than with their perfect mastery of individual structures.

The communicative English teaching is characterized by two kinds of activities: pre-communicative and communicative. In pre-communicative activities we make use of structure practice, open and cued dialogues, to relate language to specific meanings, and to relate language to social context. The structure practice and dialogues help to bridge the gap between linguistic and communicative competence. Pre-communicative activities will train students in the »part-skills« of communication: enabling them to acquire linguistic forms and relate them to communicative function, nonlinguistic reality and social context and to develop a moderate degree of independence in using the language he has learned.

While pre-communicative activities focus more on English forms to be learned than on meanings to be communicated, activities that are communicative enable students to use the linguistic knowledge they learned in order to communicate specific meanings for specific purposes. Communicative activities consist of two main categories: functional communicative activities and social interactive activities. These activities provide »whole-task« practice, improve motivation, allow natural learning, and create a context which supports learning.

The activities are student centered. It is the students themselves who are responsible for conducting the interaction to its conclusion. Often there will be several groups, or pairs, performing simultaneously, without teacher's continuous supervision. The teacher can monitor their strength and weaknesses. If students find themselves unable to cope with the demands of a situation, the teacher can offer advice or provide necessary language items, or the teacher may find an error is so important that he must correct it at once to prevent it from becoming fixed in the student speech.

In China, more and more teachers of English realize that some principles of Communicative English Teaching are applicable in facilitating students' communicative competence, which is the goal of English teaching and learning. The communicative approach is discussed and tried in the classrooms. What's more, some applicable principles of Communicative Language Teaching are adopted in the plan of the course syllabus. An example is A NEW ENGLISH COURSE, a coursebook for English majors compiled by Li Guanyi and published by Shanghai Foreign Languages Education Press.

A NEW ENGLISH COURSE is a set of 4 coursebooks, comprising Level 1, Level 2, Level 3 and Level 4. Each level consists of a Student Book (SB), a Work

book (WB), a Teacher's Book (TB) and cassette tapes. According to the Preface in SB, this coursebook was conceived and produced following not one ELT principle, but rather a number of ELT principles. It has preserved what has been found useful and effective in China's English language teaching methodology, while at the same time it adopted some applicable principles of communicative language teaching.

Apart from common written exercises that appear in the coursebooks for Integrated English, this set of coursebooks provides large space for pre-communicative and communicative activities. The first two levels, which are for first-year students, emphasize the linguistic skills of listening and speaking, with due attention to the skills of reading and writing. In each unit pre-communicative activities are provided: structure practice, cued dialogues to achieve spontaneity and flexibility in language usage, and a full length dialogue (Dialogue 1) to contextualize the language materials, so that the language practice will result in a meaningful use of English. Communicative activities are offered in different forms. Role plays are designed with information related to Dialogue 1. The course designers have also taken into account the importance of teaching language functions. They have presented in context a number of most commonly used language functions. Besides, there are Interactive Activities for students to make free use of the language materials they have learned to tell their own experiences and to express their personal views.

Level 3 and Level 4 mainly facilitate student's reading and writing skills, but also pay attention to listening and speaking. Though each unit is text-based, with detailed guided writing practices and other written exercises, Role play and Interactive Activities are still designed together with information related to texts. Students are expected to talk freely, with the information provided, and the language forms they have learned so as to be able to solve problems they may meet with in actual communication. Thus reading and writing and communicative activities will facilitate acquisition of both linguistic and communicative competences.

This coursebook shows that China's English language teaching is moving toward current views on methodology, and in the teaching and the learning of English. The use of the language is emphasized. Teaching English is not only teaching a set of linguistic forms, but also helping students to use English to communicate with. Students should not be studying English as an institution recorded in grammars and dictionaries. They should be trained to a highly personal experience of English.

Chengdu University, China

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LINGUISTIC CHANGE: THE GRAMMATICAL ENVIRONMENT OF PARTICIPIAL NON-FINITE CLAUSES IN OLD ENGLISH AND IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

Frančiška Trobevšek Drobna

1. Introduction

The following paper reports on the final results¹ of the author's study of the use of participial nonfinite clauses and dependent clauses in Old English (OE) and in present-day English (PE), in relation to the nature of their respective grammatical environment. It ensues from the research into the early stages of syntactic change, which started as team work at the universities of Ljubljana and Maribor in 1986, under the guidance and coordination of Janez Orešnik.² The theoretical premises of the research have been presented on several occasions, and will be merely outlined here³

1.1. The key postulate of the research is that any linguistic change may be viewed as a diachronic dimension of linguistic variation. The same message may be encoded in different ways, and the variants differ, as a rule, in terms of the transparency/economy of their form. The preference for one or another variant appears to be random. In fact, it is a conscious or subconscious response to one of the two principal tendencies at work in the process of communication: a) the tendency ensuing from linguistic activity as a physiological process, compelling the author of the message to be as economical as possible; b) the tendency ensuing from the principal function of the language, communication: the choice of the variant depends on the speaker's constant assessment of the addressee's ability to correctly decode the intended message.

¹ The results of the pilot study were preliminary presented at the international symposium on natural linguistics and language change, held in Maribor in May 1996.

² Prof. Dr. Janez Orešnik, professor at the Department of General Linguistic, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

³ Janez Orešnik, Andrej Snedec, Karmen Teržan, and Frančiška Trobevšek Drobna, "Introduction to the subsequent three papers in the present volume". *Linguistica XX* Ljubljana 1990, pp. 5-12;

Janez Orešnik and Frančiška Trobevšek Drobna, "Expanded Tenses in the Old English Orosius". In Claudia Blank (ed.), *Language and Civilization I*. Frankfurt, Berne, New York, Paris: Peter Lang 1992, pp. 146-153.

Janez Orešnik, "Syntaktischer Wandel und Natürlichkeit in der Forschung slowenischer Linguisten". In Boretzky et al. (ed.), *Natürlichkeitstheorie und Sprachwandel - Teorija naravnosti in jezikovno spreminjanje. Beiträge zum internationalen Symposium über "Natürlichkeitstheorie und Sprachwandel" an der Universität Maribor vom 13.5.-15.5.1993*. Bochum: Brockmeyer 1995, pp. 253-262..

1.2. Syntactic change may be viewed as a diachronic dimension of syntactic variation, of the expansion of one syntactic variant and the decline of another. Syntactic variation is understood as the reality of pairs of linguistic entities which convey roughly equivalent messages, or perform the same (grammatical) function, but which differ on the level of expression. The members of such pairs are referred to as *the weakened* and *the strengthened* syntactic variants. The terms "weakened" and "strengthened" are modelled after the terms "weakening" and "strengthening" applied in *Natural Phonology*.¹ They display the following traits:

A *weakened syntactic variant* is formally (ie on the level of expression) less elaborate than the corresponding *strengthened syntactic variant*. From the speaker's point of view, it is more economical to produce, and from the hearer's point of view it is less transparent to decode. A *strengthened syntactic variant* is formally more elaborate than the corresponding weakened syntactic variant. From the speaker's point of view it is less economical to produce, and from the hearer's point of view it is more transparent to decode².

1.3. The preference for the strengthened or the weakened syntactic variant depends on many factors, the most obvious being pragmatic circumstances of communication, the language medium, genre, register. This preference may change in time, in the sense that one variant expands and becomes more frequent in contexts and co-situations formerly favouring the other variant. In this paper, the expansion of a weakened syntactic variant is referred to as *weakening* and the expansion of a strengthened syntactic variant as *strengthening*.³

1.4. The working hypothesis of the research was that initially, at an early stage of syntactic change, when two compared variants still perform the same function, and their respective distribution has not been regularized, the assertion of the weakened or of the strengthened syntactic variant depends not only on pragmatic circumstances and/or stylistic considerations, but also on the grammatical content of their linguistic environment. The strengthened syntactic variant is expected to spread from relatively complex to simple grammatical environment, and the weakened syntactic variant is expected to spread from relatively simple to more complex grammatical environment.

2. Previous research

2.1. Since the beginning of the research (1986), the working hypothesis has been empirically tested on selected pairs of syntactic constructions. The author of this paper tested the validity of the working hypothesis on the example of Old English

¹ Cf. Patricia J. Donegan, *On the Natural Phonology of Vowels*. New York and London: Garland 1985.

² When referring to a group of old people, two constructions can be used, old men and women, and old men and old women. The former is less elaborate, more economical, but also ambiguous, since it can be interpreted as referring to old men and to young (=not old) women. By contrast, the latter construction is less economical, but more transparent and less prone to misinterpretation, therefore "easier" to decode. According to the definition above, they represent a weakened and a strengthened syntactic variant respectively.

³ Cf. Peter Braun, *Tendenzen in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Sprachvarietäten*. Second edition. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1987.

expanded and non expanded tenses as the first pair (1990), and Old English *ge*-verbs and non prefixed verbs as the second pair of variants (1994). Of these two pairs, expanded tenses and *ge*-verbs were identified as the strengthened variants, whereas non expanded tenses and non prefixed verbs were identified as the weakened variants.

2.2. The analysis of each pair of syntactic variants involved the formation of two sets of samples. The basic samples consisted of clauses containing the strengthened variants, and the control samples consisted of clauses containing corresponding weakened variants. The clauses were analysed in terms of their type and propositional modality; the verbal phrases in the clauses were analysed as to tense, mood, number, and transitivity. The choice of grammatical parameters was partly influenced by the properties of the samples⁴, and partly by the potential consensus as to the simple/complex nature of their individual values.

Natural Morphology was followed in assessing the grammatical environment as complex or simple. It was presumed complex when grammatical categories assumed their marked values, as suggested by Mayerthaler⁵:

- the affirmative propositional modality is less complex (less marked) than the non affirmative propositional modality;
- the present tense is less complex (less marked) than the non present tenses;
- the indicative mood is less complex (less marked) than the non indicative moods;
- the singular is less complex (less marked) than the non singular;
- intransitivity is less complex (less marked) than transitivity.

The non-affirmative propositional modality, the non-present tenses, the non-indicative moods, the non-singular, and intransitive verbs were consequently expected to be more frequent in basic than in control samples.

2.3. The results of the analysis of samples were compared and assessed in the light of the working hypothesis⁶. In both cases, the success rate of predictions was about 75%. That provided a solid enough basis for further elaboration and testing of the working hypothesis, but also indicated the need to re-examine some of its elements. The distribution of "favourable" and "unfavourable" results commended special caution while a) defining constructions as strengthened or weakened syntactic variants, b) pairing off different values of grammatical parameters as representing "simple" or "complex" grammatical environment.

2.4. While it seems easy to exert caution in identifying syntactic constructions as syntactic variants, and in defining them as either strengthened or weakened

⁴ The samples containing instances of expanded/non expanded tenses were taken from Sweet's edition of King Alfred's Orosius (1883); the samples containing instances of *ge*-verbs/non-prefixed verbs were taken from Sweet's edition of King Alfred's Orosius and from Skeat's edition of the Old English translation of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. John (1871, 1878). The occurrence of non-third verbal persons in Orosius was, for example, too low to be statistically significant.

⁵ Willi Mayerthaler, *Morphologische Natürlichkeit*. Wiesbaden: Athenaion 1980.

⁶ Frančiška Trobevšek, "Expanded Tenses in the Old English Orosius: A syntactic change." *Linguistica XXX*. Ljubljana 1990, pp. 13-46.

members of respective pairs, the issue of what constitutes simple or complex grammatical environment is more challenging. A typical question raised would be: does the present simple tense in *the train leaves in an hour* constitute more complex grammatical environment than in the sentence *the sun rises in the east*? In other words: can the complexity of (grammatical? notional?) environment, which affects the expansion of linguistic variants, be deduced from its formal markedness alone, or do semantic aspects have to be considered? To answer that, the list of potentially relevant parameters had to be expanded beyond the *marked/unmarked* parameter values as suggested by *Natural Morphology*. The author chose to examine those additional parameters which appear to be relevant in the process of *pidginization* and/or *creolization* of languages (see 3.4). Both processes, *pidginization* and *creolization*, are commonly recognized as manifesting the interdependence between the form and the content of communication (Todd 1974, De Camp 1977, Hudson 1980, Bickerton 1981). The former involves a drastic reduction of mandatory grammatical information, and renders its encodement (the form) as transparent as possible; the latter involves mandatory expression of more grammatical information (= more grammatical categories), but also economizing (=morphologization) on its encodement, i.e. on the outer form (Hymes 1971).

3. The method applied

The new empirical study involved the following steps:

- a pair of syntactic constructions was selected which convey roughly the same message and perform the same function in the sentence, thus acting as syntactic variants;
- the two syntactic constructions were identified as the weakened and the strengthened variant respectively;
- the early stage of syntactic change was determined, and samples were formed representing the grammatical environment of both variants at the early and at a later stage of their assertion;
- grammatical parameters to be examined were selected;
- predictions were made as to the value of grammatical parameters in basic and control samples;
- the grammatical environment of syntactic variants was analysed;
- the results were assessed as to their compliance with the predictions and the original hypothesis of the correlation between the outer form of syntactic variants and the content of their grammatical environment.

3.1. Participial nonfinite clauses (PNF) and corresponding dependent finite clauses (DC) have all the attributes of syntactic variants: they differ on the level of expression, but convey the same message (perform the same function). Nonfinite clauses with a present participle as the predicator were chosen as the first member of the pair, and adjectival or adverbial dependent clauses which could be paraphrased as nonfinite clauses were chosen as the second member of the pair of syntactic variants. Such constructions feature both in present-day English (PE) and in Old English (OE):

PE *Being a farmer, he has to get up early* (= As he is a farmer....)

PE *Coming home late one evening, I heard something which made my blood freeze in horror.* (=When I was coming home late one evening.....)

OE *And ut-gangende hi bodedon þæt hi dædbote dydon.* (=Pa hie ut geeodon....)

OE *Lareow, ic brohte minne sunu dumbne gast hæbbende* (=se/þe dumbne gast hæp...)⁷

3.2. On the level of expression, a nonfinite clause is less elaborate and more economical in form, but less transparent and more difficult for the hearer to decode than the corresponding finite clause. In accordance with the definitions stated under (1), participial nonfinite clauses can be identified as the weakened, and dependent finite clauses as the strengthened syntactic variant.

3.3. The Germanic present participle was originally incapable of verbal rection and governed a genitive object like nouns. The verbal rection emerged in the Old English period, possibly supported by Latin influence, but the early glossators were still reluctant to render Latin *present participle* + *object* by a corresponding Old English construction (Kisbye 1971: 24-27). The Old English period can consequently be viewed as the early stage of the syntactic change involving the assertion of participial nonfinite clauses in the English language, and the present-day English period as the later stage of the same change.

Three sets of basic and control samples were formed. The first basic sample (B₁) consisted of all 114 instances of clauses containing PNF in Skeat's edition of the Old English Gospel According to St Mark (1874). The first control sample (C₁) consisted of 252 main clauses from the same text to which adverbial or adjectival clauses were subordinated.⁸ The second basic sample (B₂) consisted of 250 instances of PNF in *Murder in the Calais Coach* by Agatha Christie (1934). The corresponding control sample (C₂) consisted of 300 instances of main clauses from the same text to which adverbial or adjectival clauses were subordinated. The third basic sample consisted of all 248 PNF in the present-day English translation of the Gospel According to Mark, from the Good News Bible (1979). The third control sample (C₃) listed the environment (main clauses) of 250 instances of DC in the same text.

3.4. The samples were analysed as to the following parameters:

- *the number of arguments in the clause containing a PNF or a DC.*
- *the person, the number, and the animate/inanimate status of the subject of the clause containing a PNF or a DC.*
- *the tense (preterite, present, present with future reference), the type of verb (stative, non-stative), and the mood (indicative, non-indicative) of the verbal phrase in the clause containing a PNF or a DC.*
- *the affirmative or non-affirmative. propositional modality of the clause containing a PNF or a DC.*

⁷ Examples from Leech and Svartvik 1994; Kisbye 1971.

⁸ Simple finite sentences were not included in control samples, since they do not represent immediate (grammatical) environment of dependent clauses.

- the syntactic function (subject, direct object, indirect object, adjunct) of the referent of the subject of the PNF or DC in the environment.⁹
- *the number and the animate/inanimate status of the subject of the PNF or DC.*
- the number of "marked" values of grammatical parameters in the environment of syntactic variants¹⁰.
- In previous research, verbs were analysed as transitive or intransitive only.
- The parameter *animate/inanimate status* of the subject was included in the analysis, since it is a relevant factor in the grammar of some languages.¹¹
The preterite tense had been initially presumed as more complex grammatical environment than the present tense. As the results of the analyses of different samples were inconsistent and often contradictory, the verbal tense was re-examined in the light of the stative/non-stative nature of respective verbs¹².

3.5. On the basis of the working hypothesis under (1), the following predictions were made:

- a) the values of grammatical parameters in the sample containing instances of Old English PNF will be different from the values of grammatical parameters in the sample containing Old English DC;
- b) the values of grammatical parameters in the sample containing instances of present-day English PNF will differ from the values of grammatical parameters in the sample containing instances of present-day English DC;
- c) the values of grammatical parameters in the samples containing Old English PNF or DC will differ from the values of grammatical parameters in the samples containing present-day English PNF or DC;
- d) the differences predicted above will be systematic and consistent with the theory of the correlation between the external form of linguistic variants and the grammatical content of their environment.

⁹ Examples: "he made a clumsy little bow, flushing a little" - the referent of the subject of the PNF - *he* - is the subject in the environment; "he turned his attention to the motionless figure lying in the bunk" - the referent of the subject of the PNF is *the motionless figure* - the indirect object in the environment; "he was carrying it out with all the zeal and ardour befitting a young officer" - the referent *the zeal and ardour* is part of an adjunct in the environment.

¹⁰ The last three sets of parameters differ from those listed before them. Two of them were chosen to explore the relation between the internal grammatical complexity of the variants themselves and their form, the last one to examine the possibility of a cumulative nature of grammatical complexity.

¹¹ When the number distinction, which has no formal encodement in pidgin languages, becomes mandatory in Creoles, its morphologization favours *humans* > *animates* > *count nouns* > *mass nouns* and *subject* > *direct object* > *indirect object* > *locative* > *genitive* (Bybee 1985).

¹² In the morphologization process of tense encodement in creole languages, the primary tense system based on the opposition [+/- anterior] is dependent on the distinction between stative and non-stative verbs. Bickerton reports that the default tense of the zero form of non-stative verbs in Creoles is simple past, whereas the default tense of the zero form of stative verbs is non-past (Bickerton 1975: 461).

4. The analysis of samples¹³

Probability rates are not listed if the frequency of the parameter value is below 1%. Statistically insignificant results (differences) are marked with (*).

A. *The number of arguments in the environment*

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆
1 argument	50.0	26.6	48.0	42.0	48.0	51.9
2 arguments	47.4	63.9	47.3*	48.4*	45.3	38.9
3 arguments	2.6	9.5	5.0	10.2	6.7	5.5

B. *The person and the number of the subject in the environment*

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆
1 st singular	3.5	5.2	1.7	6.0	2.7	-
2 nd singular	1.8	7.1	4.0	4.0	-	-
3 rd singular	64.9	53.2	68.1	74.0	54.7*	55.6*
1 st plural	0.9	0.8	2.2	4.1	-	-
2 nd plural	4.4	7.1	-	-	5.3	-
3 rd plural	24.5	26.6	9.3	12.4	37.3	44.4
singular all	70.2	65.5	89.3	84.1	57.6	55.6
plural all	29.8	34.5	10.7	15.9	42.6	44.4
3 rd person all	89.5	79.8	87.0*	84.1*	92.0	100.0
non-3 rd person	10.5	20.2	13.0*	15.9*	8.0	-

C. *The status of the subject in the environment*

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆
animate	95.6*	93.7*	93.1	84.4	100.0	100.0
inanimate	4.4*	6.6*	6.9	15.6	-	-

¹³ P_x - probability rate of a given parameter value in the sample, computed as the ratio between the number of favourable events (instances of the analysed parameter assuming a particular value in the sample) and the number of all possible events (all instances included in the sample).

P₁ - probability rate (x 100) of the parameter value in the basic sample B₁;

P₂ - probability rate (x 100) of the parameter value in the control sample C₁;

P₃ - probability rate (x 100) of the parameter value in the basic sample B₂;

P₄ - probability rate (x 100) of the parameter value in the control sample C₂;

P₅ - probability rate (x 100) of the parameter value in the basic sample B₃;

P₆ - probability rate (x 100) of the parameter value in the control sample C₃.

The statistical significance of the differences was computed with the formulas (Pavlić 1985):

D. *Tense of stative and non-stative verbs in the environment*

parameter value	stative verbs						non-stative verbs					
	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆
present	11.4*	13.9*	10.0*	4.1	1.3	11.1	2.6	15.5	3.0	2.1	5.3	11.1
present/future	4.4	7.9	-	2.0	2.6	-	0.9	6.7	-	-	0.9	-
past	25.4*	24.2*	24.1	26.	42.7	33.3	55.3	31.7	26.0	40.3	38.7	33.3
pres. perf.			7.2	-					2.0	-		
past perf.			6.1	4.3					3.1	6.1		
future			1.0	6.0					-	4.0		

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆
present all	14.0	29.4	13.0	6.2	6.6	22.2
pres./fut. all	5.3	14.7	2.0		3.5	-
past all	80.7	56.0	50.1	66.5	81.4	66.6
stative all	41.2	46.0	49.0*	48.1*	46.6*	46.4*
non-stative all	58.8	54.0	51.0*	51.9*	53.4*	53.6*

E. *The mood of the verb in the environment*

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
indicative	93.0	78.8	92.0*	88.1*
non-indicative	7.0	21.2	8.0	11.9

F. *The propositional modality in the environment*

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
affirmative	97.4	86.1	91.0	84.2
non-affirmative	2.6	13.9	9.0	15.8

F. *The syntactic function of the referent of the subject of the PNF or DC in the environment (only for B₁, C₁, B₂ and C₂)*

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
subject	64.0	32.0	76.2	31.5
direct object	28.1	15.3	17.4	6.3
indirect object	-	11.0	3.1	8.0
adjunct	7.9	41.7	3.3	54.2

G. *The status of the subject of the PNF or DC*

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
animate	95.7*	91.3*	88.0	71.9
inanimate	4.3	8.7	12.0	28.1
singular	61.4*	59.0*	92.3	84.3
plural*	38.6*	41.0*	7.7	15.7

*H. The number of the marked values of individual parameters in the environment*¹⁴

parameter value	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆
0	40.4	18.7	31.2	10.4	22.7	9.3
1	39.5	33.7	37.5	44.1	40.0	50.0
2	13.2	22.2	24.3	35.0	30.7	27.8
3	6.0	19.0	7.0	6.1	5.3	9.3
4	0.9	6.0	-	4.4	1.3	3.6
5	-	0.4	-	-	-	-
mean	0.87	1.61	1.09	1.59	1.23	1.5

5. The assessment of results

5.1. The values of the grammatical parameters in the environment of Old English PNF differ from the values of the grammatical parameters in the environment of Old English DC. The following values are more frequent in the environment of PN (B₁ vs C₁): one argument, 3rd person singular of the subject, singular of the subject, 3rd person singular + plural, animate subject, past stative verbs, past non-stative verbs, past tense in all verbs, non-stative verbs in all tenses, indicative mood, affirmative propositional modality, the referent of the subject of the PNF as the subject in the environment, the referent of the subject of the PNF as the direct object in the environment, animate subject of the PNF, singular subject of the PNF.

The following values of grammatical parameters are higher in the environment of Old English DC:

2 arguments, 3 arguments, 3rd person plural of the subject, plural of the subject, non-third persons singular + plural, inanimate subject, present stative verbs, present non-stative verbs, present in all verbs, present with future reference in all verbs, stative verbs in all tenses, non-indicative mood, non-affirmative propositional modality, the referent of the subject of the DC as the indirect object in the environment, the referent of the subject of the DC as the adjunct in the environment, inanimate subject of the DC, plural subject of the DC.

5.2. The values of the grammatical parameters in the environment of present-day English PNF differ from the values of grammatical parameters in the environment of present-day English DC. The following values are more frequent in the environment of PNF (B₂, B₃ vs C₂, C₃): one argument, two arguments, singular subject, 3rd person singular + plural, animate subject, past stative verbs, past non-stative verbs, past in all verbs, indicative mood, affirmative propositional modality, the referent of the subject of the PNF as the subject in the environment, the referent of the subject of the PNF as the direct object in the environment, animate subject of the PNF, singular subject of the PNF.

¹⁴ The following parameter values were considered "marked": 3 arguments, non-third person, plural, inanimate subject, past tense of stative verbs, present tense of non-stative verbs, non-indicative mood, non-affirmative propositional modality, in the environment; indirect object or adjunct as the syntactic function of the PNF or DC subject's referent, plural, and inanimate status of the PNF or DC subject.

The following values of grammatical parameters are more frequent in the environment of present-day English DC: three arguments, 3rd person singular of the subject, plural of the subject, non-third person singular + plural, inanimate subject, present stative verbs, past stative verbs, past non-stative verbs, present all verbs, stative verbs, non-indicative mood, non-affirmative propositional modality, the referent of the subject of the DC as the indirect object in the environment, the referent of the subject of the DC as the adjunct in the environment, inanimate subject of the DC, plural subject of the DC.

5.3. The differences between the values of the grammatical parameters in the environment of PNF and DC are more significant in Old English than in present-day English. The frequency of the following values of grammatical parameters are found higher in the environment of PNF in present-day English than in Old English (B₁ vs B₃): three arguments, 3rd person plural, plural subject, present non-stative verbs, past stative verbs, stative verbs, and those occurring less frequently are: one argument, 3rd person singular of the subject, singular subject, present stative verbs, past non-stative verbs, non-stative verbs.

The mean number of marked values of grammatical parameters is highest in the sample containing Old English DC, and lowest in the sample containing Old English PNF. The number of marked values in the environment of PNF is in present-day English higher than in Old English. The number of marked values in the environment of DC in present-day English is lower than in Old English.

5. Conclusion

The hypothesis that a) participial non-finite clauses are the weakened syntactic variants of corresponding dependent finite clauses, b) the assertion of participial non-finite clauses in Old English was the early stage of a syntactic change called weakening, and c) that the assertion of participial non-finite clauses in Old English depended on their grammatical environment is valid. The hypothesis that this assertion was initially strongest in simple grammatical environment, and later expanded to more complex grammatical environment, is valid if the following values of grammatical parameters constitute complex grammatical environment: a) more than two arguments in the clause, b) non-third persons of the subject, c) plural subjects, d) inanimate subjects, e) past tense of stative verbs and present tense of non-stative verbs, f) stativeness of verbs, g) non-indicative moods, h) non-affirmative propositional modality, i) syntactic functions indirect object and adjunct. The validity of the last hypothesis is also confirmed if the following values of grammatical parameters constitute simple grammatical environment: a) one argument in the clause, b) third person of the subject, c) singular subject, d) animate subject, e) past tense of non-stative verbs and present tense of stative verbs, f) non-stateness of verbs, g) indicative mood, h) affirmative propositional modality, and i) syntactic functions subject and direct object.

Some of the above values of grammatical parameters have already been commonly recognized as complex or simple (marked or unmarked, see 2.). It may take more research to confirm the complexity or simplicity of others. Their frequency in the environment of strengthened or weakened syntactic variants,

however, could be a valuable addition to the many factors that would eventually determine their status.

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MAXO VANKA'S COLLAGE "WORLD WAR II" IS
A BRILLIANT GEMATRICAL COMPOSITION

Tine T. Kurent

in memoriam:

HENRY A. CHRISTIAN

1931 - 1997

The American-Croatian painter Maksimilian Vanka,¹ 1889-1963, or Maxo for his friends, composed together with his American wife Margaret, her father Dr. Stetten DeWitt and his friends Louis and Stella Adamic, his most enigmatic work, the "WORLD WAR II" collage.²

The collage originated at the reunion of Maxo Vanka, his wife Margaret, his friends Louis and Stella Adamic, with Margaret's father Dr. Stetten DeWitt, after his return from Europe at war. The party was exhilarated with Dr. Stetten's safe escape from Korčula (Dalmatia) to Paris, Le Havre and on board of the French liner Ile de France to New York, and preoccupied with the imminent World War. They discussed Nazism, Fascism and anti-Semitism, Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito and their emblems, swastika, fascio and the rising sun. They debated about the activity of the Nazi agent Chandler, exposed to Washington by Dr. Stetten.³ They marveled about the luck of the MS Ile de France, her departure from Le Havre on the first day of war and arrival to New York, on September 9, 1939, about a week after the passenger ship Athenia was torpedoed by a German submarine, on September ³. They remembered The MS Lusitania sinking by a German *U-Boot* in the WWI.

Louis Adamic⁴ was additionally concerned about his native Praproče, the Adamic Family House in the Old World, and remembered the rosary lines about "plague, war and hunger", prayed in his youth every evening prior to go to bed by all his family, mother and father, sisters and brothers.

Dr. Stetten pondered about war, terror, Satan and God and quoted Sir Edward Gray's pessimistic sentence, "The lamps are going out all over the World; we shall not see them again in our time."

Maxo Vanka was convinced the World War was coming and transformed the discussed topics in visual symbols for his collage. The Ile de France assumed on his picture the shape of the Parisian island Ile de la Cité, the sinister emblems became germ-like dots scattered over his composition, but the candle is still

optimistically lighting. The names of persons and places and ships have been pasted or painted by Vanka on his collage.

Besides, Vanka has built the key subjects of the party's discussion into the gematrical numbers. Gematria⁵ is a Hebrew word meaning the translation of words in numbers and vice versa. Letters, or better, ciphers, are not only symbols for sounds but simultaneously also symbols for numbers. Letters in various alphabets (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Cyrillic, Arab, etc) have their specific numerical equivalents. In the Western Latin alphabet A equals 1, B 2, C 3, D 4, E 5, F 6, G 7, H 8, I 9, J 10, K 11, L 12, M 13, N 14, O 15, P 16, Q 17, R 18, S 19, T 20, U 21, V 22, W 23, X 24, Y 25 and Z 26. Thus, the word **WAR** equals $23 + 1 + 18 = 42$. But in gematria, a number, 2-, 3-, 5-, 7- ... times larger or smaller, retains its gematrical meaning. The manifold meaning of numbers is still echoed in our words, like **one** pair (= **2** things or **2** beings), **one** quadriga (= **4** horses), **one** week (= **7** days), **one** decade (= **10** years), **one** inch (= **12** lines); also in the belief that the **3** divine persons, the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, are but **one** God.

The party translated the topics of their conversation into gematrical numbers. I believe they enjoyed their *mathesis* as I am enjoying my deciphering of their cryptograms. Their gematrical translations were not only a pastime, but also a documentation of their messages. With the selected gematrical numbers, Vanka defined

1. dimensions of his collage (width, height, diagonal);
2. inscriptions of names (L. Adamic, M. Vanka, Chandler, Hull, Jehovah, Satan, L. Athenia, Ile de France, Korčula, Belgrade, Paris, Washington, and also the ominous words **TERROR** and **WAR**);

3. the three musical notes⁶ in the sector 8 of his collage.⁷ See TABLE I: **Gematrical Numbers in Dimensions, Musical Notes and Inscribed Words.**

The gematrical numbers in Maxo Vanka's collage are **2, 3, 5, 7, 13, 19, 21, 23, 35, 41, 42, 43, 88**. Among them, there are four groups of synonymous numbers:

$$2 = 42 = 88;$$

$$3 = 21 = 42;$$

$$5 = 35;$$

$$7 = 21 = 35 = 42.$$

See the TABLE II: **Gematrical Numbers on the Maxo Vanka's Collage "World War Two" Deciphered** with the cryptograms hidden in numbers **35, 13, 21, 23, 7, 41, 42, 43, 88** and **19**.

The built-in messages are mainly in English, but also in Hebrew, Croatian and Slovenian. Among them are the title of the Collage and its author's signature, names of persons, places and ships, names of inimical movements and their emblems, sayings, quotations and prayers.⁸ The key-word **WAR**, written 10 times on the composition, is also gematrically pointed out in four languages, in English, Hebrew, Croatian and Slovenian.

Notes

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- 2 Christian, H. A., Kurent, T. T., Reading a Painting: Maxo Vanka's Collage: "World War II". - *Two homelands* (Ljubljana), 8, 1997, 89-105.
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- 3 Adamic, L., *My Native Land*, Harper, N. Y., 1943, 359-360.
- 4 Louis Adamic, 1899-1951, Slovenian-American writer, reformer and spokesman for immigrant America, an important figure in the cultural and political movements of the period 1930-1950.
- *Louis Adamic: An International Symposium on his Contributions to America*. - University of Pittsburgh, June 1981.
- *Louis Adamič, Symposium*, Univerza Edvarda Kardelja, Ljubljana, September 1981.
- *International Conference: 100th Birth Anniversary of Louis Adamic - Intellectuals in Diaspora*. - Scientific Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts and The Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies, Portorož (Slovenia), September 1998.
- 5 More about gematria in: Kurent, T., The Gematric Cryptography in the Art. - *Acta Neophilologica*, XXIX, 1996, 89 -107.
- 6 Professor Christian told me Dr. David Hoddeson (Department of English, Rutgers University, Newark, N. j., U.S.A.) and Miss Judith A. Christian are interested in the three musical notes, perhaps expecting that I will find a solution. But I was able to offer only the explanation of two gematrical cryptograms, hidden in the height and width of the collage. Only later, I have deciphered other gematrical messages. Too late to make my friend Henry happy.
- 7 The location of collage's elements is best found by use of the Division by Three System: The composition is divided vertically and horizontally into thirds. The resulting areas are numbered left to right as 1 to 9, the center of the collage thus being number 5. The musical notes are situated in the rectangle 8.
- 8 In gematria, a quotation is signed by its author and by the gematricist, except proverbs, sayings, prayers and lines from the Bible.

Illustrations

1. Maxo Vanka's collage "World War II", 11" 6" by 17" 6", New York, 1939.

2. TABLE I: Gematrical Numbers in Dimensions, Musical Notes and Inscribed Words.

3. TABLE II: Gematrical Numbers of the Maxo Vanka's Collage "World War II" Deciphered.

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TABLE I

Gematrical Numbers in Dimensions, Musical Notes and Inscribed Words.

Dimensions

Width = 11" 6''' = **23** half-inches,

Height = 17" 6''' = **35** half-inches = **210'''** = **2 x 3 x 5 x 7'''**,

Diagonal $\cong$ 21" = **42** half-inches (in whole numbers).

Musical Notes

The names of the three notes in the sector 8 of the collage are **DO** on the lower, **SOL** on the middle, and **RE** on the upper line of the staff. Their gematric value: **DO SOL RE** = 19 + 46 + 23 = **88**.

Inscribed Words

WAR = 23 + 1 + 18 = **42**.

L. ADAMIC = 12 + 1 + 4 + 1 + 13 + 9 + 3 = **43**.

(+C) HULL = (3) + 8 + 21 + 12 + 12 = 56 = 8 x 7 (The monogram **C** is not written on the collage)

CHANDLER = 3 + 8 + 1 + 14 + 4 + 12 + 5 + 18 = 65 = 5 x 13.

BELGRADE = 2 + 5 + 12 + 7 + 18 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 54 = 6 x 9.

PARIS = 16 + 1 + 18 + 9 + 19 = 63 = 3 x 21.

WASHINGTON = 23 + 1 + 19 + 8 + 9 + 14 + 7 + 20 + 15 + 15 = 130 = 10 x 13.

(+ MS) ATHENIA = (13 + 19) + 1 + 20 + 8 + 5 + 14 + 9 + 1 = **90** (The abbreviation **MS** is not written on the collage)

ILE DE FRANCE = (9 + 12 + 5) + (4 + 5) + (6 + 18 + 1 + 14 + 3 + 5) = 82 = 2 x 41.

WAR = 23 + 1 + 18 = **42**

(- M) VANKA N Y = (22 + 1 + 14 + 11 + 1) + (14 + 25) = **88** (The Author's signature on the collage reads "M. Vanka N. Y." With the omission of the initial **M**, the signature equals **88**)

TABLE II
Gematrical Numbers of the Vanka's Collage "World War II" Deciphered

35 x 13 = 455 = THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WORLD WAR BY MAKSIMILIAN VANKA.

35 = MV, initials of **M**(axo) **V**(anka) and **M**(argaret) **V**(anka).

35 x 3 = 105 = NEXT WAR.

13 = LA, initials of **L**(ouis) **A**(damic) and of **L**(usitania) **A**(thenia).

13 x 5 = 65 = CHANDLER.

13 x 30 = 390 = ADOLF HITLER, BENITO MUSSOLINI AND JAP MIKADO.

13 x 3 = 39 = RAT (= WAR, in Croatian)

13 x 10 = 130 = WASHINGTON.

13 x 32 = 416 = THE LAMPS ARE GOING OUT ALL OVER THE WORLD.

13 x 22 = 286 = SWASTIKA - FASCIO - RISING SUN.

13 x 6 = 78 = VOJSKA. (= WAR, in Slovenian)

13 x 2 = 26 = ה ו ה ד (He Vau He lod) = 5 + 6 + 5 + 10 = 26 (JEHOVAH)

13 x 4 x 7 x 1 = 364 = נ ת ש ה (Nun Teth Shin He) = 50 + 9 + 300 + 5 (= SATAN)

210 = KUGE, VOJNE IN LAKOTE... LA. (= PLAGUE, WAR AND HUNGER... LA, in Slovenian)

21 x 3 = 63 = PARIS.

21 x 3 x 5 = 315 = DOLAZI NOVI SVJETSKI RAT. MV (= NEW WORLD WAR IS COMMING. MV; in Croatian)

23 x 4 = 92 = VANKA FECIT.

23 x 8 = 184 = DEWITT STETTEN.

23 x 9 = 207 = WORLD WAR MV.

23 x 4 = 92 = ז ה פ (Zain He Phe) = 7 + 5 + 80 = 92 (= TERROR)

23 x 12 = 276 = HITLER - MUSSOLINI - HIROHITO.

23 x 2 x 7 = 322 = FASCISM - NAZISM - ANTI-SEMITISM.

23 x 4 = 92 = PRAPROČE. (The Praproče House is Adamic's birth place)

23 x 4 = 92 = ILE DE FRANCE.

23 x 15 = 345 = KORČULA - PARIS - LE HAVRE - AND NEW YORK.

7 x 10 = 70 = STELLA A.

7 x 10 = 70 = 3 + 9 + 19 + 39 = 3. 9. 1939. (Date of the Athenia sinking)

41 x 2 = 82 = PEGGY V.

41 x 6 = 246 = LUSITANIA - ATHENIA - ILE DE FRANCE.

41x3 = 123 = מ מ ח ת מ (He Mem Cheth Lamed Mem) = (WAR, in Hebrew)

41 = מ ו ה (Lamed Vau He) = 30 + 6 + 5 = 41 (= TERROR)

42 = ה ה ל ב (He He Lamed Beth) = 5 + 5 + 30 + 2 = 42 (= TERROR)

43 = L. ADAMIC.

43 x 4 = 172 = WORLD WAR TWO.

88 = DO SOL RE.

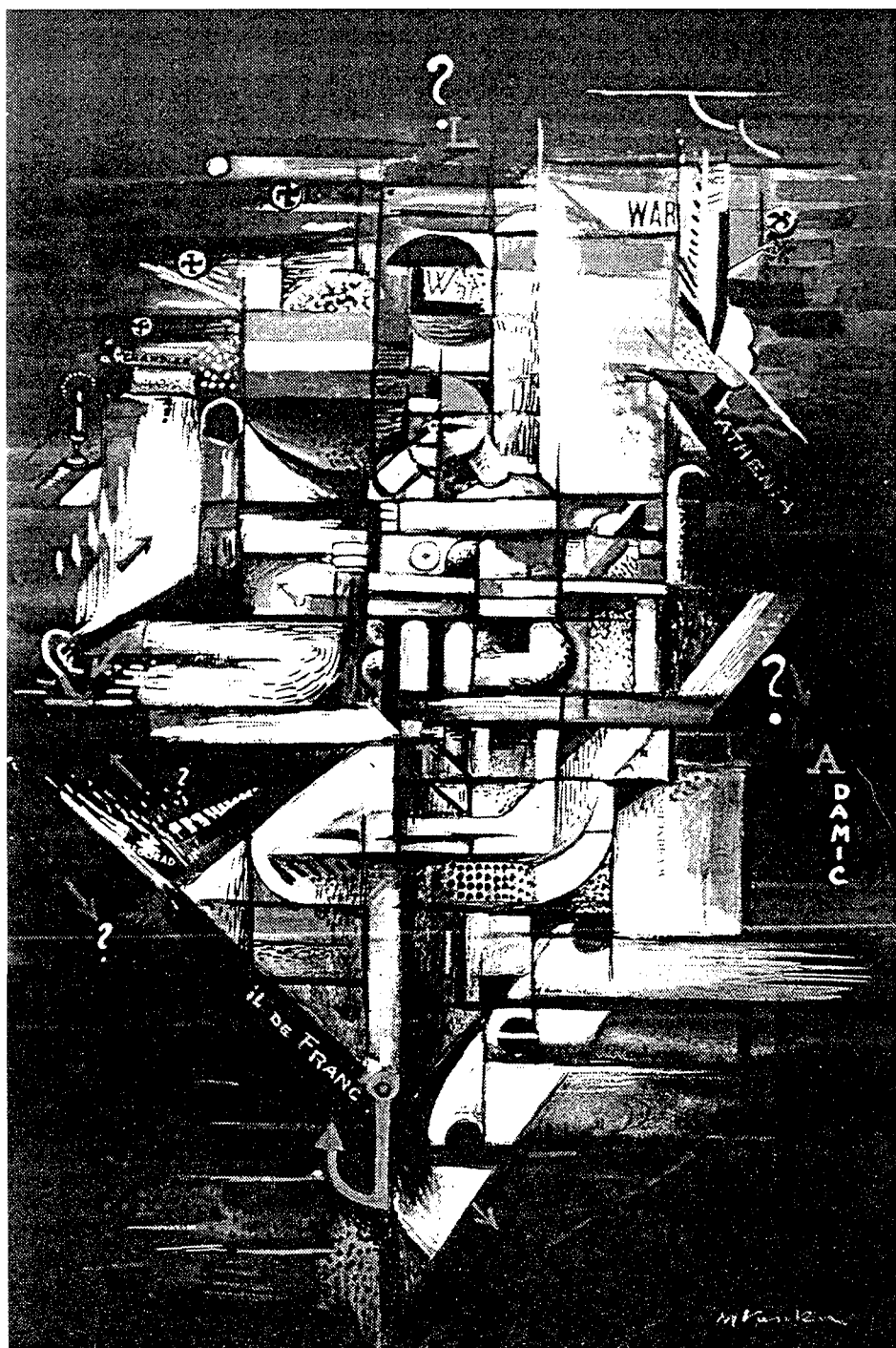
88 x 10 = 880 = THE LAMPS ARE GOING OUT ALL OVER THE WORLD.

WE SHALL NOT SEE THEM AGAIN IN OUR TIME. SIR EG, SDW.

19 x 10 = 190 = KUGE, VOJSKE, LAKOTE... (PLAGUE; WAR; HUNGER..., Slovenian)

19 x 5 = 95 = VOJSKA BO... (= THERE WILL BE WAR... , saying in Slovenian)

19 x 4 = 76 = 9 + 9 + 19 + 39 = 9. 9. 1939. (Date of the Ile de France arrival in N. Y.)



A LETTER OF MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS TO EUSEBIUS
FRANCISCUS KINO (SONORA IN 1690) – appendix: facsimile

Tomaž Nabergoj

An article with the above title was published in the last number of *Acta Neophilologica* (XXXI/1998, pp. 65-80), on a letter written by the Slovene Jesuit missionary, Marcus Antonius Kappus (1657-1717), in 1690, in Sonora in north-western Mexico to his superior, Eusebius Franciscus Kino. The letter is kept in *Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda* in Mexico City, *legajo* 279, *expediente* 19. Unfortunately, the facsimile of the published letter was omitted during the preparation of the 1998 volume of *Acta Neophilologica*. Since this reproduction is an integral part of the article and is now for the first time that one Kappus' letter is preserved in original, we publish the facsimile of this letter in the present appendix.

Mi Gr^a Don Eusebio Franc.^o
Hino

Pf

Seg. 277. 17

279-17

He visto lo qz manda nuestro Gr^a Provincia
y a cumplir sus S.^{as} ord.^{es} de h. qz le remi-
ta V. G. A. con del numero de Almay de los
tres Pueblos Cucurpe, Toape, y Opodepe
qz admimistro, y de las dos estancias per-
tencientes a este Partido, Saracachi,
Merejichi, y de lo temporal qz le halla en
el Partido.

El Pueblo de Cucurpe cuenta entre chicos
y grandes, intelligendo utrumqz, Lxxum - 258

El Pueblo de Toape - - - - 372

Pueblo de Opodepe con la estancia qz

Naman Merejichi - - - - 282

La estancia de Saracachi - - - - 54

Por todo ay Almay - 966.

Todos estos tres Pueblos tienen sus mandados
y en las dos Estancias ay sinco mandados,
las quales digan notable a prouecho ai

Parrido, si por otra parte no muerren
tantas Cris los Leones cada año.

May Cada Pueblo tiene su ganado menor
Cuernpe tiene 283: Cabeças:

Toape - - 309:

Opodepe - - 387:

En la estancia de Saracachi ay 1285
Cabeças del ganado Mayor Fin las Cris
deste año: Caballos mantos p.^a los Vaqueros
131: Potros 41: mulas y machos de falta
rienda 16: y Serreras 22: mulas de
recua 35, con 4 machos de silla.

En la estancia de Mesfichi há 219 Cabeças
del ganado Mayor, y 10 Caballos mantos.

Todos tres Pueblos tienen sus milpas ahí de
trigo como de may^z y se coge, gracias á Dios,
cada año tanto bastimento qz basta p.^a el gasto
de Casa y p.^a los trabajos y faenas de los yndios
y siempre sobra algo p.^a comprar alguna ropa
p.^a los Vaqueros, Arrieros, Tabaneros, pajes y
otros sirvientes ahí de la yglesia como de Casa:
aunqz las famosas milpas qz huvo ante pocos años
ahí en Cuernpe como Toape ya no se pueden sem-

brás por falta de agua, qz por principios de Abril
le seca y no le puede sembrar la apsegría: tan
poco, aunque viniere agua, le pueden sembrar
por falta de gente, qz en pocos años le murio
muchísima, particularmente en Cuernpe qz es temple
muy enemigo a la salud, Quitá por una laguna
grande qz está a baxo del Pueblo; tan bien en
Toape morieron este año muchos, y por solo el
mes de Setiembre y Octubre enterramos 29 del
dicho Pueblo: y fuera de lo ay los chicos dellos
con qz le sacan los yndios al trabajo delas
minas delos Incas y con numero exesivo a la
proporcion delos pueblos, y sucede no solo qz
apenas defecantan estos pobres, sino qz muchos
dellos pierden varias veces sus siembras de maiz
porqz no leles da sosiego en ninguna parte del
año. N.º por lo remedie y me qd. a v. ga. en
cuyos N.ºs sacrf.º y oraciones muy humil.º me
encomiendo. Cuernpe y Noviembre 25 de 90a.

M.º Vaso y Subdito de v. ga.

Marcos Ant.º Kappus.

ERRATA

The editors of *Acta Neophilologica* regret that a number of printing errors occurred in the study by Tine Kurent: The Gematrical Numbers in Dimensions of the "MELENCOLIA I" Engraving (*Acta Neophilologica* XXXI (1998), pp. 129–132. Here is their list:

P. 129, last line of the main text: acroym, correctly acronym; Note 3, the last lines should have in italics: Jože Plečnik... *Josef Plečink ... La scuola di Wagner...*

P. 130, l. 27: ISRAEL⁸ is ... In italics should be the following words in the notes: *Dva tisoč ... Borec*. Note 5: *Dimensions of Paradise* ... Note 6: Correctly; Horace, Odes, XVI, 27.

P. 131 l. 1: correctly: PEREANT; l. 8: dimensions; l. 12: Cornelius; L. 13: МЕДАГХОЛИА. L. 14: $(30 + 1 + 3 + 600 + 70 + 30 + 2 + 10 + 1) + (50 + 70 + 200 + 8 + 40 + 1) + (700 + 400 + 600 + 8 + 200) + (5 + ...$

Last line ends correctly: **55 x 89**

P. 132: Under the reproduction stands the text: The "MELENCOLIA I" engraving and its modular dimensions.

SUMMARIES IN SLOVENE

UDK 82(100).091"04/14"

Patrick Michael Thomas

"TEL ABRE, TEL FRUIT", EP O TRISTANU KOT τραγωδία

Značilna za tragedijo je antiteza med življenjem in smrtjo, ali njej sorodna antiteza med ljubeznijo in smrtjo. V epu o Tristanu pride ta antiteza do izraza v ciklični ponovitvi junakove življenske krize in povratka k življenju, v njegovem zatonu in obnovi. V tem je paralela med Tristanom in Dionizijem. V kasnejši prozni obdelavi Tristana se ta tragični element izgubi: mesto prevladujoče vloge usode je dogajanje optimistično. Po svojem izvoru je pripoved o Tristanu večslojna: V starejši tradiciji povezani s Tristanom ni razpoznavnih tragičnih elementov, pač pa jih najdemo pri najstarejši tradiciji o Svetem Gralu (Amfortas), še prej pa v legendi o svetem Bramu.

UDK 821.131.1.03 Petrarca F.=163.42

Lilijana Avirović

PETRARKA IN PETRARKIZEM: VIDIKI PREVAJANJA SONETA V HRVAŠČINI

Razprava o prevajanju Petrarkovih sonetov v hrvaščino izhaja iz analize, v kateri je Mirko Tomasović prikazal nastanek lastnega prevoda soneta XVI iz zbirke *Canzoniere* in kritično razmišljal o svojem stremljenju, da zlije obliko in vsebino v enakovredno celoto. Ta zahteva je gnala prevajalca, da je podvrgel svoj prvi prevod Petrarkovega originala stalnemu procesu ponovnih pregledov ter metričnih, leksikalnih in stilističnih predelav. S temi naporji skozi skoro tri desetletja si je znal pridobiti pozornost velikega sodobnega petrarkista Frana Čaleja. Po prikazu zgodovinske poti prevajanja soneta na Hrvaškem (od Marka Marulića do Tomasovića) študija prikaže z metrično in leksikalno analizo različnih verzij Tomasovićevega prevoda soneta XVI ter drugih sonetov, ki so izšli iz petrarkistične tradicije (Louise Labé, Gaspara Stampa ter Dinko Ranjina) kako prevajalec, s tem da se vedno bolj približuje leksiki klasikov hrvaške književnosti, končno uspe, da določi nove norme v rabi metrike v funkciji prevajanja italijanskega verza.

CERVANTES IN ABSOLUTISTIČNA MONARHIJA

Cervantes je bil vse svoje življenje vedno znova žrtev razmer, ki so vladale v španski monarhiji za časa na zunaj blesteče, a v resnici skorumpirane vladavine Filipa II. Še mlad je bil zaradi prestopka težko kaznovan in izgnan v Italijo. Udeležil se je bitk pri Lepantu in Navarinu ter bil težko ranjen. Ko so ladjo, s katero se je vračal v Španijo, uplenili pirati, je padel v turško suženjstvo, ki ga je pet let preživel v severni afriki brez pomoči iz Španije. Doba suženjstva je prelomnica v Cervantesovem življenju. Pred tem predan borec za španski imperij, je v tej dobi postal kritik političnih razmer v Španiji in verskega življenja pod Filipom II, ob tem pa tudi baročne umetnosti in njenih španskih nosilcev. Za svoja mladostna žrtvovanja za domovino ni dobil nikakršnega priznanja, istočasno pa je dvor bogato nagrajeval klerike za dvomljive zasluge, ter razsipaval narodno premoženje v nesmiselnih vojnah v Flandriji. Cervantes je umrl v siromaštvu, in tudi po smrti mu dvor ni nikdar izkazal priznanja. Šele čas je popravil krivice: Cervantes uživa zaslužen slavo, vladavina Filipa II pa je zapadla v pozabo in ob današnjih spoznanjih tega časa tudi moralno obsodbo.

UDK 821.134.3.09 Vicente G.

Stanislav Zimc

ŠTUDIJE O GLEDALIŠČU GILA VICENTEJA: DELA S SOCIALNO IN VERSKO KRITIČNO VSEBINO

Gledališko delo Gila Vicenteja *Farsa de Clerigo de Beira* je znano tudi pod naslovom *Auto de Pedreanes*. Ta dva različna naslova odgovarjata vsebini njenega začetnega in končnega dela, ki se zdita medsebojno brez povezave. delo izgleda kot serija scen, ki vsaka išče svoj komični učinek.

Globlja analiza celotnega teksta pa pokaže, da je vsem tem scenam skupen kritični odnos do življenja na dvoru. Igra gradi na kontrastu dvor: vas, in paralelno s tem dvorjan : meščan, bogati : revni, izobraženi : preprosti, stari : mladi. Za Gila Vicenteja je pomembna moralna integriteta človeka, ne pa njegov socialni položaj. Gornje sloje prikazuje kot skorumpirane, medsebojno polne intrig in zlobe, grobe v odnosu do nižjih slojev. Ti odnosi so značilni tudi znotraj rodbine, kot tudi v družbi kot celoti. Značilen je odnos duhovnika do svojega lastnega nezakonskega sina. Duhovnik gleda na svoja neodgovorna dejanja kot samo po sebi umevna. Njegovo svetno in duhovno življenje je zlito v eno celoto. Vsej družbi vlada egoizem, prevaranstvo, neodgovornost, odsotnost moralnih vrednot.

Irena Milanič

MARY JUGG MOLEK IN NJENA ZGODNJA DELA

Študija poda biografijo ameriške pesnice slovenskega porekla Mary Jugg ter vrednoti njene pesmi nastale pred drugo svetovno vojno. Rojena 9. junija 1909 slovenskim staršem v kraju Mineral, Kansas, je študirala anglistiko in pedagogiko na Državnem učiteljskišču Kansasa v Pittsburgu. V dobi Velike ekonomske krize se je preselila v Chicago, kjer je dobila zaposlitev pri centralnem uradu Slovenske narodne podpore jednote (SNPJ). S prozo in poezijo je začela sodelovati v glasilih SNPJ. L. 1934 se je poročila z Ivanom Molkom, urednikom *Prosvete*, glasila SNPJ. Ta je l. 1944 izgubil službo pri SNPJ, ker se ni strinjal s politiko SNPJ, ki je podpirala NOB v Jugoslaviji. Mary Jugg je v teh letih študirala pedagogiko na univerzi v Chicagu ter se po diplomi in magisterju zaposlila kot šolska svetovalka. Po smrti Ivana Molka l. 1962 je delala pri izseljeniškem arhivu državne univerze Minnesote v Minneapolisu, po 1969 pa je živela v Dovru, Delaware, kjer je pripravila Molkovo avtobiografijo in bibliografijo za tisk. Umrla je l. 1982.

Njena zgodnja poezija iz tridesetih let je zaznamovana s socialnimi problemi Velike ekonomske krize. V štiridesetih letih se je kot pacifist posvetila mednarodni sceni. Značilne za Mary Jugg so tudi miselno poglobljene pesmi o naravi, kot tudi reminiscence na mladost, zlasti na študentska leta. Kot pesnica slovenskih izseljenških glasil je ustvarila tudi številne priložnostne pesmi ob proslavah prvega maja, ob vstopu v novo leto, ter ob raznih društvenih slovesnostih.

UDK 929 Adamič L.:929 Girl V.:314.743(=163.6)

Mirko Jurak

LOUIS ADAMIČ IN VATROSLAV GRILL:
ENAKOPRAVNO SODELOVANJE?

Leta 1979 je pri založbi Mladinska knjiga v Ljubljani izšla avtobiografija ameriškega Slovence Vatroslava Grilla, *Med dvema svetovoma*. Grill je gradivo za knjigo zbiral zadnja leta pred smrtjo in za objavo ga je uredila prof. dr. Jerneja Petrič. Avtor je svoje obširno delo posvetil spominu Louisa Adamiča in v njem tudi podrobno prikazal svoj odnos do Adamiča. Kako visoko je Grill Adamiča cenil vidimo – med drugim – tudi iz besed, ki jih je izrekel ob otvoritvi nove osnovne šole v Grosuplju, poimenovane po Adamiču, dne 3. sept. 1971, namreč, da je bil izid Adamičeve knjige *The Native's Return* (*Vrnitev v rodni kraj* 1934) "najpomembnejši dogodek v zgodovini ameriških Slovencev". Grill je Adamiča osebno spoznal decembra 1933 in odtlej dalje sta bila v prijateljskih stikih vse do Adamičeve smrti.

Vatro Grill je o Adamiču in njegovem delu napisal več kot tristo prispevkov in že ta podatek nedvomno kaže, kako visoko ga je cenil. Vatro Grill ni bil neznana osebnost med slovenskimi izseljenci v ZDA, saj se je povzpел od črkostavca do pravnika in nazadnje celo do prvega pomočnika javnega tožilca v državi Ohio. Toda za njegov odnos do Adamiča je bilo bolj pomembno njegovo kulturno delovanje, še posebej dejstvo, da je od 1. avgusta 1919 pa do 6. aprila 1957 več desetletij urejal slovenski časopis *Enakopravnost*, ki je izhajal v Clevelandu, dokler se ni leta 1957 združil s chicaško *Prosveto*.

Louis Adamič je bil ob koncu dvajsetih in zlasti od tridesetih let dalje v ZDA splošno priznan kot pisatelj in javni delavec zato se nam zastavlja vprašanje ali ni bilo sodelovanje med Adamičem in Grillom le enosmerna pot" oziroma ali so bili njuni medsebojni odnosi le enostranski ali pa so bili uravnoteženi. To je osrednje vprašanje na katerega skušam v referatu odgovoriti večinoma na podlagi še neraziskane rokopisne zapuščine Vatroslava Grilla ki jo hrani NUK. Moj odgovor je, da ta odnos vendarle ni bil tako enostranski, kot bi se na prvi pogled lahko zdelo. Tudi Adamič je v V. Grillu našel prijatelja in sogovornika, s katerim je bilo tudi zanj sodelovanje koristno.

UDK 821.163.6.09 Zorman I.:314.743(163.6)

Igor Maver

SLOVENSKA POEZIJA V ZDA: IVAN ZORMAN

Članek obravnava delo Ivana Zorman (1889-1957), v Sloveniji rojenega pesnika, skladatelja in zgodnjega prevajalca slovenske književnosti v angleščino, ki je od svojega ranega otroštva živel v Združenih državah. Osredinja se na njegovo relativno obsežno produkcijo kot prvega širokopoteznega prevajalca slovenskih pesnikov v angleščino, kar doslej ni bilo dovolj raziskano. Izbor tekstov za prevod in njihova ustreznost sta analizirana v njegovi zbirki pesniških prevodov *Slovene (Jugoslav) Poetry*, ki jo je izdal v samozaložbi leta 1928 v Clevelandu.

UDK 821.111(71).09 Hood H.

Aleksander Kustec

ZLIVANJE IMAGINACIJE IN MATERIALNEGA UNIVERZUMA: HUGH HOOD, *FLYING A RED KITE*

Avtor članka želi izpostaviti pomen Hoodove zbirke, ki po mnenju kanadistov predstavlja prelomnico v pisanju in razvoju sodobne kanadske kratke zgodbe. *Flying a Red Kite* (1962) predstavlja nenavadno zlivanje fikcije in stvarnosti, nekaj, česar prej ni bilo moč najti v kanadski kratki zgodbi. Za razliko od Morleya Callaghana, ki pričakuje od svojega bralca, da bo sprejel njegovo

didaktiko in moralizem, Hood želi doseči prav nasproten učinek, saj želi od svojih bralcev izvesti predvsem čustvene odzive. Hood popolnoma obvlada modernistično tehniko, ki reflektira njegovo versko prepričanje. Njegove zgodbe so prefinjene, bolj globoko umišljene, manj "zaprte" in bolj literarno zahtevne kakor Callaghanove, zato zahtevajo bolj poglobljeno branje in večkratno vračanje. Callaghan vlada svojim zgodbam, v njih interpretira, razlaga in poudarja moralni nauk na način, ki ni primeren. Hoodovo pisanje uvaža ravnotežje med opazovanjem in kontemplacijo. V *Flying a Red Kite* Hood v enajstih zgodbah poskuša bralca prosvetliti o moralnih, estetskih in medčloveških odnosih. Uspeh je odvisen od zmožnosti protagonistov, da sintetizirajo konkretno z abstraktnim, časovno primerno z brezčasnostjo, vsakdanje z božanskim, kot pravi Copoloff-Mechanic v *Pilgrim's Progress: A Study of the Short Stories of Hugh Hood*. V vseh zgodbah je čutiti dialog med dvema svetovoma: imaginarnim in materialnim. Pri svojem pisanju se Hood največkrat ukvarja s kredibilnimi književnimi osebami v več ali manj verjetnih situacijah. Te književne osebe so izpostavljene spremembam, ki imajo pozitiven učinek na njihov osebnostni razvoj. Pot do zaželenega cilja je zelo težka in zahtevna, prepletena s precejšnjim samoodpovedovanjem, a osebe so izpostavljene različnim skušnjavam, ki na trenutke prekinajo njihovo romarsko pot. Na pot jih znova požene neka božanska sila, ki jim vliva upanje in odpira oči, da uvidijo življenje v popolnoma novi in drugačni luči.

UDK 371.3:811.111

Yu Zuchen

KOMUNIKATIVNI VIDIK PRI POUKU ANGLEŠČINE

Študija ugotavlja, da komunikativni vidik pri pouku angleščine povezuje tako funkcionalni kot tudi strukturalni koncept jezika v eno celoto. Ugotavlja, da obstojita pri komunikativnem pouku angleščine dve osnovni stopnji: predkomunikativna in komunikativna. Novi učbenik za učenje angleščine v Ljudski Republiki Kitajski, *A New English Course*, kaže kako se v Ljudski Republiki Kitajski pouk angleščine razvija v soglasju s sodobnimi vidiki metodologije pouka angleškega jezika.

UDK 811.111'01'06'367.5/.522

Frančiška Trobevšek Drobnak

JEZIKOVNA SPREMEMBA: SLOVNIČNO OKOLJE DELEŽNIŠKIH POLSTAVKOV V STARI IN DANAŠNJI ANGLEŠČINI

V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati empirične raziskave, katere cilj je bil potrditi ali ovreči hipotezo, da na izbor med skladenjskimi dvojnicami vpliva tudi

njihovo slovnično okolje. Analiza izbranih slovničnih parametrov (število argumentov v stavku, vrsta, oseba in število osebka, glagolski čas, naklon in stanjskost nadrejenega glagola ter vloga osebka podrejenega glagola v nadrejenem stavku) je pokazala, da se njihova vrednost v okolju staroangleških deležniških polstavkov statistično pomečno razlikuje od vrednosti istih parametrov v okolju staroangleških odvisnikov. Vrednosti slovničnih parametrov v okolju obeh dvojnic (deležniških polstavkov in ustreznih odvisnikov) se razlikujejo tudi v moderni angleščini, vendar je njihova razporeditev drugačna. Rezultati kažejo na premik od izrazito nezaznamovanih vrednosti slovničnih parametrov v okolju deležniških polstavkov v stari angleščini do bolj zaznamovanih vrednosti v enakem okolju v moderni angleščini.

UDK 75(73):929 Vanka M.:003.26

Tine Kurent

KOLAŽ MAKSIMILIANA VANKE "DRUGA SVETOVNA VOJNA" JE SIJAJNA GEMATRIČNA KOMPOZICIJA.

Slikar Makso Vanka je zasnoval svoj kolaž v družbi svojih prijateljev Stelle in Louisa Adamiča, svoje žene Margaret in tasta, ko se je le-ta srečno vrnil v New York z zadnjo vožnjo parnika *Ile de France*. Obe ženi in tast so bili Judje, odtod v kolažu množica ne le likovnih simbolov ampak tudi gematričnih sporočil, od pripovedi, kako je tast dr. Stetten DeWitt ušel iz okupirane Evrope, do misli o nacizmu, fašizmu antisemitizmu in terorju, ki so se porajale spričo grozeče svetovne vojne. Vir gematričnih sporočil so številke v merah kolaža, v napisih imen osebnosti (L. Adamic, M. Vanka, Hull, Chandler), potniških ladij (*Ile de France* ter *L(usitania)*? in *Athenia*, ki so ju potopile nemške podmornice v dveh vojnah), krajev (Paris, Beograd, Korcula, Washington) in celo glasbenih not (do, sol, re). Beseda WAR se ponovi na kolažu sedemkrat.

ERRATA, AN XXXI, 1998

Marija Javor Briški

DUHOVNO- IN LITERARNOZGODOVINSKI VIDIKI
POZNOSREDNJEVEŠKEGA MOLITVENIKA IZ NARODNE IN
UNIVERZITETNE KNJIŽNICE V LJUBLJANI

Uvodni prikaz molitvenikov in pobožnosti v poznem srednjem veku postavlja rokopis NUKLj Ms 224 v širši duhovno- in literarnozgodovinski kontekst, pri tem se osredotoči na osebne molitvenike in njihove značilnosti. Sledi raziskava pričujočega molitvenika, kjer avtorica obravnava literarne tipe besedil, božje osebe in svetnike ter značaj prošenj, ki kažejo na okolje nastanka molitvenika. Navedba paralelnih tekstov iz drugih rokopisov omogoča povezavo besedil s tradicijo molitvenikov v poznem srednjem veku.

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