

# ACTA NEOPHILOLOGICA

**MARIJA JAVOR BRIŠKI**

Geistesgeschichtliche und literarhistorische Aspekte eines spätmittelalterlichen Privatgebetbuches der National- und Universitätsbibliothek von Ljubljana

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# XXXI

## 1998

## LJUBLJANA

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# GEISTESGESCHICHTLICHE UND LITERARHISTORISCHE ASPEKTE EINES SPÄTMITTELALTERLICHEN PRIVATGEBETBUCHES DER NATIONAL- UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK VON LJUBLJANA

*Marija Javor Briški*

1. Gebete als Ausdruck der Zuwendung des Menschen zu Gott sind in einer nahezu unüberschaubaren Fülle mittelalterlicher Gebetbücher<sup>1</sup> auf uns gekommen, die zum Großteil als handschriftliche Zeugnisse ihr Dasein fristen und von der Forschung bislang wenig Beachtung fanden<sup>2</sup>.

Zu unterscheiden sind zwei Arten von Gebetbüchern: 1) die liturgischen, für den Gottesdienst bestimmten, die in der eher starren kirchlichen, lateinisch-römischen Tradition verankert sind und über einen mehr oder minder festen Kanon verfügen, und 2) die privaten, die aufgrund ihres individuellen Charakters in der Geschichte ihres Bestehens einen größeren Wandel erfahren<sup>3</sup> und die vielfachen, sich verändernden Strömungen ausgesetzten Frömmigkeitsformen ihrer Besitzer widerspiegeln; allerdings sind sie nicht auf den außerliturgischen Gebrauch beschränkt, sie finden auch während des Gottesdienstes Verwendung<sup>4</sup>. Der persönliche Zug des Privatgebetbuches tritt um so deutlicher vor Augen, je weiter sich die Zusammenstellung der darin enthaltenen Gebete vom liturgischen Kanon entfernt. Auch manifestiert sich der persönliche Zug solcher Gebetbücher in der Verschiedenheit der Sammlungen, die den Bedürfnissen des einzelnen gerecht werden.<sup>5</sup> "Indem sie die Grundlage für das persönliche Gebet des Einzelnen

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1 Das trifft insbesondere für die Laiengebetbücher des Spätmittelalters zu, die beispielsweise in den Handschriftenabteilungen der Bibliotheken von Darmstadt, München, Nürnberg und Stuttgart in großer Menge vorhanden sind. Siehe Kataloge: Gerhard Achten u. Hermann Knaus: *Deutsche und niederländische Gebetbuchhandschriften der hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt*. Darmstadt 1959; Erich Petzet: *Die deutschen Pergament-Handschriften Nr. 1-200 der Staatsbibliothek in München*. München 1920; Karin Schneider: *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. Bd. 2-6. Wiesbaden 1965; dies.: *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*. Bd. 1: *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*. Wiesbaden 1970-1991; Virgil Ernst Fiala u. Wolfgang Irtenkauf: *Die Handschriften der württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*. 1. Reihe. Bd. 3.: *Codices Brevarii*. Wiesbaden 1977.

2 Vgl. Franz Xaver Haimerl: *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der Gebetbuchliteratur Süddeutschlands*. München 1952. S. 1.

3 Vgl. Josef Andreas Jungmann: *Christliches Beten in Wandel und Bestand*. München 1969. S. 6f.; F. X. Haimerl: *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit...* (wie Anm. 2). S. 3.

4 *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (im folgenden LexMa). Hrsg. von Norbert Angermann u. a. Bd. 4. München; Zürich 1989. Sp. 1159.

5 Vgl. Gerhard Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch im Mittelalter: Andachts- und Stundenbücher in*

darstellen, werden Andachtsbücher zu Dingen der menschlichen Privatsphäre mit individuellem Charakter, und dies nicht nur aufgrund ihrer jeweiligen Textzusammenstellung und Einzigartigkeit der künstlerischen Ausstattung, sondern [...] im Hinblick auf die vielen eigenhändigen Nachträge, Erweiterungen mit familiären Nachrichten und medizinischen Rezepten für ein gesichertes Wohlergehen", was von der "lebensbegleitenden Funktion" der Gebetbücher zeugt.<sup>6</sup>

In der folgenden Betrachtung liegt der Schwerpunkt auf dem Privatgebetbuch der Laien, wobei allerdings eine scharfe Abgrenzung gegenüber der für Mönche und Weltgeistliche bestimmte Gebetbuchliteratur nicht immer möglich sein wird, zumal das Gebetbuch für den privaten Gebrauch des Laienstandes auf klösterlicher Gebetspraxis und Gedankenwelt beruht und von dort immer wieder neue Impulse erfahren hat.

Der Psalter ist das älteste, "seit frühchristlicher Zeit aus der jüdischen Tradition übernommene Gebetbuch par excellence".<sup>7</sup> Die Gläubigen schöpften daraus ihre geistliche Nahrung sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb des Gottesdienstes. Er ist aber nach Ansicht Haimerls nicht als erstes Laiengebetbuch zu postulieren, wenngleich er für die Herausbildung der ersten Privatgebetbücher des christlichen Abendlandes, die in den Fürstengebetbüchern der Karolingerzeit konkrete Formen annahmen, von maßgeblicher Bedeutung ist.<sup>8</sup> Diese sogenannten *Libelli precum* enthalten nämlich neben zahlreichen Gebeten, Hymnen und Offizien auch die sieben Bußpsalmen.<sup>9</sup> Im iro-schottischen Christentum und der Überlieferung der Kirchenväter wurzelnd, erlangten sie insbesondere durch die Vermittlung Alkuins auch auf dem Festland Verbreitung. Als Gebettypus für diese Gebetbücher kennzeichnend waren: 1) das traktatähnliche, gegen den Adoptianismus gerichtete Dreifaltigkeitsgebet mit Betonung der Gottheit Christi und der bis dahin in der römischen Liturgie unbekannten trinitarischen Gebetsanrede<sup>10</sup>, 2) die Confessio oder Apologie, die durch Aufzählung der Tugenden und Laster zur Bewußtwerdung von Gut und Böse führen sollte<sup>11</sup> und 3) die gleich dem Dreifaltigkeitsgebet aus irischer Überlieferung stammenden *Loricæ* oder Schildgebete<sup>12</sup>, in denen man, wie Achten formuliert, "den Schutz der göttlichen Mächte, besonders der Dreifaltigkeit, herabrufft".<sup>13</sup>

An diesem auf die gesellschaftliche Elite der damaligen Zeit beschränkten Laiengebetbuch hatte, wovon schon der Name zeugt, das einfache Volk keinen Anteil. Dessen Frömmigkeit äußert sich dagegen im Beten des Vaterunser und des Glaubensbekenntnisses, was man auch aus den zahlreichen Übersetzungen in die

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Handschriften und Frühdrucken. Wiesbaden 21987. S. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Joachim M. Plotzek: *Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz*. Köln 1987. S. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (im folgenden TRE). Hrsg. von Gerhard Krause u. a. Bd. 12. Berlin; New York 1984. S. 106.

<sup>8</sup> Siehe F. X. Haimerl: *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit...* (wie Anm. 2). S. 13f.

<sup>9</sup> LexMa (wie Anm. 4). Sp. 1160.

<sup>10</sup> G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5). S. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Ebd.

<sup>12</sup> TRE (wie Anm. 7). S. 106.

<sup>13</sup> G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5). S. 22. (Zu den Schildgebeten siehe auch unten im Abschnitt über die Laiengebetbücher des Spätmittelalters.)

Muttersprache ersehen kann. Als drittes im Volk weit verbreitetes Gebet kam bald noch das Ave Maria hinzu.<sup>14</sup>

Die Gebetslehre des Mönchtums erfuhr durch die Reformbewegungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. und im 12. Jahrhundert und durch die Gründung neuer Orden einen großen Aufschwung. Nach "Cassians Lehre von der Discretio und Contemplatio sowie der stufenweisen Verinnerlichung des Schauens"<sup>15</sup> und den stilistischen Vorbildern Augustins und Gregors I. schreiben die großen Theologen der Zeit ihre "Glaubenserfahrungen nicht nur in theoretischen Schriften, sondern auch in Gebetstexten und Meditationen"<sup>16</sup> nieder, die sie hochgestellten Persönlichkeiten widmen. Diese fanden im Gegensatz zu dem ersteren weite Verbreitung und offenbaren in der großen Anzahl von Mariengebeten, die die Gottesmutter als "Mittlerin der Gnade" darstellen<sup>17</sup>, das gesteigerte Bedürfnis des Menschen "nach sekundärer Vermittlung"<sup>18</sup>, denn "[i]m Bilde der christlichen Glaubenswelt", so Jungmann, "war die Gestalt des verklärenden Gottmenschen mehr und mehr verdunkelt und abgeblendet."<sup>19</sup>

Aus dem benediktinischen Mönchsideal *ora et labora* erwuchs an die Klosterleute die Forderung nach ununterbrochenem Gotteslob, der *Laus perennis*, die sie in den Horen, den zu bestimmten Tagzeiten festgelegten Chorgebeten, zu erfüllen hatten.<sup>20</sup> Als Gebetbuch benutzten sie den Psalter, worin immer mehr, hauptsächlich aus Psalmen, Cantica, Hymnen und Capitula zusammengesetzte Offizien Aufnahme fanden. Aus diesen dem persönlichen Anliegen der Gläubigen Ausdruck verleihenden Sonderoffizien des Chorgebetes entwickeln sich zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts die für den Laien bestimmten Stundenbücher, die, in erster Linie auf die adlige und bürgerliche Oberschicht beschränkt, an die Stelle der Fürstengebetbücher und Psalter traten. Kernstücke dieser *livres d'heures*, wie sie in Frankreich genannt werden, bilden die Offizien Mariä und des heiligen Kreuzes.<sup>21</sup> Obwohl die "Stundenbücher durch individuell konzipierte Gebetssammlungen beträchtlich erweitert"<sup>22</sup> wurden, zeugen sie durch die am Chorgebet orientierte Einteilung in Tagstunden von einer gewissen Starrheit und bieten damit der Entfaltung des persönlichen Frömmigkeitslebens nur wenig Raum. Deshalb hat die zu religiösen Zwecken erfolgte Anwendung der Stundenbücher das 16. Jahrhundert nicht überdauert.

Trotz vielfacher Bemühungen, den Laienstand an den Mysterien des Glaubens teilhaben zu lassen, bestand durch das rigide, traditionsbewußte und in lateinischer Sprache abgehaltene Chorgebet zwischen der Geistlichkeit und dem Volk eine tiefe Kluft, deren Überwindung man vor allem seit dem 12. Jahrhundert in den Kreisen der Konversen, der in den Benediktinerklöstern und in den

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<sup>14</sup> Ebd., S. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Ebd., S. 16.

<sup>16</sup> Wie Anm. 15.

<sup>17</sup> TRE (wie Anm. 7). S. 106.

<sup>18</sup> J. A. Jungmann: *Christliches Beten...* (wie Anm. 3). S. 100.

<sup>19</sup> Ebd.

<sup>20</sup> G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5). S. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Ebd., S. 31.

<sup>22</sup> J. M. Plotzek: *Andachtsbücher...* (wie Anm. 6). S. 22.

neugegründeten Orden lebenden Laienbrüder und -schwestern, anstrebte. Dasselbe Anliegen hatten als Vertreter der zwecks praktischer Aufgaben zusammengeschlossenen Gemeinschaften unter anderen auch die Hospitalbrüder, ebenso die Drittorden, die Beginen, die spätmittelalterlichen Bruderschaften und die Brüder und Schwestern vom Gemeinsamen Leben, die sich zur Vertiefung ihres Glaubens ohne Ablegung von Ordensgelübden zusammenschlossen.<sup>23</sup> Um das Bedürfnis nach persönlicher Gotteserfahrung zu stillen, wurden Gebetssammlungen für den privaten Gebrauch angelegt mit vielen "Gebeten, Hymnen und Andachten aus der gesamten christlichen Überlieferung"<sup>24</sup>, die später sogar in die Muttersprachen übersetzt wurden.

In großem Maße beeinflusst wurde dieses Streben nach persönlicher Gotteserfahrung außerhalb der Liturgie durch das "Eindringen der Mystik in die Gebetsfrömmigkeit"<sup>25</sup>, getragen durch die beiden großen Bettelorden, den Franziskanern mit ihrer Mystik der Christus- und Gottesminne und den Dominikanern, deren Passionsmystik, mitunter erkennbar an den zahlreichen Gebeten zu den Wunden Christi als Ausdruck von Christi "Minnezeichen", das Frömmigkeitsleben des ausgehenden Mittelalters in bedeutsamer Weise formten.<sup>26</sup> Einschneidend geprägt wurden diese Manifestationen religiöser Subjektivierung auch von der *Devotio moderna*, einer zu den Mystikern der Bettelorden in enger Beziehung stehenden Bewegung, die von dem Niederländer Gert Groote mit seinen "ästhetisch religiösen Erneuerungsbestrebungen"<sup>27</sup> ins Leben gerufen wurde. Hauptziel dieser mystischen Strömung war die "Nachfolge Christi" im eigenen Leben, also eine "praktische werktätige Frömmigkeit"<sup>28</sup>.

Die folgende Darstellung bietet einen Überblick über die zahlreichen im Spätmittelalter, vornehmlich zwischen 1450 und 1530<sup>29</sup> entstandenen Privatgebetbücher, zu denen auch das *Gebethbuch* Ms 224 der National- und Universitätsbibliothek von Ljubljana gehört. Das vielfältige Repertoire dieses spätmittelalterlichen Gebetbuchtypus, der die aus allen Richtungen strömenden Einflüsse widerspiegelt, reicht von verschiedenen Gebeten<sup>30</sup>, wie Memento-, Reim- und Ablassgebeten, Beichten, Passionsandachten, den litaneiförmigen Christus- und Marienandachten bis zu den Segensformeln, die schon im Gebetbuch von Muri<sup>31</sup> aus dem 12. Jahrhundert zu finden sind.<sup>32</sup> In dem auf orientalisch-irischer Tradition fußenden Memento-Gebet, der *manunge*, bringt der Betende "vor Gott, Christus oder Maria das Heilsgeschehen in Erinnerung, um sich", wie Achten formuliert, "der Bedeutung dieser Heilstaten Gottes für seine eigene Person bewußt zu

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23 G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5). S. 26.

24 TRE (wie Anm. 7). S. 107.

25 F. X. Haimerl: *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit...* (wie Anm. 2). S. 34.

26 Ebd., S. 35f.

27 Ebd., S. 58.

28 Ebd., S. 59.

29 TRE (wie Anm. 7). S. 107.

30 G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5), S. 37ff.

31 Cod. 69 des Klosters Muri-Gries bei Bozen; siehe Gerhard Eis: *Altdeutsche Zaubersprüche*. Berlin 1964. S. 116ff.

32 TRE (wie Anm. 7). S. 107f.

werden."<sup>33</sup> Nach christlicher Philosophie des Mittelalters, die auf neuplatonisch-augustinischer Überlieferung gründet, wird die Vereinigung der Seele mit Gott durch "Erkenntnis, Wille und Memoria" erreicht. "Wenn in jedem Menschen durch göttliche Auserwählung die 'Idee' des Heilsgeschehens angelegt ist, kann sie durch die ständige Übung der Memento-Gebete wirksam werden."<sup>34</sup> Charakteristisch für die Gebetsart sind litaneuartige Ermahnungen, die mit *Pater noster* und *Ave Maria* abwechseln. Nicht allein der Gebetstext ist von Bedeutung, er ist verbunden mit eingestreuten Anweisungen, die sich auf die Handlungen bzw. auf die Körperhaltung während des Gebets beziehen, sowie mit dem Hinweis auf Ergänzung durch "Werke praktischer Nächstenliebe".<sup>35</sup> Ein im Spätmittelalter häufig vorkommendes Memento-Gebet sind die *Salutationes ad membra Christi et Mariae*.<sup>36</sup> Die schon oben genannten Reimgebete dienten seit der Karolingerzeit der Einprägung von Glaubenswahrheiten.<sup>37</sup> Eine Verbindung zur irischen Tradition besteht auch bei den Ablassgebeten mit den auch für die Memento-Gebete typischen litaneiförmigen Anrufungen<sup>38</sup> sowie den begleitenden Gebärden und Opfergaben. Sie haben sich, wie die Memento-Gebete, aus den bereits erwähnten Schildgebeten<sup>39</sup> entwickelt, die als "Schild des Glaubens"<sup>40</sup> gegen Dämonen schützen sollten.

Nach Achtens Auffassung war die "Lorica [...] ursprünglich eine christliche Umdeutung alter, heidnischer Zauberformeln, durch die man den Schutz der göttlichen Mächte, besonders der Dreifaltigkeit herabrufte. Auch der intensive Kult von Engeln und Heiligen ist auf solche altkeltischen und altgermanischen Beschwörungsformeln zurückzuführen."<sup>41</sup> Daß der Heiligenkult auf das von Dämonenglauben beherrschte Heidentum zurückzuführen sei, wird neben anderen auch von Haimerl<sup>42</sup> und Jungmann<sup>43</sup> vertreten. Dieser allgemeinverbreiteten

33 G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5). S. 38.

34 Ebd.

35 Ebd.

36 Ebd.

37 Ebd., S. 22.

38 Ebd.

39 J. A. Jungmann nennt sie "Panzer". Siehe: *Christliches Beten...* (wie Anm. 3). S. 63.

40 G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5). S. 20.

41 Ebd., siehe auch S. 24.

42 F. X. Haimerl: *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit...* (wie Anm. 2), 32f.: "Die damalige Welt war von starkem Zauberglauben beherrscht. Das Christentum sah sich deshalb vor eine schwierige Aufgabe gestellt. Die Form an sich konnte nicht ohne Widerstand und, ohne im Vorhinein auf jeden Missionserfolg zu verzichten, zerstört werden. So konnte nur die alte Form mit neuem Inhalt erfüllt werden. Die alten Götternamen wurden ersetzt durch die christliche Gottbezeichnung. Daneben traten die Heiligen als überirdische Helfer durch ihre Fürbitte. Es entstanden Beschwörungs- bzw. Segensformeln zunächst zum Gebrauche der Mönche, der Kirche, daher von liturgischem Charakter. Neben diesen neuerworbenen Gebeten hatte die Kirche in ihrer Liturgie schon eine große Zahl von Weihe- und Segensformeln. Auch sie haben von diesem Magischen angenommen. Man hat [...] vor allem viele Heiligennamen aufgenommen [...]. Es gehören hierher auch die litaneiförmigen Gebete, in welchen durch unermüdliche Berufung auf die Groß- und Heilstaten Gottes, insbesondere Christi, übernatürliche Hilfe erfleht wird [...]."

43 Siehe J. A. Jungmann: *Christliches Beten...* (wie Anm. 3), S. 65: Zu den allgemeinen christlichen Antrieben zum Gebet kommt als übermächtige Triebkraft eine Dämonenfurcht, die wohl aus einem nie ganz überwundenen Heidentum ererbt ist [...]."

Ansicht bringt Daxelmüller<sup>44</sup> Argumente entgegen, die sich auf die neueren Forschungsergebnisse der Volkskunde stützen. Er übt Kritik an der unter dem Einfluß Jacob Grimms und der mythologischen Schule des 19. Jahrhunderts stehenden Rückführung alter Glaubensformen auf die germanischen Götter und Kulte:

*Die schriftlichen und archäologischen Zeugnisse über germanische Geschichte, Religion und Kultur reichten nicht aus, um aus ihnen ein Bild des vorchristlichen Altertums erstellen zu können. In der Abartigkeit rezenter Aberglaubensformen, seien es nur Segensformeln, die sich formal mit den Merseburger Zaubersprüchen verbinden ließen [...], vermutete man die Reminiszenz an germanische Götter und Kulte. Das HDA ist solchen Mißdeutungen in hohem Maße erlegen.*<sup>45</sup>

Der Dämonenglaube muß demnach nicht unbedingt heidnischen Ursprungs gewesen sein, auch in der Bibel finden sich Stellen, die von der Austreibung böser Geister handeln.<sup>46</sup> Die hier angeführte Kontroverse über den Ursprung des in Gebeten und Segensformen in Erscheinung tretenden Dämonenglaubens sei den Ethnologen und Religionswissenschaftlern zur Diskussion gestellt. Allerdings ist nicht zu leugnen, daß, vor allem aus heutiger Sicht betrachtet, in den privaten Gebetbüchern des ausgehenden Mittelalters ein Hang zu den von den zentralen Glaubenswahrheiten weit entfernten Randbereichen religiösen Denkens und Fühlens hervortritt, erkennbar an den rituellen Anweisungen zum Gebet, den unzähligen Ablassversprechungen und der Heiligenverehrung.<sup>47</sup>

In diesem kurzen Aufriß über Gebetbuch und Frömmigkeit zeichnet sich in der Gebetbuchliteratur eine Entwicklung ab, die von den strengen, hauptsächlich liturgisch gebrauchten Formen des Früh- und Hochmittelalters, an der größtenteils nur die Geistlichen teilhaben und die für eine persönliche Zwiesprache mit Gott, für eine Verinnerlichung des Glaubens meist nur wenig Raum bietet, wegführt zu einer Individualisierung der Gebetspraxis in der privaten Andacht außerhalb der kirchlichen Organisationsformen mit den in weiten Kreisen verbreiteten spätmittelalterlichen Gebetbüchern.

Inwieweit sich das oben angeführte Manuskript Ms 224 in die Tradition der Gebetbuchliteratur einfügt, wird ersichtlich sein aus der folgenden Untersuchung, insbesondere aus dem Abschnitt, wo die literarischen Typen der im vorliegenden

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<sup>44</sup> Christoph Daxelmüller: "Vorwort" zum *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. Hrsg. von Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli unter Mitw. von Eduard Hoffman-Krayer. Bd. 1. Unveränd. photomechan. Nachdr. von 1927. Berlin; New York 1987. S. V - XXXIV, hier S. XIIff.

<sup>45</sup> Ebd., S. XXXI. - Schon Gerhard Eis bezweifelt die Rückführung der neudeutschen Formeln auf altdeutsche und der altgermanischen auf urindogermanische; er plädiert vielmehr für eine Polygenese der Formeln bzw. für spätere Vermittlung: "Es sind zu allen Zeiten Zaubersprüche entstanden. Gegenüber der weitverbreiteten Neigung, die neudeutschen auf altdeutsche Formeln und die altgermanischen auf urindogermanische zurückzuführen, ist Skepsis geboten. [...] In Deutschland wurde seit der römischen Besatzungszeit zugleich mit den aus Südeuropa kommenden Einflüssen auch viel orientalisches Wandergut durch literarische und außerliterarische Kanäle - durch Truppen, Tierhändler, Artisten usw. - eingeschleust, und darunter können sich auch die aus Indien stammenden Zaubersprüche befunden haben." In: *Altdeutsche...* (wie Anm. 31). S. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Siehe Mt. 10,1; Mk. 1,23; 1,41; 3,30; 7,34; 9,25; Lk. 6,18; Apg. 5,16; 8,7; 16,16-18; 19, 11-12.

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. J. A. Jungmann: *Christliches Beten...* (wie Anm. 3). S. 124ff.

Gebetbuch gesammelten Texte behandelt werden, und aus den Hinweisen auf Paralleltexte in anderen mittelalterlichen Handschriften.

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2. Das vorliegende, in gotischen Ledereinband des 15. Jhs.<sup>48</sup> eingebundene Gebetbuch wird unter der Signatur Ms 224 in der Handschriftenabteilung der National- und Universitätsbibliothek in Ljubljana aufbewahrt. Das 80 Blätter umfassende Manuskript, das hauptsächlich aus Papier besteht - nur die beiden Vorsatzblätter, die die erste und letzte Lage umfassen, sind aus Pergament - wurde von drei Händen mit schwarzer bis schwarzbrauner Tinte in oberdeutscher Bastarda des 15. Jhs. aufgezeichnet. Der Entstehungsort ist unbekannt. Unbekannt ist auch der Auftraggeber, allerdings steht auf dem vorderen Pergamentblatt ein zum Teil unleserlicher Besitzervermerk von 1550, wo ein gewisser *hans spynter holhper zu labach* angeführt wird. Zur Entstehungszeit gibt es in der Handschrift indes keine Angaben. Diese konnte nur anhand des Wasserzeichens, einer Waage, die in der Wasserzeichenkartei von Gerhard Piccard unter der Nr. V 563 angeführt wird und für 1472 in Gemona del Friuli nachgewiesen ist<sup>49</sup>, und der Untersuchungen zur Schreibsprache<sup>50</sup> näher ermittelt werden. So wird für Hand 1 die Entstehungszeit um 1472 angesetzt, für Hand 2 und 3 dagegen Ende des 15./Anfang des 16. Jhs. Die Schreibsprache ist überwiegend südbairisch, vereinzelt finden sich lateinische Einsprengsel.<sup>51</sup>

Ältere Angaben zur Handschrift finden sich in folgenden Werken:

Milko Kos und F. Stelè: *Srednjeveški rokopisi v Sloveniji*. Ljubljana 1931, S. 116.

Janez Stanonik: *Ostanki srednjeveškega nemškega slovstva na Kranjskem*. Ljubljana 1957. S. 8, 11f., 41ff.

Katalog rokopisov Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani. Ms 100 - Ms 399. Ljubljana 1980. S. 39.

Beim Versuch einer genauen Bestimmung der in der vorliegenden Handschrift vorkommenden literarischen Typen als Gebet, Segen und Zauberspruch ergeben sich, wie bei jeder Systematisierung, erhebliche Probleme, weil eine eindeutige Zuordnung trotz der gängigen Klassifikation nicht immer möglich ist, denn die Grenzen sind im allgemeinen fließend. "Die Grenze zwischen offiziellem Segen des liturg. Gebrauchs u. dem magisch wirksamen Z[auberspruch] läßt sich kaum genau bezeichnen, ebensowenig oft die Grenze zwischen beschwörendem Bittgebet u. magisch bannendem Z[auberspruch] [...]"<sup>52</sup> Für einen Verzicht auf klare Definition

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48 Vgl. *Lexikon der Buchkunst und Bibliophilie*. Hrsg. von Karl Klaus Walther. Leipzig 1987. S. 152.

49 Gerhard Piccard: *Wasserzeichen Waage*. Stuttgart 1978. S. 201.

50 Zur genaueren Analyse siehe Marija Javor Briški: "Untersuchungen zur deutschen Schreibsprache eines spätmittelalterlichen Gebetbuches von Ljubljana. In: *Linguistica XXXVIII*, 2 (1998), in Druck.

51 Näheres zur kodikologischen Beschreibung siehe Marija Javor Briški: *Poznosrednjeveški osebni molitvenik. Raziskava in opis rokopisa NUKLj Ms 224*. Magisterarbeit (Typoskript). Ljubljana 1995. S. 13ff.

52 Ernst Hellgardt: "Zauberspruch". In: *Literaturlexikon: Begriffe, Realien, Methoden*. Hrsg. von Volker Meid. Bd. 14. München 1993. S. 501.

und Abgrenzung der obigen Kategorien finden sich in der Forschung noch weitere Belege. So argumentiert beispielsweise A. Masser die Unmöglichkeit einer genauen Bestimmung von Zauberspruch und Segen mit der in der Praxis terminologisch nicht exakt durchgeführten Differenzierung und der Entbehrung einer sachlichen Grundlage.<sup>53</sup> Auch Segen und Gebete sind nicht klar voneinander abzugrenzen, wie H. Stuart und F. Walla aus der Überlieferungssituation des Tobiassegens schließen:

*Jene Fassungen, die selbständige Eintragungen in Sammel-Hss. darstellen [...] und insbesondere die aus dem Katharinenkloster in Nürnberg hervorgegangenen [...], wurden, wie sich aus dem sie umgebenden Text schließen läßt, vermutlich nicht als Segenssprüche, sondern als Gebete betrachtet. Wurden sie je praktisch angewendet, dann wurden sie als Gebete gesprochen oder als erbauliche Lektüre gelesen, denn in den Nürnberger Hss. findet sich kein einziges eindeutiges Beispiel eines Segens oder medizinischen Rezeptes.*<sup>54</sup>

Desgleichen werden im *Gebethbuch* Ms 224, dessen fortlaufenden Text ich in 103 zusammengehörende Einheiten untergliedert habe,<sup>55</sup> Segen als Gebete<sup>56</sup> und Gebete als Segen<sup>57</sup> gebraucht, zum Teil werden beide Typen auch im Text selbst nicht eindeutig differenziert, so wird beispielsweise Text Nr. 44 als Gebet und Segen bezeichnet:

*Das gepet vnd den segen soltu thuen für die nacht dieb. das ist sicherleichen guett. amen. "In zwain geleichem wenn den hiengen dreÿ leichnam an E/ten. DER ain hies di/mas, Der ander yef/mas vnd in der mitten der hÿmlich gewalt /. Der di/mas emphieng die hóch vnd yef/mas die tieff der helle. yef-/ma/s wardt verdambt /, di/ma/s auff die hÿmell wart gehebt. herre Jezu chrisste, gefegen die stat mitt deinem munde, das wir nicht / gelaidigt werden von dewbenn noch von fewr. vns vnd al vnnser guet hab got heint In seiner huett/, von des heÿligen krewtztes zaichen entweich verre als vbell von vns. wann wider das zaichen des heÿligen krewtztes + mag kain vbell nicht gefchaden. Amen."* (fol. 36<sup>r</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>)

<sup>53</sup> Achim Masser: "Zaubersprüche und Segen". In: *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*. Hrsg. von Klaus Kanzog u. Achim Masser. Bd. 4. Berlin; New York 21984. S. 957-965. Hier S. 957.

<sup>54</sup> Heather Stuart u. F. Walla: "Die Überlieferung der mittelalterlichen Segen". In: *ZfdA* 116. (1987). S. 53-79. Hier S. 76.

<sup>55</sup> Marija Javor Briški: *Poznosrednjeveški osebni molitvenik...* (wie Anm. 51), S. 17ff.; 83ff.: Text mit Kommentar.

<sup>56</sup> So heißt es beispielsweise in Bezug auf den sogenannten "Jobsegnen": *Das gepet ist t guet für die wúrme In den zenden oder In dem menschen, So man Es ainem menschen spricht / mit gantzer andacht [...]* (Nr. 53 fol. 40<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>); Abdruck des gesamten Segens bei Janez Stanonik: *Ostanki srednjeveškega slovstva na Kranjskem*. Ljubljana 1957. S. 44f. - Die Abbreviaturen in den oben und weiter unten angeführten transkribierten Textstellen sind aufgelöst; die Interpunktion ist mit Ausnahme der Virgeln zum besseren Verständnis nach heutigem Usus hinzugefügt worden.

<sup>57</sup> Z. B.: *Ob ain man von seinen veintenn wirt bestanden oder ob er few sicht /, zw Im zu nahenn der sprech di few wart vnd segenn sich damit etc.: "Maria, ain muetter der genaden, ain muetter der parmeherzigkait [...]* (Nr. 19, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>; Gesamttext abgedruckt in J. Stanonik: *Ostanki srednjeveškega slovstva...* (wie Anm. 52). S. 42); *Das gepett sprich, wann dw dein veint an siecht, So múgen sy dir nicht gefchaden, vnd gefegen dich damit: "JEsus gieng durch Ir mitte vnd sprach [...]* (Nr. 46, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>); *Mit dem gepet soltu dich Alle tag Fúr den vnrechtten tod segen [...]* (Nr. 49, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>; vollständig abgedruckt in J. Stanonik: *Ostanki...* (wie Anm. 56). S. 44).

G. Eis steht in seinem Werk *Altdeutsche Zaubersprüche* einer Definition sehr skeptisch gegenüber. Er schreibt: "Es scheint, daß es keine Definition gibt, die frei von normativer Willkür wäre und der ganzen Vielfältigkeit des überlieferten Gutes gerecht würde."<sup>58</sup>

Aufgrund des oben dargelegten Sachverhaltes werde auch ich auf eine allgemeine Definition verzichten und im folgenden einige literarische Typen des vorliegenden *Gebethbuches* herausgreifen, die unter dem inhaltlich-formalen Aspekt, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Struktur untersucht und nicht ganz "frei von normativer Willkür" als Gebete, apotropäische Formen, Anweisungen und Glaubenslehre bezeichnet werden.

Das Gebet ist in bestimmte Teile untergliedert. Vor dem eigentlichen Gebetstext findet sich in den meisten Fällen eine Art Titel, wo die angerufenen göttlichen Mächte oder Heiligen angeführt werden, als Beispiel seien die folgenden angeführt:

*Ein ander guet gebet hintz vnnserm hern [...]* (Nr. 2, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>)

*hie heben sich an die gepet von den heyligen zwelfpotten nach einander [...]*  
(Nr. 4, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>)

*von vnnserm herren Jesu [...]* (Nr. 5, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>)

*Ain ander gepet von Sand Johannis [...]* (Nr. 7, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>)

*das ist ain guet vnd wares gebet von sand Niclas [...]* (Nr. 8, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>)

Häufig werden auch eine Zweckbestimmung dem Gebet vorangestellt, wie beispielsweise bei den folgenden:

*das gepett soltu sprechen für wider wartigkait / vnd für alle gröfse angst / vnd not solt dw es thün [...]* (Nr. 11, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>)

*Das gepett sol man dreß stund lesen, so ain taiding gelegt wirt /, auff ainen tag zuuolbringenn etc. [...]* (Nr. 12, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>)

*Wann dw groß sarg, not oder angst hast vmb dich oder vmb dein frewndt, So sprich das gepett mit andacht [...]* (Nr. 14, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>)

*Wenn dein frewnd oder yemandt gefangen ist vnnd als dw des ynnen wirft, so thue das hie hernach geschriben stett mit anda<r>cht /, so wirt er ledig an allenn seinenn schaden [...]* (Nr. 17, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>v</sup>)

*Als ain weyb swanger wirt, die thue das, das hernach geschriben stett. das ist Ir gút sicherleich an allen zweiffel [...]* (Nr. 21, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>)

*ob ain man gefangen werr vmb gut oder vmb ander sach, er wirt ledig. auch wer In natten kumt von armut wegen, er wyert ledig. auch wais ich das furbar. ob ain lunger man, der nicht gut hyet vnd wolt ain weib nemen, dye*

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<sup>58</sup> G. Eis: *Altdeutsche...* (wie Anm. 31), S. 3f. Er bezieht sich auf Definitionsversuche von Adolf Spamer: *Romanusbüchlein*. Berlin 1958. S. 5ff., Irmgard Hampp: *Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet*. Stuttgart 1961. S. 140ff. und Felix Genzmer: "Germanische Zaubersprüche". In: GRM (1950/51). S. 21-35. Hier S. 22.

von wyrdiger artwerr, vnd In deucht, das er Ir nicht gnaff wer, ich sprich pey got, vnd tut er dicz klayn gepet, er wirt gewert nach allen sein mut. ob man es tut vmb petleich sach oder vmb ain sel, dy in weiczen ist, sy wird ledig vnd ist zw merkchen ainer ledleichen frawn, dy gerrn kindter hyet, dy gewind sy an czweyffl, aber auff genamen, ob dy stat, da sich dy natur wurkchen solt, nicht zw rutt ist oder zw start, auch besunder ain merkleich sach den swanger frawn, wan In Ir czeit nachent vnd Ir kunftig notsarig vnd arbit kamen ist vnd wil gar leich vnd an we genesen vnd ain frollichen an plickh an Ir purdt sechen. vnd das selbig kint wirt sellig an sel vnd leib. dye sol auch das klain pet ttun. sy sol es habn auff mein sel vnd leib. tut sy das mit andacht, sy wirt gwert vnd gefrewt an sel vnd an leib. oder vmb gut oder vmb er oder vmb graffe veint/chafft oder gen her/schafft, es wirt der mensch gewert [...] (Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>)

Vor dem eigentlichen Gebetstext kann auch eine mehr oder weniger ausführliche Ritusanzeige<sup>59</sup> stehen, z. B.:

[...] Hays dir gewinnen ain krewtz, das man auff die toten legt / vnd ob In trait. vnd bemiß es mit ainem kertzlein vnd mach dann vier wenig kertzlein daraus. vnd yetwedertalben des krewtzes zu den hawbtten vnd zu den fuessen steckhe ains vnd bemiß den Spertich an der seytten vnd mach ain krewtz dauon. vnd laß dann ein sell meß singen vnd nicht darzu lewtten. vnd bemein die meß allen gelaubigen sellen vnd leg dich dann an die lang venige vnd sprich Di/e meß [...] (Nr. 11, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>)

[...] Mach von Erst fünf kerten, als lang als dein handt, vnd nym dann ain prot vnd ain chäs vnd trag Es hin zu kirchen gar andachtigkleichen vnd valle für das krewtz nider parfueß vnd Nym gar ain getrewen frewnd mit dir vnd weg das krewtz an dem tze/wen ort / des altars. so dw das getueft, so entzünd die fünf kerten vnd siech das krewtz an vnd sprich das gepett [...] (Nr. 14, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>)

[...] wer es mit andacht spricht vnd thuet. Hays dir ain meß von dem heyligen geyst / sprechen vnd früm sey mit zwain phennig / vnd den dritten, den opher, vnd penn lxxij liecht / vnder der messe, yeds ainer handt lang, vnd der Erste anfang deines gepets soll sein also [...] (Nr. 16, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup>)

[...] Nym ain chrewtz fur dich vnd thue ain venige zu den fünf wunden, ze yeder wunden ainne /, vnd sprich [ze] yeder venige j pater noster vnd opher auff yedew wunden I [phennig] vnd chnie dann nider für das krewtz vnd reckh dein hende auff gegen Im vnd sprich [...] (Nr. 35, fol. 29<sup>r</sup>-29<sup>v</sup>)

Dw solt nemenn drew phenibert / wachs vnd gee zw einem geweichtten altar, da vnnsers hern marter ste, vnd oppher das wachs dem vater vnd dem Sun vnd dem heyligen geist /. vnd wurch es dann zu einer chertzen vnd mach syben chrewtz daraus, der yedleches einer daüellen lang seÿ. So dw few dann prennen wild, so Nym ee ain krewtz vnd leg es vnnsers herrn marter auff das hertz vnd sprich [...] (Nr. 66, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>)

[...] der gee zw gotts genaden vnd emphelch Im alle seine dingk. vnd nym ain liecht / vnd mis dein antlitze In chrewtz weis vnd vache seÿ zu dem

<sup>59</sup> Zum Begriff siehe I. Hampp: *Beschwörung...* (wie Anm. 58). S. 140ff.

*chinbange vnd von einem oren hintz dem andern vnd leg die auff den altar.  
vnd sprich [...]* (Nr. 68, fol. 50<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>)

*Itm, mach ein czungen von wagx vnd schreib aller deiner veint nem darauff,  
dy wider dich sein, vnd mach ein tacht in dy mit vnd leg sy fur den altar vnd  
czunt sy an vnd sprich dye vii psalm vnd sprich darnach [...]* (Nr. 73, fol.  
56<sup>r</sup>)

*sprich ein glauben steynd vnd ein pater noster vnd ain aue maria vnd trit  
als lang mit den rechten fus hinder sich, hincz das du sprichst vii patter  
noster vnd vii aue maria. vnd wan du sy nu sprichst, gib sy vnseren herrn in  
den erren [...]* (Nr. 76, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>)

*[...] vnd [wer] nun das gepet ttun wil, der ste fur vnser lieben frawn pilt vnd  
czunt ein lyecht nach sein staten vnd sprich x aue maria [...]* (Nr. 82, fol.  
61<sup>v</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>)

*[...] von erst sol er aller seiner sundt peichten an ain pfincztag. vnd sol dan  
kauffen ain halb~~lb~~ wagxs. vnd mach daraus ain stekch kerczen, wye gras  
oder langk der mensch wil, vnd darin ain tacht, das ain rainne lynchfrav  
gespun hat. vnd mach das dacht in dy kercz nicht graß. vnd wan du das dan  
hast, so frum ain mess von vnser herrn leiden vnd ain mess von den  
heilligen kreucz. vnd du des nagsten freytag vnd samcztag darnach, wan du  
peicht hast vnd czundt dy kerczn an bey den messen, vnd den gesaczte puf  
vnd knye nider fur vnser herrn marter. vnd so der briefter das ewengelly  
an hebt, so secz den rechten fuß auff den dengken vnd man vnser herrn  
seins leidens, das er digh ledig aus deinen naten. darnach knye nider vnd  
pleib auff das end pey der mess vnd segen vnd nym dye kerczen vnd trag sy  
in ain haymleichen gmach. vnd laß ain maller mallen vnser herrn  
martterr in gleicherr weis, als in der Ioseph von den kroucz nam vnd gelaßt  
hat, als man es in der kyrchen fintt an ain papyr oder andern dingen. vnd  
hab es pey der kerczen vnd ain stayn. auch soltu alltag an vnder laß in dy  
kamer gen vnd dy kerczen an czunten. vnd secz das pild fur dich vnd mit  
plaffen knyen vnd sprich, wyefildu wild, mit guter andacht vnd rew. du solt  
auch wissen, sprichstu vil, du kumst deßter ee darvon. wan du nicht lenger  
magst von dem gescheft wegen, so sprich zw dem lesten dye maynvng vnd  
das klain gepet mit ganczen fleyzz vnd guter andacht. vnd ste dan auff vnd  
lesch dy kerczen vnd du das altag als lang, vncz dy kerczen verprint. vnd  
wan das ist, das dye kerczen in den sin vnd gedankchen noch drey tag zw  
prinnen hat, so wyrstu an czweyffl gewert. das solstu vnsern herren  
senftklichen glauben vnd trawn. vnd das ist dye maynvng vnd das gepet,  
das solt sprechen nach den vnd du nicht merr pater noster sprechen wild  
[...]* (Nr. 89, fol. 66v-69r)

Zweckbestimmung und Ritusanzeige stehen allerdings nicht nur vor dem Gebet, manchmal findet sich die Zweckbestimmung im Anschluß an das Gebet, z. B.:

*[...] Das sprich vmb welhe angst dir an ligund sey vnnd nott /. (Nr. 14, fol.  
15r-18r)*

Die Ritusanzeige ist zumeist auch in den Gebetstext eingestreut, wodurch dieser untergliedert wird, oder sie wird, wie die Zweckbestimmung, an den Text auch angehängt, z. B.:

[...] *Zu dem Erſten krewtz ſoltu ſprechen [...]*  
*Dw ſolt zu yedleichen ain almüeſen legen. So die meſs dann volbracht / wirt*  
*/ vnd die maſſer verprunnen ſind, So nÿm die almueſen vnd ſprich [...]* (Nr.  
11, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>)

[...] *Sneid aus dem prot vnd aus dem chaß funff allmueſſen vnd gib es*  
*armenn lewttten vnd leg dich an die langen venig für das krewtz vnd ſprich*  
*[...]*

*zu der zeſwen hanndt ſrich [...]*  
*zu der zeſwen ſeÿtten ſprich [...]*  
*zu der Tengken ſeitten ſprich [...]*  
*ſprich zu den fueſſenn [...]*  
*vnd ſprich ain pater noſter etc. [...]*  
*ſprich pater noſter [...]*  
*wider ſprich ain pater noſter [...]*  
*ſprich ain pater vnd aue Mariam etc. [...]* (Nr. 14, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>)

[...] *Nÿm Etwen zu dir, der dir helf die kertzen ſteckhen vmb den altar als*  
*ainen ringkh, vnd als ſÿ gar verprunnen ſind, ſo gee vnd haÿſs die meſſe*  
*ſingen als hochzeitleichen als an dem phingſtag etc.* (Nr. 16, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup>).

[...] *vnnd zund es dann an den vierenden vnd ſprich pater noſter hintz es*  
*gar verbrin. vnd die ſÿben krewtz prenn ſÿben nacht / vnd ophfer yegleichs*  
*peſunder vnd frúm all tag ain meß von dem heÿligen geiſt vnd ſpeis die*  
*ſiben tag ain armen menſchenn etc.* (Nr. 66, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>)

Die Ritusanzeige enthält meiſt Anweiſungen zu beſtimmten Handlungen, wie Almoſengeben (z. B. Nr. 11, 14), Meſſen von Körperteilen (z. B. Nr. 68), Kreuzen (z. B. Nr. 11) uſw., Anfertigung und Anzünden von Kerzen (z. B. Nr. 89) und Beichten (z. B. Nr. 89), die in Verbindung mit dem Gebet vollbracht werden müſſen. Einige dieſer hier angegebenen Handlungen können mit der oben erwähnten werktätigen Frömmigkeit in Bezug gebracht werden. Längere litaneiförmige Gebete werden durch den Hinweis auf das oft mehrfache Beten von Vaterunſer, Ave Maria und/oder Glaubensbekenntnis (z. B. Nr. 82; Nr. 98, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>-78<sup>r</sup>) gewiſſermaßen in mehrere Strophen unterteilt. Die Ritusanzeige enthält meiſt noch Angaben zur Körperhaltung (z.B. Nr. 11, 14, 76) und Unterweiſungen zur ſeelisch-geiſtigen Einstellung, die der Betende einnehmen muß; in der Regel wird die Wichtigkeit der andächtigen Haltung während des Gebets hervorgehoben. Ferner können in der Ritusanzeige die anzusprechenden Körperteile des Gottes- oder Heiligenbildes (z.B. Nr. 14, 90<sup>60</sup>) angegeben werden; ſolche Gebete weiſen Parallelen zu den oben angeführten *Salutationes ad membra Chriſti et Mariae* auf. Angeführt werden auch Ort und Zeit des Gebetes. Als Ort werden unter anderem vorgeschrieben: in der Kirche am Altar vor dem Kreuz (Nr. 14, 90), vor dem Kreuz ohne genauere Ortsangabe (Nr. 35), vor dem Bildnis der Gottesmutter (Nr. 82). Von den zeitlichen Faktoren kommt dem kirchlichen Gottesdienſt beſondere Bedeutung

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<sup>60</sup> Fol. 69<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>r</sup>: *ſtant für ain kreutz vnd ſich nicht an nur das antlicz der marter vnſſers [herren] vnd ſprich den mund vnd der czungen vnſſers herren ain pater noſter vnd auch den pſalm vnd den vers [...]*  
*ſich das antlicz an vnd ſprich den vers [...]*.

zu, nicht wenige Privatgebete bzw. Anweisungen<sup>61</sup> in der vorliegenden Hs. haben einen liturgischen Bezug, wie z. B. Nr. 11, 16, 38<sup>62</sup> und 89. Als Zeitpunkt werden angegeben bestimmte Wochen-<sup>63</sup> oder Feiertage bzw. Tageszeiten<sup>64</sup>. Ein letzter Aspekt der Ritusanzeige ist schließlich noch die Angabe zur Häufigkeit der Gebetsverrichtung<sup>65</sup>. Die Multiplikation der Gebete steht u. a. auch in Zusammenhang mit dem für die Frömmigkeitsübungen aus irischer Tradition übernommenen Leistungsprinzip.<sup>66</sup>

Beim eigentlichen Gebetstext handelt es sich um die subjektive Äußerung des Sprechers; in der Transkription<sup>67</sup> habe ich sie durch Anführungszeichen markiert. Einleitend stehen gewöhnlich der Anruf und Lobpreis<sup>68</sup>, der beim folgenden Kommuniongebet sehr ausführlich gehalten ist:

[...] "*Ave aller mynnigleichist, Gottes sun, Aue Jesu chrisste, dw pist ain prunne der aufliessenden miltikait /, Ein ewigs lob aller deiner engel, Ein volkomnew ere aller deiner heyligenn. Aue aller freÿde fröleichest, Aller der wunder wunderleichist /, aller kayser edlist /, Aller der fürsten höchist /, vber schon, vber guett /, vber wunneleich, aller auferweltister sueffer /, mein herre jesu krisste /. O dw klarer Spiegel der ewigen bechanntússe!* [...] (Nr. 9.2, fol. 8<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>).

Anschließend können Fürbitter<sup>69</sup> angeführt oder, besonders in den sogenannten Mahnungen, vergangene Heilstaten durch Erwähnung in Erinnerung gerufen werden<sup>70</sup>. Es folgen meist ein oder mehrere Bitten<sup>71</sup>, nur bei Gebet Nr. 9.4 steht anstelle der Bitte eine Danksagung<sup>72</sup>. Eine Ausnahme ist auch die Einlagerung

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61 Siehe unten.

62 Fol. 31<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>: *vnd frum drey meß vnser frawen, [...] so dw das gepet tuest* [...].

63 Z. B.: der Freitag in Nr. 35, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>, der Samstag in Nr. 38, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>: [...] *Eynnes sambtag zw nacht [...] an yedlichem sambtag aine, so dw das gepet tuest* [...].

64 So sind beispielsweise die Handlungen in der Anweisung zu einem Gebet in Angst und Not (Nr. 37, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>) an einem Sonntag vor Tagesanbruch zu verrichten.

65 Das Gebt Nr. 41 ist neun Tage hintereinander zu sprechen.

66 Vgl. G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5), S. 23. Im *Alltag im Spätmittelalter* (Hrsg. von Harry Kühnel u. a. Graz; Wien; Köln 1984. S. 111) spricht man von einer "meßbaren Frömmigkeitsleistung".

67 Vgl. oben Anm. 55.

68 Fehlt nur in Ausnahmefällen, z. B. bei Nr. 77, fol. 58<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>.

69 Z. B. in den Gebeten von den hll. zwölf Aposteln, Nr. 4.1-12, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>: [...] *des ersten pit ich dich durch den lon des heyligen hern sand peters des zwelffpottens* [...] *durch sand pauls ere* [...] *durch sand Andres willen* [...] *durch sand Johannis willen* [...].

70 Vgl. oben bei den Memento-Gebeten der spätmittelalterlichen Gebetbücher. - Z. B. im Gebet von den sog. *Neun Freuden Mariens* (Nr. 82, fol. 61v-64v) oder im Gebet von den *Fünf Leiden Mariens* (Nr. 92, fol. 73<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>v</sup>).

71 Z. B. Nr. 2, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>: [...] *Ich pitt dich, das dw mir verleyhest ain rechten tod, ware rew vnd rechtew peichtt /, Das heylig öll für abwaschung meiner sunden, Deinen zartten fronleichnam mit andacht ze nemen, mit erkantnús, mitt / rechtem gelauben, mit veistem gedinge vnd mit volkömmner mÿnne / ze enphahan, das sy an meiner sele vertilgen allew po sew mayll, Das mich die [...] Deiner götlichen genaden vnd gefüht / ich geirren mügen. vnd vaterleich pitte ich dich, das dein heyliger leichnam mein Jungste speis seÿ vnd das dw selb mein gelait / seÿst / von difem ellend vnd mein vorfechtter gegen allen meinen veintten* [...].

72 Fol. 10<sup>r</sup>: [...] *"Ich danckh dir [...], das ich dich in allen stunden vnd stetten gehalten mag. Ich danckh dir [...] deiner heyligen driualtigkait /, das ich dir mit gedanckhen zu sprechen mag. Ich danckh*

eines Sündenbekenntnisses in Gebet Nr. 9.2<sup>73</sup>. Den Abschluß bildet überwiegend das aus alttestamentlich-jüdischer Überlieferung stammende Wort *Amen* als Ausdruck der Bekräftigung<sup>74</sup>. Vereinzelt wird das Gebet durch eine Ewigkeitsformel<sup>75</sup> abgeschlossen:

[...] *Ere sey dir, herre, der dw pist geporen von der junckhfrauen mit dem vater vnd mit dem heyligen geist. Amen. Nw vnd Ewigleich. Amen.* (Nr. 19, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>)

Das Gebet Nr. 74 (fol. 56<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>) endet mit einem abschließenden Anruf des Heiligen, andere Schlußformeln stehen in folgenden Gebeten:

[...] *das peut ich in allen pey got dem vater, pey got den sun vnd den heiligen gaist.* (Nr. 76, 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>)

[...] *amen. das geb mir got der vater vnd verleich mir got der sun, das pestettig myr got der heillig geist vnd dy hymmelli/ch kunnigin, dy ray[n]e maid.* (Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>)

Vielfach sind die Gebete auch nicht abgeschlossen. Fast alle ausdrücklich als Gebete klassifizierten Texte sind in Prosa verfaßt, nur Nr. 19 (fol. 20<sup>r</sup>) und 49 (fol. 38<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>) stellen Reimgebete dar.

Nach der obigen Darstellung kristallisieren sich ein- und mehrgliedrige Gebetstexte heraus, die vereinfacht durch folgende Schemata wiedergegeben werden können, nicht konsequent gebrauchte Teile stehen in Klammern:

### Eingliedrige Gebete

|                     |                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| vor dem Gebetstext: | (Titel)                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                     | (Zweckbestimmung)                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                     | (Ritusanzeige:                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Handlungen</li><li>- Körperhaltung</li><li>- seelisch-geistige Einstellung</li><li>- anzusprechende Körperteile der Gottes- oder Heiligendarstellung</li><li>- Ort</li><li>- Zeit</li><li>- Häufigkeit)</li></ul> |
| Gebetstext:         | Anruf und Lobpreis                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                     | (Nennung des Fürbitters)                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                     | (Anführung von vergangenem Heilsgeschehen) |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                     | Bitte(n)/Danksagung                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

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dir aller engel trost /, das mich Nyemant gegen dir ver/sagen mag. Ich danckh dir [...] das Ich dir zw aller zeit geuellig pin. [...]

<sup>73</sup> Fol. 8<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>: [...] *An dir so bekenn ich, das laider mein armew sele vil vnberait ist /, Dich ze enphahenn. wann das vnwürdige hertze mein, das dein wanunge solde sein, Das ist mit sünden befleckht / vnd bedeckht [...]*

<sup>74</sup> TRE (vgl. Anm. 7). Bd. 11. 1983. S. 257.

<sup>75</sup> Siehe oben Anm. 74.

(Sündenbekenntnis)

(Abschluß:                   - Amen  
                                  - andere Schlußformeln)

### Mehrgliedrige Gebete

vor dem Gebetstext: (Titel)  
                          (Zweckbestimmung)  
                          (Ritusanzeige:   - Handlungen  
                                              - Körperhaltung  
                                              - seelisch-geistige Einstellung  
                                              - anzusprechende Körperteile der  
                                              Gottes- oder Heiligendarstellung  
                                              - Ort  
                                              - Zeit  
                                              - Häufigkeit)

Gebetstext:           (Anruf und Lobpreis)  
                          (Nennung des Fürbitters)  
                          (Anführung von vergangenem Heilsgeschehen  
                          Bitte(n))

eingelagerte Ritusanzeige

Gebetstext:           (Anruf und Lobpreis)  
                          (Nennung des Fürbitters)  
                          (Anführung von vergangenem Heilsgeschehen  
                          Bitte(n))  
                          .  
                          .  
                          .  
                          (Abschluß)

nach dem Gebetstext:  
                          (Ritusanzeige)  
                          (Zweckbestimmung)

Diesen Schemata entsprechen mit wenigen Abweichungen nahezu alle im *Gebethbuch* Ms 224 vorkommenden Gebete, wie die unzähligen Bittgebete, die kurzen Reimgebete, die Psalmen und die Mahnungen oder Memento-Gebete.

Eine Form läßt sich allerdings nicht in diesen Rahmen zwängen. Es handelt sich um die unter Nr. 3, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>, angeführte Epistel Papst Leos an Karl d. Gr., auch Karl- oder Kreuzsegnen genannt:

*Das iſt dew epiſtel, die pabſt leo ſand ſeinem brueder kúnig karulo, vnd wer ſeÿ bey im trait oder ſiechſt oder liſt oder horett leſen, Den mag kain waffen nich verſchneiden, noch mag in kajnnem fewr noch in waſſer nicht*

verderben, noch im kain tewffell, noch chain mensch mag Im des tags nicht geschaden, noch kaynnerlay ungeluckh widerfert Im nicht. vnd die epistel hebt sich also an, als hernach geschriben stett. vnd pabst leo hat few dem kunig karulo gefannd gar zu grosser gab. "UNsers kerren krewtz seÿ mit mir + vnnsers herren krewtz + ist, das ich alle tag anpett /. vnnsers herrn krewtz + ist das ware haÿll gots. Gottes krewtz + vberwint das swert /. Gottes krewtz ist ain vnerkömens zaichen. Gottes krewtz + erlöst die pandt des todes. Gottes krewtz + mag nyemant vberwinden mit kaynnem waffen. Gottes krewtz + seÿ mein bescherm. Gottes krewtz + geb mir alles guet. Gottes krewtz + ist ain weg der tugent. mit Gottes krewtz + müe/s ich gen an den weg des haÿlles. Mit dem götlichen krewtz + müezz ich •N• allew tag gen. Gottes krewtz nÿmbt die weÿtz des ewigen todes +. Gottes krewtz haÿl mich + vnd seÿ Ewiggleichen mit mir. Vnd nach mir vnd vor mir vnd neben peÿ mir vnd ob mir vnd vntter mir, wann dich gottes krewtz +, der alte veinte flewcht /, wo er dich siecht. In dem nam des vaters vnd des suns vnd des heÿligen gei/ses Müezz ich •N• hewt vnd alle tag gesegent vnd pewart sein. Amen etc." (Nr. 3, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>)

Die Epistel wird zwar ebenfalls durch einen Begleittext mit Titelangabe, Zweckbestimmung und Ritusanzeige eingeleitet, aber schon von der Namensgebung her deutet sie auf einen andersartigen Charakter hin und steht in nächster Nähe zu den apotropäischen Formen. Man kann diese Epistel dennoch als Gebet betrachten, weil sie in der Tradition der irischen *Loricae*<sup>76</sup> steht, wie das folgende Zitat der *Patrick'slorica* veranschaulichen wird: "Christus mit mir, Christus vor mir, Christus hinter mir [...] Christus im Herzen jedes Menschen, der an mich denkt. Christus im Munde eines jeden, der zu mir spricht."<sup>77</sup> Kennzeichnend für diese Gebetsart ist die ständige, litaneiartige Wiederholung der göttlichen Schutzkraft, die den Betenden dadurch wie ein Schild zur Abwehr vor allem Unheil umgeben soll.

Weniger einheitlich als die Gebete sind die apotropäischen Formen. Ein gemeinsames Merkmal ist allerdings eine fast ausnahmslos vorkommende, einleitende Zweckbestimmung. Gewöhnlich steht zu Beginn auch eine Ritusanzeige, vereinzelt wird sie der Form nachgestellt<sup>78</sup> oder in den gesprochenen Text eingestreut<sup>79</sup>. Mit einer Ausnahme<sup>80</sup> ist die Ritusanzeige, die vom Inhalt her mit den oben genannten vergleichbar ist, ziemlich kurz gefaßt.

Im folgenden werde ich nicht alle als apotropäische Formen zu klassifizierende Texte kommentieren, sondern nur einige etwas genauer beleuchten und auf etwaige Gemeinsamkeiten hindeuten.

Bei der folgenden apotropäischen Form, in der Literatur allgemein als Waffensegen bekannt, ist der Wunsch des Sprechers mit einem Vergleich gekoppelt:

<sup>76</sup> Vgl. oben.

<sup>77</sup> Zitiert nach G. Achten: *Das christliche Gebetbuch...* (wie Anm. 5). S. 22f.

<sup>78</sup> Z. B.: Nr. 70, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 93, fol. 75<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> Z. B.: Nr. 47, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Nr. 30, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>.

[...] "Als senfft seÿ mir dew waffenn,  
Als vnnser lieben frawen was,  
do sy des heyligen křiſt genas. Amen." (Nr. 20, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>)

Einen wesentlichen Bestandteil etlicher im vorliegenden *Gebethbuch* stehender apotropäischer Formen bildet die sogenannte Analogieerzählung<sup>81</sup>, die beispielsweise in dem bei J. Stanonik abgedruckten "Job-" und "Diebssegen"<sup>82</sup> mit einer explizit formulierten Bitte, die sich an die Erzählung anschließt, verbunden wird. In der Analogieerzählung treten zwar biblische Gestalten oder Heilige auf, doch entbehrt die Situation, in der sie sich befinden, meist jeglicher heilsgeschichtlicher Quellen.

Einen Sonderfall innerhalb der in der Handschrift stehenden apotropäischen Formen stellt in struktureller Hinsicht u. a. folgende dar:

*Das sprich vber dem essenn, so mag dir chain gift nicht geschaden. Thue ain krewtz vber das essenn vnd wirff des Essen ain wenig aus. Vnd sprich: "Alpha et •••, Es ist / volbracht /. Sand veytt vnd sand modest vnd sand Crestentia + gesegen vns die Gabe da!" vnd segen für den münde vnd sprich: "vnnser hern fride seÿ altzeit mit vns!" oder sprich dew zwen vers vber dem essenn: "Est mala mors capta cum dicitur annani zapta + Annani/apta ferit mortem qui ledere querritt. Amen." (Nr.47, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>)*

Nach einleitender Zweckbestimmung und zeichenhaftem Handeln steht eine gebräuchliche unheilabwehrende Formel: Der aus der Offb. 1,8; 21,6; 22, 13 bekannte Gottesname O für *omega* hat apotropäische Bedeutung.<sup>83</sup> Es folgen die Anrufung mehrerer Heiliger und die Bitte. Nach anschließender Ritusanzeige werden zwei weitere Formeln aufgeführt. Bei *annani zapta/Annani/apta*, einer im ausgehenden Mittelalter auftretenden Pestabwehrformel handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um folgendes Akrostichon: "Antidotum Nazareni auferat necem intoxicationis, sanctificet alimenta poculaquae trinitas. Amen."<sup>84</sup>

Die apotropäischen Formen, die in ihrer Struktur eine ziemliche Heterogenität aufweisen und von einer synchretistischen Volksfrömmigkeit mit stark ausgeprägtem Glauben an magische Wirkung<sup>85</sup> zeugen, sind zum Teil in Reim, zum Teil in Prosa verfaßt.

Etwa ein Drittel aller im Manuskript stehenden Formen stellen sogenannte Anweisungen dar. Darunter ist eine zumeist ausführliche Ritusanzeige mit einleitender Zweckbestimmung zu verstehen. Eine direkte Äußerung des Sprechers ist dagegen in den meisten Fällen nicht vorhanden oder tritt im Vergleich zu den rituellen Praktiken und Angaben in den Hintergrund.<sup>86</sup> Die Ritusanzeige kann auch

<sup>81</sup> Zum Begriff siehe I. Hampp: *Beschwörung...* (wie Anm. 58). S. 174ff.

<sup>82</sup> J. Stanonik: *Ostanki...* (wie Anm. 56). S. 44f.

<sup>83</sup> Vgl. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. Hrsg. von Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli unter Mitw. von Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer. Bd. 1. Berlin; Leipzig 1927. Sp. 310; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*. Begr. von Engelbert Kirschbaum. Bd. 1. Rom; Freiburg; Basel; Wien 1968. Sp. 1.

<sup>84</sup> *Handwörterbuch...* (wie Anm. 83). Sp. 395.

<sup>85</sup> Zur Religiosität des einfachen Volkes, vgl. Aaron J. Gurjewitsch: *Das Weltbild des mittelalterlichen Menschen*. München <sup>5</sup>1997. S. 352-397, insbesondere S. 354ff., 371, 378f.

<sup>86</sup> Z. B. Nr. 24, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 27, fol. 25<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 32, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>.

hier die schon die oben bei der Behandlung des Gebetes angeführten Elemente umfassen.

Der einzige, ausdrücklich als Glaubenslehre zu betrachtende Text ist das *Symbolum Athanasianum* (Nr. 13, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>-15<sup>r</sup>), in dem Glaubenswahrheiten in traktatähnlicher Form vorgetragen werden. Das nach dem lateinischen Anfangswort *Quicumque* benannte Athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis wurde schon im 9. Jh. mehrfach ins Deutsche übertragen. In der katholischen Kirche wurde es vom Volk gewöhnlich nach der Predigt im Sonntagsoffizium rezitiert. Es enthält die Trinitätslehre, die Lehre von der "Menschwerdung, der Person u. den zwei Naturen Christi u. den wichtigsten Tatsachen der Erlösung".<sup>87</sup> In der Einleitung und im Schluß wird eindringlich darauf hingewiesen, daß der Glaube an diese Wahrheiten zur Erlangung des ewigen Heils unbedingt erforderlich sei.<sup>88</sup>

Die angerufenen göttlichen Personen und Heiligen finden im wesentlichen unter den vier folgenden Gesichtspunkten Erwähnung: 1) in direktem Anruf in den Gebeten und den apotropäischen Formen, 2) in der Aufforderung, ihnen zu Ehren eine Messe zu lesen oder an sie ein Gebet zu richten, 3) als Fürbitter in Formulierungen wie *durch Sand pauls ere* (Nr. 4.2, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>) und 4) in direkter Nennung in den Anführungen vergangener Heilsgeschehen der Gebete oder in den Vergleichen bzw. Analogieerzählungen der apotropäischen Formen. Im weiteren werden hauptsächlich nur die direkten Anrufe in dem gesprochenen Text berücksichtigt, weil hier die Hinwendung des Menschen zu den göttlichen Mächten und Heiligen am stärksten ausgeprägt ist und die Heiligen zumeist als eigenständige Helfer<sup>89</sup> aufgefaßt werden, wodurch ihnen in der Volksfrömmigkeit eine wichtigere Rolle zuteil wird, weil sie mehr darstellen als bloße Mittler zwischen Gott und den Menschen.

Von allen direkten Anrufen richten sich bei weitem die meisten an Jesus Christus<sup>90</sup>, was als Ausdruck einer vorherrschenden Christusfrömmigkeit betrachtet werden kann. Daneben werden in einigen Texten ausdrücklich Christi Leichnam<sup>91</sup> und Blut<sup>92</sup> sowie Gottes Kreuz<sup>93</sup> um Beistand angerufen, darin spiegelt sich der Passionscharakter der Christusgläubigkeit wider.<sup>94</sup> An zweiter Stelle von den göttlichen Personen steht Gottvater<sup>95</sup>, es folgen der Heilige Geist<sup>96</sup> und die Dreifaltigkeit<sup>97</sup> mit je zwei Anrufungen.

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<sup>87</sup> *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. Begr. von Michael Buchberger. Bd. 8. Freiburg 1963. Sp. 937.

<sup>88</sup> Ebd.

<sup>89</sup> Vgl. *Alltag im Spätmittelalter* (wie Anm. 66). S. 110.

<sup>90</sup> Nr. 1, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 2, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 4.1-12, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 5, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 9.1-4, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 11, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 14, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 17, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 26, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 34, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 35, fol. 29<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 38, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 44, fol. 36<sup>r</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 46, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 49, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 52, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 66, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 75, 56<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 77, fol. 58<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 90, fol. 69<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Nr. 10.1, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> Nr. 10.2, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 60.3, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> Nr. 3, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 35, fol. 29<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 45, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>-37<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Vgl. J. A. Jungmann: *Christliches Beten...* (wie Anm. 3). S. 100ff.

<sup>95</sup> Nr. 12, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 21, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 67, fol. 48<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 68, fol. 50<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 69, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Nr. 16, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 81, fol. 60<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> Nr. 36, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>.

Von den Heiligen ist Maria die meistangerufene Helferin des Menschen in seinen Notlagen. Diese häufige Anrufung deutet auf die weitverbreitete Marienverehrung im Spätmittelalter hin.<sup>98</sup> Je zwei Anrufungen richten sich an Johannes den Evangelisten<sup>99</sup> und an die zwei Jungfrauen Katharina<sup>100</sup> und Margaretha<sup>101</sup>; sie gehören mit den je einmal angerufenen Christophorus (Nr. 96, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>), Leonhard (Nr. 74, fol. 56<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>), Nikolaus von Myra (Nr. 8, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>) und Veit (Nr. 47, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>) zu den Vierzehn Nothelfern, die sich vor allem seit Mitte des 15. Jhs. in Stadt und Land großer Beliebtheit erfreuten und von denen sich die Menschen Hilfe in leiblichen und seelischen Nöten des Alltags versprachen.<sup>102</sup>

Eine Gruppe von Heiligen, die in der Anweisung zu einem Gebet (Nr. 84, fol. 65<sup>r</sup>) genannt und im Text Nr. 99 (fol. 78<sup>r</sup>-78<sup>v</sup>) direkt angerufen werden, sind die Vierundzwanzig Alten aus der Apokalypse. Sie sind "eine Art himmlischer Thronrat mit zugleich königlichen und priesterlichen Funktionen. Die Bedeutung der 24-Zahl ist nicht sicher zu ermitteln", wie im Anhang zur *Lutherbibel*<sup>103</sup> erklärt wird. Im Gegensatz zur Ostkirche kommt ihnen im Westen nur inoffizieller Kult zu. Dieser ist nach Anführung des *Lexikons der christlichen Ikonographie*<sup>104</sup> Ende des 14. und Anfang des 15. Jhs. in der Steiermark und in Kärnten mit Messelesung nachzuweisen, wird aber in einem Erlaß der Wiener theologischen Fakultät vom 17.10.1419 verurteilt.<sup>105</sup> Dies vermag aber nicht ihre Verehrung im Volk zu unterdrücken, davon zeugt unter anderem auch die Erwähnung der 24 Ältesten im vorliegenden *Gebethbuch*. Ein Ende des 14. Jhs. verfaßtes, zur Erbauungsliteratur gehörendes Werk, in dem die 24 Alten auftreten, sind *Die 24 Alten oder der goldene Thron der minnenden Seele* des Minoriten Otto von Passau. Es handelt sich um eine "christliche Lebenslehre", die "aus Sentenzen von mehr als 100 Autoren zusammengefügt" ist; die 24 Alten werden in Ottos verbindenden Texten erwähnt, wo sie nicht nur ein "ordnendes Element", sondern auch eine "zusätzlich[e] Autorität für das in direkter Rede Verkündete" darstellen. Die Wirkung dieser Schrift, dauert mit einigen Unterbrechungen bis zu Beginn des 17. Jhs. an.<sup>106</sup>

Die im *Gebethbuch* zum Ausdruck kommenden Anliegen kann man im wesentlichen vier Bereichen zuordnen: dem sozialen, dem physischen, dem psychischen und dem religiösen oder metaphysischen. Allerdings lassen sich alle Anliegen nicht klar voneinander abgrenzen, weil sie zu allgemein gefaßt sind, als daß man sie genau klassifizieren könnte.<sup>107</sup> Auch kann ein Text für die Erfüllung mehrerer Anliegen bestimmt sein (z. B. Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>98</sup> Vgl. *Alltag im Spätmittelalter* (wie Anm. 66). S. 111.

<sup>99</sup> Nr. 6, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 7, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> Nr. 71, fol. 54<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 98, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>-78<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> Nr. 65, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 73, fol. 56<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> Vgl. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (vgl. Anm. 83). Bd. 8. 1976. Sp. 546f.; *Alltag im Spätmittelalter* (wie Anm. 66). S. 107f.; J. A. Jungmann: *Christliches Beten...* (wie Anm. 3). S. 111.

<sup>103</sup> Standardausgabe mit Apokryphen. Stuttgart 1985. S. 6.

<sup>104</sup> Wie Anm. 83. S. 108.

<sup>105</sup> Vgl. *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*. Hrsg. von Kurt Ruh u. a. Bd. 7. Berlin; New York 21989. Sp. 232.

<sup>106</sup> Siehe ebd., Sp. 229ff.

Von allen geäußerten Bitten gehören die meisten dem sozialen Bereich an und haben überwiegend "defensiven" Charakter<sup>108</sup>, der Bittende möchte nicht, daß seinen Mitmenschen ein Unheil zuteil wird, er ersucht vielmehr um Schutz vor den Angriffen anderer oder um Wiedergutmachung eines ihm zugefügten Schadens. Die Zweckbestimmung von 19 Texten<sup>109</sup> hat die Überwindung von Feinden zum Inhalt. Etliche Gebete, apotropäische Formen und Anweisungen sollen den Besitz wahren und vor Dieben schützen.<sup>110</sup> Wiederum andere sollen zur Befreiung aus der Gefangenschaft nützlich sein.<sup>111</sup> Weitere Anliegen aus dem gesellschaftlichen Bereich sind unter anderen: Erhaltung der Ehre<sup>112</sup>, Erfüllung von Liebe und Heirat<sup>113</sup>, Beistand bei gerichtlicher Verhandlung bzw. vor Richter und Rat<sup>114</sup>, Bitte um Vergebung (Nr. 61, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>v</sup>), und Versöhnung (Nr. 67, fol. 48<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>), Tilgung der Schuld gegenüber den Mitmenschen (Nr. 68, fol. 50<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>) und, über den engen Lebenskreis des einzelnen hinausgehend, Hilfe bei Landesnot (Nr. 92, fol. 73<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>v</sup>).

Die dem physischen Bereich angehörenden Anliegen sind Erlösung aus - ganz allgemein formuliert - leiblichen Nöten und Ängsten oder die Sorge für körperliches Wohlempfinden<sup>115</sup>. Die Bitte um gute Schwangerschaft und glückliche Geburt äußert sich in den Texten Nr. 21 (fol. 20<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>) und 89 (fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>). Für Bewahrung vor den "sieben tödlichen Würmern"<sup>116</sup> wird das Gebet Nr. 4.11 (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>) gesprochen und bei "Würmern in den Zähnen" soll der "Jobsegen" (Nr. 53, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>) Abhilfe schaffen.

Eine Reihe von Texten soll auch zum seelischen Wohlergehen des Menschen beitragen und Angst, Trübsal, Sorge und Kummer vertreiben.<sup>117</sup>

Wie stark der Mensch des Mittelalters vom Bewußtsein des Todes<sup>118</sup> und der Sorge um das jenseitige Leben, das durch festen Glauben, gottesfürchtiges Leben und die Erbarmung Gottes zu erlangen sei, geprägt war, zeigen die vielfach

<sup>107</sup> Z. B.: Nr. 1, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 3, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 11, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup> etc.

<sup>108</sup> Eine Ausnahme bildet nur der fragmentarisch erhaltene, allgemein als "Schadenzauberspruch" bezeichnete Text (Nr. 54, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>), der, vermutlich als anstößig empfunden, erst nach Durchführung der Seitenzählung, also verhältnismäßig spät, herausgerissen wurde.

<sup>109</sup> Nr. 4.3, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 4.10, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 11, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 19, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 22, fol. 21<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 28, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>-26<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 29, fol. 26<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 36, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 39, fol. 33<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 43, fol. 36<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 46, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 48, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 50, fol. 38<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 52, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 60, fol. 44<sup>v</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 73, fol. 56<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 76, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 77, fol. 58<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>110</sup> Nr. 26, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 30, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 38, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 44, fol. 36<sup>r</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 51, fol. 39<sup>r</sup>-39<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 56, fol. 42<sup>r</sup>-43<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 62, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Nr. 17, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 29, fol. 26<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 42, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 74, fol. 56<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> Nr. 26, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 51, fol. 39<sup>r</sup>-39<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 62, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 90, fol. 69<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> Nr. 55, fol. 41<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 88, fol. 66<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> Nr. 12, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 95, fol. 76<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> Nr. 14, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 26, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 31, fol. 27<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 34, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 90, fol. 69<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 92, fol. 73<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> Die Würmer wurden einst als Krankheitserreger betrachtet; vgl. J. Stanonik: *Ostanki...* (wie Anm. 56). S. 49 u. Vinko Möderndorfer: *Ljudska medicina pri Slovencih*. Ljubljana 1964. S. 226.

<sup>117</sup> Nr. 8, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 11, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 14, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 15, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 18, fol. 19<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 25, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 26, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 31, fol. 27<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 33, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 34, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 92, fol. 73<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Vgl. *Alltag im Spätmittelalter* (wie Anm. 66). S. 121.

geäußerten Bitten um Bewahrung vor plötzlichem Tod<sup>119</sup>, um ewiges Leben<sup>120</sup>, um Christi oder um Gottes Gnade<sup>121</sup>, um festen Glauben, Reue und Buße<sup>122</sup>.

Die oben angeführten Anliegen entspringen nahezu ausschließlich dem engen persönlichen Lebenskreis eines Menschen mit seinen alltäglichen Sorgen und Nöten. Das Nichtvorhandensein von Bitten, die sich auf die Landwirtschaft beziehen<sup>123</sup> - es gibt beispielsweise keine Gebete für gute Ernte oder keine "Segen" für Haustiere - deutet auf städtische Umgebung. Ob das *Gebethbuch* für einen Mann oder eine Frau bestimmt war, kann, insbesondere bei Hand 2, nicht festgelegt werden; zum einen beziehen sich die Texte schon vom Inhalt her auf Mann und Frau (z. B. Nr. 89, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>: Bitte eines Mannes um die Heirat mit einem ehrwürdigen Mädchen; glückliche Geburt), zum anderen variieren die sprachlichen Formen in den einzelnen Texten der Handschrift, die das Geschlecht des Sprechenden erkennen lassen<sup>124</sup>. Hinsichtlich der genusanzeigenden Sprachform ist bei Hand 1 ausschließlich die feminine in Gebrauch<sup>125</sup>, was eher auf eine weibliche Benutzerin hindeuten würde, doch sind die meisten Anliegen so allgemeinmenschlich, daß auch hier von einer Festlegung abzusehen ist. Wahrscheinlich war das *Gebethbuch* ursprünglich in Besitz einer bürgerlichen Familie, deren Mitglieder, ganz gleich ob Mann oder Frau, in ihren Nöten und Ängsten daraus Trost schöpften und sich von darin stehenden Gebeten und Praktiken Hilfe und Wiedergutmachung des ihnen zugestoßenen Leides erhofften.

\* \* \*

3. Texte, die im vorliegenden *Gebethbuch* Aufnahme fanden, stehen auch in anderen mittelalterlichen Handschriften mit zumeist erbaulichem oder auch medizinischem Inhalt. Einige Paralleltexte, die ich an dieser Stelle nicht aufführen werde, hat schon J. Stanonik<sup>126</sup> erwähnt. Daneben habe ich vornehmlich in den unter Anm. 1 genannten Handschriftenkatalogen noch andere finden können.

Der Karl- oder Kreuzsegen (Nr. 3, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>), über dessen mutmaßliche Herkunft im Colomanus-Büchlein berichtet wird<sup>127</sup>, steht nicht nur in den sog. Zauberbüchern, sondern ist, wie man aus den angeführten Paralleltexten ersehen kann, auch in anderen Gebetbüchern zu finden:

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119 Z. B.: Nr. 2, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 10.2, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 45, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>-37<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 49, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>.

120 Z. B.: Nr. 4.9, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 4.11, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 4.12, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 6, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>.

121 Z. B.: Nr. 1, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 4.4, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 10.1, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 41, fol. 34<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 63, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 66, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 69, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>.

122 Z. B.: Nr. 2, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 4.2, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 4.6, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>; Nr. 4.8, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 9.2, fol. 8<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 9.3, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>r</sup>; Nr. 16, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup>.

123 Nur einmal wird der Schutz vor Ungewitter erwähnt; von Blitzschlägen konnte aber ebenso die Stadt- wie die Landbevölkerung Schaden erleiden, so daß man es nicht als spezifisch ländlich betrachten kann.

124 Z. B.: *bis von mir armen sūnderin* (fol. 61<sup>v</sup>-62<sup>r</sup>); *Ich armer betrubter sunder* (fol. 68<sup>r</sup>); *mich arm sunderin* (fol. 78<sup>r</sup>-78<sup>v</sup>).

125 Z. B.: *Ich aller Menschen vnbÿrdigstew* (fol. 15<sup>v</sup>); *deine dienerin* (fol. 16<sup>r</sup>); *mich arme sūnderin* (fol. 17<sup>v</sup>).

126 J. Stanonik: *Ostanki...* (wie Anm. 56). S. 49ff.

127 Siehe *Handwörterbuch...* (vgl. Anm. 83). Bd. 4. 1931/32. Sp. 1007.

Cgm. 140 (Gebetbuch 14. Jh.), 48<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>v</sup>: "Segen des Papstes Leo für Kaiser Karl: Unsers herren crucez geheilige mich vnd sy alle zyt by mir hinder mir vor myr neben myr ..." <sup>128</sup>

Cgm. 178 (Gebetbuch des Grafen Niklas von Thurn, 16. Jh.), 109<sup>v</sup>-113<sup>f</sup>: "Das ist der prief den Babst Leo künig karl sand ... Cristus creutz ist ein wares hail. Cristus creutz sei mir N aus stegen und auf wegen oder wo ich pin ... mit deinem leichnam mues mir her mein sel ausgen. Amen." <sup>129</sup>

In der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek ist der Kreuzsegen, allerdings fragmentarisch, in einer medizinischen Hs. aus dem 14./15. Jh. überliefert, 2817 (Med. 92.), 11, 26<sup>ra</sup>-26<sup>rb</sup>:

"vber winden mit kainem waffen + gottes cruz sei min schirm ... des sel kan nimmer verlorn werden. Amen." <sup>130</sup>

Paralleltexte finden sich auch zu folgendem Gebet:

*GEgrueßet seÿstu, warer leichnam Jesu christi, warer [...], geporen von der Iunckhfrauen Marie, warleich gemartertt an dem krewtz, für das menschlich geschläch / geophertt, das seyten durch graben von heÿligen pluett durch floß. Gib vnd erzaige dich vnns an vnnsers todes pewarung. Mach vns das ende chundt / wolgeschickht vnd geziret, In dich saligkleich pewart /, verleich vns ze sterben. O dw sueßser, O Milter, O dw warer sun Marie, der magt /, erparme dich vber vns, warrer got vnd men/ch. Amen etc. (Nr. 10.1, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>f</sup>)*

Ein ähnlich beginnendes Kommuniongebet steht in einer aus Rebdorf stammenden Münchner Hs. aus der 2. H. 15. Jh., die neben Gebeten katechetische Traktate und Sprüche enthält:

Cgm. 462, 26a, 101<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>: "Gegrüst pistus warer leichnam unnsers lieben herren Jhu Christi geparen aus Maria ... - durch deinen heyligen namen amen." <sup>131</sup>

Im 5. Bd. des Münchner Katalogs werden beispielsweise noch die folgenden aufgeführt:

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<sup>128</sup> Zitiert nach: E. Petzet: *Die deutschen Pergament-Handschriften...* (wie Anm. 1). S. 261f.

<sup>129</sup> Ebd., S. 324ff.

<sup>130</sup> Zitiert nach: Hermann Menhardt: *Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Bd. 1. Berlin 1960. S. 326ff.

<sup>131</sup> Zitiert nach K. Schneider: *Die deutschen Handschriften...* (vgl. Anm. 1). Bd. 3. 1973. S. 341ff.

Cgm. 797 (Bayern, 2. H. 15. Jh. Heinrich von St. Gallen: Passionstraktat, Gebete), 3a, 83<sup>r-v</sup>: "(B)ys gegrüst warer leichnam (83<sup>v</sup>) Christi der warleich geporn ist von der junckfrawen Maria ..."132

Cgm. 857 (Bayern, Gebetbuch), 29 (II: Teil 1494), 169<sup>v</sup>: "Nun zw der wandlung sprich also, gegruest seyst du warer fronleichnam xpi ..."133

Das Athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis, das wahrscheinlich wegen seines häufigen Vorkommens in Psalterien im vorliegenden *Gebethbuch* und auch anderswo irrtümlich als Psalm bezeichnet wird, soll gemäß der vorliegenden Hs. im Zusammenhang mit einem aus mehreren selbständigen Teilen bestehenden Gebet um Beistand bei gerichtlicher Verhandlung<sup>134</sup> gesprochen werden. Es lautet:

*Quicumque wlt Saluus esse etc. Belicher mensch wil gehalten werden, dem ist vor allen dingen not, das er hab Cristenlichen gelawben. WER den nicht gantzleichen vnd vntzeprochenlichen pehält /, der verdirbt an zweifell ewiggleichen. DER recht stät gelawb ist der, das wir ain got Inder trinitat vnd die driualtigkait Inder ewigkait eren. Noch ain mensch, nicht die person entschaiden auch nicht ir wesen. Aynew ist / des vaters person, aynew des suns, aynew des heyligen geýsts, Aber des vater vnd des suns vnd des heyligen geýsts ist ain gothait /, ain geleichew ere, ain ewen ewigew magenkrafft. Wie der vater ist, also ist auch der heylig geist /. UNgeporner vater, vngeporner sun, vngeporner heyliger geyst. UNmaßiger vater, vnmaßiger sun, vnmaßiger heyliger geist. Ewiger vater, ewiger sun, ewiger heyliger geist. UND doch nicht / dreý ewig, sunder ain ewiger. Also sind nicht dreý vngeporne, noch dreý vnmaßig, sunder ain vngeporner vnd ain vngeßner. IN geleicher wais almightyger vater, almightyger sun, almightyger heyliger geist. Und doch nicht / dreý almighty, sunder ain almightyger. Also got vater, Got sun, got heyliger geist. Und doch nicht dreý got, sunder ain gott. Also vnnsere herre vater, vnnsere herre sun, vnnsere herre heyliger geist /. Und doch nicht dreý herren, sunder ain herre. Wann als wir sündlerleich ain yedlich person got / vnd herrn vergehen vnd des mit kriptenleicher warhait / betwungenn werden, Also dreý got vnd dreý hern zesprechen, das wert vns kristenlich geistlichait. Der vater ist vonn nyemant gemacht, noch geschaffenn, noch geporn. DER sun ist von dem vater alaynn nicht gemacht, noch geschaffenn, sunder geporen. Der heylig geist / von dem vater vnd von dem sun ist nicht / warden, noch geschaffenn, noch geporen, sunder für komenn. Darumb ain vatter, nicht dreý vater, ain sun, nicht / dreý sun, ain heyliger geist, nicht / dreý heylig geist. UND an der trinitat nichts Ersters noch hindere, nicht merere noch Mýnners, Sunder all sambt dreý person sind ewen ewig vnd ewiglichen ewengeleich. Also das vberall, das dort oben geschriben ist /, vnnd dew trinitat In der aynigkait / vnd dew aynigkait In der driualtigkait / ze eren sey. Wer darüber sálig will sein, der vernem dew driualtigkait also. Sunder sein ist notdurfft zu dem Ewigen heýll. das man dew menschaýt vnnsere herren Jesu chri/ti getrewlichen gelawb! Dar Innen ist / das der recht / gelaub, das wir glauben vnd pechennenn, wann vnnsere herre Jesu Christ gottes sun, got vnd mensch ist /, volkömner got /, volkomner mensch von redlicher sell vnd von menschen fleisch pekómen, Geleich dem vater nach der gothait /,*

132 Zitiert nach K. Schneider: *Die deutschen Handschriften...* (vgl. Anm. 1). Bd. 5. 1984. S. 367ff.

133 Ebd., S. 660ff.

134 Nr. 12, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>.

*mÿnner des vaters nach der Menschait. Wie er doch got vnd mensch seÿ, nicht zwen, sunder ain Christ, Aber ayner, nicht / vercherung an der gothait, an dem fleisch, sunder der Enphahung der menschait In got /; Eynner, nicht / mit mischung des wesenn, sunder der person äynnigkait. S[o] echt als ain redlich selle vnd leib ain mensch ist /, also ist got vnd mensch ain Crist, DER gemarttert ist vmb vnnser hayll vnd staig nider zu der helle vnd Erstuend von dem tod. Er füer auff zu hymell vnd sitzt zw der rechten gottes, vaters almachtigenn. dann ist er künfftig ze richten tod vnd lebentig. Gegen des zw künfft müeßenn all mensch auff sten mit Irem leib Und müeßenn widergeben raittung von Ir aigen tätt /. Die da guett habent gethan, die varen zu dem ewigen lebenn, die aber vbel habent getan, die varent Indas ewig fewr. Das ist der Christenleich glauben. wer den nicht trewlich vnd statlich gelawbt, der mag nicht / pehalten werden. (Nr. 12/13, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>-15<sup>r</sup>)*

Für die Verbreitung des sog. Athanasianischen Glaubensbekenntnisses sprechen zahlreiche handschriftliche Zeugnisse, z. B.:

Hs. 12842 (Suppl. 370) der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Psalter, 146<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup> (3. Hd., Mitte 15. Jh.): "Der Salm ist von dem heiligen cristengelavben. Q vlt saluus esse Et caetera. Wwer da wil behalten wesen, von allen untz ist, daz er hab cristengelavben."<sup>135</sup>

Cent. VI, 56, 12, Sammelhs. von Gebeten, Predigten, Traktaten aus dem Katharinenkloster in der Nürnberger Stadtbibliothek, um 1446-47: "Qvicumque vult saluus esse. Wer do behalten wil sin der bedarf vor allen dingen daz er habe kristenlichen gelavben ... - in halte denn ein igilicher trüliche vnd festiglichen so mag er nicht behalten werden."<sup>136</sup>

Ms 150 NUKLj, 236r-240r, Psalter unbekannter Provenienz, 15. Jh.: "Quicqu wlt saluus esse ante Wer pehaltē will werenn vor allē dingē ist im das tzetun das er halt ein cristenleichē gelaubē Den nicht ein ŷgleichs gantzleichē vnd vngemaligten behaltet ds ist an tzweiff vslorē [...] Das ist ds recht cristenleich gelaub wenn ds nicht trewlich vnd gantzleichē geglaubt der wirt nicht pehaltē Lob seÿ dem vats vnd dem fūn vnd dem heÿligē [geist]"

Ein weitverbreiteter Text ist, was schon allein die unten angeführten Parallelstellen bezeugen, folgende Sequenz:

*"veni, sancte spiritus etc. Chum her, heÿliger geist, vnd Erfüll die hertz deiner getrewenn vnd erzunde In In das fewr deiner lieb. wann dw das volkh mit deiner widerwartigkait aller zungen In ain äynigung des glauben hast gesamet /, lob sey dir gott /."* (Nr. 16, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup>)

Diese Sequenz findet sich mit ähnlichem Wortlaut beispielsweise - in den folgenden Nürnberger Hss.:

VI, 43<sup>p</sup> (Sammelhs. aus dem Katharinenkloster, vor allem Gebete, Mitte 15. Jh.), 41<sup>a</sup>, 174<sup>v</sup>: "Kum heiliger gaist erfull dein glaubigen herczen ..." <sup>137</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Zitiert nach: H. Menhardt: *Verzeichnis der altdutschen...* (vgl. Anm. 130). Bd. 3. 1961. S. 1277f.

<sup>136</sup> Zitiert nach: K. Schneider: *Die Handschriften...* (wie Anm. 1). S. 184ff.

<sup>137</sup> Ebd., S. 122ff.

VI, 82 (Sammelhs. aus dem Katharinenkloster, 1. V. 15. Jh.), 3<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>: "Veni sancte spiritus kum heiliger geist erfüll die hertzen deiner gelaubigen ..." <sup>138</sup>

VI, 91 (Sammelhs. aus dem Katharinenkloster, hauptsächlich Gebete und geistliche Texte, 1. H. 15. Jh.), 50, 155<sup>v</sup>: "Veni sancte spiritus kum heiliger gaist vnd erfülle die herczen deiner gelaubigen menschen ... - daz die alle gesamment werden in die ey<ni>kait dez glauben." <sup>139</sup>

- in Hss. der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek:

Cgm. 484,7 (Gebetbuch aus Nürnberg, 1458-62), 33<sup>v</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>: "Kumme heiliger geist und erfüll die herczen deiner glaubigen ..." <sup>140</sup>

Cgm. 484,88, 256<sup>v</sup>-257<sup>r</sup>: "Kumm heiliger geist und erfülle die herczen deiner glaubigen ..." <sup>141</sup>

Cgm. 744,3 (Gebete, z. T. Umkreis von Johann v. Neumarkt, Lektionar, Katechetische Texte, Bayern, I. Teil letztes V. 15. Jh.), 4<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>: "Kumm heiliger gaist und erfülle die hertzen deiner gelaubigen ..." <sup>142</sup>

Cgm. 827, 29 (Kalender, Gebete, Exzerpte aus Bruder Philipps Marienleben, Beichttraktate u. a., Franken 3. V. 15. Jh.), 196<sup>r</sup>: "Cum heiliger geist und erfülle die hertzen deiner gleubigen ..." <sup>143</sup>

Cgm. 845, 19 (Texte für Rom- und Jerusalempilger, Gebete, Katechetische Texte u. a., Rom (?)/Süddeutschland um 1469-70), 153<sup>v</sup>: "Und darnach sprich ein Veni sancte spiritus. Das ist czw teusch: Chum heyliger geyst und erfüll die hertz deiner gelaubigen ... - alleluia." <sup>144</sup>

Cgm. 857, 9 (Gebetbuch, Bayern, I. Teil 1490), 65<sup>r</sup>: "Kum heyliger geist erfüll dy herczen deiner gelaubigen ..." <sup>145</sup>

- in einer Hs. der National- und Universitätsbibliothek von Ljubljana:

Ms 150 (Psalter unbekannter Provenienz, 15. Jh.), 241<sup>r</sup>: "Veni sancte spiritus [...] Chum herr heyliger geist und erfüll die gelaubigen hertz [...]"

Auf deutsche und slowenische Paralleltexte des "Jobsegens" wurde schon von J. Stanonik hingewiesen<sup>146</sup>, in dessen Werk der Text der vorliegenden Handschrift auch abgedruckt ist<sup>147</sup>. Zu den unzähligen Varianten des "Jobsegens" gehört beispielsweise auch ein Spruch gegen Pferdewürmer in einem Wiener Arzneibuch von 1470:

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<sup>138</sup> Ebd., S. 222ff.

<sup>139</sup> Ebd., S. 240ff.

<sup>140</sup> K. Schneider: *Die deutschen Handschriften...* (vgl. Anm. 1). Bd. 3. 1970. S. 423f.

<sup>141</sup> Ebd., S. 439.

<sup>142</sup> K. Schneider: *Die deutschen Handschriften...* (vgl. Anm. 1). Bd. 5. 1984. S. 218ff.

<sup>143</sup> Ebd., S. 499ff.

<sup>144</sup> Ebd., S. 597ff.

<sup>145</sup> Ebd., S. 660ff.

<sup>146</sup> J. Stanonik: *Ostanki...* (wie Anm. 56). S. 49f.

<sup>147</sup> Ebd., S. 44f.

2998 (Nov.s.n.), 17, 98<sup>ra-rb</sup>: "Fúr dy wúrm den pfárdten. DEN gueten Sand Job, den pissen dy wúrm der ain was Swartz, der ander weis, der dritt Rott. wúrm ir sult ligen tod. also tuen dir dy deinen. Des helf vns hewt dy namen drey: Der vater + vnd der Sun + vnd der heilig geist + Amen."<sup>148</sup>

Von dem zweiten der sog. "Waffensegen"<sup>149</sup> kann neben den schon bekannten Paralleltexten<sup>150</sup> noch ein ähnlicher Abschluß aus einer Münchner Hs. angeführt werden:

Cgm. 37 (Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen, 14. Jh.), 133<sup>r</sup> (von späteren Händen): "Nu múezz ich heut als wolgesegent sein. als der chresm. vnd der wein. vnd als daz brot das got seinen heiligen iungern pot. Amen"<sup>151</sup>

Schon J. Stanonik hat Varianten des dritten "Waffensegens" angegeben<sup>152</sup>, als Beispiel seien hier noch andere Hss. erwähnt:

Cent. VI, 100 (Sammelhs. von Gebeten u. a. geistlichen Texten, Katharinenkloster, 1. H. 15. Jh.), 41, 279<sup>v</sup>: "O menscheit bloß o marter groß o wunden tieff ... - vnd durch dine grundlose erbarmhertzigkeit willen amen."<sup>153</sup>

Cent. VII, 67 (Gebete aus dem Katharinenkloster, Ende 15. Jh.), 60, 132<sup>v</sup>: "O armut groß O menscheit ploß ... - hilf vns zu deiner ewigkeit amen."<sup>154</sup>

Cgm. 165 (Gebetbuch für Frauen, 1510) 49<sup>v</sup>: "O menschheyt bloß o marter groß o wunden tieff o bluetes crafft o todes bittrickeyt o du clare gotheyt hilff vns der ewigen seligkeyt."<sup>155</sup>

Ein Gebet von großer Beliebtheit sind die "Freuden Mariens"<sup>156</sup>, in der vorliegenden Handschrift lautet es folgendermaßen:

[...] "*maria, ich man dich der grassen vberflussigen wurden vnd ern, der dein sel vnd leib enphie, do dich got vater vnd der sun vnd der heilig geist im selber zw einer mutter aufserwelt. fraw maria, gots muter, der grassen freuden, wurden vnd ern bis von mir armen sunderin gemant vnd gepetten, das du meiner gepett gewerft nach dein gnaden.*" [...]

*"ich man dich der grassen vberflussigen frewden, wurden vnd eren, der dein sel vnd leib enphyeng, do dir der heilig engl sant gabrihel kunt ttet, das du gotes muter werden scholdest vnd darnach magt beleiben."* [...]

*"Ich gruf dich mit den gruff, den dir der engl pracht hat, do er sprach: 'gegrufft pißt du, maria, voller gnaden, der herr ist mit dir, du pißt gesegent in den weiben, gesegent ist dye frucht jesu.' fraw maria, gottes mutter, der*

<sup>148</sup> Zitiert nach: H. Menhardt: *Verzeichnis der altdeutschen...* (wie Anm. 130). S. 555ff.

<sup>149</sup> Abgedruckt in J. Stanonik: *Ostanki...* (wie Anm. 56). S. 46.

<sup>150</sup> Siehe J. Stanonik: *Ostanki...* (wie Anm. 56). S. 50ff.

<sup>151</sup> Zitiert nach E. Petzet: *Die deutschen Pergament-Handschriften...* (wie Anm. 1). S. 63f.

<sup>152</sup> *Ostanki...* (wie Anm. 56). S. 52.

<sup>153</sup> Zitiert nach K. Schneider: *Die Handschriften...* (wie Anm. 1). S. 258ff.

<sup>154</sup> Ebd., S. 378ff.

<sup>155</sup> Zitiert nach E. Petzet: *Die deutschen Pergament-Handschriften...* (wie Anm. 1). S. 297ff.

<sup>156</sup> Vgl. J. M. Plotzek: *Andachtsbücher...* (wie Anm. 6). S. 49.

*selben grassen frewden, wurden vn eren p[is] von mir arm sunderin gemant vnd gepetten, das du mein gepett gewerft nach dein gnaden." [...]*

*"fraw maria, ich man dich der freuden, das du erkanst gottes deins sun parmherczikait vnd des heiligen geist weissheit. vnd du sprachst: 'ich pin ein dyrn des <al> almächtigen, <ge> geschech mir nach dein warten. gots wille wart an mir erfult mit den heiligh geist.' vnd du trugst dein kint nur ain moned vnder dem herczen. fraw maria, gottes mutter, der grosten frewden, wurden vnd ern bis von mir arm sunderin gemant vnd gepetten, das du mein gep[et] gewerft nach dein gnaden vnd nach mein durfften." [...]*

*"Ich man dich der grassen freuden, dy du enphyengst an den heiligen weynnachttag, do du dein liebs trautt kint gepar vnd genaht an allen smerczen vnd raynen magt vnder der gepurtt, vor der gepurtt peleibt. maria, dein freud was so grass, do du das kint an sachst, du es auff czukest an den mund. mit den kuß pat du den frid allen sundern vnd sunderin hincz dem kint vnd sich freud deiner gepurtt, als das auff erden vnd in himl ist. fraw maria, gotes muter, wis gemant vnd gepetten, das du mein gepett gewerft nach dein gnaden vnd nach mein pedurffn." [...]*

*"Ich man dich, fraw maria, der grassen freuden, wurden vnd ern, der du enphyengt an der heiligen ofter nacht, do dir dein liebs kint erscheint mit seiner vrstent scheinperleich vnd trost hercznlich laid. darnach erscheint dein kint magdalene vnd sein allerliebsten frewntten vnd furt gewaltikleichen dye var vor hell vnd erlast alle gefangen sel vnd furt sy in das paradeis, das sy da warn an deins kindes auffart. fraw maria, gots mutter, der grassen freuden, wurden und eren piß von mir arm sunderin gemant vnd gepeten nach dein gnaden vnd nach mein pedurffen." [...]*

*"Ich man dich der grassen frewden vnd ern, der dein sel vnd leib enphyengn an dem heiligen auffart tag, do dein liebes chint zw hymel fur mit allen, dy er an dem ofsterleichen margen alle auff der hell gewaltikleich nam. o maria, dein freud was so grass an deins kinds kreftigen auffart, das sy gegen dein frewden nyemmant gleichen mag, wen du sachst durch dy newn kar der heilligen engl vnd sagk den dir dye engl geworcht hetten. fraw maria, der grassen frewden vnd eren wiß von mir arm sunderin gemant vnd gepetten, das du mich deiner gepet gewerft nach dein gnaden vnd nach mein pedurffen." [...]*

*"Ich man dich der grassen frewden vnd ern, der dein sel vnd leib enphyengen an den heiligen phingstag vnd den du vnd dy heilligen xii poten sachen mit vorpartter tur vnder den luden. do kam dein kint vnder euch vnd sprach. 'mein frid sey mit euch allen!' vnd erfult auch dein kint mit den gruß, das Ir furbas chain forcht nicht hetten auff dye luden vnd er sant dy heilligen xii poten in dy welt zw predigen kristenleichen gelauben. fraw maria, der grassen freuden vnd ern wiß von mir arm sunderin gemant vnd gepeten, das du mich meiner gepet gewerft nach dein gnaden vnd nach mein pedurffen." [...]*

*"fraw maria, gots mutter, ich man dich der grassen frewden, wurden vnd ern, der dein sel vnd leib enphyen an dem virczigsten tag. do nam dich dein kint vnd furt dich gewaltikleichen in den tran vnd saczt dich auff den stul vnd in den rat der heilligen driualtikait. vnd gab dir dein kint gewaltig vber al himl vnd vber erden vnd kront dich mit der kron des reichs vnd mit den stam, dy dir herr saloman bereit het. vnd warft gehaißen ein muter der*

*parmherczikaitt. frav maria, gots muter, der graßsen freuden, wurden vnd eren, wiß von mir arm sunderin gemant vnd gepeten, das du mein gepet erhörst nach dein gnaden vnd nach mein pedurffen. amen."* (Nr. 82, fol. 61v-64v)

Von der großen Beliebtheit dieser *manunge* zeugen auch viele Überlieferungen in anderen Hss., z. B.:

VII, 67 (Gebete aus dem Katharinenkloster, Ende 15. Jh.), 46 "Gebet von den Freuden Mariae", 103<sup>v</sup>-107<sup>v</sup>: "Wen du in gresem leiden pist oder bekumernus ... Ich pit dich fraw sancte Maria durch die frewd die du hettest do dir sant Gabriel kunt tet ... - du wollest mich erfrewen an dißen dingen. Pater noster ave Maria magnificat amen"<sup>157</sup>

Cgm. 402 (Legenden der hll. Ulrich, Sintpert und Afra, Johannes Indersdorf, Heinrich von St. Gallen, Thomas Peuntner, Gebete, Augsburg, um 1456/57), 21b), 154<sup>v</sup>-156<sup>v</sup>: "Maria du raine junckfraw ich erman dich deiner grossen frewd da got der hymlich vater zu dir sant ..."158

Cgm. 462, 45 (Rebdorf, 2. H. 15. Jh., Katechetische Traktate, Sprüche, Gebete), 171<sup>v</sup>-176<sup>r</sup>: "Die zehen freid u(n)ser frau. Ich man dich der grossen überflüssigen freyden eren und werden die dein sel und leib enpfieng ... - küm mir an meinen lesten end ze hilf und ze trost Jhu Christ amen."<sup>159</sup>

Cgm. 481 (Gebete, Thomas Peuntner, Heinrich von St. Gallen, Bayern, 3. V. 15. Jh.), 7e), 46<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>: "Ich ermon dich du hochgelobte iunkchfraw Marie der grossen wird und er ..."160

Cgm. 848 (Sammelhs.: Kalender, dt. lit. Texte, Gebete, Ekbert v. Schönau u. a.) 30a (III. Teil, 2. H. 15. Jh.), 230<sup>r</sup>: "Ich man dich der grossen überflüssigen freiden eren und werden dye dein sell und dein leib enpfieng ... - deines lieben kindes un ussers lieben herren Jhesu Christi."<sup>161</sup>

Cgm. 857 (Gebetbuch), 15 b (III. Teil, 1494), 91<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>: "... Ich erman dich der grossen freyden eren und wierden dy dein seel und dein leib enpfieng an dem heyligen weihnachtmorgen ... - (93<sup>v</sup>) mit dem heyligen geyst ewig-(94<sup>r</sup>) lichen an ende amen."<sup>162</sup>

Neben den "Freuden" fanden auch die "Leiden Mariens" weite Verbreitung. In der Handschrift von Ljubljana steht, eingebettet in Zweckbestimmung und Ritusanzeige, folgender Text:

*[...] "aue kunnygin, frav, ich man dich des laides, das du dein kind sachst stenn vnder alln seinen veinten vnd yegleichen gedacht von seins herczen vbl, wye er Im aller wysift mocht getun vnd Im das kraucz auff seinen verbunnten rukchen gaben vnd du nach gyengst mit lamerigen herczen, wan du wol weßt, das dy zeit seins tades gegenwurtig was vnd mochtest im nicht gehelffen in aller seiner nat. nu pit ich dich, wan du ein gepyeterin pist der*

157 Zitiert nach: K. Schneider: *Die Handschriften...* (wie Anm. 1). S. 378ff.

158 Zitiert nach: K. Schneider: *Die deutschen Handschriften...* (vgl. Anm. 1). Bd. 3. 1973. S. 162ff.

159 Ebd., S. 341ff.

160 Ebd., S. 414ff.

161 Zitiert nach: K. Schneider: *Die deutschen Handschriften...* (vgl. Anm. 1). Bd. 5. 1984. S. 611ff.

162 Ebd., S. 660ff.

engl vnd mir wol gehelffen magst, das du mir genedikleich helffest von der nat vnd von allen meinen angsten." [...]

"frav, ich man dich, das du deinen kind enplassen sacht vor dem kreucz vnd das er vergossen was mit seinen aigen plut vnd flegen als lamerleich gedandelt was, das nichts ganzes an Im was von der schaitl vncz auff dye verffen. du sachst auch alle dye nat, dy er er led, do man In kreucz, vnd ain yegleiche marter gye dir durich alls dein markch in dein sel ain scharffes swert sint, In dem du gemartrett wurddest fur al lauter menschen. ich pit dich durich alle dye laidigen plikch, dy du ye gesachst an deinen kint, das du dye augen deiner mutterleichen parmung kereft zw meinen gepet, vnd erlaß mich von der angst." [...]

"fraw, gedenkch, das dein aynnyger sun vnd mein lieber herr dich ab dem kreucz an sach mit betrubten herczen, wan Inn seinen maisten vnkreften Im dein naten ein mervng was seiner marter vnd dir zw trost enphalher <er> dyr seinen lurger Iohannen vnd dich Im vnd es dy lezt red was vnd sich mit den warten von dyer schyedt: 'ach gotleiche muter, vnd auch meines sundigen menschen, schaid dein muterleich hilff von mir nicht vnd verkerr mir all mein swer durch dy gewaltigen tugent deiner wyrтикаitt.'" [...]

"frav, ich man dich der klagleichen hayseren stym, dy du horeft ruffent von des stillen guttigen lempl seines munds, das sich hyml vnd erd ab er czittrat vnd erparmt vnd sein edls hercz abprach vnd sich dein verwunttes hercz erwegt vnd macht dir doch nicht abpresten vnd macht auch dapey nicht mer gesprechen. o frav, nu pit dein kint durch dy not deines heiligen herczen vnd durch do er selbe inne was, das er dye nat meins betruben herczen verwandl vnd mich ledig von der angst." [...]

"frav, ich man dich, das du sachst das sperr den Inneren hart treffen vnd das plut von dein milden herczen herab rinn, davon das erdereich an nat sich mußt erwegen. nun man ich dich der freuden vnd des lamers, dye du paid mit ein ander enphyengt, das der dir wart fur gelegt tader vnd pluttiger mit alln seinen offn wunden. des neigest du dich auff sein hercz vnd dy czeherr, dy zw pluts scholten werden sein. In deinem muterleichen leib goß du In sein wundenn vnd hyst In gerne, damit erfult seins herczen aus geflossnes plut eya vber vol gnaden. hilff mir von dissen naten vnd von allen meinen naten an sell vnd an leib nun vnd an meinen end. amen." [...]  
(Nr. 92, fol. 73<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>v</sup>)

Eine Variante dieses Gebets findet sich beispielsweise in einem Gebetbuch aus dem Katharinenkloster vom Ende des 15. Jhs.:

VII, 67, 47, 107<sup>v</sup>-110<sup>v</sup>: "Das sind die funff herczeleid von unser lieben frawen ... 108<sup>r</sup> O du wirdige muter gotes yunckfraw Maria ich erman dich des herczenleides ... - allen meinen freunden vnd an allen dingen amen."<sup>163</sup>

Neben den oben zitierten Gebeten stehen in der Ljubljanaer Handschrift noch die folgenden Psalmen oder Psalmzitate, deren Wortlaut mit den Psalmen in der von W. Kurrelmeyer herausgegebenen *Ersten deutschen Bibel* nicht identisch ist.<sup>164</sup> Es

<sup>163</sup> Zitiert nach: K. Schneider: *Die Handschriften...* (wie Anm. 1), S. 378.

<sup>164</sup> Vgl. William Kurrelmeyer (Hg.): *Die erste deutsche Bibel*. Bd. 7. Tübingen 1910. S. 250.

handelt sich um einige der vielen Varianten, wie sie in den unzähligen Psalterhandschriften vorkommen; hier finden sich folgende Psalmen:

Psalm Nr. 2:

[...] *"Darumb gri/gramtten die diet / mit den zenden, vnd dew lewt gedachten vppige dingk."* [...] (Nr. 24, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>)

Psalm Nr. 12:

[...] *"Wie lang vergi/stu, mein herre, vntzt an das ende? Wie lang cher/et dw dein antlitz von mir? Wie lang setze ich die ratt meiner sele? der smertzen ist In meinem hertzen all durch den tag. Wie lang wird gehöhet mein veint / vber mich, herre? siech vmb vnd erhore mich, mein got! erlewcht meine augen, Das Ich nicht / entschla/ffe In dem tode, das mein veint ettewenne nicht / spreche, ich hab vermacht mich wider In. Die mich betruebent, die frewent sich, ob ich erwegte werde. ich geding aber an dein parmherzigkait. Sich frewet mein hertze in deinem haylande. ich sing vnnserem hern, der mir guet geben hat, vnd sing salme vnnsers hern namen, dem hóchsten. Amen."* [...] (Nr. 21, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>)

Psalm Nr. 64:

[...] *"Got, dir zimbt wol das lob in Syon vnd dir wirt verhais geben datz Ierusalem. Erhör mein gepet /, wann zu dir chumbt alles vleis/hs. der vngerechten wort / vermachtten sich vber vns, vnd dw pi/ft In vnser vbel genadig. Salig ist der, den dw hast Erwelt / vnd den dw Emphanen hast /. Der wirt wonen In deinem haws. Wir werden Erfult mit guttenn dingen deines haws, heylig ist dein fall vnd wunderleich an der gerechtigkeit. Got, Erhör vns, vnnser hayler, geding, alles endes des Erdtreichs vnd verre auff dem mere. Dw Peraittes/ft die perge mit deiner chrafft vnd pi/ft vmbfangen mit gewalt / vnd betrúebest dew tieff des meres vnd irs flusses done. Die diet werden betruebt / vnnd werden fürchtten die da wanent / beý den gemerckhen von deinem zaichen, dein aufgeng werdent lewcht früe vnd spat /. Dw hast das Erdreich pe/suecht vnd hast sey trunckhen gemacht / vnd hast sey manigualtigkleichen reich gemacht /. Der gottes vrsprung ist erfúllet / mit wasser. Dw hast Ir Essenn gemachte, wann also ist Ir peraitung. Ir pache mache trunchen manigualtiggleich Ir chúnne. Der perhaffte wird gefreýt von seinen trophenn. Dw gesegen/ft dew chron deines Jares, deiner guette Vnd [...] deiner veld werden Erfúllet / mit gnuchtsam. dew schonen dinchk der wueste werden vai/ft / vnd die púhel werdent all pegurt mit freýden. die wider der schaff sind an gelait / vnd dew taill von der genuesam des getraids, sy rúeffent zwar vnd lob singent."* (Nr. 41, fol. 34<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>)

Psalm Nr. 122:

[...] *"Zw dir erheb ich meinew augen, der dw wane/ft In den hymelnn."* [...] (Nr. 22, fol. 21<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>)

[...] *"zw dir erheb ich meine awgen."* [...] (Nr. 34, fol. 28<sup>r</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>)

*"zw dyer erheb ich meinew augen, wan du wan/ft in den himelnn. sich als der chnecht augen, dye in der herren henden sint, als der dyerne augen, in der fraven henden, also vnserew hincz vnserm herren got, vncz das er sich vber vn/serparmt. erparmt dich vber vns, herr, erparmt dich vber vns, wan*

*wyer sein ferr erfullt mit smache, wan vil ist vnser sel erfullet. itweiz sey den, dy da genucht/amt habent, vnd ver/smacheitt den hoffertigen, wan das got was vnder vns" (Nr. 69, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>)*

\* \* \*

4. Das *Gebethbuch* Ms 224 ist, wie aus dem oben Dargestellten hervorgeht, eines der vielen Privatgebetbücher, wie sie für das ausgehende Mittelalter charakteristisch sind. Es findet hauptsächlich in der persönlichen Andacht außerhalb der Liturgie Verwendung und reflektiert die synchretistische Volksfrömmigkeit ihrer Besitzer. Es hat ein vielfältiges Repertoire: neben den apotropäischen Formen, allgemein als Segen bezeichnet, enthält es im wesentlichen verschiedene Gebete, die weitgehend auf orientalisch-irischer Überlieferung fußen.



## LE MERVEILLEUX DANS HUON DE BORDEAUX

*Irena Prosenc*

### INTRODUCTION

L'article présent se propose d'analyser le merveilleux dans la chanson de geste *Huon de Bordeaux*. Précédée par une définition théorique du merveilleux, l'analyse commence par un répertoire des manifestations du merveilleux dans le poème qui sont illustrées par des exemples textuels. Les chapitres suivants offrent une comparaison entre les origines profanes et les origines chrétiennes du merveilleux, avec une réflexion sur la signification du merveilleux dans *Huon de Bordeaux*.

### I. LA DÉFINITION DU MERVEILLEUX

Lorsqu'on étudie le phénomène du merveilleux, on se trouve devant plusieurs termes appartenant au même champ sémantique: le merveilleux, le surnaturel, le fantastique, le magique, le miraculeux, l'étrange. Dans l'article présent je me concentre sur la notion de merveilleux, en utilisant les termes suivants: **surnaturel; merveilleux; magique**.

La notion de merveilleux appartient au domaine du surnaturel. Le surnaturel est ce qui surpasse la nature, ce qui ne peut pas être expliqué par les lois naturelles connues, donc "ce qui surpasse la compréhension".<sup>1</sup>

Dans l'article présent, le terme **surnaturel** est utilisé à un niveau plus général que celui du merveilleux. Le merveilleux est considéré comme une des catégories qui font partie du domaine du surnaturel. Selon J. Le Goff, ces catégories sont: *mirabilis; magicus; miraculosus*.<sup>2</sup>

Le terme *mirabilis* dénote ce que l'on appelle le merveilleux et a des origines préchrétiennes.

Le *magicus* ou le magique concerne le surnaturel maléfique, associé surtout à la magie noire: "Le terme en soi pourrait être neutre pour les hommes de l'Occident médiéval, puisque théoriquement on reconnaissait l'existence d'une magie noire

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<sup>1</sup> Dickman, Adolphe Jacques: *Le rôle du surnaturel dans les chansons de geste*. Paris: Champion, 1926, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Le Goff, Jacques: "Le merveilleux dans l'Occident médiéval". Dans Id.: *L'imaginaire médiéval*. Paris: Gallimard, 1985, p. 22.

qui était du côté du Diable, mais aussi d'une magie blanche qui était licite. En fait le terme *magicus*, et ce qu'il recouvre, très rapidement a balancé du côté du mal, du côté de Satan."<sup>3</sup> Dans l'article présent, le terme **magique** est utilisé surtout pour décrire les pouvoirs et les objets (pour la plupart associés à Auberon) qui produisent des effets merveilleux.

Pour finir, le terme *miraculosus* ou le miraculeux dénote le merveilleux chrétien.

A propos de la relation entre le merveilleux et le surnaturel, L. Harf-Lancner observe que "le merveilleux se superpose aujourd'hui au surnaturel: est merveilleux tout élément qui échappe à une causalité rationnelle. Au Moyen Age en revanche, la question sous-jacente à toute réflexion sur ce sujet ne porte pas sur la réalité du surnaturel mais sur sa signification."<sup>4</sup>

Sans faisant mention du terme surnaturel, D. Poirion décrit l'*étrange*, le *merveilleux* et le *fantastique* comme des manifestations du même phénomène appliquées aux domaines différents: "l'*étrange*, le *merveilleux*, le *fantastique* désignent le même phénomène mais selon différentes perspectives, à savoir celles de la psychologie, de la littérature et de l'art. Quant au phénomène lui-même, on peut le définir comme la manifestation d'un écart culturel entre les valeurs de référence, servant à établir la communication entre l'auteur et son public, et les qualités d'un monde *autre*"<sup>5</sup>. La base du merveilleux et de ses autres deux formes complémentaires est donc l'altérité. Le merveilleux est caractéristique de ce qui ne fait pas partie de notre monde - du monde que nous connaissons et qui fonctionne selon des lois toujours pareilles. Le merveilleux est donc une manifestation de l'*autre* qui fait irruption dans un univers familier.

Selon M. L. Meneghetti, le merveilleux se manifeste toujours dans un contexte réaliste qui valorise sa nature extraordinaire.<sup>6</sup> Il est donc le résultat d'une juxtaposition du surnaturel au naturel: "eventi e personaggi riconoscibili come appartenenti al piano epistemico del soprannaturale vengono giustapposti ad eventi e personaggi riconoscibili come appartenenti al piano epistemico del naturale".<sup>7</sup> En créant un contact, un "court-circuit",<sup>8</sup> entre les différents niveaux de la réalité, cette juxtaposition permet la manifestation du merveilleux.

Le merveilleux se manifeste donc dans un "double univers"<sup>9</sup> dans lequel les éléments du quotidien, du croyable, du rationnellement acceptable, servent de fond à l'irruption de l'insolite, de l'étrange et de l'irrationnel.

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3 Le Goff, Jacques: *ibid.*

4 Harf-Lancner, Laurence: *Les Fées au Moyen Age. Morgane et Mélusine. La naissance des fées.* Genève: Slatkine, 1984, pp. 7-8.

5 Poirion, Daniel: *Le merveilleux dans la littérature française du Moyen Age.* (Collection Que sais-je?) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982, pp. 3-4.

6 Meneghetti, Maria Luisa: "Meraviglioso e straniamento." Dans *Il meraviglioso e il verosimile tra antichità e Medioevo.* Edité par Lanza, Diego et Longo, Oddone. Firenze: Olschki, 1989, p. 229.

7 Meneghetti, Maria Luisa: *op. cit.*, p. 230.

8 Meneghetti, Maria Luisa: *op. cit.*, p. 231.

9 Meslin, Michel: "Cos'è il meraviglioso?" Dans *Il meraviglioso. Misteri e simboli dell'immaginario occidentale.* Edité par Meslin, Michel. Traduction par Sanfelice di Monteforte, Annamaria. Milano: Mursia, 1988 (*Le merveilleux. L'imaginaire et les croyances en Occident.* Paris: Bordas, 1984), p. 8.

## II. LE RÉPERTOIRE DU MERVEILLEUX DANS HUON DE BORDEAUX

### II.1. LES ÊTRES MERVEILLEUX

#### II.1.1. Auberon

L'agent principal du merveilleux dans *Huon de Bordeaux* est Auberon, le roi de Féerie, un pays imaginaire entre Jérusalem et la mer Rouge. C'est un nain bossu, mais en même temps le plus bel homme du monde.

Auberon définit soi-même comme un homme en chair et en os, pour souligner le fait qu'il n'est pas une divinité:

Ne sui pas Dix, ains sui uns hom carné  
(10433)

Cependant, ce n'est pas un homme comme tous les autres. Quand il se présente à Huon, il lui dit qu'il est né d'une fée (la fée Morge) et d'un être humain (Jules César). Il a donc des qualités humaines et merveilleuses à la fois. A ce propos, R.-L. Wagner observe que "Aubéron se situe (...) dans une région intermédiaire entre la nature humaine et la nature spirituelle des fées".<sup>10</sup>

Les caractéristiques qui définissent Auberon comme un être merveilleux sont sa forme de nain, ses pouvoirs surnaturels et les objets magiques grâce auxquels il accomplit des actions merveilleuses. D. Poirion souligne l'importance des objets magiques en disant que "la qualité 'merveilleuse' du personnage est surtout rendue significative par le recours à des objets magiques qui lui sont attribués".<sup>11</sup>

Auberon est donc à la fois un "*hom carné*" et un être merveilleux. Sa déclaration explicite sur sa nature humaine sert à souligner le fait qu'il n'a aucune prétention de se comparer à Dieu (au cours du poème il dit à plusieurs reprises que son pouvoir est soumis à la volonté divine) et à confirmer l'autorité suprême de Dieu comme la seule divinité.

#### II.1.2. Les géants

Les nains et les géants "exagèrent d'une façon grotesque des disproportions humaines".<sup>12</sup> Dans *Huon de Bordeaux* il y a deux géants, les frères Orgueilleux et Agrapart. Ils sont les fils du démon Belzébuth, et sont donc d'origine satanique.

Orgueilleux habite dans le château de Dunostre qu'il a soustrait à Auberon avant même le commencement de l'histoire de Huon. A part sa grandeur et laideur (4958-4964), il a la particularité de manger des êtres humains (4924-4927). Il est tué par Huon au cours d'un duel. Au sujet de la relation entre Auberon et Orgueilleux, R.-L. Wagner observe: "De même qu'Aubéron a sa place dans une hiérarchie qui conduit de l'homme à Dieu, l'Orgueilleux occupe, en nature, un degré intermédiaire entre le Diable et l'homme."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Wagner, Robert-Léon: "*Sorcier*" et "*magicien*." *Contribution à l'histoire du vocabulaire de la magie*. Paris: Droz, 1939, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> Poirion, Daniel: *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>12</sup> Wagner, Robert-Léon: *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>13</sup> Wagner, Robert-Léon: *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Agrapart apparaît dans le poème pour venger la mort de son frère, mais Huon le vainc grâce au haubert enchanté dont il s'est approprié pendant le duel avec Orgueilleux.

### II.1.3. Le lutin

Le mot *lutin* vient de *neitun*, signifiant "monstre marin" en ancien français. Le lutin qui apparaît dans *Huon de Bordeaux* est Malabron, un familier d'Auberon qui a été transformé en lutin en guise de punition (on ne sait pas pour quel genre de faute). Le lutin a la forme d'un animal marin. Il se présente à Huon lorsque celui-ci veut traverser la mer Rouge. Il lui montre sa vraie forme - la forme humaine - en enlevant sa peau (5350-5356). Sa nature de lutin est donc une espèce de déguisement qu'il peut enlever dans des occasions particulières. Le lutin prend Huon sur son dos et lui fait passer la mer Rouge en un instant (5397-5403).

Malabron aide Huon une deuxième fois lorsque celui-ci est ligoté par des pirates et abandonné dans l'île Moisant. Il le délivre et le porte jusqu'au rivage le plus proche (7104-7154).

### II.1.4. Les fées

Dans le poème les fées n'apparaissent pas à proprement dire, elles n'y sont que mentionnées. Elles ont donné à Auberon ses pouvoirs magiques (voir aussi le chapitre II.2.1.), et elles ont fabriqué quelques uns de ses objets magiques, notamment le cor et le fauteuil (voir les chapitres II.3.2. et II.3.3.).

## II.2. LES POUVOIRS MAGIQUES D'AUBERON

Le pouvoir d'Auberon est presque illimité, car il possède de nombreux dons magiques qui lui ont été accordés par les fées.

### II.2.1. Les dons des fées

A la naissance d'Auberon, quatre fées se sont rassemblées autour de son lit. La première fée, qui était de mauvaise humeur, lui a accordé un don maléfique - celui d'être un *petis nains bocérés* (un petit nain bossu). Elle s'en est repentie aussitôt, mais elle ne pouvait qu'atténuer son don en accordant à Auberon d'être le plus bel homme du monde.

Les autres fées lui ont accordé les suivants pouvoirs magiques:

- Auberon connaît les pensées et le cœur des gens;
- il peut se transporter immédiatement dans n'importe quel endroit et avec autant d'hommes qu'il désire;
- il peut construire un palais et avoir de la nourriture et des boissons sur un simple souhait;
- toutes les bêtes lui obéissent;
- il connaît les secrets du paradis et entend les anges chanter;
- il ne vieillira jamais;
- quand il aura envie de terminer sa vie, il ira au paradis où il sera assis à côté de Dieu. En effet, à la fin du poème Auberon déclare qu'il ne veut plus vivre dans ce monde et qu'il a l'intention de se transporter au paradis au bout de trois ans (3520-3550, 3573-3583; 10510-10514).

## **II.2.2. Les actions merveilleuses**

Auberon est l'auteur de la plupart des actions merveilleuses dans le poème. Voici leur répertoire:

- Lorsque les chevaliers français refusent de lui parler, il fait déchaîner une tempête et fait apparaître une grande rivière qu'ils ne peuvent pas traverser (3289-3299).
- Quand Huon et Auberon deviennent amis, Auberon fait instantanément surgir un grand palais magique dans lequel il offre à manger et à boire aux chevaliers français (3607-3623).
- Auberon met la barbe et les quatre molaires de Gaudisse dans le flanc de Gériaume en les scellant sur sa hanche (6724-6728).
- A la fin du poème, Auberon sauve la vie de Huon. Il suffit d'un simple souhait pour que sa table soit dressée dans la salle où Charlemagne banquette avec sa cour:

Jou y souhaide ma tauble en son hosteit  
(10176)

Selon le souhait d'Auberon, sa table est plus haute que celle de Charlemagne. Sur la table sont posés son hanap, son cor et son haubert (10176-10183):

Tantost y furent comme il l'ot commandeï  
(10183)

Ensuite, Auberon libère Huon, Esclarmonde et Gériaume de leurs fers, toujours par un simple souhait (10240-10242).

La barbe et les molaires de Gaudisse sont apportés dans la salle par magie (10398-10400).

A la fin, Auberon punit les traîtres - Gérard, Gibouart, le faux abbé de Saint-Maurice-ès-prés et un moine - en les faisant pendre à des gibets apparus devant le palais par magie (10414-10425).

## **II.3. LES OBJETS AUX POUVOIRS MAGIQUES**

Dans *Huon de Bordeaux* figurent plusieurs objets qui ont des pouvoirs magiques. La plupart de ces objets appartiennent (ou ont appartenu) à Auberon.

### **II.3.1. L'arc**

L'arc d'Auberon a le pouvoir de tuer toutes les bêtes (3246-3248).

### **II.3.2. Le cor**

Le cor d'ivoire, fabriqué par les fées, a plusieurs pouvoirs:

- celui qui l'entend est guéri de toute maladie;
- celui qui l'entend est rassasié et désaltéré;
- celui qui l'entend commence à chanter et à danser;
- dans n'importe quel pays que l'on sonne du cor, Auberon l'entend à Monmur, sa cité (3251-3270).

Au cours de ses premières apparitions aux chevaliers, Auberon sonne du cor plusieurs fois pour les faire chanter (3271-3272, 3380-3383). En plus, il le frappe d'un doigt et déclenche une tempête (3289-3295).

Par la suite, il donne le cor à Huon pour que celui-ci puisse l'appeler à l'aide en tout endroit. Cependant, il spécifie une condition: Huon ne doit l'employer que dans un péril mortel (3737-3752).

Huon sonne du cor quatre fois:

- Premièrement, il veut vérifier le fonctionnement du cor, tout simplement parce qu'il n'y croit pas. Dès qu'il en sonne, Auberon arrive avec cent mille hommes armés (3846-3871). Quand il voit que Huon n'est pas en danger, il se fâche, mais il lui pardonne aussitôt.
- La deuxième fois que Huon sonne du cor, il se trouve réellement en danger. Il est assiégé dans la ville de Tormont par le traître Oede. Auberon arrive à son aide avec cent mille hommes (4509-4528) et tue tous les païens dans la ville qui refusent de se faire baptiser.
- Lorsque Huon sonne du cor pour la troisième fois, Auberon refuse de l'aider, parce que celui-ci avait dit un mensonge en dépit de son interdiction (5605-5613).
- La quatrième et dernière fois, Huon sonne du cor parce que Gaudisse refuse de se convertir à la foi chrétienne, au cours d'un festin à Babylone. Cette fois-ci Auberon lui avait déjà pardonné et il arrive de nouveau avec cent mille hommes armés (6668-6682). Comme à Tormont, il fait massacrer tous les païens qui refusent de se faire baptiser.

### **II.3.3. Le fauteuil**

Dans le palais qu'Auberon fait surgir pour Huon et ses chevaliers au milieu de la forêt, il y a un fauteuil magique qui a été fabriqué par les fées. Celui qui y est assis (dans ce cas, Auberon) est protégé du poison et du feu (3637-3641).

### **II.3.4. Le hanap**

Le hanap appartient à Auberon, mais celui-ci le donne à Huon. Il se remplit si l'on y trace le signe de la croix et il est inépuisable, sous la condition que celui qui y boit ait un cœur pur. Dès qu'il s'agit d'un pécheur, le hanap se vide immédiatement (3676-3695). (A ce propos, voir aussi le chapitre IV.2.)

### **II.3.5. Le bâton d'or**

Le bâton d'or a le pouvoir de séparer les eaux d'une rivière pour y créer un passage. Il est employé par un familier d'Auberon qui aide Huon et ses chevaliers à traverser une rivière en séparant ses eaux (3776-3795).

### **II.3.6. Le haubert**

A l'origine, le haubert enchanté appartenait à Auberon, mais il lui a été soustrait par le géant Orgueilleux, probablement en même temps que le château de Dunostre. Quand Huon tue le géant, il s'approprie du haubert.

Le haubert a les pouvoirs suivants:

- celui qui le porte ne peut pas être blessé;
- il ne peut pas se noyer;

- il est protégé du feu (4605-4608).

Cependant, le haubert ne peut être endossé que par des personnes sans péché mortel et dont la mère est vertueuse (5089-5097). (A ce propos, voir aussi le chapitre IV.2.)

### II.3.7. Les automates

Dans *Huon de Bordeaux* il y a deux groupes d'automates:

- les deux automates qui défendent l'entrée au château de Dunostre. Ils sont en cuivre et frappent sans cesse avec des fléaux de fer pour empêcher l'entrée au château à tous ceux qui n'en connaissent pas le mécanisme (4590-4598, 4746-4754);
- les quatre oiseaux qui figurent au bords du lit du géant Orgueilleux. Ils annoncent le jour en chantant doucement (4950-4955).

Aujourd'hui les automates sont considérés tout simplement comme des machines, mais au Moyen Age ils faisaient partie du répertoire merveilleux, soit parce que l'on ne comprenait pas la manière dont ils fonctionnaient, soit parce que les auteurs mêmes choisissaient de ne pas la révéler. Selon D. Poirion, "les prouesses techniques de l'Orient son à dessein confondues par les narrateurs avec les effets de la magie".<sup>14</sup>

En effet, dans *Huon de Bordeaux* le mécanisme des automates au château de Dunostre n'est pas expliqué de manière rationnelle, même si l'on sait qu'un tel mécanisme existe. Bien au contraire, l'auteur dit que les automates ont été créés par magie:

Par ingremance i furent compassé  
(4955)

Mais leur magie n'a pas d'effet sur celui qui en connaît le mécanisme - la jeune Française qui est enfermée dans le château les immobilise d'un simple geste pour faire entrer Huon.

## II.4. LES LIEUX MERVEILLEUX

Dans *Huon de Bordeaux* il y a plusieurs lieux merveilleux, mais pour la plupart ils n'y jouent pas un rôle actif, à part le verger de Gaudisse à Babylone.

### II.4.1. Le verger merveilleux

A Babylone il y a un verger merveilleux où poussent les exemplaires de toutes les espèces d'arbres existantes. Dans le verger surgit une fontaine qui provient du paradis. Elle a la force de rajeunir ceux qui se lavent les mains dans son eau (5571-5588). La fontaine est gardée par un serpent, mais celui-ci n'a pas de pouvoir sur Huon qui est protégé par le haubert magique. Après avoir bu de l'eau de la fontaine, Huon oublie momentanément sa mission à Babylone (5589-5596), mais il s'en souvient après avoir fait appel à Notre-Dame.

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<sup>14</sup> Poirion, Daniel: *op. cit.*, p. 26.

#### II.4.2. Les autres lieux merveilleux

Parmi les autres lieux merveilleux, celui qui figure directement dans le poème est la forêt dans laquelle Huon rencontre Auberon. Les événements merveilleux qui s'y produisent sont l'œuvre d'Auberon et ne proviennent pas des particularités du lieu même. Dans la forêt, Auberon sonne du cor et force les chevaliers à chanter, il frappe le cor d'un doigt et déclenche une tempête, il fait apparaître une rivière que les chevaliers ne peuvent pas traverser, et à la fin il fait construire un palais en un instant et leur offre à manger et à boire.

Auberon habite dans la Féerie, dans la cité de Monmur, qui est située "dans un au-delà inaccessible".<sup>15</sup>

Lonc est de chi, je vous di par vreté,  
Quatre cens lieues i puet on bien conter.  
(3552-3553)

La forêt sert de lieu de communication entre Auberon et ce monde. Selon R.-L. Wagner, "le domaine d'Aubéron, sa forêt, est isolé avec précision et, avant que d'y atteindre, le héros de l'histoire doit traverser des pays fabuleux".<sup>16</sup> Ces lieux merveilleux que Huon traverse avec ses compagnes sont: la Femenie, un pays pauvre et désolé, la terre des Commains, êtres sauvages et poilus, et la terre de Foi, pays de l'innocence et de l'abondance. Leur voyage vers la forêt d'Auberon peut être interprété comme un voyage d'initiation.<sup>17</sup>

Parmi les lieux merveilleux dans *Huon de Bordeaux* figure aussi l'île Moisant dans laquelle Huon est abandonné par des pirates. Ce qui permet de la caractériser comme un lieu merveilleux est sa position près de l'Enfer qu'Auberon définit de manière suivante:

A trois lieuetes est Infer le puant  
(7086)

#### II.5. LE SONGE PRÉMONITOIRE

Dans *Huon de Bordeaux* il n'y a qu'un songe prémonitoire. C'est le songe que Gérard, le frère de Huon, fait au début du poème. Huon et Gérard doivent se présenter devant Charlemagne. Pendant leur voyage de Bordeaux à Paris, Gérard a un songe dans lequel il pressent qu'il leur arrivera un malheur. Dans son songe, trois léopards lui tirent le cœur de la poitrine; Huon se sauve, mais Gérard est blessé (596-603).

Le songe de Gérard se réalise par la suite: les deux frères tombent dans l'embuscade tendue par Charlot et Amauri, dans laquelle Gérard est blessé grièvement, tandis que Huon reste intact.

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<sup>15</sup> Poirion, Daniel: *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>16</sup> Wagner, Robert-Léon: *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>17</sup> Wagner, Robert-Léon: *ibid.*

## **II.6. LES SERMENTS**

Pendant la cérémonie qui précède le combat judiciaire provoqué par la mort de Charlot, Huon et Amauri doivent se coucher devant l'autel. Les cierges que l'on met autour de Huon restent debout, tandis que ceux qui entourent Amauri tombent par terre (1504-1510). Ensuite, Amauri commet un parjure en jurant sur les reliques, ce qui le fait chanceler (1612-1635). Ces deux signes sont donnés par Dieu pour prouver que Huon est innocent.

## **II.7. LA PRIÈRE**

Pendant le duel entre Huon et Amauri, l'abbé de Cluny prie pour Huon qui est près de succomber. Grâce à sa prière fervente, Huon retrouve sa force. Tout comme les deux signes cités ci-dessus, cet événement sert à prouver que Dieu est de la part de Huon.

## **III. LES ORIGINES DU MERVEILLEUX**

Les pouvoirs magiques d'Auberon proviennent de deux sources: une source chrétienne et une source profane.

### **III.1. LES ORIGINES PROFANES**

Auberon est né d'une union entre une fée et un être humain (3514-3515). Tous ses pouvoirs magiques lui ont été accordés par les fées (3520-3550, 10445-10460).

En plus, son cor et son fauteuil ont été fabriqués par les fées:

Fees le fissent en une ille de mer  
(3251)

A ce propos, L. Harf-Lancner fait mention des fées marraines, qui ont leur origine dans le folklore.<sup>18</sup> En tant qu'héritières des Parques, elles assistent à la naissance d'un enfant et décident de son futur en lui accordant des dons positifs ou négatifs. Selon L. Harf-Lancner, dans le cas d'Auberon "les pouvoirs d'un être surnaturel, inexplicables et inexpliqués, se trouvent justifiés par un autre élément merveilleux, l'intervention des fées".<sup>19</sup>

### **III.2. LES ORIGINES CHRÉTIENNES**

En dépit de l'influence des fées sur sa vie, Auberon déclare à plusieurs reprises et avec beaucoup d'insistance que son pouvoir magique lui a été accordé par Jésus-Christ:

Le grant pooir que Jhesus m'a donné  
(3673)

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<sup>18</sup> Harf-Lancner, Laurence: *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Harf-Lancner, Laurence: *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Dans ses discours, il se réclame sans cesse de l'autorité de Dieu et de Jésus-Christ en se déclarant loyal à la foi chrétienne. Au cours du poème, l'autorité et la puissance de Dieu comme la suprême force surnaturelle ne sont jamais mises en doute.

Dans *Huon de Bordeaux*, la notion religieuse et la notion profane de merveilleux sont présentées comme parfaitement compatibles. Les termes *féerie* (indiquant la puissance des fées) et *Dieu* sont fréquemment juxtaposés pour expliquer l'origine du merveilleux:

Par faerie, par le Dieu volenté,  
A Tormont vint, la mirable cité.  
(4527-4528)

Tantost i fu comme il l'ot devissé,  
Par faerie, par le Dieu volenté.  
(6681-6682)

(Voir aussi les vers 6728 et 9785.)

L'auteur ne se pose pas de question sur la coexistence du féerique et du religieux, mais il est clair que c'est l'explication chrétienne qui prévaut. Si Auberon a reçu ses dons magiques des fées, c'est que leur puissance même leur a été accordée par Dieu. Et si le fauteuil et le cor magiques ont été fabriqués par les fées, le hanap l'a été par Dieu:

C'est de par Dieu que chis hanas est tés.  
(3683)

Pour répéter avec A. J. Dickman, "Dieu est tout puissant en féerie".<sup>20</sup>

D. Poirion va aussi loin que d'assigner à Auberon le rôle de l'Ange gardien: "Auberon lui-même fait l'objet d'une christianisation assez poussée, qui contribue à édulcorer le monde des sortilèges dont il est le promoteur. Ainsi la double nature, bonne et mauvaise, de l'enchanteur Merlin, fait place à la nature uniquement bonne et morale de l'enchanteur Auberon, tout le mal étant attribué au Diable. Le merveilleux y perd de sa puissance, la littérature l'exploitant surtout comme fantaisie susceptible de ranimer et agrémenter les fonctions de l'Ange gardien, en face des démons."<sup>21</sup>

Cependant, si l'origine du merveilleux est chrétienne, la forme sous laquelle il se manifeste est féerique. En effet, plusieurs auteurs affirment qu'au fond, c'est le féerique qui l'emporte sur le chrétien. A propos d'Auberon, A. J. Dickman observe que "sa puissance lui vient de Dieu et c'est une puissance purement magique".<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Dickman, Adolphe Jacques: *op.cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Poirion, Daniel: *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>22</sup> Dickman, Adolphe Jacques: *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Selon R.-L. Wagner, la juxtaposition du merveilleux chrétien au merveilleux profane est due à l'intention de l'auteur de "*justifier* les thèmes magiques (...). Dans une telle intention (...) il se voit alors contraint de les accommoder aux croyances chrétiennes qui seules, évidemment, lui paraissent en rendre raison".<sup>23</sup> Mais il ne s'agit que d'un "christianisme de façade dont le poète se sert comme d'un ornement".<sup>24</sup>

#### IV. LA SIGNIFICATION ÉTHIQUE DU MERVEILLEUX

La signification éthique du merveilleux dans *Huon de Bordeaux* est très importante et fait partie de la morale chrétienne. Les qualités exaltées dans le poème sont: **la sincérité; l'innocence; la loyauté; la pureté.**

##### IV.1. LE PROBLÈME DU MENSONGE

Auberon avertit Huon qu'il ne doit jamais mentir: dès qu'il dira un mensonge, il perdra son amitié, tandis que les objets magiques qui lui ont été donnés perdront leur pouvoir magique (3720-3725):

Mais ja si tost mençoigne ne dirés  
Que ne pergiés du hanap le bonté  
Et de mon cors trestote l'amisté.  
(3723-3725)

Malabron, le lutin, répète l'avertissement d'Auberon en ajoutant que Huon doit toujours garder un cœur pur.

Tien bien ton cuer et bien ta loiauté,  
Que ja si tost mençoigne ne dirés  
Que tu ne perges d'Auberon l'amisté.  
(5421-5423)

En dépit de ces avertissements, Huon commet une "*grant foleté*" (5461) en disant deux mensonges pour se sauver des situations dangereuses:

- Lorsqu'il arrive au premier des quatre ponts qui mènent au palais de Gaudisse, il dit qu'il est sarrasin pour pouvoir passer, car il ne se souvient pas qu'il pourrait utiliser l'anneau d'Orgueilleux (5461-5467). Il s'en repent aussitôt et jure qu'il ne mentira plus jamais (5472-5474), mais c'est trop tard - Auberon a entendu son mensonge dans la Féerie et Huon a perdu son amitié. Par la suite, Huon sonne du cor dans le verger magique, mais Auberon refuse de le secourir en le nommant "*larron*" (5605-5613).
- Huon ment pour la deuxième fois lorsqu'il rencontre, tout nu et affamé, le ménestrel Estrument. Celui-ci lui demande de quel pays il vient et comment il s'appelle. Huon hésite entre la vérité et le mensonge, mais il décide de mentir pour se sauver la vie. Il dit alors qu'il s'appelle Garinet et qu'il vient de l'Afrique (7247-7248, 7272).

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<sup>23</sup> Wagner, Robert-Léon: *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>24</sup> Wagner, Robert-Léon: *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Chaque fois que Huon dit un mensonge, il perd la protection d'Auberon pour un certain temps. Puisqu'Auberon tient son pouvoir de Dieu, cela signifie que Huon, en mentant, perd la protection divine.

#### IV.2. LA PURETÉ COMME LA CONDITION DU MERVEILLEUX

Dans *Huon de Bordeaux*, deux objets font fonction d'épreuve morale: le hanap et le haubert magiques. Leur pouvoir magique dépend de la probité de la personne qui les utilise.

Le hanap est inépuisable, mais on n'y peut boire que sous la condition d'avoir un cœur pur:

Nus n'i puet boire s'il n'est preudom, par Dé,  
Et nés et purs et sans pecié mortel.

(3692-3693)

Au festin des pauvres organisé par Huon dans la ville de Tormont, Oede ne réussit pas à boire du hanap, parce qu'il est un traître (4253-4260). Plus avant dans le poème, Gaudisse - le païen - n'y arrive pas non plus (6641-6651).

A la fin du poème, Auberon apporte son hanap au banquet de Charlemagne et offre à boire à tout le monde. Personne n'y réussit, à part Huon, Esclarmonde, Gériaume et le vieux Naimés. Même Charlemagne n'est pas sans péché. Auberon, qui connaît le cœur des gens, sait qu'il a jadis commis un horrible péché dont il ne s'est jamais confessé. Pourtant, il a de la compassion pour lui et décide de ne pas le dire publiquement (10245-10286).

Le haubert, de sa part, protège des blessures, de l'eau et du feu, mais il ne peut être endossé que par des personnes sans péché mortel et dont la mère est vertueuse (5089-5097). Le géant Orgueilleux offre à Huon de l'essayer, et Huon subit l'épreuve avec succès. Par la suite, le haubert le protège pendant le duel avec le géant Agrapart. Il le protège aussi à la fontaine de jouvence, où le serpent qui la garde ne peut pas lui faire de mal.

Mais il s'agit aussi de la pureté physique. Avant que Huon et Esclarmonde partent de Babylone pour aller se marier à Rome, Auberon défend à Huon d'anticiper sur les droits que lui donnera le mariage (6734-6741). Huon, emporté par la passion, ne lui obéit pas. Son bateau est alors détruit par une tempête, Esclarmonde est emmenée par des pirates sarrasins et Huon reste ligoté sur une île déserte d'où il sera sauvé sur l'initiative de Malabron (et non pas sur l'initiative d'Auberon).

Auberon finit toujours par prendre Huon en pitié, mais non sans lui avoir fait subir des épreuves. Quand Huon commet des fautes, Auberon l'abandonne dans des situations difficiles. C'est justement à travers la souffrance dans de telles situations que Huon reconquiert l'amitié d'Auberon. A ce propos, D. Poirion observe que "Ainsi l'épreuve merveilleuse est-elle en rapport avec la purification morale."<sup>25</sup>

A la fin du poème, lorsque la vie de Huon est en danger, Auberon lui pardonne toutes ses fautes et vient à son secours (10149-10244). En outre, il le désigne pour héritier du royaume de la Féerie (10490-10493).

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<sup>25</sup> Poirion, Daniel: *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Après tout, Huon s'est donc prouvé digne de la confiance du petit roi. S'il ne se soumet pas totalement à ses désirs et à ses avertissements, c'est par curiosité et impétuosité, et non pas par méchanceté. Ses fautes ne sont pas graves, elles sont tout simplement humaines. En plus, il s'en repent toujours, ce qui n'est pas sans importance si on pense au rôle de la pénitence dans la religion chrétienne.

C'est par la probité de son caractère que Huon gagne l'amitié d'Auberon:

Moult aime droit et foi et loiauté;  
Pou chou aim jou Huon le baceler,  
Car preudom est et bien l'ai esprové.  
(10463-10465)

A ce propos, R.-L. Wagner remarque: "Si Aubéron ne retient pas Huon dans son royaume, s'il lui accorde son aide, s'il pardonne à son protégé chaque fois que celui-ci, par démesure, transgresse ses ordres, c'est que le chevalier a le cœur pur et se présente, en fin de compte, comme un Perceval au petit pied."<sup>26</sup>

L'idée de base est donc qu'il faut mériter la protection des forces merveilleuses. Et puisque la protection d'Auberon représente la protection divine, cela signifie que Dieu aide ceux qui le méritent selon les critères de la morale chrétienne.

## CONCLUSION

L'agent principal du merveilleux dans *Huon de Bordeaux* est Auberon, le petit roi de Féerie. Il a des pouvoirs surnaturels qui lui ont été accordés à sa naissance par les fées et grâce auxquels il accomplit de nombreuses actions merveilleuses.

Les autres êtres merveilleux figurant dans *Huon de Bordeaux* sont les géants, le lutin et les fées.

Auberon et son protégé Huon utilisent plusieurs objets aux pouvoirs magiques: l'arc, le cor, le fauteuil, le hanap, le haubert et le bâton d'or. Dans le poème figurent aussi des automates dont le mécanisme n'est pas expliqué et qui sont présentés comme magiques.

La plupart des lieux merveilleux ne joue pas un rôle actif dans le poème, à part le verger à Babylone, où surgit une fontaine de jouvence. Les autres lieux importants sont la forêt dans laquelle Huon rencontre Auberon et l'inaccessible pays de la Féerie.

Parmi les manifestations mineures du merveilleux dans *Huon de Bordeaux* on peut mentionner le songe prémonitoire de Gérard, les serments de Huon et Amauri et la prière de l'abbé de Cluny.

Le merveilleux dans *Huon de Bordeaux* provient de deux sources: une source chrétienne et une source profane. Même si Auberon a reçu ses pouvoirs magiques des fées, il insiste sur le fait que son pouvoir lui a été accordé par Jésus-Christ. La notion religieuse et la notion profane de merveilleux sont présentées comme parfaitement compatibles; toutefois c'est la notion chrétienne qui prévaut. L'autorité et la toute-puissance de Dieu ne sont pas mises en doute.

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<sup>26</sup> Wagner, Robert-Léon: *op. cit.*, p. 91.

Le merveilleux dans *Huon de Bordeaux* a une signification éthique qui relève de la morale chrétienne. Dans le cas de Huon, la notion de péché se traduit en celle de mensonge, pour lequel il est puni par la perte de la protection d'Auberon.

La condition de toute intervention merveilleuse est la pureté morale et physique, qui est testée même par certains objets magiques. En dépit des fautes qu'il commet, Huon gagne l'amitié d'Auberon par la probité de son caractère. L'idée de base est donc qu'il faut mériter la protection des forces merveilleuses, et donc la protection divine, en respectant les règles de la morale chrétienne.

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## LE TEMPS ET LA PERTE D'IDENTITÉ DANS LA POÉSIE DE JOACHIM DU BELLAY

*Miha Pintarič*

"Le Temps qui tousjours vire,  
Riant de nos ennui,  
Bande son arc qui tire  
Et noz jours & noz nuiz.

Ses fleches empennées  
De siecles revoluz  
Emportent noz années  
Qui ne retournent plus."<sup>1</sup>

"Et qu'est-ce des ans qui glissent?  
Qu'est-ce des biens allechans?  
Ils florissent, ils fanissent,  
Ainsi que l'herbe des champs."<sup>2</sup>

L'échec des idées de gloire posthume, qui devrait assurer au poète de la Renaissance une survie dans la Mémoire de la postérité, et d'éternel retour stoïcien<sup>3</sup>, bref, l'échec des "chimères" héritées de l'Antiquité ("les songes antiques"<sup>4</sup>) qui ne peuvent garantir le moi contre l'invasion destructrice de la réalité dans son for intérieur<sup>5</sup>, entraîne dans la poésie de Du Bellay un sentiment de fragmentation et de perte d'identité:

"... suivant de ce lieu les accidents divers,  
Soit de bien, soit de mal, j'escris à l'aventure."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, t. IV, pp. 32-3, vv. 117-24

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres poétiques*, t. V (*Recueils lyriques de 1558, 1559 et posthumes*), éd. H. Chamard, Paris, Nizet, STFM, 1987, p. 339, vv. 81-4; cf. Ronsard, *op. cit.*, t. XV/II, p. 204, v. 4

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Pintarič, "Le thème de retour dans la poésie de J. Du Bellay", *Acta Neophilologica*, XXVIII, 1995, 3-6

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, t. IV, p. 116, v. 125; cf. *Les Regrets*, son. IV: "Je ne veux feuilleter les exemplaires grecs,/Je ne veux retracer les beaux traicts d'un Horace ..." (*id.*, t. II, p. 55, vv. 1-2); pour apprécier la différence, cf. *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise*, éd. cit., p. 201 ss.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Roudaut, *op. cit.*, p. 70; P. Debailly, "Du Bellay et la satire dans *Les Regrets*" in *Du Bellay et ses sonnets romains*, éd. cit., p. 214; H. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 403, 451, 462

Aucune de ces chimères n'a pu garantir au poète, voire à sa *persona* poétique, le sentiment d'une intégrité du moi, et c'est le moment du désespoir. Faute de mieux, le poète, adoptant le "beau style bas", choisit de chanter l'*instant*, tout en gardant une nostalgie du temps entier perdu qu'il croyait trouver, à ses moments, dans ces quelques fantasmes de la réalité. Il ne faut même pas attendre son arrivée en Italie (1553) pour voir Du Bellay s'adonner au désespoir: il écrit un "Chant du desespéré" déjà pour ses *Vers lyriques* publiés en 1549. On y lit quelques vers, plutôt conventionnels<sup>7</sup>, traduisant ce qui aurait été son état d'âme:

"Mais je ne puy' mourir,  
Et si ne puy' guerir."<sup>8</sup>

Cet "ennui", si connu déjà aux troubadours, aux moments où l'amour manque, et au *dolce stil nuovo*, se confirme de manière symptomatique dans les vers 57-58:

"Et n'est qui tant me plaise  
Comme le déplaisir."<sup>9</sup>

C'est encore dans cette ode qu'on trouve une image, fort précieuse, de la dispersion:

"Comme d'une fontaine  
Mes yeux sont degoutens  
Ma face est d'eau'si pleine  
Que bien tost je m'attens  
Mon cœur tant soucieux  
Distiler par les yeux."<sup>10</sup>

Pendant son séjour à Rome, ce sentiment ne fera que s'intensifier<sup>11</sup>: la sensibilité de Du Bellay se révélera comme une sensibilité essentiellement *temporelle*. Les ruines elles-mêmes, qui figurent d'une part la dispersion du temps historique<sup>12</sup>, figurent d'autre part son éloignement de la maison natale, puisqu'elles sont dans un rapport analogue avec l'ancienne grandeur de Rome que la *maison*, symbole du passé que le poète regrette et auquel il ne peut retourner, l'est avec son moi déchiré. La poésie de Du Bellay, étant une poésie du temps, repose en partie

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, t. II, p. 52, vv. 7-8; cf. Roudaut, *op. cit.*, p. 70

<sup>7</sup> Cf. H. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-403

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, t. III, p. 37, vv. 17-8; cf. la "Complainte du desespéré", *id.*, t. IV, p. 110, vv. 496-8, et H. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-413

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 39; Du Bellay l'appellera de son propre nom ("ennuy") dans la "Complainte" (1552), *id.*, p. 89, v. 54; cf. *id.*, t. II, p. 77, v. 10; Roudaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, vv. 7-12

<sup>11</sup> C'est pourtant dès la première publication des *Inventions*, dans laquelle paraît la "Complainte" (1552), que cette dernière se trouve immédiatement suivie par l'"Hymne chrestien", qui chante, évidemment, un état d'âme tout différent.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. G. Venet, *Temps et vision tragique - Shakespeare et ses contemporains*, Paris, Université Paris III, Serv. pub. Sorb., 1985, p. 260: "La métamorphose ovidienne, jubilation païenne d'éternel recommencement par delà le pessimisme du présent, est devenue 'Songe' apocalyptique pour Du Bellay ... une anti-vision de l'histoire ..."

sur cette éternelle illusion à demi (ou même pas) avouée, que le temps est récupérable même s'il est vécu comme un temps "spatialisé". La sensibilité que traduit cette poésie dépend du concret voire du contingent, que ce soit la *maison*, la France, les ruines, quelque autre objet ou événement rappelant la jeunesse<sup>13</sup> et le temps heureux, ou bien la femme aimée. C'est l'attitude du poète face à l'amour qui trahit son oscillation entre un temps entier et un temps fragmenté. Il y a des moments où Du Bellay ne croit plus au paradoxe de pouvoir "aimer le corps sans aimer le corps", c'est-à-dire aimer dans le corps *un je ne sais quoi*<sup>14</sup> qui dépasse le corps. Alors, il n'est plus platonicien et il écrit "Contre les petrarquistes".<sup>15</sup> Dans l'amour, c'est le *corps* qui devient sa préoccupation principale<sup>16</sup> et ce n'est que la *jouissance* qu'il cherche, c'est-à-dire l'*instant*:

"Mais quant à moy, qui plus terrestre suis,  
Et n'ayme rien, que ce qu'aymer je puis,  
Le plus subtil, qu'en amour je poursuis,  
S'appelle jouissance."<sup>17</sup>

Un tel amour est la conséquence, sinon l'origine, du sentiment de la dispersion irrémédiable dans le temps:

"N'attendez donq' que le grand' faux du Temps  
Moissonne ainsi la fleur de vos printemps,  
Qui rend les Dieux & les hommes contens:  
Les ans, qui peu sejourment,  
Ne laissent rien, que regrets & souspirs,  
Et empennez de noz meilleurs desirs,  
Avecques eux emportent noz plaisirs,  
Qui jamais ne retournent."<sup>18</sup>

L'expérience de l'existence équivaut nécessairement à celle d'une *perte*, et le présent à une "morte peinture" du temps passé<sup>19</sup>, tant sur le plan historique que sur le plan personnel. Le célèbre oxymoron qui termine le sonnet III des *Antiquités* en est une confirmation lucide:

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 216, son. V

<sup>14</sup> Il dit lui-même: "D'ou vient souvent qu'on ayme à l'aventure/Un incogneu, & ne sçait on pourquoy,/Fors que lon trouve en luy je ne sçay quoy ..." (*id.*, t. V, p. 80, vv. 64-6)

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*, t. V, pp. 69-77; la pièce a été écrite pendant son séjour à Rome; puisqu'il s'agit d'une reprise du poème "A une dame" (*id.*, t. IV, pp. 205-15), publié en 1553, il est possible qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'une simple casuistique amoureuse, ce qui est le cas du poème suivant ("Elegie d'Amour", *id.*, pp. 77-82), qui chante pourtant un amour "platonicien" (cf. vv. 53-8), où Du Bellay se sert du même mythe des Androgynes dont il s'est moqué dans le poème précédent (cf. Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 137).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *id.*, vv. 157-60 et les deux strophes finales.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, vv. 133-6; cf. *Les Amours*, son. XXV; *id.*, t. II, p. 249: le poète semble séparer l'être aimé de Dieu et déclarer qu'il est possible d'avoir une expérience analogue (vv. 7-8) à celle de l'éternité, dans un *instant* d'amour.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, vv. 177-84; cette attitude face au rapport amour-temps n'est pas la plus fréquente chez Du Bellay, même si elle dispose d'un potentiel esthétique considérable; elle est plus caractéristique d'un Ronsard; pour Du Bellay, cf. les deux "Baysers", *id.*, t. V, pp. 88-93 et 96-7

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *id.*, t. II, p. 8, v. 4; p. 77, son. XXXII, v. 11 (noter l'identification du "voyage" et de la "perte"); p. 84, son. XLII, v. 4

"Le Tybre seul, qui vers la mer s'enfuit,  
 Reste de Rome. O mondaine inconstance!  
 Ce qui est ferme, est par le temps détruit,  
 Et ce qui fuit, au temps fait resistance."<sup>20</sup>

Du Bellay n'avait pas besoin d'Héraclite, dont la philosophie, connue en fragments transmis par Cicéron et Aristote, était l'une des inspirations importantes son époque,<sup>21</sup> pour être conscient de la stabilité fallacieuse du fleuve romain dont la forme, toujours identique, ne peut cacher l'écoulement irréversible de sa substance. Le poète ne croyait pas à la mission rédemptrice de l'art, incapable de revivre le temps perdu; c'est ainsi qu'il essaie de consoler le poète Salmon Macrin, qui avait perdu sa femme:

"La harpe Tracienne,  
 Qui commandoit aux bois,  
 Aussi bien que la tienne  
 Lamenta quelque fois.  
 Son pitoyable office  
 Aux enfers penetra,  
 Ou sa chere Euridice  
 En vain elle impetra.  
 Macrin, ta douce Lire,  
 La mignonne des Dieux,  
 Ne peult surmonter l'ire  
 Du sort injurieux."<sup>22</sup>

L'amour est toutefois un sentiment où le temps et l'éternité semblent se rencontrer, ce qui expliquerait l'oscillation de Du Bellay entre les deux, oscillation qui se traduit non seulement d'un poème à l'autre, chacun étant écrit selon l'inspiration du moment et considéré respectivement comme unité, mais parfois aussi au sein même d'un seul poème:

"C'est mon feu, c'est ma cordelle,  
 Mon froid, ma flesche mortelle,  
 C'est mon aigle devorant,  
 Qui m'ard, lie, englace, & blesse,  
 Et qui devore sans cesse  
 Mon cueur sans cesse mourant."<sup>23</sup>

Etre "éternellement mourant", c'est le sentiment le plus poétique et le plus beau, quitte à être le plus conventionnel. C'est une fusion du moment et de l'éternité qui fait sentir l'éternité dans l'extase du moment sans abolir la conscience de celui-ci: le sujet se sent, paradoxalement, "devenir" et "demeurer" en même temps, mourir et persister, être dans le temps et à la fois, le dépasser. A la fois, il se sent divin et humain. Un tel amour n'est ni simple jouissance ni amour platonicien:

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*, p. 6, vv. 11-4

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Le Feu et le Fleuve*, éd. cit.; cette constatation n'est pas valable pour la poésie, *id.*, p. 70

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, t. IV, p. 32, vv. 101-112; ces trois strophes précèdent les deux strophes citées *supra*, p. , sous n. 1

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, t. V, p. 56, vv. 7-12

c'est peut-être l'amour tout court, vécu dans un temps qui n'est ni entier ni fragmenté, oscillant perpétuellement entre ces deux extrêmes. Dans la poésie amoureuse de Du Bellay, l'enthousiasme du temps entier l'emporte souvent sur le désespoir du temps fragmenté. Cela tranche sur le reste de sa poésie, sur son sentiment du temps en général, qui manifeste plutôt la tendance opposée.

La *disposition* des sonnets dans un recueil n'est pas sans importance au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. L. Spitzer a analysé le rapport significatif entre la succession des sonnets à l'intérieur d'un recueil et la sensibilité signalée par un tel ensemble successif. Un sonnet - en tant que, du point de vue historique, une strophe détachée de la *canzone* - est une unité de temps, un instant. Les *canzonieri* de Dante ou de Pétrarque sont des biographies poétiques d'un amour, décomposées en sonnets, c'est-à-dire en instants lyriques dont chacun témoigne d'un mouvement qui lui est propre. Cependant, cette succession d'instantanés lyriques - les sonnets de Dante ou de Pétrarque - est garantie contre la dispersion totale par de sublimes *canzoni* qui rétablissent chacun des instants "détachés" dans son rapport avec l'éternité. En revanche, un recueil composé exclusivement de sonnets, tel *L'Olive*, traduit la révolte "moderne" contre l'"intemporalisme" médiéval. Le poète, ayant pris sa distance par rapport à l'ancienne échelle hiérarchique des formes lyriques, proclame, indirectement, l'autonomie de chacun des instants poétiques.<sup>24</sup> Le temps "moderne" pénètre la conscience des hommes lettrés: les uns s'en réjouissent, les autres s'en attristent. Souvent, les deux sentiments se disputent le même cœur. Le désespoir semble dominer dans la poésie de Du Bellay. Son expérience du temps est celle d'une chasse acharnée à ce feu follet dont il entrevoit si lucidement l'impossible conquête:

" ... l'espoir flatteur, qui nos beaux ans devore,  
Appaste noz desirs d'un friand hameçon ... "<sup>25</sup>

Le tragique de cette impossibilité se fait d'autant plus cruellement sentir que le poète se voit glisser de plus en plus loin du rivage désiré:

"Las, & nous ce pendant nous consumons nostre aage  
Sur le bord incogneu d'un estrange rivage,  
Ou le malheur nous fait ces tristes vers chanter:

Comme on void quelquefois, quand la mort les appelle,  
Arrangez flanc à flanc parmy l'herbe nouvelle,  
Bien loing sur un estang trois cygnes lamenter."<sup>26</sup>

Le poète se voit cloué, dans l'espace, sur un rivage inconnu et hostile, tandis que la belle et suggestive image des cygnes, qui ne sont rien d'autre qu'une

<sup>24</sup> "The Poetic Treatment of a Platonic-Christian Theme", in *Comparative Literature*, Summer, 1954, p. 198; cf. Fontaine, *op. cit.*, p. 68

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, t. II, p. 64, vv. 3-4; cf. F. Preeren, "Slovo od mladosti": " ... povsod vesele lučice priiga/ji up golj'fivi, k njim iz stisk ji miga." - *Poezije in pisma*, éd. A. Slodnjak, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 1964, p. 85; Ronsard comparera le "don de Poésie" elle-même au feu follet (*op. cit.*, t. XIV, pp. 193-4, vv. 13-28).

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, t. II, pp. 64-5, vv. 9-14

projection du moi, évoque son temps - mentionné dans le premier des vers cités - qui se perd en glissant vers sa fin.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. Roudaut, *op. cit.*, p. 105; H. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 402, 440

EL ESCRUTINIO DE LA BIBLIOTECA DE DON QUIJOTE Y LA CRÍTICA  
CONSERVADORA  
(Quijote, I, 6)

*Lúdivik Osterc*

Ningún trabajo crítico-literario se halla en la hermosa y rica literatura española del Siglo de oro. Cuántos hayan hecho un estudio detenido de la época a que me refiero, me darán la razón. Trabajos ascéticos, algún que otro tratado sobre gramática, defensas y apologías de escritores destacados, semblanzas, crónicas, vidas de santos y viajes de príncipes, habían completado hasta entonces las exigencias de la generalidad de los hombres.

La crítica, la verdadera crítica, estaba en aquellos tiempos olvidada y hasta completamente desatendida. Quizá se me diga que no, que entonces se elogiaba en los libros y se mencionaban en ellos las producciones de los autores, como en la actualidad nos valemos para el mismo fin del periódico, del semanario y del folleto. No es esto lo que quiero señalar. Lo que se debe tener en cuenta y saber, es que ninguno de los que hablaban entonces de las composiciones extrañas en sus obras, tenía gusto crítico ni condiciones para formar un juicio acertado de los trabajos literarios; faltábales esa discreción y agudeza para emitir una buena crítica que enseñe y deleite al mismo tiempo.

Sólo a Cervantes estuvo reservada tal gloria, como le estuvo reservada la de haber novelado primero que otro alguno en la inimitable lengua española. Bastará el artículo que nos ocupa para probar esta verdad. Otro escritor, sin gusto, sin discernimiento, soberbio de su erudición, reverstido con sus lugares comunes, tan presuntuoso como pedante, hubiera cansado al lector censurando los libros de caballería; hubiera citado a latinos y griegos, a antiguos y modernos, para formar de dichas producciones un empalagoso juicio crítico. Pero, ¡con qué discreción, con qué gracia, hasta con qué inapreciable donosura, acierto y llaneza trata Cervantes el asunto!

No hay palabra exedente en su atinada crítica: nada escapa a su penetración, la belleza respira por doquier. La gran mayoría de sus juicios son fundados. Con un rasgo de su pluma pinta gallardamente la perfección de un libro, y con otro rasgo nos bosqueja la deformidad de otro. De éste, nos elogia escenas, de aquél nos censura capítulos o episodios; de estotro nos manifiesta bellezas, de esotro, preciadas perfecciones nos ofrece. Aquí sarcástico, allí grave, allá chistoso, acullá con oportuna seriedad, siempre se nos muestra Cervantes el crítico incomparable del Siglo de oro.

Por ello, habla con tanto acierto de "Amadís de Gaula"; condena al fuego a "Esplandián"; menosprecia por disparatado a "Amadís de Grecia"; envía a la hoguera a todos los del mismo linaje de Amadís; se burla con donaire de "Olivante de Laura" y "Jardín de Flores"; entrega al ridículo al duro y seco "Felixmarte de Hircania"; aplica el mismo castigo al "Cavallero Platir"; hace una crítica irónica del "Caballero de la Cruz"; al "Palmerín de Oliva" lo manda al corral, y al "Palmerín de Inglaterra" lo aprecia y estima en lo que vale; y todos los demás libros caballerescos valora tan exactamente que todos los críticos posteriores siguen sus dictámenes y copian sus observaciones acertadas.

No menos prudente anda en sus demás juicios literarios. Basta para comprobarlo, lo que dice de las dos continuaciones de "La Diana" de Montemayor, tan perfecta la una, tan ruin y mal pergeñada la otra, tan agradable la de Gil Polo, tan desapacible la del médico de Salamanca.

Y, si en algún punto no está tan discreto como de su prudencia y buen gusto era de esperar, si la "Austriada" de Rufo y el "Monserrate" de Virués, aparecen más benévolamente tratados de lo que sus méritos exigen; si, al hablar, en fin, de la "Fílida" y de "Las Lágrimas de Angélica" se deja llevar de su corazón generoso y de la amistad que con dichos autores lo ligaba, esto no empaña en nada a su buen gusto literario y a su ingenio y fina crítica.

Con sus defectos y todo, el capítulo que comento es, como lo he insinuado al principio, el único trabajo de crítica literaria que nombre de tal merece y que nos brinda el Siglo de oro español.

Aun los que en el tiempo de Cervantes se dedicaban a trabajos de tal índole, no pueden superarlo. Saavedra Fajardo, que para nada se ocupa del gran novelista en su "República literaria", hastía y cansa, porque su crítica es indigesta, y en algunos lugares demasiado exagerada. Pérez de Montalbán, en todas sus composiciones de crítica divaga; González de Salas mortifica al lector por el deseo de mostrarse erudito y perspicaz; y, porfin, aun el mismo Tamayo de Vargas, uno de los que entonces tuvo fama de muy insigne e incomparable crítico, emplea un estilo tan árido y una erudición tan exorbitante que pocas personas resisten hoy la lectura de sus líneas.

Puede asegurarse que en exceso de lugares comunes, de citas latinas y griegas, de erudición barata e incluso de pedantería, todos los anteriores literatos y otros que escribieron algunos trabajos críticos, superan a Cervantes, pero nunca podrán imitarlo, igualarlo y ni siquiera acercársele en esa crítica sencilla, prudente, sobria, atractiva y profunda, que resplandece en el capítulo que nos ocupa, y que, a la vez que demuestra que el gran escritor se adelantaba en todo a su siglo, nos ofrece un precioso modelo para tratar las más graves y delicadas cuestiones con grata y deleitosa naturalidad.

Veamos, a continuación, cuál es el punto de vista de la crítica tradicional y, sobre todo, conservadora. Como es sabido, en la bibliografía tradicional cervantina es tan insistente la idea según la cual el QUIJOTE no es más que una sátira o parodia de los libros de caballería, y que el genial novelista lo escribió con el único fin de desterrar su lectura, que es raro el trabajo que no lo considere como tal sátira o parodia. ¿Lo será? Para averiguarlo es menester acompañar al cura y al barbero en el donoso escrutinio de la librería de don Quijote (I,6).

Pero, antes considero oportuno asentar que en ninguna novela de caballerías ocurren escrutinios y quemas de libros. Tampoco héroe alguno de libro caballeresco tuvo libros ni biblioteca. Son invención de Cervantes. Esto constituye una importante diferencia entre El QUIJOTE y los libros de caballería, así como una prueba más de que el libro cimero del magno novelista no fue escrito contra los libros de caballería como género literario.

Además, en dicho escrutinio no fueron quemados todos los libros de caballería, pues no sólo se salvaron de la quema, sino que fueron elogiados claramente los siguientes: El AMADÍS DE GAULA, El PALMERÍN DE INGLATERRA y El TIRANTE EL BLANCO. Del "Amadís de Gaula" dijo el barbero que había oído decir "que es el mejor que de este género se han compuesto; y así, como único en su arte se debe perdonar". A lo que el cura sentenció: "sí es verdad y por esa razón se le otorga la vida por ahora". Al ver el "Palmerín de Inglaterra", mandó el cura que el mismo "se conserve como a cosa única y se haga para ello otra caja como la que encontró Alejandro en los despojos de Darío, que la diputó para guardar en ella las obras del poeta Homero... Digo, pues, que éste y Amadís de Gaula queden libres de fuego..." Y, de la "Historia del famoso caballero Tirante el Blanco" dijo el cura al barbero: "Dádmelo acá compadre; que hago cuenta que he hallado en él un tesoro de contento y una mina de pasatiempos... Digoos verdad, señor compadre, que por su estilo es éste el mejor libro del mundo: aquí comen los caballeros, y duermen y mueren en sus camas... con otras cosas de que todos los demás libros de este género carecen."

Hanse de tener, asimismo, como encomiados LA CAROLEA y LEÓN DE ESPAÑA, pues así se infiere de las palabras del principio del capítulo 7/I en que dice el autor que "no se pasó adelante en el escrutinio de los demás libros que quedaban, y así se cree que fueron al fuego, sin ser vistos ni oídos, La CAROLEA y LEÓN DE ESPAÑA, con los HECHOS DEL EMPERADOR... que sin duda, debían de estar entre los que quedaban, y quizá, si el cura los viera, no pasaran por tan rigurosa sentencia". Y aun hay que considerar dignos de elogio en el mismo escrutinio otros libros de caballería que no se nombran en él, como se desprende de aquellas palabras del capítulo 7 en que Cervantes advierte que "tales debieron de arder que merecían guardarse en perpetuos archivos... y así, se cumplió el refrán en ellos de que pagan a las veces justos por pecadores."

En cambio, son condenados y arrojados a las llamas, previa motivación de la condena: las SERGAS DE ESPLANDIAN, hijo de Amadís de Gaula, porque no "le ha de valer al hijo la bondad del padre"; AMADÍS DE GRECIA, por las endiabladas y revueltas razones de su autor a guisa de éstas, por ejemplo: "La razón de la sinrazón que a mi razón se hace, de tal manera mi razón enflaquece, que con razón me quejo de la vuestra fermosura". DON OLIVANTE DE LAURA, por disparatado y arrogante. En efecto, la descripción del alcázar de la Fortuna, labrado de diamantes y otras exageraciones merecen el calificativo de disparatadas; FELIXMARTE DE HIRCANIA, por trazar batallas increíbles y absurdas, como la siguiente: en cierta ocasión este caballero andante derrota solo a un ejército de un millón seiscientos mil combatientes; El CABALLERO PLATIR, porque el cura no encuentra en él cosa que merezca venia; El CABALLERO DE LA CRUZ, porque a pesar del nombre tan santo, se suele decir que "tras la cruz está el diablo"; JARDÍN

DE FLORES, porque en él figuran mujeres de rara fecundidad: una que dio a luz de una vez ciento cincuenta hijos, otra que parió un elefante, y otras que paren ranas etcétera; PALMERÍN DE OLIVA, por pintar un mundo fantástico de seres encantados, gigantes y otros seres quiméricos.

Lo mismo que sucede a los libros de caballería, ocurre también a los libros pastoriles. El cura y el barbero condenan a los malos, tanto a los que están escritos en un lenguaje ampuloso, intrincado y en un estilo seco e indigesto, a guisa de la DIANA llamada *segunda* del Salmantino, como también a los que describen una vida ilusoria e irreal de pastores y pastoras. Al mismo tiempo, salvan de la hoguera a los que tienen alguna cualidad de lenguaje, estilo o valor ideológico, como por ejemplo, la mencionada DIANA de Montemayor y la de Gil Polo.

De manera igual tratan a los libros de poesía, censuran a los malos, como *Los diez libros de Fortuna de amor* de Antonio Lofraso, y condenan al fuego a *El Pastor de Iberia*, *Ninfas de Henares* y *Desengaños de celos*, y alaban a los que tienen alguna virtud, ya sea lingüística, estilística o de invención, como *El Pastor de Filida* o *El Cancionero* de López Maldonado, por ejemplo, pero ninguno está condenado a las llamas por su Género, sino por ser mal concebido y peor compuesto.

A la luz del examen de los libros quijotiles, podemos sacar las siguientes conclusiones:

Después de tanta alharaca sobre el intento satírico de Cervantes dirigido contra los libros de caballería, sólo ocho de ellos son condenados a las llamas. El resto de la biblioteca se compone de obras de mérito que muestran buen gusto literario en el dueño. En resumidas cuentas: el aposento de los libros no reúne exclusivamente los de caballería, como debía esperarse de un loco o monomaniaco por esta lectura, sino también los pastoriles y los de poesía, salvándose los buenos y ardiendo los malos.

Frente al análisis anterior, es totalmente insostenible la tesis de que Cervantes escribió EL QUIJOTE como sátira o parodia de los libros caballerescos, ni para acabar con la lectura de ellos. Además, ¿se ha ocurrido a alguien sostener que EL QUIJOTE es una sátira contra los libros pastoriles?

Pero, en este capítulo de la obra, en su primera parte, hay otro argumento no menos contundente en pro del criterio según el cual el genial autor no escribió su novela para burlarse de dichos libros, por lo menos no contra todos ellos. En efecto, el episodio de la quema de libros quijotiles, al parecer tan apropiado al objeto de la novela, sujeto al examen desapasionado de un ánimo libre de preocupaciones, nos da a conocer que el autor va por otro camino muy distinto y lleva una intención muy lejos de la que se cree. El ama y la sobrina de don Quijote claman por la muerte y destrucción de aquellos pecadores libros, que han supuestamente causado la desgracia de su tío y señor, y el cura resuelve quemarlos, para dar gusto a las dos que tanta gana tenían "de la muerte de aquellos *inocentes*, como escribe Cervantes en el mismo capítulo (I,6). Tal es la frase que vemos de buenas a primeras en este discretísimo capítulo del escrutinio, y no puesta en boca del ilustre personaje, sino en la del novelista a quien por tanto tiempo se ha juzgado como enemigo de los libros caballerescos.

Yo he supuesto siempre que todas las frases y palabras que forman el texto del QUIJOTE, fueron pensadas y repensadas por Cervantes, quien decía que para cobrar fama, era preciso escribir despacio y con mucho seso. Por lo tanto, esa palabra de *inocentes* aplicada a los libros, quiere decir en buen romance, que no causaron la locura de don Quijote, o mejor dicho, que en el intento principal del novelista no hay tal locura en el hidalgo, sino una verdadera farsa en donde el protagonista, con sumo arte, representa el papel de loco.

Ahora bien, llegó el momento de dedicarme al análisis de los criterios que han emitido los estudiosos tradicionales sobre el examen de la librería de don Quijote. Éstos, como de costumbre, destinan en sus notas y comentarios mucho mayor espacio a los aspectos formales, es decir, a la técnica y estética literarias y hasta a los de tan poca monta como son el formato, el número de páginas, así como a otras menudencias por el estilo, que con el tema principal tienen muy poco o nada que ver. Clemencín, uno de los primeros y más prolijos anotadores españoles de la magna novela, al abordar el primer libro que cae en manos del cura, no puede menos de erigirse en dómine tratando de mostrar que sabía más que Cervantes. Así, extendiendo su comentario, dedicado al AMADÍS DE GAULA, a más de cinco páginas y reduciendo el texto cervantino a una sola línea de cada una de ellas, habla de su origen, de si su autor era un portugués o un español, de cuántas partes consistía, o sea, de cosas tan irrelevantes como las nubes de antaño. Sin embargo, va por lana y sale trasquilado. Realmente, al principio de su largo comentario trata de rebatir la frase cervantina, según la cual el libro de Amadís publicado en 1496, fue el primero de caballerías que se imprimió en España, afirmando que el TIRANTE EL BLANCO se había imprimido ya en 1490, es decir, seis años antes que el AMADÍS, pero no toma en cuenta que el mencionado libro caballeresco, en dicha fecha, salió a luz en catalán, su lengua original, y que su primera versión castellana fue publicada en 1511, es decir, 21 años más tarde. Y, si Cervantes se refiere al AMADÍS como primer libro de caballerías que había salido *en España*, se entiende por sí mismo que se trataba de un libro escrito en español. Además, si hubiera leído dicho pasaje, no con anteojos de dómine, sino un poco más detenidamente, habría notado que Cervantes, en voz del cura dice: *he oído decir*, lo cual significa que el autor no lo daba por seguro sino por supuesto, y, por ende no comprobado. Al respecto, llama la atención el hecho de que casi todos los comentadores posteriores a Clemencín, y entre ellos la máxima autoridad en el campo de la investigación literaria – don Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, como también Rodríguez Marín – han recogido y adoptado el criterio de Clemencín sin someterlo a un examen crítico.

Sin embargo, estos "eruditos" cervantinos no mencionan para nada las razones que movieron a Cervantes a considerar al Amadís como prototipo y dechado de los caballeros andantes. He aquí algunos pasajes que lo ilustran: "único en su arte", lo llama el autor por labios del barbero durante el escrutinio; "Sancho que sepas que el famoso Amadís de Guala fue uno de los más perfectos caballeros andantes" (I,25); "Amadís fue el norte, el lucero, el sol de los valientes y enamorados caballeros, a quien debemos de imitar todos..." (Ibidem)

Así la cosas, ¿en qué consistían los hechos de Amadís? Consistían en servir a las mujeres, en arrancarlas del duro cautiverio en que las tenían los gigantes que las

robaron; en librarlas del dominio de caballeros desleales que las oprimían: en socorrer a los huérfanos, amparar a las viudas y deshacer toda suerte de tuertos y agravios. Leamos algunos trozos del libro de AMADÍS que lo comprueban: Hablando de las hazañas del Caballero de la Verde Espada, escribe el autor: "e así lo fizo, no por el derecho camino, mas andando á unas y á otras partes, quitando y enmendando muchos *tuertos* y *agravios* que a personas flacas así hombres como mujeres, por caballeros *soberbios* se les facían". (Libro III, cap.10) Y el rótulo del capítulo 35 de la IV parte de la misma obra reza: "De la batalla que el rey Lisuarte hobo con el rey Arábigo... é como fué el rey Lisuarte venido y socorrido al *menesteroso*..." De tal manera Cervantes se sirve de las acciones de Amadís como base del programa de don Quijote, ensanchándolo y amplificándolo para convertirlo en la más generosa y noble misión social, política y humana: instaurar una nueva sociedad, basada en la justicia, el bien, la amistad y la verdad en la tierra. He aquí las palabras de don Quijote dirigidas a Sancho, cuando le explica su misión: "Sancho amigo, has de saber que yo nací, por querer del cielo, en esta nuestra edad de hierro para resucitar en ella la de oro, o la dorada como suele llamarse". (I,20) Dicho en otros términos: Cervantes se vale ingeniosamente de los libros caballerescos, en general, y del AMADÍS DE GAULA, su ideal y su profesión, en particular, como motivo y pretexto para desarrollar su propio programa de acción y lucha, encargar su realización a don Quijote, amparándose al mismo tiempo, en el de Amadís para evitar la eventual reacción por parte del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, y asegurar la aprobación íntegra de la genial novela, sin reparos de los censores.

Por otra parte, es interesante la opinión de Menéndez y Pelayo sobre las SERGAS DE ESPLANDIÁN, continuación del AMADÍS DE GAULA que el cura condena a la hoguera. En efecto, el prestigioso polígrafo reprocha a Cervantes de haber procedido con "excesivo rigor" contra este libro, por haberlo sentenciado a las llamas, ya que, como escribe más adelante, "el ESPLANDIÁN debe ser tenido por una novela mediana, pero no de las peores... y es sin duda de las mejor escritas". (Orígenes de la novela, I, p.411). Sin embargo, cabe considerar que en las sentencias de vida o muerte de los libros, Cervantes no mira sólo al mérito lingüístico-literario de las obras, sino también al fin moral, social y político de ellas. Y en estos aspectos el ESPLANDIÁN representa una franca decadencia en comparación col el AMADÍS. En verdad, en él aparecen en número muy exagerado los gigantes, tesoros encantados, magos, encantadores y dragones, escenas absurdas e inauditas, como el duelo a muerte entre el padre (Amadís) y su hijo (Esplandián) sin conocerse, y cosas similares, amén de que el ideal de Amadís se desdibuja aún más y prácticamente se pierde en un sinfin de aventuras por aventuras.

Con todo, en honor a la verdad hay que reconocer que algunos comentadores, si bien muy contados, han escrito bellos y acertados juicios sobre el examen de la biblioteca de don Quijote. Entre ellos, merece especial mención el sacerdote Clemente Cortejón, cervantista connotado, quien apunta al respecto: "Cervantes invitándonos a presenciar el donoso escrutinio de la librería de don Quijote, presenta un cuadro tan lleno de vida y fresca, lo hace con tanta gracia y donaire, que en los anales de la crítica, cuán extensa es, no hay caracteres tan indelebles ni página más brillante".

En total contraste con la opinión de Cortejón está el juicio descabellado de Miguel de Unamuno quien comenta: "Trata de libros y no de vida. Pasemoslo por alto". Con razón le replica Vicente Gaos, poeta liberal y autor de la mejor edición quijotil hasta la fecha: "Nunca he podido comprender que un autor como él, cuya obra es esencialmente exegética – su *Vida de Quijote* y *Sancho* es el caso más patente – , pudiera hablar siempre de lo "libresco" con tan soberano desprecio".

Pero, el examen de la biblioteca de don Quijote no es sólo ejemplo de excelente crítica literaria. Constituye, además, una perspicaz sátira de los autos de fe. Al respecto, hay que destacar de nuevo que prácticamente ninguno de los investigadores menciona este aspecto del escrutinio en cuestión, a pesar de que Cervantes habla sin rodeos de la quema de libros en una hoguera. La única excepción la constituye el patriarca de los esoteristas, Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea, además de Amelia Agostini del Río, la cual, empero, lo toca muy tangencialmente.

Considerando este aspecto del escrutinio muy importante para las ideas cervantinas, me permito, primero, resumir la parte del episodio donde Cervantes alude a la Inquisición, y después pasar al análisis del mismo. En efecto, después del escrutinio de su biblioteca por parte del cura y el barbero, don Quijote al despertar del sueño, se dirigió al aposento donde tenía sus libros el cual le había sido tapiado mientras estaba en la cama. Cuando preguntó al ama, "hacia qué parte estaba el aposento", pues no lo encontraba, respondió ella: "¿Qué aposento, o qué nada, busca vuestra merced? Ya no hay aposento ni libros en esta casa, porque todo se lo llevó el mismo diablo". A lo que la sobrina replicó que "no era diablo, sino un *encantador* que vino sobre una nube una noche, después del día que vuestra merced de aquí se partió, y apeándose de una sierpe en que venía caballero, entró en el aposento, y no sé lo que hizo dentro, que a cabo de poca pieza salió volando por el tejado, y dejó la casa llena de humo; y cuando acordamos a mirar lo que dejaba hecho, no vimos libros ni aposento alguno; sólo se nos acuerda muy bien a mí y al ama, que, al tiempo de partirse aquel mal viejo, dijo en altas voces que por enemistad secreta que tenía al dueño de aquellos libros y aposento, dejaba hecho el daño en aquella casa que después se vería". Dijo también que se llamaba el sabio Muñatón, a lo que don Quijote observó: "Frestón diría". Y el ama respondió: "No sé si se llamaba Frestón o Fritón ; sólo sé que acabó en tón su nombre". Lo cual lleva a don Quijote a decir: "Así es; que ese es un sabio encantador, grande enemigo mío, que me tiene ojeriza, porque sabe por sus artes y letras que tengo de venir, andando los tiempos a pelear en singular batalla con un caballero a quien él favorece, y por esto procura hacerme todos los sinsabores que puede; y mándole yo que mal podrá él contradecir lo que por el cielo está ordenado".

El sonido de Frestón es sospechoso y aún más la frase de la sobrina de que lo cierto era que acababa en *tón* su nombre, por no decir directamente en *ón*. Para mí tengo, que aquí Cervantes alude claramente a la Inquisición que asimismo termina en *ón* y que es enemiga del saber, y, por consiguiente, de los libros e inevitablemente de don Quijote, que representa las ideas opuestas al espíritu del Santo Oficio. Con ello profetiza solemnemente la gran batalla que, andando los tiempos, dio esta institución ultrarreaccionaria y represiva con el espíritu del progreso y la libertad de conciencia quedando ésta vencedora. Confírmalo la circunstancia de que Cervantes llama al viejo de la sierpe *encantador* que le sirve –

como lo señalo en mi obra fundamental <sup>1</sup>— de sinónimo voluntario para designar a los representantes de las opresoras clases dominantes o las oscurantistas. Téngase presente, que como en los autos de fe inquisitoriales, el cura (la Iglesia) juzga y el ama (el poder secular) lleva a cabo la ejecución, circunstancia inequívoca de que se trata de sátira de un auto de fe.

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<sup>1</sup> *El pensamiento social y político del Quijote*, México, UNAM, 1988.

## A LETTER OF MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS TO EUSEBIUS FRANCISCUS KINO (SONORA IN 1690)

Tomaž Nabergoj

### INTRODUCTION

The life and work of the Slovene Jesuit, Marcus Antonius Kappus (1657-1717) who, three centuries ago, worked as a missionary in Sonora, north-west Mexico, has, in recent years, been the subject of several short studies in Slovenia. In this journal, Professor Janez Stanonik has, so far, published five letters which Kappus sent home to his relatives and friends, and one letter which he sent to his friend in Vienna,<sup>1</sup> as well as a study on the collection of poems (276 chronograms) in Latin, which Kappus published in Mexico City, in 1708, entitled *IHS. Enthusiasmus sive solemnes ludi poetici*.<sup>2</sup>

Prompted by the above publications, the author of this paper spent a month in Sonora while journeying in Mexico in 1991. In *Archivo General de la Nación* (the general Mexican archives) in Mexico City, he happened to find another letter written by Marcus Antonius Kappus. The letter comprises two A4 pages and is kept in *Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, legajo 279, expediente 19*.<sup>3</sup> This, hitherto unpublished document, was written by Kappus on 25<sup>th</sup> November 1690, in Cucurpe, and is addressed to Eusebius Franciscus Kino, his superior. Chronologically, it is one of his earliest preserved letters. Among those so far published, as far as we know, it is the only one preserved in original. At the same time this is Kappus' second earliest preserved letter written in Sonora. The first he wrote in Cucurpe, on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1689, to his aunt Francisca Adlmann in Škofja Loka, Slovenia. However, it is only preserved in transcription.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America, Part I, *Acta Neophilologica XIX* (1986), 33-57; Part II, *Acta Neophilologica XX* (1987), 25-38; Part III, *Acta Neophilologica XXI* (1988), 3-9; Part IV, *Acta Neophilologica XXII* (1989), 39-50; Part V, *Acta Neophilologica XXIII* (1990), 27-37; Part VI, *Acta Neophilologica XXX* (1997), 43-57.

<sup>2</sup> Janez Stanonik: Marcus Antonius Kappus: The First Slovenia-born Poet in America, *Acta Neophilologica XVIII* (1995), 59-68.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Esperanza Rodríguez de Lebrija, *Índice Analítico de la Guía del Archivo Histórico de la Hacienda, México 1975*, s.v. Kappus, Marcos Antonio.

<sup>4</sup> I am greatly indebted to Prof. Dr. Janez Stanonik for his encouragement and advice in publishing, and for the data on some documents in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* in Rome, to Prof. Dr. Milan Holc who sent me copies of some documents in the mentioned archives in Rome, to Dr. Irene Mislej who first introduced me to Kappus, and to Mr Pavel Fajdiga and Mrs Nubia Zrimec for their assistance in

Recent and very important book by Bernd Hausberger, on Jesuits from Middle Europe in the colonial Mexico, deals with 89 missionaries, among them Marcus Antonius Kappus.<sup>5</sup> Based on extensive research in Mexican and European archives it covers, besides some general historical topics, in a form of a catalogue, short biographies and, as much complete as it was possible, bibliographies of the missionaries. It brings more detailed though not completed data on bibliography of Kappus, as well. Hausberger quotes 40 documents written by Kappus (indeed there are 39 because one document was written by Juan de San Martín), including the letter which we present in this article.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Kino's bibliography of 118 units includes not a single writing to Kappus. Hence the letter that Kappus wrote to Kino on 25<sup>th</sup> November 1690 is the only one from the correspondence, which must have been constant between the two, that is preserved in original. It is also the only one preserved completely.

We could count altogether 59 or 60 documents written by Kappus, mostly unpublished. They were written in Latin, German and Spanish. 39 of them are quoted by Hausberger (26 letters, seven *memorias*, two commentaries, one report, one collection of poems, one document on accounts, and one document entitled *Professio quatuor votorum*). One damaged document and without date, written to Juan de San Martín, is kept in *Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Mexicana de la Compañía de Jesús* in Mexico City.<sup>7</sup> Four letters are kept in the Ljubljana archives and were published for the first time by Prof. Stanonik. Two of these Kappus wrote in colloquial German to his relatives in Carniola and two in Latin to his friends at home. One letter in Latin he sent to his friend in Vienna and was published in 1707, in German review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta*.<sup>8</sup> Several of Kappus' letters – twelve or thirteen – were mentioned and/or partly quoted by Kino in his famous chronicle *Favores Celestiales*.<sup>9</sup> Unluckily none of them exists in original nor in copy.<sup>10</sup> In another

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translating from Spanish. I am also thankful to Mr and Mrs Andrej and Catherine Turk who translated the paper from Slovene into English.

<sup>5</sup> Bernd Hausberger: *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa im kolonialen Mexiko. Eine Bio-Bibliographie, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen und Iberoamerikanischen Länder. Estudios sobre historia y cultura de los países ibéricos e iberoamericanos, Band/Volumen 2, Wien, München 1995. Cf. a review by Matevž Košir in Arhivi XX, Ljubljana 1997, pp. 278-279.*

<sup>6</sup> Hausberger, op. cit., pp. 195-197.

<sup>7</sup> *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México. Por el P. Francisco Zambrano, S. J. (Hasta el tomo XI). Por el P. José Gutiérrez Casillas, S. J. (Desde el tomo XII). 16 tomos, Editorial JUS, S.A. México, México 1960-1978, Vol. XV, p. 811, no. 12 ("Doc. por catalogar, 1713").*

<sup>8</sup> Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America, Part VI, *Acta Neophilologica XXX* (1997), pp. 43-57.

<sup>9</sup> Sergio Calderón Valdés (Ed.): *Eusebio Francisco Kino: Crónica de la Pimería Alta. Favores Celestiales*, Hermosillo 1985. Kappus sent to Kino eleven or twelve letters (op. cit., Parte I. / Libro 4. / Capítulo II. / in further citations, only numbers are quoted in the same order/, I. / 7. / II., II. / 1. / III., II. / 1. / VI., II. / 1. / XII., II. / 2. / IV., II. / 4. / XIII., III. / 4. / VII., III. / 4. / VIII., IV. / 1. / I., IV. / 2. / IX.), and one was received by Juan María Salvatierra (op. cit., II. / 1. / XIV.). The question of eleven or twelve letters to Kino arises due to two dates mentioned in *Favores Celestiales*, IV. / 2. / IX.: "... Kappus, en 4 y 21 de octubre, me escribió lo siguiente..." On the other hand, Kino mentions one message which he sent to Kappus, together with some blue sea shells given from the Indians near the river Colorado (op. cit., II. / 1. / XII.).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hausberger, op. cit., p. 218, note 436.

place Kino also mentions two letters written by Kappus to two Spanish generals and regarding a revolt by the Pima tribe in 1695.<sup>11</sup>

The existence of Kappus' book of Latin poems, however, is only known from some bibliographic references, and has, due to its unavailability, not yet been a subject of literary and historical analysis.<sup>12</sup> We searched for it in vain in *Biblioteca Nacional* and in *Anexo de la Biblioteca Nacional* in Mexico City, where there is much unclassified material. There was no trace of the text either there or in the *Archivo General*.<sup>13</sup> Even researchers at the UNISON University in Hermosillo, who, within the context of a special project entitled *Documentación escrita en latín del Noroeste de México*,<sup>14</sup> had been collecting written Latin sources from Northwest Mexico, knew nothing about this particular Kappus' work. In European and, especially, Mexican archives, there is, undoubtedly, some documentary material which deserves further systematic study of such interesting topics as the personality, missionary activity and literary work of Marcus Antonius Kappus.

Kappus was born on 12<sup>th</sup> April 1657 in Kamna Gorica (near Radovljica in Northwest Slovenia), to a wealthy and renowned family which possessed an iron foundry and an iron mine.<sup>15</sup> He obtained his basic education in the schools run by the Jesuits. In 1676, he entered the Jesuit order in Vienna, and taught Latin in Jesuit Colleges in Ljubljana (1679), Leoben (1680-81) and Zagreb (1682). He studied theology in Graz (1683) and Milan (1684-85), and was ordained priest.

It is very interesting that he, likewise Kino, applied already in 1685 to go to the "Chinese missions" first. There is a letter preserved in the archives of the Jesuit Society in Rome which Kappus wrote to the Father General Carolus de Noyelle in Milan, on 7<sup>th</sup> August 1685.<sup>16</sup> He had offered his services to go to China in the beginning of that year. But as he heard from the Father of "Assistencia Germanica", that there was a free way to West Indies and that there were Fathers from Austrian part ("ex Austriacae coronae ditionibus") looked for, and as there was no free way to China, he volunteered to go for that expedition. He also does not consider an obstacle the fact that he would be ordained priest only in next September (1686). Nevertheless, Kappus always remained interested in China and for years exchanged post with two missionaries there, Pedro van Hame and Engelberto Fridelli, as we can see from the letter he wrote to Juan de San Martín on 24<sup>th</sup> January 1716.<sup>17</sup>

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11 Cf. Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica XIX* (1986), p. 43.

12 In the book *Naši na tujih tleh* (*Our People in Foreign Lands*), *Antologija književnosti Slovencev v severni Ameriki* (*Anthology of the Slovene Literature in North America*), Ljubljana 1982, edited by Jerneja Petrič, on the page 412, stands written: "Today it is extremely rare, the only known copy is in private ownership in the USA."

13 *Catálogo de obras manuscritas en latín de la Biblioteca Nacional de México*, México 1975 (by Jesús Ihmoff Cabrera), makes no reference to Kappus.

14 A similar project, called Neolatín, is carried out at the UNAM University in Mexico City.

15 Hausberger, op. cit., p. 194, states that Kappus was born in Laibach/Ljubljana, however, in the note 375 he cites three authors who give Steinbüchel/Kamna Gorica as Kappus birthplace. The publications by Prof. Stanonik are not known to him.

16 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Fondo gesuitico 755 (Indipetæ scatola 24), fol. 354. The letter itself was not accessible to us, only the abstract (thanks to the kind help of Prof. Milan Holc).

17 Hausberger, op. cit., p. 82 and note 131.

In 1687 Kappus left for the "Indian missions", that is, to America. He embarked at the Spanish port of Cádiz, together with other 22 missionaries, destined for Mexico, the Philippines and Marian Islands.<sup>18</sup> At the time, he was thirty and, in the list of passengers, described as "tall, slender, fair-haired and blue-eyed".<sup>19</sup>

The geographical and political position of Sonora had been of strategic importance to Spain ever since Cortés' discovery of California in 1533 through to the formation of the independent Mexican state. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century wars, Mexico lost to the United States of America many of its northern territories which were previously Spanish (from Alta California, Nevada, Arizona and Nuevo México, to Texas). Sonora was a region bordering with that of uncivilised tribes, such as the Yuma, Papago and Apache, and at the same time a rich mining ground and a base to support the desert and barren Baja California which was also a starting point for the maritime routes towards the Spanish Philippines and the Far East. The western coasts of North America were of special interest to other imperialist forces as well, especially the English, the French and the Russians. Francis Drake came near to San Francisco Bay as early as 1579, whereas James Cook, after the discovery of Hawaii in 1778, actually reached the American coast while searching for a passage to the Atlantic. Eight years later, the French La Perouse lost his life in shipwreck somewhere along the Californian coast, however, he succeeded in sending home his discoveries beforehand. The Russians came through from Alaska even earlier. In 1741, for example, they established a settlement, a few miles north of San Francisco. This historical framework explains the interests of the Spanish Crown in the colonisation of Northwest Mexico which were intertwined with those of the Catholic Church, following the christianisation of the natives and the general expansion of European Christian culture.

At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century several Indian peoples and communities lived on the territory of Sonora. The most significant were the Papago, Pima, Opata, Seri, Yaqui, Mayo on the border with Sinaloa (not to be confused with the famous Maya from Central America), and Tarahumara who lived in their neighbourhood, in the mountainous Sierra Madre Occidental, in today's Mexican state of Chihuahua. These peoples engaged in primitive agriculture, gathering, hunting and fishing, and were semi-nomadic with poorly developed means of production and social relations. Here, conditions were quite different from those in Mesoamerica, where societies had very complex structures and were incomparably more developed in all areas of life. Because of this, the traditional type of conquest would have been

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<sup>18</sup> Hausberger, op. cit., p. 375, mentions that there were 24 Jesuits and quotes a document *Reseña de 24 jesuitas*, dated 8<sup>th</sup> July 1686 (correct: 1687), Sevilla, from *Archivo General de Indias*, in Sevilla, C. C. 5550. But cf. Kappus' letter of 10<sup>th</sup> July 1687 which he sent from Canary Islands to the Jesuit Mihael Dell Potae in Ljubljana and was published in: Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America II, *Acta Neophilologica* XX (1987), pp. 25-38.

<sup>19</sup> "alto, delgado, de pelo rubio, ojos azules". Cf. note 7, *ibid.*, p. 810. Cf. also Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), p. 35, who quotes "... de pelo rubio..." ("with red hair"). Cf. besides Hausberger, op. cit., p. 376, who from *Reseña de 24 jesuitas* quotes: "alto, delgado, blanco, pelo rubio". It was not possible for us to check the sources. In Mexico City, Kappus was assigned to Sonora in the extreme Northwest Mexico, for missionary work with Kino. In Kappus' own words, the two were "the last ones in this part of the Indies".

useless in the Northwest. Besides, the local tribes offered strong resistance to the conquistadors. The situation only changed with the advent of the Jesuits to Mexico in 1572 and their resolution to pacify and christianise the Northwest. To this end the Jesuits, who first came to Sonora in the late 1620s, established a system of missions in the form of self-sufficient farming enterprises. Such a lifestyle, whereby the Indians had to live together in permanent settlements (*reducciones*), enabled supervision and organisation of an internal governing structure and military defence against rebellious tribes. Furthermore, it allowed for the introduction of new economic activities in connection with the newly settled Spanish miners, landlords, military and merchants. These activities were accompanied by an equally important task of evangelisation and the uprooting of Indian beliefs, concepts and traditions.

As a missionary, Kappus worked almost exclusively among the Opatá Indians, most of whom lived in central Sonora. Only occasionally, during his excursions, did he visit Seri and Pima Indians who inhabited western and north-western parts. His first appointment, in 1688, was Cucurpe mission where he remained until around the year 1696. In 1694 he was made *padre rector* of the newly founded Nuestra Señora de los Dolores rectorate. Within the Jesuit system of missions, a rectorate was an administrative body which supervised the activities of several neighbouring missions (seven, in the above case). Rectorates were directly subordinate to the Jesuit Province and the Father Provincial with the seat in Mexico City. Kappus served as rector of a college in Mátape from about 1696 to 1704, when he was moved to the Arivechi mission for a year, and as vice-rector after his return.<sup>20</sup> In 1707 he was appointed rector of his San Francisco Borja mission district with the seat in Arivechi for the usual three-year period (such functions were temporary and passed from one mission to another). In 1715 Kappus occupied the highest post in the hierarchy of the Jesuit order in Sonora, that of *padre visitador*, i.e. the supervisor of all missions in Sonora. He died on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1717. The circumstances of his death, however, are unknown to us. The place of his death is not mentioned by any document, although by some authors obviously supposed to be Mátape.<sup>21</sup>

Kappus played an important role in assisting Eusebius Franciscus Kino (1645-1711) who came to Sonora in 1687 and founded a new mission in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Kino, Tyrolean by origin, was the most important missionary in Sonora in his time. His zealous missionary work strongly influenced the political, military and economic affairs in the region. His first commission in Mexico, where he came in 1681, was as royal cartographer on the expeditions to Baja California which were led by the Admiral Isidro Atondo y Antillón. In only three years, between 1683 and 1685, Kino drew up eight maps of Baja California,

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<sup>20</sup> The mention of the vice-rector is unclear. In *Favores Celestiales*, IV. / 2. / IX., Kino quotes the letter from 4<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> October 1705, which Kappus wrote to him, as "padre rector de Matape". Immediately after Kino writes that the letter was sent to him by Kappus, "padre vicerrector".

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Hausberger, op. cit., p. 194. In *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, in Rome, *Historia Societatis*, fasc. 50, fol. 101, there is a register of the deceased missionaries for the year 1718; for Kappus, it does not specify the place of his death: "P. Marcus Anton. Kappus, in Miss. Sonore, 30 /Nov./, Mexic."

mainly of its southern parts. By 1710 he had drawn up as much as 31 maps, of which 28 present Baja California and Pimería.<sup>22</sup> As the conquest and Christianisation came to a temporary halt, he began his activity in Pimería Alta province, Sonora, on the territory of Pima Indians, of which he said: "these lands and fertile valleys of Pimería would be of support to the scarce and barren lands of California".<sup>23</sup> He set the foundations for the colonisation of Arizona and Alta California and, after several research expeditions, proved that Baja California was a peninsula and not an island as it was hitherto believed.<sup>24</sup> Kappus, who helped him in this on various occasions, especially on the 1694 expedition from central Sonora to the Bay of California, was the first to report on these discoveries to Central Europe. Kino's new map of Sonora and Bay of California of 1701, which was dedicated to Kappus, the latter sent to Vienna to his friend Philippus Alberth and was published, together with Kappus letter, in Hamburg and Leipzig in 1707, in German review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta*.<sup>25</sup>

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The contacts between Kappus and Kino were often in written form due to the requirements and the nature of missionary work. Being an official document, the letter published here in terms of its contents and, especially the author's intention, differs in parts from the hitherto published letters, which were Kappus' private letters sent home. In the latter he also describes the situation in the area and in his mission, however, with the topics selected and narrated by him. In his letter to Kino, on the other hand, he quotes precise data on the number of Indians and the economic situation in his mission, which his Father Provincial in Mexico City wanted to have available. Bernd Hausberger in the bibliography of Kappus cites the title of the document: "Padrón del partido de Cucurpe, enviado al P. Rect. Eusebio Francisco Kino", *padrón* meaning a "list".<sup>26</sup>

The letter is written in Spanish, with addition of a few Latin words: *intelligendo utrumq3 Sexum* (considering both sexes) on page 1, verse 10. In the beginning there is a customary salute in Latin, abbreviated as *P. C. (Pax Christi)*.

The letter is written in a legible and comprehensive way. Only at one place did Kappus confuse the Spanish syntax and did not complete the last sentence on the left half of the page two: *aunqu3 las famosas milpas*, which is a subordinate clause. In the first line, at the left half of the page two, however, he corrected his own error by changing the word *matarían* (a conditional mood) into *matáren* (a

<sup>22</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, Introducción, p. 9-11.

<sup>23</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 2. / II.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also: Albrecht Classen: Padre Eusebio Kino – ein österreichisch-italienischer Missionar aus Tirol in Sonora/Mexiko und Arizona, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 105. Band, Heft 3-4, Wien, München 1997, pp. 441-466.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Prof. Stanoniks article quoted in note no. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Hausberger, op. cit., p. 195. However, we did not notice any title of the document; obviously it is not the title written by the authors hand but instead a notice made later in the archives?! *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, México 1960-1978, Vol. XV, p. 811, does not mention this document.

subjunctive mood). Three words, *leones*, *serreras*, and *Reales*, which are explained in another place, have been left untranslated. The abbreviations are customary and quoted here in the same order as they appear in the text. They are as follows: Pre. (Padre); Ror. (Rector); Franco. (Francisco); P. C. (Pax Christi); q3 (que); Sos. (Santos); ordes. (ordenes); Ra. (Reverencia); VRa. (Vuestra Reverencia); utrumq3 (utrumque); pa. (para); aunq3 (aunque); particularmte. (particularmente); porq3 (porque); No. (Nuestro); Sor. (Señor); gde. (garde); Ssos. (Santísimos); Sacrfos. (Sacrificios); humildte. (humildemente); a. (años); mor. (menor); Anto. (Antonio).

In our endeavour to throw light on this brief document we have used primarily the following sources and literature<sup>27</sup>: The first are four letters that Kappus wrote home from Cucurpe and Mátape. The second source is the already mentioned Kino's chronicle, *Favores Celestiales*, in which Kino described the important events which took place in Sonora between 1687 and 1706, in particular focusing on his missionary activity among the Pima Indians and the expeditions to Arizona and California. The third source is *El Rudo Ensayo*, a work by the missionary Juan Nentuig from 1764, which deals with the natural environment of Sonora, the local Indian tribes, and important historic events, such as the attacks by hostile Indians and the defence of missions, as well as various diseases and natural remedies.<sup>28</sup> Finally, as an example of "holy experiment" by the Jesuits, let us mention an extensive work by another Tyrolean, missionary Antonius Sepp, who worked among the Guaraní Indians in today's Argentina in the years between 1691 and 1733.<sup>29</sup> The circumstances there were in many aspects similar to those in Sonora, especially with regards to the organisation of missions. This is no surprise, given that the "apostolic activity" of Kino, Kappus and Sepp was subjected to the decisions and actions of their superiors, that is the procurators and the General of the Jesuit order in Rome.

One should first look at the historical context in which the document was written and then at the three mutually interconnected topics that it touches upon: the economic, demographic and social circumstances.

Marcus Antonius Kappus writes to the Rector Eusebius Franciscus Kino at the request of the Father Provincial. At the time, a new Jesuit leadership was appointed for a three-year period (1690-1692) in the province which comprised the whole of Mexico. The new Provincial, Ambrosio Oddón, appointed Juan María Salvatierra as the Visitor (*padre visitador*) of the missions in Sonora and Sinaloa, and Kino as the rector of San Francisco Javier de Sonora rectorate.<sup>30</sup> The missions lying east and south-east of this rectorate were under the jurisdiction of Los Santos

27 Unluckily the relevant sources and literature were available only in a small quantity to the author.

28 Juan Nentuig: *El Rudo Ensayo. Descripción Geográfica, Natural y Curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora, año de 1764*, Introducción, apéndice, notas e índice, por Margarita Nolasco Armas, Teresa Martínez Peñalosa y América Flores, INAH, Proyectos especiales 58, Colección científica, Etnología, México 1977.

29 Antonio Sepp S. J.: *Relación de viaje a las misiones jesuíticas*, Tomo I, Buenos Aires 1971; *Continuación de las labores apostólicas*, Tomo II, Buenos Aires 1973; *Jardín de flores paracuaro*, Tomo III, Buenos Aires 1974; (Edición crítica de las obras del padre Antonio Sepp S. J., misionero en la Argentina desde 1691 hasta 1733, a cargo de Werner Hoffmann).

30 *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 2. / 1.

Mártires de Japón and San Francisco Borja rectorates. Kappus was then working in the Cucurpe mission, in Kino's rectorate, administering Cucurpe, Tuape<sup>31</sup> and Opodepe villages as well as Saracachi and Meresichi, the two pertaining estates. His letter to Kino fulfilled the request of the new Provincial who, after "having heard so many things in favour and against this Pimería, sent there the Father Visitor, Juan María Salvatierra, to examine the situation". Salvatierra visited the Nuestra Señora de los Dolores mission on 24<sup>th</sup> December 1690, where Kino briefed him on the missions in his rectorate, including the one in Cucurpe run by Kappus.<sup>32</sup> Two similar documents written by Kino in Dolores on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1690 exist in the same archives and they refer obviously to the same matter: "Padrón de la misión de Cocóspera", written "in the absence of Father Juan Castillejo", and "Memoria de la gente y lo temporal del pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores".<sup>33</sup>

Along the San Miguel river, where the settlements administered by Kappus were located, there is some fertile soil but very little rain, especially in the dry season. In 1689, Kappus wrote to his aunt that, after the winter rain in January, "not a single drop of water falls from the sky" and that "in the month of May, and in June, there is a very great heat which would be unbearable in July and August, had it not been moderated by the almost daily falling of heavy showers".<sup>34</sup> This is no wonder, considering that in these dry and even desert parts, there can be as many as 360 sunny days and temperatures in the summer sometimes reach 48 degrees Celsius.<sup>35</sup> The surrounding hills are usually covered with low and prickly vegetation. The main economic activities of the Indians in the *reducciones* were stockbreeding and the cultivation of land. In Kappus' mission, cattle and small livestock (goats, sheep and pigs) were mainly bred, but also mules and horses. Cattle were very important to the communities for food, transport and herding (horses for the cowherd) as well as other activities, such as tanning and the production of soap and tallow for tallow lamps.<sup>36</sup>

Stockbreeding in Sonora, was not only of vital importance to individual settlements, but also played an important role in the Jesuit missionary system as a whole, in the formation of new *reducciones* and in the mutual help between missions. A good example of such solidarity was a collection of cattle and provisions in the summer 1700, requested by Juan María Salvatierra, rector of the Loreto Concho mission in south-eastern California, who had been expecting aid from Mexico for 14 months, and was therefore in need of "all sorts of goods, chocolate, tobacco etc." From several missions Kino succeeded in collecting some 700 heads of cattle and other animals which were then sent to the collecting points in Mátape and Hiaqui (Yaqui in southern Sonora). From the Hiaqui estate, the meat,

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31 Kappus writes *Toape*, whereas in the paper the usual form *Tuape* is used.

32 *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 2. / I.

33 Hausberger, op. cit., p. 214, nos. 78 and 79.

34 Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), p. 55.

35 Albrecht Classen: Padre Eusebio Kino, op. cit., p. 454.

36 With regards to livestock trade, Nentuig (*El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 50) remarked that, in the peaceful times, before the attacks of Apache and Seri Indians, a lot of livestock had been sent from Mátape to Mexico City and that the mules from Sonora had always been the most appreciated of all.

tallow, lard and - if required and weather allowing - cattle, were supposed to be shipped to California. On this point, Kappus, the then rector in Mátape, wrote a letter to Salvatierra in Spring 1700, confirming that he had received from Kino 10 consignments of goods for the Californian missions. Out of the 300 heads of cattle offered by Kino, 200 were reserved for California and 100 for future missionaries in Pimería.<sup>37</sup>

Such data explain the successful activity and expansion of the Jesuit missions. Thanks to a constant exchange of goods, stock and even Indians<sup>38</sup>, they could overcome adversities and dangers, such as droughts, epidemics and attacks by hostile tribes, protect individual missions and ensure the economic foundation for the establishment of new settlements. In several places in his chronicle, Kino points out that, in the newly founded settlements, the Indians who awaited the coming of new missionaries had livestock ready for them. Kino himself provided the four Jesuits, who came to Pimería in 1701, with more than 700 heads of cattle, and had another 3500 heads ensured for new missions.<sup>39</sup> Such conditions were also important for the successful operation of missions elsewhere in America. We have already mentioned Antonius Sepp in Argentina, whose report on the founding of a *reducción* is the most detailed of all the literature on the Jesuit missions. To this end, a sufficiently large herd of stock had to be provided.<sup>40</sup>

In view of the above we can understand why Kappus gives Kino a detailed report on the number and species of the livestock reared and used by his Indians. Apart from cattle and their young in general, many of which were killed by *leones* (probably referring to pumas or wild cats),<sup>41</sup> Kappus makes special mention of horses (those domesticated and those for the cowherd), stallions, bridled and harnessed mules, bridled and riding hinnies, and *serreras*.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, Kappus' information on crop cultivation is scant. He only briefly mentions that the grain and corn crops were sufficient, not only to meet basic needs but also to buy "some clothing for the cowherd, muleteers, cattlemen, attendants and others who serve both in the church and in the house".<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, in the letter to his aunt he does point out with delight what and how much is produced in the fields, the two gardens and a small vineyard, by Indians whom he praises as "very devoted to work, especially to agriculture". He does not forget to add that the fields, due to their location in valleys between hills and the dry climate, can only be cultivated thanks to irrigation.<sup>44</sup> In a letter from 1690, Kappus mentions the problem of

<sup>37</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, II. / 1. / XIII, XIV.

<sup>38</sup> Eg. "good servants and muleteers" for a research expedition; cf. *Favores Celestiales*, II. / 2. / I.

<sup>39</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, II. / 2. / I.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. note 30: *ibid.*, Tomo II, chapters XIII, XXIV, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII.

<sup>41</sup> According to Nentuig, the word *león*, or, in the Opata language, *naidoguat*, does not mean a lion or, let alone, a leopard as some have wrongly assumed. "It is almost as big as a one-year old calf, however, it is so vile and without courage that not only it does not offer resistance but cries and moans when persecuted by men. It is, nevertheless, big and strong enough to cause damage and kill livestock..." Cf. *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 53.

<sup>42</sup> The meaning of this word could not be found, however, it probably denotes beasts of burden (mules?) intended for work in the mountains (sierra).

<sup>43</sup> "House" (*Casa*) means the missionaries residence; the same refers to "household needs" (*el gasto de Casa*).

irrigation arising from the lack of water, making sowing impossible on otherwise excellent fields.

The other reason preventing all fields from being sown was the shortage of manpower. In a few years many people died, especially in Cucurpe, from diseases that, according to Kappus, were caused by an unhealthy marshland climate. In a letter to his friend in Ljubljana, Joannes Gregorius Thalnitscher, written in Cucurpe on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1691, Kappus complained about fever which he had to endure every year, especially in the Autumn. Apart from this, he had bouts of tertian fever which could last for months and rendered him bed-bound.<sup>45</sup> This must have been an enormous strain on a young missionary who, as a *padre*, had so many pressing obligations and responsibilities. He did, however, comfort himself with a philosophical interpretation, that "these are, indeed, the legitimate royalties of this changeable life." Kappus' successor in Sonora, Jesuit Juan Nentuig believed, on the contrary, that the diseases were caused by contaminated water, rather than by unhealthy climate or air.<sup>46</sup>

Kappus does not specify what caused the death of so many people in Tuape in 1690. Smallpox was especially fatal for the Indians who were also dying of fever and malaria. Kappus mentions two of such victims in his letter to Kino from 4<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> October 1705.<sup>47</sup> Nentuig, in his chronicle, lists as many as 57 different diseases as well as 134 species of plants, 5 species of animals and 6 types of minerals that can be used in medical treatment. With regards to smallpox, he writes that, fortunately, it only rarely occurs, and that the people consider the Seri arrow and the Apache spear as the most lethal epidemics.<sup>48</sup>

It is difficult to establish with accuracy to what extent the Indian population was affected by diseases. In the Northwest, numbers dropped greatly in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries - according to some estimates as much as by 94% - which was, regardless of the exact figures, a general and the most negative consequence of the Spanish conquest. According to the data in the literature (Carl Sauer, 1935), in Sonora at the time of the first contact with the Spanish, there were around 60,000 Opata (that is 1.5 inhabitants per square kilometre), 5,000 Seri, 30,000 Pima Alto, 25,000 Pima Bajo, 35,000 Yaqui and 25,000 Mayo Indians. "According to present-day estimations" there were around 30,000 Indians living in the region which Kino chose for his missionary activity and "comprised approximately a quarter of to-days Sonora/Mexico and a quarter of to-days Arizona".<sup>49</sup> Kino states in his chronicle that there were some 17,000 Pima Indians at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup> Another source, however, states that there were 6,902 Indians in the missions in Sonora (the data by Alegre, 1959). During the 17<sup>th</sup> century the numbers

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<sup>44</sup> Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), p. 55.

<sup>45</sup> Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America V, *Acta Neophilologica* XXIII (1990), p. 36.

<sup>46</sup> *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 47.

<sup>47</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, IV. / 2. / IX.

<sup>48</sup> *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 46.

<sup>49</sup> Albrecht Classen: Padre Eusebio Kino, op. cit., p. 453.

<sup>50</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, II. / 1. / V.

of Indians who lived in the missions recovered, as a result of the evangelisation carried out by the Jesuits. But even these suffered from epidemics, and the missionary chronicles from the 17<sup>th</sup> century frequently speak of the fear that the Indians had of destructive diseases. These caused them to flee from the missions and even their own territories. The Jesuits acknowledged that epidemics were a major obstacle to evangelisation because the Indians believed that, with the missionaries, contagious diseases arrived as well.<sup>51</sup>

Little comparable data was available to us on the population of Sonora at that time. According to one source (Alegre, 1959) in 1672 there were 130 people in Cucurpe, 270 in Tuape and 200 in Opodepe. According to another (John Francis Bannon, 1939), however, there were 120 families (329 people) in Cucurpe, 106 families (340 people) in Tuape, and 95 families (320 people) in Opodepe, in 1678.<sup>52</sup> As we can see, in his letter to Kino from 1690, Kappus quotes 258 persons in Cucurpe, 372 in Tuape, and 282 in Opodepe (together with Meresichi).

In this letter Kappus mentions another reason preventing people from working in the fields. Due to the "permanent seals", many are bound to work in the mines and, therefore, have insufficient time and strength for land cultivation activities. Unfortunately, the writer does not specify the number, but only says: "in numbers disproportionate to the village population". Nevertheless, the problem is a very interesting one, as it sheds light on the relationship between the Jesuits and the local colonial authorities while underlining the importance of mining in the economy of Sonora.

Being rich in ores, especially gold and silver, Sonora attracted the Spaniards very early. In the vicinity of the mines they built their settlements (*reales*), and around these, estates and farms (*haciendas* and *ranchos*) on which Indians were mainly used as the work force. In the neighbouring Tarahumara territory, those Indians who were not baptised or did not live in the missions, were forced to work as slaves in mines, while the few who had accepted Christianity (4% according to one source), had to work as hired labour.<sup>53</sup> It is known that ore was exploited in Sonora, in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In Mátape, there were two mines as well as an estate for the exploitation of mercury. There were even some black slaves who worked in the mines.<sup>54</sup> In his letter to brother Janez, dated 20<sup>th</sup> June 1699, Kappus mentioned "two large mountains of magnetic ore which is as little valued as the iron and copper ore because the Spaniards pay attention to the silver mines only".<sup>55</sup> Interesting insight into these circumstances is given in a letter of Father Basilio de Molina to the General Procurator Juan de Iturberroaga, dated Mátape, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1709. We can see that Kappus, due to reorganization of his

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51 Cf. Sergio Ortega Noriega, El sistema de misiones jesuíticas, 1591-1699, *Historia General de Sonora*, Tomo II, Hermosillo 1985, pp. 37-75.

52 Cf. Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica XIX* (1986), p. 36.

53 Cf. Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America III, *Acta Neophilologica XXI* (1988), p. 4.

54 Cf. note 52: *ibidem*.

55 Cf. Janez Stanonik, Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America IV, *Acta Neophilologica XXII* (1989), p. 48.

"colegio incohado" in Mátape, was instructed to sell black slaves, installations for smelting of silver ore, and the majority of mules.<sup>56</sup>

The plentitude of ore is illustrated by Nentuig's account from 1764, according to which there were 22 Spanish settlements along the mines (including 5 military posts) while a further 48 were abandoned, mostly as a result of the attacks by the Seri and Apache Indians.<sup>57</sup>

In Kappus' missionary area, north-east of Cucurpe, there were rich fields of gold and silver. Near Saracachi, where the Spanish lived, there was also an estate with Indians.<sup>58</sup> Opodepe too was a *real* settlement with a pertaining village of indigenes.<sup>59</sup> These were constantly exploited by the local Spanish authorities on the basis of certain documents with seals given by higher authorities in the province or sub-kingdom. This must have caused conflicts, such as the one amply described by Kino in his chronicle.

Before his departure to Sonora, Kino obtained support for the missionary work from the authorities in Guadalajara, where the seat of the *Real Audiencia* was. A royal provision guaranteed that those Indians who converted to Christianity could not be taken into forced labour under the seals for five years after their conversion.<sup>60</sup> On 14<sup>th</sup> May 1686, King Charles II issued a decree (*Real cédula*) which he sent to the vice-king of the New Spain (*Nueva Espana*), and the presidents and judges of the *Audiencias Reales* in Mexico City, Guadalajara and Guatemala, as well as to the governors of the *Nueva Vizcaya*. The decree demanded that the resettlement and converting of the pagan indigenes be carried out with as gentle and effective means as possible, and that the converts be exempt from paying taxes or serve on estates or in mines for twenty years after conversion.<sup>61</sup>

But Kino soon had to face the straight-forward resistance and mistrust by some Indians. Those from the Nuestra Señora de los Remedios settlement rejected the christianisation as well as the missionary in the year 1687.<sup>62</sup> Among other things they reproached the missionaries that watering-places got dry because of too many heads of cattle being driven up by them. The latter, according to Indians, ordered them to work and sow for churches so much that the Indians could not sow their own fields. And they deceived the Indians with false promises, even Kino who did not bring the letter or *real cédula* to protect the Indians from exploitation; otherwise he would have shown it to the Spaniards in Bacanuche... Kino proves in his chronicle that such falsehoods and rebel words were spread precisely by those Spaniards. He himself, together with *padre visitador*, showed the documents (*real*

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<sup>56</sup> Hausberger, op. cit., pp. 194-195 and note 380.

<sup>57</sup> *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 344.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. for Saracachi (*Zaracatzi*), also *El Rudo Ensayo*, paragraph 342.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 1. / V.

<sup>60</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 1. / V.: "una real provisión para que en cinco años no se sacase el trabajo con sellos naturales algunos adonde yo entrase a su conversión".

<sup>61</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 1. / II.: "... que, desde luego, se trate de su reducción y conversión por los medios más suaves y eficaces que se pueden disponer y discurrir... ofreciéndoles de mi parte a todos los que nuevamente se fueren convirtiendo que hasta pasados los primeros veinte años de su reducción no se les obligará a tributar ni a servir en haciendas o minas, por ser ésta una de las cosas porque ruegan su conversión".

<sup>62</sup> *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 1. / VI.

*provisión* and *real cédula*) to the lieutenant (*alcalde mayor*) in the Spanish settlement Real de San Juan.<sup>63</sup> Then he and the *justicias* from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores went to Bacanuche to show the documents to the officer (*teniente*) who was *capitán* Cevallos, and gradually this problem was settled.<sup>64</sup>

The events from 1687 not only illustrate the difficulties a missionary had to face in his attempts to convert the Indians and persuade them to change their old way of life, but also the fragility of the relationship between the Jesuits and the local colonial authorities. The former wanted to be as much independent as possible in their "holy experiment" so they opposed to those kinds of economic activities by the Spaniards which deducted Indians from the missions. Such exploitation was being abandoned in Sonora after the year 1697.<sup>65</sup> A similar example, regarding Kappus, is mentioned for the year 1715. Kappus as *padre visitador* tried to assume measures against cowherds of Spaniards who had been devastating the fields of Indians from Oposura and Cúcumas and against whom the missionary of these Indians Daniel Januske had been fighting for years.<sup>66</sup>

From the beginning Kino constantly endeavoured to obtain from the highest authorities the financial support for the new missionaries in Pimería, Arizona and California. In 1708, he wrote to King Philip V that some 50 missionaries were needed in the newly conquered areas. Kino himself baptised about 4,500 souls in California, and could have baptised another 12,000 or 15,000, had the baptisms not been compelled to stop due to the shortage of missionaries. It was mainly to this end that he wrote the *Favores Celestiales* chronicle, which concludes with a letter, written in 1705, by the newly appointed Jesuit General, Miguel Angel Tamburini. In his letter the General praises Kino for his achievements and points out the need of the Company to owe a special thankfulness to the "Divine Majesty" because he uses the Jesuits as instruments of his glory. Tamburini also briefly mentions *contradicciones* which prevent sending new missionaries, referring to the bad political and economic situation in Europe due to the War for Spanish Succession, and concludes: "However, we trust with great confidence in the loving Divine Providence, who, in these times of struggle, has wished to reveal to us these new peoples and so many souls who walk dispersed, outside of their flock, not that we may witness their ruin, but in order to give us the means and the strength to draw them down from their mountains and bring them into villages and churches..."<sup>67</sup>

Opata Indians no longer exist today, however, historical sources, toponyms and surnames bear witness to them. One example is to be given here: certain Concepción C. Sinohui was buried as a Christian in 1900 in the graveyard in Cucurpe (meaning in Opata: the place where the dove sang). Her surname was Opata, while her first name was Christian (English: conception). She must have been among the last of her tribe who still spoke the old language. Carl S. Lumholtz (1851-1921), the Norwegian explorer and photographer, who at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>

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63 *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 1. / III.

64 *Favores Celestiales*, I. / 1. / VI.

65 Cf. note 52, *ibid.*

66 Hausberger, *op. cit.*, p. 195 and note 381.

67 Translated from *Favores Celestiales*, V. / 4. / XVI.

century visited Sonora, quoted Dr Aleš Hrdlička (1869-1943), the American anthropologist of Czech origin, that the pure Opata language was still spoken west of the Sonora river and north of Ures, for example in Tuape.<sup>68</sup> Lumholtz also says that the Opata Indians "are now civilized. They have lost their language, religion, and traditions, dress like the Mexicans, and in appearance are in no way distinguishable from the labouring class of Mexico with which they are thoroughly merged through frequent intermarriages".<sup>69</sup> Still, in the graveyard in the Arivechi village, where Kappus spent his final missionary years, one can occasionally see a glass of water on a grave. It has been put there to quench the thirst of the deceased. A small trace of an ancient rite which the centuries after the coming of the Spanish have been unable to erase.

The author of these lines who, following the footsteps of Marcus Antonius Kappus in Sonora, visited Cucurpe, Mátape and Arivechi, uses this occasion to express his warmest thanks to his Mexican friends, especially to the families of Mr Juan de Dios Véjar Mendoza and Mrs María Cristina Véjar from Mátape (Villa Pesqueira) and their daughters Concepción, Marta, Isabel, Nereida, Marguerita and Loreto, as well as the family of Mr Alfonso, Mrs Hortensia and Noé López from Hermosillo. The author is still accompanied by their *Adiós! Que el Dios te bendiga!* - one of the indelible, permanent seals of the "Ancient World" to the country which is rooted in the tribes, by some historical coincidence called Indians.

## THE TEXT

Mi Pre. Ror. Eusebio Franco.

Kino

P. C.

He visto lo q3 manda nuestro Pre. Provincial y, á cumplir Sus Sos. ordes. de Su Ra. le remito áVra. Razon del numero de Almas destos tres Pueblos Cucurpe, Toape, y Opodepe q3 administro, y de las dos estancias pertenecientes á este Partido, Saracachi y Meresichi, y delo temporal q3 Se halla en el Partido.

El Pueblo de Cucurpe cuenta entre chicos y grandes, intelligiendo utrumq3 Sexum 258

El Pueblo de Toape 372

Pueblo de Opodepe con la estancia q3 llaman Meresichi 282

La estancia de Saracachi 54

Por todo ay Almas 966

Todos estos tres Pueblos tienen Sus manadas y en las dos Estancias ay Sinco manadas, las quales dieran notable aprouecho al Partido, Si por otra parte no matáren tantas Crias los Leones cada año. más cada Pueblo tiene Su ganado menór Cucurpe tiene 283 Cabeças:

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<sup>68</sup> C. Lumholtz: Unknown Mexico. Explorations in the Sierra Madre and Other Regions, 1890-1898, Vol. I, New York 1987, p. XIX.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

Toape 309:

Opodepe 387:

En la estancia de Saracachi ay 1285 Cabeças del ganado mayor sin las Crias deste año: Caballos mansos pa. los Vaqueros 131: Potros 41: mulas y machos de falsa rienda 16: y Serreras 22: mulas de recua 35, con 4 machos de Silla.

En la estancia de Meresichi há 219 Cabeças del ganado mayor, y 10 Caballos mansos. Todos tres Pueblos tienen Sus milpas así de trigo como de Mayz y se coge, gracias á Diós, cada año tanto bastimento q3 basta pa. el gasto de Casa y pa. los trabajos y faenas delos yndios y Siempre Sobra algo pa. comprár alguna ropa pa. los Vaqueros, Arrieros, Sabaneros, pages y otros Servientes así dela yglesia como de Casa: aunq3 las famosas milpas q3 huuo ante pocos años así en Cucurpe como Toape ya no Se pueden Sembrár por falta de agua, q3 por principios de Abril Se Seca y no se puede hechár la assequia: tan poco, aunq3 huuiere agua, Se pudiesen Sembrár por falta de gente, q3 en pocos años Se murió muchisima, particularmte. en Cucurpe q3 es temple muy enemigo á la Salud, Quisá por una laguna grande q3 está á baxo del Pueblo; tan bien en Toape morieron este año muchos, y por Solo el mes de Setiembre y Ottubre enterramos 29 del dicho Pueblo: y fuera deso ay los eternos Sellos con q3 Se Sacan los yndios al trabajo delas minas delos Reales y con numero excessivo á la proporcion delos pueblos, y Sucede no solo q3 apenas descansan estos pobres, sino q3 muchos dellos pierden varias vezes sus Siembras de Mayz porq3 no Se les da Sosiego en ninguna parte del año. No. Sor. lo remedie y me gde. áVRa. en cuyos Ssos. Sacrfos: y oraciones muy humildte. me encomiendo. Cucurpe y Noviembre 25 de 90 a.

mor. Siervo y Subdito de VRa.

Marcos Anto. Kappus.

## TRANSLATION

My Father Rector Eusebio Francisco Kino

Peace in Christ!

In consideration of our Father Provincial's mandate and observing His Reverence's holy orders, I hereby submit to Your Reverence the information on the number of souls in the three villages administered by me, namely Cucurpe, Toape and Opodepe, and in the two estates which pertain to this district, namely Saracachi and Meresichi, as well as on the property situated in the district. Cucurpe village, considering children and adults of both sexes, counts 258 souls.

Toape village 372.

Opodepe village with the pertaining estate called Meresichi 282.

Saracachi estate 54.

966 souls in total.

All three villages have their own herds and on both estates there are five herds which would be of great benefit were many of the young not killed by *leones* every year. Moreover, each village has its small cattle.

Cucurpe has 283 heads,

Toape 309,

Opodepe 387.

On the Saracachi estate there are 1285 heads of cattle, excluding this year's offspring, 131 domesticated horses for the cowherd, 41 stallions, 16 bridled mules and hinnies and 22 *serreras*. 35 harnessed mules with 4 riding hinnies. On the Meresichi estate there are 219 heads of cattle and 10 domesticated horses. All three villages have their own wheat and corn fields, and, thanks be to God, every year a sufficient crop is harvested to cover the household needs and pay labour and hired Indian labour, and there are always some crops left over for the purchase of some clothing for the cowherd, muleteers, cattlemen, attendants and others who serve both in the church and in the house. Nevertheless, on the fine fields - as they used to be just a few years ago in both Cucurpe and Toape - sowing is no longer possible due to the shortage of water which dries up at the beginning of April, making irrigation impossible; and more so, even if there was water, sowing would not be feasible for the lack of people, many of whom died in recent years, especially in Cucurpe where the climate is very hostile to health, probably as a consequence of a vast swamp lying at the foot of the village; in Toape, as well, many villagers died this year, and in the months of September and October alone we buried 29 people from the above village. Besides, there are permanent seals under which the Indians are taken to work in the mines of the *Reales*, in numbers disproportionate to the village population. It happens that these unfortunates not only hardly have time for rest, but many of them often miss the season for sowing corn, as they are not granted rest in any part of the year. May Our Lord help in this matter, and may He protect Your Reverence, to whose holiest mass offerings and prayers I most humbly commend myself. Cucurpe, 25<sup>th</sup> November, year (16)90.

Your Reverence's humble servant and subject, Marcos Antonio Kappus

## ANTON FÜSTER – A SLOVENE FORTY-EIGHTER

Janez Stanonik

Anton Fuster, originally by profession a Catholic priest and a leading figure in the Vienna Revolution of 1848/49, lived the early part of his life – from 1808 till 1847 – in his native Slovenia. A few months before the outbreak of the revolution he was nominated Professor at Vienna University. After the suppression of the revolution in spring 1849 he emigrated by way of Germany and London to the United States. After the first three years in Boston he lived in New York until his return to Austria in 1876. He died in Vienna in 1881.

## I.

In recent – mostly Slovene – researches on Anton Fuster, his family name can be found written in two variants: Fuster or Fister. The form Fuster was used by Anton Fuster himself, and this is the form which we use in our present study. This family name is at present still common in northwestern Slovenia, in the region of Upper Carniola (Gorenjska) where Anton Fuster was born. Yet the present bearers of this name sign themselves as Fister. Therefore in some recent Slovene researches also Anton Fuster's name has been changed to Fister. The family name Fister or Fuster is most likely a germanized form of the Slovene family name Bister, known from southern Carinthia. In Slovene the adjective "bister" signifies "clever", "bright". In the German-Slovene linguistic contact zone the initial Slovene consonant "b" is frequently replaced by the consonant "f" in the German equivalents.<sup>1</sup>

The basic sources for Fuster's biography are – besides newspaper reports which covered his activity during the Vienna Revolution, and the memoirs of his contemporaries – Fuster's own published works, especially his autobiographic account of the Vienna Revolution,<sup>2/</sup> and a collection of his manuscripts now deposited in the Vienna Town Hall on the Ring (Vienna Town Archives). Two of these manuscripts speak of his life in America and of his return to Austria: *Memoiren, 28 Jahre in der Verbannung* (247 pages, plus appendix 108 pages)

<sup>1</sup> Thus especially in the toponymy of Carinthia and Slovenia, cf.: Slovene Bistrica, German Feistritz; Slovene Breže, German Friesach; Slovene Borovlje, German Ferlach; Slovene Bled, German Veldes.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoiren vom Marz 1848 bis Juli 1849. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wiener Revolution.* Von Dr. Anton Fuster, österr. Professor, Feldkaplan der Wiener Legionäre, Mitglied des aufgelösten österr. Reichstags. Band I-II, Frankfurt am Main. Literarische Anstalt, J. Rütten, 1850.

Füster wrote in America and concluded in Graz during his first year in Austria. The second manuscript *Drei Jahre in der Heimath Österreich nach 28 Jahren Abwesenheit in England und in Amerika verlebt* (414 pages) Füster wrote during the last years of his life in Vienna. Both texts are written in German handwriting (Fraktur) and are not easy to decipher.<sup>3</sup> Preserved as a manuscript are also lectures he had prepared for the German community in Boston and New York and a larger work on education (*Erziehung im Geiste der Freiheit*). Some of these manuscript materials have now begun to appear in print in Slovene translations.<sup>4</sup>

In German scholarly researches Füster has an important place in extensive literature on the Vienna Revolution of 1848/49. German studies dedicated exclusively to him are, however, few and deal only with his revolutionary activity in Vienna.<sup>5</sup>

In Slovenia the early researches were interested primarily in Füster's attitude to the Slovene national question and his links with the leading Slovene cultural figures of the first half of the XIX. century (Matija Čop, France Prešeren). Representative of this early stage of Füster research in Slovenia is the article by France Kidrič in the *Slovene Biographical Lexicon*.<sup>6</sup> Important Slovene renewal of interest in Anton Füster began in 1970 with the monograph by Marjan Britovšek on *Anton Füster and the Revolution of 1848 in Austria*<sup>7</sup> which examines above all Füster's activity during the Vienna Revolution of 1848/49, yet at the same time it covers also Füster's early life in Slovenia, and the time of his emigration in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. Various aspects of Füster's life and work were discussed also at the symposium on Anton Füster in March 1979 in Füster's birthplace Radovljica. The papers read there were published as a separate volume.<sup>8</sup> At that meeting I read a paper on Füster's life in America.<sup>9</sup> Most recently a large program was started by the Faculty of Philosophy of Ljubljana University to (re)- publish in Slovene translation all major works of Füster. So far three volumes have appeared in press, all equipped with long introductions. Volume I (Ljubljana 1987) brings Füster's memoirs of the revolution of 1848 and 1849; volume II (Ljubljana 1989) the text of the manuscript Füster wrote in America on the *Education in the Spirit of Freedom* (*Erziehung im Geiste der Freiheit*) and volume III, again from the manuscript, the text of his lectures he had read to his

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<sup>3</sup> In the present study I refer in quotations to these two manuscripts using the abbreviation M for *Memorien*, 28 Jahre in der Verbannung, Ma for *Memoiren – Anhang*, und Oe for *Drei Jahre in der Heimath Österreich*.

<sup>4</sup> See below note 10.

<sup>5</sup> E. Leisching: *Denkschrift aus Anlass der Enthüllung des Grab-Monuments für weil. Prof. Dr. Anton Füster, gewesener Feldcaplan der akademischen Legion im Jahre 1848*. Im Auftrage des Denkmal-Comité. Wien 1892.

<sup>6</sup> P. Molisch: *Anton Füster als Politiker und politischer Schriftsteller*, Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien. Band V, Wien 1925.

<sup>7</sup> *Slovenski biografski leksikon*, vol. I, Ljubljana 1925-1932, published by Gospodarska banka. See p. 192-193 (Füster Anton).

<sup>8</sup> Marjan Britovek: *Anton Füster in revolucija 1848 v Avstriji* (Anton Füster und die Revolution 1848 in Oesterreich), Maribor, Založba Obzorja 1970, 425 pp.

<sup>9</sup> *Dr. Anton Fister v revoluciji 1848* (Dr. Anton Fister in der Revolution 1848), edited by Marjan Britovšek, Maribor, Založba Obzorja 1980, 145 pp.

<sup>10</sup> Janez Stanonik: *Anton Fister v Ameriki* (Anton Fister in America), ib. pp. 106-119.

German audiences in Boston and New York.<sup>10</sup> Volume IV, which is planned for publication in 1998, will bring from the manuscript the text of his memoirs of his life in America and of his return to Austria.

## II.

Anton Fuster was born at Radovljica, a small town north of Ljubljana and close to the Austrian border, on 5. January 1808. On his father's side the family can be traced back in Radovljica till the beginning of the XVII. century. According to Fuster's own statement his parents were of "Slavic Carniolan origin" (I.s. III, 130). At home they spoke Slovene, and Slovene was the first language he knew (M 222).

From his early youth he kept in his memory the beauty of the Alpine scenery of the countryside below the Triglav, "the most beautiful mountain he had ever seen" (I.s. II, 45), and its peasants, the only ones he knew who could with their intelligence be compared with the Americann Yankees (MA 11). Deep impression have made on his memory also the political events he had witnessed during his earliest youth. This was the time of Napoleonic wars which profoundly changed the course of Slovene political history when the state of Illyrian Provinces was created under the French protectorate (1809-1813), with Ljubljana as its Capital. As Fuster himself states "over his cradle the flag of Tricolor, the symbol of the liberation of peoples, was waving in his home-country Illyria" (I.s. I, 117). From his age of four he remembered "the French cavalry, horses pulling French artillery, and the remote echoes of the thunder of heavy guns" (I.s. III, 111).

Fuster began to attend school after the restoration of Austrian government in Slovenia. With this restoration began the oppressive period of Metternich's police regime, the time of a suffocating press censorship and of spiritual stagnation. During the twenties also the time of a deep economic crisis. Fuster attended the common (primary) school first at Kranj, and then at Ljubljana. From 1820 to 1826 he continued his schooling at the Ljubljana secondary school which he completed with the last semester at Karlovac in Croatia. In 1827 he entered the Ljubljana Lyceum for the two year course called philosophy which he continued from 1829 till 1832 with the study of theology. He was consecrated Catholic priest on 26. July 1832 in spite of the fact that he was – according to the statement of one of his contemporaries – already at that time a religious sceptic. During the years 1832 and 1833 he worked as assistant religious instructor (catechist) at the Ljubljana secondary school and 1833 till 1835 at the cathedral as chaplain and preacher for the German community in the town of Ljubljana.

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<sup>10</sup> Anton Fuster: *Izbrani spisi* (Selected Writings), published by Arhiv SR Slovenije and Znanstveni Institut Filozofske fakultete. Editing House Državna založba Slovenije. Vol. I: *Spomini od marca 1848 do poletja 1849* (Memoirs from March 1848 till Summer 1849), translated by Dušan Ludvik, Ljubljana 1987. – Vol. II: *Vzgoja v duhu svobode* (The Education in the Spirit of Freedom), translated by Frane Jerman, Ljubljana 1989. – Vol. III *Govori o religiji* (The Speeches on Religion), translated by Frane Jerman, Ljubljana 1992.

In the present study I quote from this edition, using the abbreviation I.s. = *Izbrani spisi* = Selected Writings, referring to its volume and page.

Füster's life in Ljubljana was of fundamental importance for his spiritual growth and for the formation of his political views. Füster later stated that during the Revolution of 1848 he was led by the ideas which he had all acquired during his stay in Ljubljana (I.s., I, 101). Still little is known about his personal contacts during his Ljubljana years. Füster was a person with pleasant manners and attractive appearance; although sociable he is nevertheless not known to have established deeper links with any Ljubljana circle, apparently not even with individual priests, his professional colleagues. Ideologically he seems to have stood from his early youth under the influence of the European Enlightenment and of the ideas of the French Revolution. He was acquainted with Matija Čop, a leading Slovene literary critic of his time, and France Prešeren, the poet. Both Čop and Prešeren came from the surroundings of Radovljica, Füster's birthplace. Both were impressed by the poetry of Byron, yet while Čop possessed in his library the poetry of Shelley, Prešeren owned the work of Thomas Paine, the American revolutionary. Füster as priest for the Ljubljana German community had certainly had through this community also the possibility to become acquainted with such of its members who were in their political views more or less liberal.

Typical of Füster's early political orientation is his conviction that it was a misfortune for Austria that the enlightened reforms of Joseph II (emperor 1780-1790) were not able to strike deeper roots (Oe 16, 206). He considered the French Revolution "the most glorious of all revolutions because it had for ever swept away the Middle Ages from France" (Oe 199, 230, 309, 328, 384). Certainly in Ljubljana he already began to detest the oppressive political system of the Metternich regime. As regards the national question, however, he increasingly equated his national identity with the German orientation of his intellectual upbringing and outlook.

In Ljubljana Füster devoted much of his time to the study and reading. He paid scholarly attention to the study of rhetoric and pedagogics. Most likely he had read already at Ljubljana the authors which he later quotes in his works. The selection of these authors shows his interest in history and political philosophy, as well as in pure literature. Among the French authors he refers to Montesquieu (M 181), Voltaire (Oe 294, 358, 382, M 58), French Encyclopedists (Oe 382, M 196), Rousseau (Oe 11, MA 11), and Proudhon (MA 11). Among German authors he speaks of Goethe, whom he calls divine (Oe 294, 358, M 91), Schiller (Oe 294), Jean Paul Richter (Oe 293, 365, M 107), and Heine (Oe 72). According to his own statement he had studied the philosophy of Hegel for thirty years (M 216). Nevertheless he was not uncritical of Hegel as an apologist of the Prussian state (Oe 332). Füster had also paid attention to Kant's religious and moral philosophy (M 61), to Schelling, and Feuerbach.

In Ljubljana Füster began to follow the politically oriented and therefore by police prosecuted Pre-March Literature which criticized the political conditions in Europe, especially in Austria and Germany, under the Metternich regime before the revolution of March 1848. Impressed by the poetry of the volume *Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten*, one of the most important texts of this literary movement which Anton Alexander Count Auersperg, better known under the pen name Anastasius Grün, had published in 1831 anonymously in Hamburg, Füster quoted in one of his

Ljubljana sermons verses from the poem *Unsere Zeit* which had appeared in that collection. Fuster was because denounced to the bishop of Ljubljana Anton Alois Wolf and reprimanded by him "under four eyes". It is not known whether Fuster was personally acquainted with Anton Alexander Count Auersperg / Anastasius Grün who as a member of the highest Austrian aristocracy lived on his feudal estate at Turn (in German: Thurn am Hart) near the town of Krško in southeastern Slovenia and occasionally came to Ljubljana where he owned a house and was since the early thirties even a member of the Carniolan County Diet. After the revolution of 1848 Anton Alexander Count Auersperg / Anastasius Grün turned a liberal conservative.

In November 1835 Fuster was transferred to Trieste where he worked till the end of March 1839 as a priest, again for the German community. Trieste disappointed him: he found the town lagging behind Ljubljana in general culture and in politics (I.s. I, 126). He disliked Trieste Germans because of their servility to Vienna. In Trieste, however, Fuster found contacts with the underground movement *Giovine Italia* which fought for the liberation and unification of their country.

Even worse spiritual stagnation Fuster met at Gorica (in Italian: Gorizia) where he worked from April 1839 till September 1847 as Professor of dogmatics and general pedagogics at the Theological School of the bishopric of Gorica. In Gorica he continued with his philosophical studies. On 31. October 1843 he was awarded at the University of Vienna the doctorate in philosophy. Details about this doctorate are not known. In Gorica Fuster's most interesting personal contact was with Valentin Stanič (1774-1847) who worked here since 1819 as school inspector. Stanič was an exceptional personality: a Catholic priest, a Slovene poet, a pioneer of European alpinism, and a humanitarian. In 1840 he founded in Gorica a school for the deaf and dumb children to which he devoted much of his time; and in 1845 the society for the prevention of cruelty to domestic animals, the first society of this kind in the Austrian Monarchy. Under the influence of Stanič Fuster wrote the booklet *Der Verein wider Thierquälerei* with which he propagated the creation of such societies for the protection of animals.<sup>11</sup>

With 26. June 1847 Fuster was appointed Professor of Vienna University, nine months before the outbreak of March Revolution. As professor he gave lectures on religious instruction and on pedagogics. As university professor he wrote the book *Mentor des studirenden Jünglings* which, however, came out of press only after the outbreak of revolution.<sup>12</sup> The book was written as a guide for university students, instructing them how to develop through self-education into harmonious personalities, healthy in body and mind, morally firm, independent in critical judgements, and well informed. The work reflects the state of pedagogics in the middle of the XIX. century, and shows that Fuster was well read in the

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<sup>11</sup> *Der Verein wider Thierquälerei*. Von Anton Fuster, Weltpriester, Doctor der Philosophie, k.k.o.ö., Professor der Religionswissenschaft und der allg. Erziehungskunde, Mitglied der k.k. Ackerbaugesellschaft zu Görz, Hgg. durch den Görzer Verein wider Thierquälerei. Wien 1846.

<sup>12</sup> *Mentor des studirenden Jünglings. Anleitung zur Selbstbildung*. Von Dr. Anton Fuster, k.k. Professor der Religionswissenschaft und der allg. Erziehungskunde an der Hochschule zu Wien, Feldkaplan der Akademischen Legion. Wien 1848. Wilhelm Braumüller, k.k. Hofbuchhändler.

traditional and contemporary literature on education. It discusses the increasing importance of natural sciences in modern education and, as a consequence of this, the replacement of Latin with living languages in school instruction.

### III.

In the Vienna Revolution of 1848 the people demanded the end of the absolutist rule of the emperor and of the Metternich police regime and their replacement with the constitutional monarchy and with the democratically elected parliament. Fuster played in this revolution a very important role. Just before the outbreak of the revolution he was preacher to the university students. On 12. March 1848 he demanded in his sermon from the congregated students courage in their struggle for truth which must be victorious. This sermon marks the beginning of the revolution. The following day the street fighting began. The students organized themselves in the Academic Legion which, together with the National Guard formed by the citizens of Vienna, occupied the central part of the town. At the same time the workers took control of its industrial suburbs. On the same day, March 13, Metternich abdicated and fled into exile. On March 15. the emperor gave freedom to the press and promised the constitution. The constitution was finally promulgated on April 25. It foresaw the creation of a parliament consisting of two houses: the Upper House would be formed of the members of the dynasty and of the representatives of large landowners while the Lower House would consist of the members of parliament chosen by electors divided into property classes. The workers were not given the right to participate in elections even as voters. The emperor reserved for himself control over the legislative, executive, and jurisdictional authorities. Naturally enough the people found the proposed text of the constitution unacceptable and rejected it. On May 15. street riots started again. The emperor Ferdinand I. fled in the night from 17. to 18. May from Vienna to Innsbruck.

At the outbreak of the revolution Fuster at once joined the Academic Legion as its chaplain. He remained in contact with the leaders of the Academic Legion throughout the revolution, in the moments of crisis he even took occasionally its command into his own hands. During the early part of the revolution Fuster held important public speeches before the masses assembled in the streets. With these speeches Fuster greatly influenced the course of the revolution. The texts of these speeches were published in contemporary Vienna newspapers. So far, unfortunately, they have not yet been made available in a modern reprint. Fuster was also repeatedly acting as member of delegations which represented the demands of the people before the state authorities. During the first months of the revolution he had in Vienna contacts also with individual Slovenes. When he saw, however, that the revolution in Slovenia was led by conservatives who acted as tools of the Habsburg dynasty, he discontinued these contacts.

In July 1848 elections took place for the Constitutional Assembly. Fuster was elected member of parliament in the Mariahilf District, a part of Vienna just west of the central sector of the town. As a member of parliament he was active in several of its organs. In the parliament he made three important speeches: On 29. July he spoke against the proposal that the parliament should ask the emperor to return

from Innsbruck to Vienna. On 13. September he protested against the thanks expressed by the parliament to the Austrian army and to the field marshal Radetzky for their victory over the Italians in the battle of Custoza (25. July 1848). And on 5. October he spoke for the equality of rights of the Jewish community in Austria and for the abolition of special taxes to which members of this community had been subjected.

On 12. August the emperor and his court, at the invitation of the parliament, returned from Innsbruck to Vienna. Immediately after their return they intensified their subversive activity to destroy the revolution. At the same time the Vienna government, representing the interests of the court, exerted pressure on Hungary and declared invalid the promises of important political freedoms which the court had given to the Hungarians at the outbreak of the revolution, at the time of the deepest crisis of the imperial government, maintaining now, in the autumn, that these promises had been made under pressure. This violation of promises of the Austrian government led to disturbances in Hungary. Because of them the Austrian government finally declared war against the Hungarians and placed the general Joseph Jelačić, Banus of Croatia, into the command of government troops in Hungary. The war in Hungary led also to the renewal of street fighting in Vienna. In these fights the government troops in the capital were defeated, and the emperor and his court were again forced to flee, on 7. October, from Vienna, this time to Olomouc in Moravia. There the old emperor Ferdinand I abdicated on 2. December. The crown was handed over to Francis Joseph, the nephew of Ferdinand. The beginning of the rule of Francis Joseph was marked by extreme conservatism. After the flight of the emperor Ferdinand to Olomouc, the parliament formed its own organ, called "Permanence" to master the situation in this critical moment. Füstner was elected one of its members. End of October the army, under the command of field marshal Alfred Prince Windisch-Grätz, started from Hungary an offensive against Vienna. They conquered the burning town after heavy street fighting.

After the fall of Vienna Füstner endeavoured to escape to Slovenia, but on the railway he was arrested and put into prison. From the prison he was freed as member of parliament on the demand of the president of the parliament. From Vienna Füstner went to Kroměříž in Moravia where the parliament had reconvened after the defeat of the revolution in Vienna. In Kroměříž the parliament continued with its work in spite of the fact that it had lost control over the events in the country. While in Kroměříž, Füstner's electors in Vienna, under the pressure of the Court, declared his parliamentary seat void. At the same time the bishopric of Vienna prohibited him to continue to work as a Catholic priest. He lost also his employment as a university professor.

On 7. March 1849 the parliament in Kroměříž was dissolved by the emperor and the army entered the town. Füstner, who sensed in advance the danger, escaped the arrest by fleeing early in the morning in a peasant carriage by way of Šternberk to Prussia. He crossed the border illegally with the aid of an acquaintance. The Austrian government sent a police agent after him to arrest him. The agent reached Füstner at Ratibor in Prussia and demanded from the Prussian authorities Füstner's extradition. The arrest of Füstner was observed by the local people who during the night helped Füstner to escape from the prison and to flee in a carriage by way of

Breslau (Wrocław) and along the snow covered mountain roads to Bautzen in Saxony. In the middle of March he came to Leipzig where he hoped to stay for a while. Nevertheless, in the beginning of May the political troubles in Saxony forced him to leave Saxony. He went to Hamburg which was in that time an independent republic. In Hamburg he was advised by local authorities to leave the town as soon as possible. In the middle of July he came to London where he was in touch with the German Workingmen's Educational Association. He had also contacts with Karl Marx with whom he signed an appeal for the help for German political emigrants.

In Leipzig Füster wrote the pamphlet *Hirtenbrief an die Wiener akademische Legion*. The pamphlet was published in Mannheim in 1849.<sup>13</sup> In it Füster stated that he was proud to have had the possibility to participate actively in the Vienna Revolution and that he was – because of this participation – condemned by the Vienna court as guilty of high treason. In Leipzig he also began to write his memoirs of the Vienna Revolution, *Memoiren von März 1848 bis Juli 1849*. He completed the work in Hamburg and published it in Frankfurt in 1850.<sup>14</sup> The work is now available also in Slovene translation (see above, note 10). He wrote his memoirs when no published texts connected with the history of the Vienna Revolution were available to him for consultation, and so he had to depend merely on his own memory. In the introductory part the book describes the political situation in Austria during the last years of the Metternich regime. The central part covers the events from the outbreak of the revolution till its final collapse with the occupation of Kroměříž by the Austrian army. The book speaks above all of Füster's own activity during the revolution, of the actions of the Academic Legion and of the National Guard, and of the life at the university during the revolutionary months. The last pages speak of Füster's dramatic escape from Kroměříž to Saxony after the final suppression of the revolution by the Austrian army. In the book Füster tries to find the reasons for the failure of the Vienna Revolution. The book represents a major contribution to the historiography of the Vienna Revolution.

#### IV.

After a three month residence in London Füster left England for the United States. On 19. November 1849 he arrived in Boston with the ship *Pulasky*. He was then 41 years old. In America he remained 27 years, until his return to Europe. The first three years he lived in Boston where he was supported by its German community.

Füster's residence in Boston is the more interesting part of his life in America. He calls Boston the American Athens (Oe 25, M 61, M 70) because of its exceptional role in the cultural life of America. Füster's main contact in Boston was with the German *Turnverein* and its members. Füster took an active part in the life

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<sup>13</sup> *Hirtenbrief an die Wiener akademische Legion und ihre Freunde*. Von ihrem Feldpater. Mannheim 1849.

<sup>14</sup> *Memoiren vom März 1848 bis Juli 1849. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wiener Revolution*. Von Dr. Anton Füster, österr. Professor, Feldkaplan der Wiener Legionäre, Mitglied des aufgelösten österr. Reichstags. Band I – II. Frankfurt am Main. Literarische Anstalt, J. Rütten, 1850.

of *Turnverein* whose activity was not limited to sports only: it had also its own social gatherings and educational programs. Besides Germans we find among Fuster's Boston acquaintances several prominent Americans. The most important was Theodore Parker whom Fuster calls his best American friend (M54). At his house Fuster felt like at home (M 54). Fuster saw in Theodore Parker a great speaker and humanitarian and an acute philosophical mind (M 54, M 185, M 89, M 169). As propagator of the abolition of slavery Parker influenced Fuster's political views.

Fuster was also frequent guest at the home of Samuel Gridley Howe who, – after his studies at Harvard – joined the Greeks in their struggle for liberty. In Fuster's time Howe directed in Boston a school for blind children. Fuster instructed Howe's two daughters German, reading with them Schiller's play *Wilhelm Tell*. According to Fuster, Howe's wife too, spoke good Italian and German. – Fuster calls his good friend also the physician Henry Austin Martin, American pioneer in the usage of vaccination for medical purposes. At Harvard Fuster knew the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and the classical scholar Charles Folsom. It is possible that Fuster became acquainted with Longfellow and Howe in his search – unsuccessful – for a permanent employment: with his knowledge of German language and literature he could be interesting to Longfellow as head of the Harvard University Department of Modern Languages. From Gorica in Slovenia Fuster had also brought some experience with Valentin Stanič's school for the deaf and dumb children which could have been useful in Howe's school for the blind youth.

In Boston Fuster began to write lectures which he first read to the Boston *Turnverein* educational gatherings. He continued to write such lectures also later in New York, some even after his return to Europe. These lectures are preserved in Fuster's own handwriting under the title *Reden über Religion*. They have been made available in print only recently in Slovene translation (see above note 10). The manuscript contains altogether 42 lectures: the first seventeen lectures were written in Boston, the lectures 18 to 30 in New York, and the rest in Graz.<sup>15</sup> In them Fuster discussed problems connected with religion, education, and society. He believed that the contemporary world has reached in its development a turning point, similar to the time of the collapse of antiquity. The old religions based on revelation would be replaced by a new religion based on reason, philosophy (*Vernunftreligion*). In the lectures on education he stressed the necessity to help the youth in their aspiration to perfection. In the field of social problems he expressed the view that the present outdated social institutions must be replaced by those better adapted to the needs of modern man.

After two years in Boston Fuster ran into economic crisis. Invited by New York Germans he therefore moved in May 1853 to New York. Here he joined first the circle of emigrants from the Vienna Revolution (M 69). For years he worked as public speaker at the anniversaries of the Vienna Revolution. The first year he lived at the inn *Zum Wiener Legionär* whose owner was Franz Wutschel. The following

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<sup>15</sup> Marjan Britovek: *Anton Fuster in revolucija 1848 v Avstriji*, Maribor, Zaloba Obzorja, 1970. Cf. p. 391-392.

year he moved to the family Rufner with whom he remained the rest of his life in New York. Initially he earned his living as private instructor and as teacher at the Sunday School for German children which he himself had helped to create. From about 1856 to 1860 he taught at the Free German School where he was in contact with Gustav Struve and with the Hungarian architect Wehle. The school was located in Hamann's Theatre in Bowery. During the subsequent sixteen years he taught German and French at three public schools in the tenth district of New York. He calls these sixteen years the happiest years in his life.

In New York Fuster does not seem to have had any personal contacts with important representatives of American culture, as he had had in Boston. His acquaintances were limited above all to the circles of political emigrants from Germany, Austria, Poland, and Italy. During his whole stay in America he had met only two Slovenes: one was a merchant in New York, and the other was Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar, in American cultural history known as an unusual social and religious reformer.<sup>16</sup> The lack of Slovene acquaintances in America was due to the political situation in Slovenia during the first half of the XIX. century when the possibility to go to America as an economic emigrant was completely suppressed by the Metternich regime. The only Slovenes who could come to America during this period were the Catholic priests (Frederick Baraga, Francis Pierz) whom Austrian authorities had sent to America to work there as missionaries among American Indians.

During his stay in Boston and New York Fuster paid much attention to the reading of American literature (MA 92 ff). In his evaluations of American authors Fuster was surprisingly independent and close to our own modern views. Among narrators he mentions Benjamin Franklin, Washington Irving – whose gracious style he admired –, and James Fenimore Cooper. According to Fuster, Cooper's works reflected best the American reality. Among poets he admired above all William Cullen Bryant. He was critical of the poetry of Edgar Allan Poe whom he considered a torn mind (*ein zerrissenes Gemüth*). Neither did he share the contemporary enthusiasm for the poetry of Longfellow. Among historiographers he knew the work of George Bancroft, William Hickling Prescott, and Francis Parkman, among educators Edward Everett. As a student of rhetorics Fuster paid attention also to the contemporary American public speeches. In Fuster's view the speeches of Samuel Webster did not rise above the standard Yankee notions. The best American speeches Fuster knew were the speech of Theodore Parker on the death of Daniel Webster, and the speech of Henry Beecher after the fall of Fort Sumter. The latter Fuster considered one of the best speeches in the whole history of humanity.

Fuster was critical of the American system of foreign language teaching at schools because it neglected too much the study of grammar. He found insufficient also the American study of history, philosophy, and the esthetic education. The youth reads only illustrated reviews and criminal novels. In America Fuster was rarely able to meet a person with whom he could discuss the philosophy of Kant or Hegel (M 61, 70, 85).

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<sup>16</sup> Janez Stanonik: Longfellow and Smolnikar, *Acta Neophilologica* I (1968), 3-40.

Füster considered the Puritans the main bearers of republican thought in America (Oe 258). He admired the Yankees because of their intelligence, modesty, sobriety, will to work, independence in judgement, and at the same time because of their readiness to support financially public institutions. He stressed the ability of Americans to change in a short time a wilderness into civilized surroundings.

Füster was an ardent supporter of the movement for the abolition of slavery and admirer of Lincoln. When Lincoln was killed Füster hanged Lincoln's portrait on the wall of his room. Under it he wrote: *Monumentum exigisti sibi aere perennium servos liberando* (You have erected a more lasting monument than of a metal freeing the slaves, Oe 14). Füster could not understand that several European revolutionaries, now immigrants in America, were willing to abet the slaveholders.

In New York Füster continued with his writing. The aims of education Füster discussed in the work *Erziehung im Geiste der Freiheit*. Preserved as a manuscript, the text was first published in 1989 in Slovene translation (see above note 10). This is a new treatment of the problem which Füster had touched upon already as Vienna University professor (*Mentor des studirenden Jünglings*). With it he gives advices to young people how to develop into harmonious personalities, healthy in body and mind. It instructs how to develop the powers of understanding and reason, person's emotional responses, and his will. He speaks also of their treatment when ill. Examples for the elucidation of problems discussed are taken also from the life in America. The work reveals the great importance of Rousseau and Kant for the formation of Füster's views.

Into the final years of Füster's life in America belongs his manuscript *Memoiren, 28 Jahre in der Verbannung*. Füster concluded it after his return to Austria. The work has been planned for its first publication in Slovene translation in 1998. The work – Füster's American autobiography – is important as the only major source which helps us reconstruct Füster's American biography. The information, however, which it gives is humble and poorly arranged. It disappoints also as a portrayal of the contemporary cultural life in America, especially in Boston. From an intellectual author like Füster one could expect a more rewarding reading. Nowhere in this work a new important revealing information can be found. Its typical feature are frequent, emotionally coloured complaints over his own destiny that he must live the life of a political emigrant in America under difficult and uncertain economic conditions.

## V.

Füster lived the last year of his stay in America the wretched life of a solitary old man, unemployed, without financial means, whose existence depended on the charity of his acquaintances. During this crisis Füster was helped financially by Hans Kudlich and Joseph Goldmark, two important figures in the Vienna Revolution who after their emigration to the United States both worked successfully as physicians in New York. The Austrian government had in the meantime given amnesty to all participants of the 1848 Revolution, and so Füster decided to return home. In October 1876 he came back to Austria. The first ten months he lived with his brother in Graz. In that time the newspaper *Grazer*

*Tagespost* published his American reminiscences *Skizzen über Amerika*. In July 1877 he moved to Vienna. Here he was supported by his acquaintances from the 1848 Revolution and by the German student organisations. He tried to find employment, also as teacher of English, but all doors were closed to him. From that time dates his last publication, a pamphlet with the text of his lecture on education in America which he gave at Penzing, a sector of Vienna.<sup>17</sup>

In Vienna he wrote memoirs of his life after his return to Austria *Drei Jahre in der Heimath Oesterreich nach 28 Jahren Abwesenheit in England und in Amerika verlebt*. The text of this manuscript, too, is planned for publication in Slovene translation together with his American memoirs, in 1998. Even more than his American memoirs, his Austrian memoirs are written loosely: they are full of complaints over his reception in Austria. He wished to return to America to die there and lie buried close to his American friends.

The return to America, however, was no longer possible. He died at Vienna on 12. March 1881. The bust which stands over his grave in Vienna represents Fuster as a public speaker during the Vienna Revolution.

## VI.

Anton Fuster was a complex personality. In spite of his intellectual background his reactions to current events and situations were above all emotional. His view of the world was influenced by his reading in philosophy and history.

His view of his own ethnic background reflects the evolution of ethnic consciousness in his time. During the first half of the XIX. century in Slovenia this ethnic consciousness developed from a country (Carniolan, kranjski) patriotism to an awareness of a larger community, determined by Slovene culture and language, and extending over several counties of the Austrian monarchy. Fuster always admitted that by birth he was of Slovene background. During his last year in New York when he lived as a desolate old man in a poor New York attic he read the Russian translation of the Bible which he had acquired somewhere in America. It reminded him of his childhood "because Slovene dialect comes very close to the ecclesiastical Russian, and the Slovene language was the first which I spoke" (M 222).

Already in Ljubljana, however, Fuster began to consider that his German education and reading had marked his national consciousness. He began to identify himself with the German culture and learning. Still, for Fuster the ideas of liberty and of social justice were more important than that of national affiliation. These ideas also led him in his evaluation of contemporary national movements: in 1848 his views of the revolutionary movements in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bohemia were negative because in his opinion these movements were led by conservatives who were used as tools by the Habsburg dynasty to keep itself in power (Bleiweis, Jelačić, Palacky). On the other hand he valued highly the revolution in Poland and

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<sup>17</sup> *Vortrag des Herrn Prof. Dr. Anton Fuster über die Bildung in den Vereinigten Staaten Amerikas, besonders in politischer Beziehung*. Gehalten in der General Versammlung des deutsch=liberalen Vereins in Penzing am 3. März 1878. Wien 1878. Vlg. des Deutsch=liberalen Vereins in Penzing.

in Italy. Fuster's German cultural and political orientation, however, was considerably mitigated after his experiences with the German (Prussian) police during his flight from Austria to Hamburg.

In his American lectures Fuster devoted special chapters to the problems of family, state and humanity, but none to the problem of ethnicity (nationality). His ideal was cosmopolitanism. He saw as the best solution of inter-national relations the peaceful, brotherly coexistence of free and equal nations (I.s., I, 80 ff.) In this way he raised the ideas of French Revolution, *liberté, égalité, fraternité* to the level of inter-national coexistence. With his speech in Austrian parliament, on 5. October 1848, with which he demanded the equality for the Jewish community in Austria and the abolition of discriminatory laws which burdened members of this community with unjust taxation, Fuster extended his ideas of inter-national relations also to the Jewish ethnic group.

Here is an important point of contact with the ideas of Fuster's contemporary France Prešeren, the leading Slovene poet. Prešeren expressed them in the poem *Zdravljica* ("A Toast", written in 1844, published in 1848) <sup>18</sup> now the Slovene national anthem. Prešeren, too, demanded – although on the personal level – the end of discrimination for the members of the Jewish community and their equality in his poem *Judovsko dekle* (Jewish Girl, 1845).

Fuster believed in the progress of humanity in matters political, social, cultural, in science and civilization. In his attitude towards religion he was not an atheist, yet he rejected the old religions based on the divine revelation. Fuster thought that they should be replaced by a new creed based on human reason and philosophy.

With his life story and intellectual development Fuster has an interesting place in the Slovene cultural history of the XIX. century.

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<sup>18</sup> The poem *Zdravljica* by France Prešeren was translated under the title *A Toast* by Janko Lavrin, Professor of Slavic Literatures at Nottingham University, originally from Slovenia. Cf. W. K. Matthews and A. Slodnjak: *Selection of Poems by France Prešeren Translated Into English*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1954, p. 32-34.



## AUSTRALIAN POETS IN AND ABOUT EUROPE SINCE THE 1960s

Igor Maver

During my last study stay in Australia in 1994 I got hold of two handsome newly published books of poems that caught my attention as a European scholar doing research "down under". These two books discussed here are: *On the Move: Australian Poets in Europe* (1992), edited by Geoff Page, and *Changing Places: Australian Writers in Europe* (1994), edited by Laurie Hergenhan and Irmtraud Petersson. They have attracted some criticism in Australia, but hardly so in Europe, where the poems are set. It seems to be our task, of us European literary critics, to amend this, which this paper sets out to do.

Australians are generally considered good travellers; to the extent that they sometimes travel even more than they can afford, one may add tongue-in-cheek. The good attendance of Australian writers and scholars at the conferences in Europe is just another case in point. But quite seriously, the fact remains that Europeans, and not solely so, get to know about Australia and Australians and their propensity to travel, like it or not, through the popular TV travel series, for example those put together by Clive James, probably the best known Australian traveller with literary aspirations and a "bi-focal vision" of an expatriate writer (cf. Bennett 1988), although he does pose as "an innocent abroad", a rather stereotyped naive and unsophisticated Australian; or, for that matter, the Lonely Planet travel broadcasts for the more adventurous ones, along with their much circulated Lonely Planet Publications (Hawthorn, Vic.). Is travel, therefore, inherent in the Australian mind and culture? Is it the offshoot of the (post)colonial condition? Could it perhaps be that the Aboriginal concept of home, which, due to the hostile desert climate, is to leave home, one's own place of origin, i.e. to travel, tends to dynamism rather than stability in the general Australian view of Home?

Life as a journey, as travel, generally represents one of the central metaphors in Western-European culture and literature. Its consequent expatriation expresses the elementary topological split between departure and arrival and, often, a return from the target destination back to the place called Home. In the eyes of Australian *literati* Home has for a long time (and for some still continues to be) co-existed together with expatriation. Suffice it to think about scores of Australian writers who even nowadays divide their lives and work between Australia and Europe. Europe in particular has been the travel target, for Australia has, at least originally, been settled mostly by European nations whose descendants and cultural heirs are trying to discover their "roots". Only recently with the more pronounced Australasian

connection, Asia seems to be getting into focus. As Werner Senn has suggested, Australian poems on European paintings constitute a significant textual body, which is not sufficiently recognized, for they coincide with the "rediscovery" of Europe and its culture after the consolidation of an Australian national identity through the Great War (Senn 84).

A traveller as an outsider is a detached observer of foreign lands and its people who, during his journey, paradoxically, often learns more about himself than about the land explored. Physical journey in Australian literature, as it is known, frequently represents spiritual search and Australian (and many other) literary travelogues and travel books in a sense all have a common denominator: namely a journey abroad always begins - at home, in one's own mind. This is not a tautological statement, since by travelling abroad one is always travelling home, into one's own psyche. All the best "literary" travelogues thus contain at least some elements of psychological introspection. Travels result in transculturation, the formation of auto and heterostereotypes, they undermine the established and preconceived stereotypes and myths, offer imagological diversity and, ultimately, also in the case of Australia, enable the forging of an Australian self-definition and identity - in literature. The Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore wrote that one must travel and see the world only to be able to see and appreciate the beauty of home in a simple grass blade which grows right in front of one's own doorstep. Foreign lands and cultures therefore help us understand ourselves, and, by extension, our nation and country, our identity. Is it, according to the famous British traveller Bruce Chatwin, that nomadic movement rather than settlement is a natural human state? Often does a traveller-poet set off on a journey with preconceived ideas about the target country and its culture. Modern interdisciplinary science called imagology discusses in travel literature such key terms as auto- and heterostereotypes, stereotypes one has about one's own country and culture and the way in which others see one. They jointly contribute towards the creation of a national character, a national stereotype as reflected in literature, or rather, as proves the case of Australian poets in Europe, its undermining and dismantlement, since the best of this poetry largely eschews stereotypes altogether. It could generally be said that literature is one of the major sources from which national stereotypes are derived, it is also through literature that they are perpetuated and literature, nonetheless, also helps to change and undermine them. They can, of course, be perceived in a positive as well as in a negative sense, i.e. as merely a preliminary generalization about the subject which invites more data to be added and learned about, or as a straightforward generalization that resists any revision.

Contemporary Australian poets have since the 1960s frequently travelled to Europe, the paramount *topos* and source of their inspiration abroad, as the result of a greater accessibility of jet travel in the 1960s and the "kangaroo route" to London. Since the 1960s the pilgrimage of the Grand Tour experience and the longer expatriatism, have been replaced by shorter visits and sheer touristic concerns. These travels are, as modern anthropology would have it, a form of initiation in modern societies, a rite of passage, from youth to maturity, of a poet, of an Australian. Traveller-poets, outsider observers of foreign lands and customs, in the process of transculturation which works both ways, affecting the translator and the

translatee of an individual culture, learn more about their own identity than about the culture observed. The two books examined are *On the Move: Australian Poets in Europe* (1992, ed. by Geoff Page) and *Changing Places: Australian Writers in Europe* (1994, ed. by Laurie Hergenhan and Irmtraud Petersson) in which poetry only is analyzed. One of the first full-length anthologies dedicated to Australian travel literature (fiction) was *Australians Abroad: An Anthology* from 1967 and should definitely be mentioned in order to stress the continuity in the development of Australian travel literature. It features extracts from books and essays by major Australian writers and their experience of Europe in different historical periods, from Rolf Boldrewood and Henry Lawson, to Hal Porter and Alan Moorehead.

Many poems published in 1992 in the anthology *On the Move: Australian Poets in Europe* have not been published in major books, collections or anthologies, partly because they are so very recent and because of their subject-matter. There are no less than 129 poems in the book, which shows just how much "travel poetry" has been over the years produced by Australian poets. They are thematically divided according to various geographical regions and are arranged in the form of a European travel itinerary (xii): The British Isles, France, Spain, Germany, Central Europe, Russia, Italy, and Greece. The three by far the most extensive sections are set or dedicated to the British Isles (including Scotland, Wales, Ireland) Italy and Greece. This speaks for itself, for they appear as the three most frequent targets of Australian traveller-poets in Europe, at least as it results from this anthology.

What, then, are the motives of Australian poets rather than just (and/or also) tourists to travel to Europe? At least of few major ones could be identified from among scores of others, including, believe it or not, the pleasure of watching others at work while you yourself are on holiday, the view maintained by some theoreticians of tourism. Furthermore, there is the desire to research and get to know one's family origins (roots), a perfectly hedonistic wish to taste and enjoy the foods and charming landscapes one has so much heard about (even if this results only in the so-called "postcard poems"), and, according to the editor of the book Geoff Page, perhaps the most important of them all, a somewhat condescending conviction that an Australian education is still incomplete without a personal knowledge of at least the major cities and galleries of Europe (ix). This statement, which does perhaps not do entire justice to Australian (higher) education, would therefore signify that Australian poets perform the same travel ritual as was customary in 19th century on the "Grand Tours". This would especially refer to young people in Australia (and not only there), who deliberately postpone their study at the university or permanent employment until they have been on a rucksack tour of Europe. This is, I would contend, in an anthropological sense certainly connected with the earlier mentioned visible initiation rite of passage from youth to maturity, one of the few that modern societies have still retained. The cultural pilgrimage of a former, much longer Grand Tour has thus been since the 1960s replaced by jet travel and cut-price kangaroo lines by major world air companies and has thus changed the cultural landscape of Australia.

As can be seen from a number of the anthologized poems, traveller-poets are, however, also attracted by the possibility to get away from it all, to see, by contrast, their homeland, Australia, from a distance and from a different perspective. And for

the past two decades, in the 1970s and 1980s, it has generally become enough simply to travel or spend a considerable period of time in Europe, than actually to become a full-time expatriate, as was, for instance, the case with members of the older generation of writers, Peter Porter and Randolph Stow. In the poems there is a much visible gap the poets observe between their own and an individual European culture. Although all generalizations are some sort of falsification, the editor of the book even offers a definition of the Australian traveller-poet, "a somewhat androgynous observer, forever aware of his/her linguistic and/or cultural limitations, normally resistant to any romanticism, alert for ironies but by no means sealed off from experience" (xi).

The British Isles' section of the anthology opens very appropriately with David Malouf's poem "The Little Aeneid" (1-2), which represents the impetus to travel itself, in a beautifully sophisticated way alluding to classical antiquity, namely the making of an Australian poet, the speaker of the poem, himself a latter-day Aeneas, who should "set out then with all/ your little household demons/ stowed in a trunk" (1). It is surprising how many travel poems concentrate on the description of flights, planes, the sheer technicalities of a journey, e.g. "Night Flight" by Marion Alexopulous (3) or "Planes Landing" by Jamie Grant (4). Kate Llewellyn in her poem "London" (5) claims, contrary to Dr Johnson, that "it's not that men are tired of London/ London is now tired of men". She metaphorically compares the city with an old woman, tired and plain, one that had lost her charm and that wants "to talk only of the past/ her Empire that she dragged/ like a pink dance dress/ right around the world". The poet is an Australian postcolonial poet and is disappointed to find "the mighty heart" of the former Empire grown so old and seedy. R.F. Brissenden in "London Graffiti" (6) experiences the same sort of London decadence in toilet for gents just off Piccadilly Underground, where he is shocked by the racist graffiti and the teenage drug-addicts punching heroin into their arms. Sometimes individual sights in England are just a backdrop and serve merely as a Proustian little madeleine cake to trigger off one or two personal associations with the poet's private life: e.g. in "Boveney Church" (12) or "Farewell At East Finchley" (13) by Vicki Raymond. Several Australian poets in Britain revisit famous ruins or birth places ("Wordsworth's House at Rydal" (15) by Mark O'Connor or "At Haworth" (16) by Anne Elder), with the ever doubting Peter Kocan asking himself on one such occasion, what this literary pilgrimage is all about: "So when I ask myself why I'm here,/ What makes the excitement of it all,/ The answer's that what I really feel/ Is the sly joy of being *nowhere* - /A stranger in a transient room". Robert Gray in "Scotland, Visitation" (20) constantly draws parallels, indulges in self-projection and works by contrast, the sky above Glasgow reminds him of Australia, Glasgow curiously appears to him as "a place dull as Brisbane".

Paris features as another European metropolis and cultural metropole ("Metro" by Jan Owen (26), and "Paris" by Kate Llewellyn (30)), where cultural prominence is often juxtaposed with the libertine French sexual mores, as in Barbara Giles's "Eve Rejects Apple" (31). Along with the French Brittany some Australian poets also pay a visit to the sites of the great battles of the Great War which was so instrumental in forging the Australian national identity and

consciousness. David Campbell as a nostalgic Australian in the poem "The Somme" (38) describes the countryside along the Somme river "like the Monaro/ In a blond season", while Alan Gould in "Pozières" (39) contemplates the place where "the old world died". Germany and Austria invited a number of "occasional" Impressionist pieces to be written by Australian poets, e.g. Hal Colebatch's "One Tourist's Cologne" (46), Chris Wallace-Crabbe's "Losses and Recoveries" (48), while Isobel Robin in Vienna in the poem "Freud's Back-yard" (49) discovers that "there's no detritus here from dreadful dreams;/ the sanely waltzing Viennese/ have whipped it stiff and baked it in a torte". Andrew Taylor speaks about "Kafka's Prague" (54), Philip Salom about his terrifying plane-landing described in "Arrival at Ohrid" (66), to attend the onetime famous poetry festival. Andrew Taylor meditates on a morning he had spent in Ljubljana in Slovenia, just before the independence war in 1991 (Maver 69-71). In the poem "Morning in Ljubljana" (68), my hometown, he had even back then prophetically announces the events that did actually take place in 1991, hearing "the beginning of silence/ after every third beat of the waltz/ and the faintest rumble/ of a Baroque square/ filling with tanks - somewhere/ somewhere, somewhere in the future...."

Italy is perhaps the most favourite target of Australian traveller-poets, especially the regions of Tuscany, Venice and the greater Rome area, which in his typical satirical vein was so wonderfully described by A.D. Hope in his long Byronesque poem "A Letter from Rome" back in the late fifties. Two poems in the anthology are set in the Lake Garda region, David Campbell's "Sirmio" (76) and "Sparrows and Poems" (77). Rosemary Dobson, a renowned traveller-poet, in the poem "Tombs" (80) contrasts the ornate marble tombs and chapels of Florence with those she had seen in England, where "Daniel Defoe, John Bunyan and William Blake /are/ lying together,/ names not quite legible, stained with fallen leaves". However, reminded of her own mortality, she addresses a question to Lorenzo the Magnificent in the Medici Chapel: in which town of the world would she herself, an avid traveller, come to suddenly find her own name on a gravestone? She writes he would probably do the following:

Probably he would lift his head a moment and  
answer,  
"Does it matter?"

Philip Hodgins in "Hotel Minerva" (82) confesses to the hotel receptionist that he has contracted "an unbelievable disease", namely that he does not have to write travel poems any more, whereas Andrew Taylor ("Travelling to Gleis-Binario", XVI) finds himself at Piazza San Marco in Venice during high sea that eats Venice from below, seeing it for what it really is,

the crumbled marble, stucco falling like rain  
and salt chewing its way up through the brick  
toward that heaven that we Pisces gather to admire.

Another poem dedicated to Venice is a real literary gem. It was written by R.F. Brissenden and is titled "On the Zattere ai Gesuati" (84-85). The poem is an homage to the city of Venice, a hymn to its clean beauty in the limpid morning air after the rain, when the speaker imagines seeing it as Canaletto saw it. He does,

however, not only praise its architectural and art treasures, but is suddenly reminded of his own mortality, too. The speaker and his companion announce that beautiful day is theirs for the taking and the metaphor of an ice-cream which will not melt fits in perfectly with the Venetian setting:

So let us sit and order our gelati  
Knowing that even if we eat them slowly  
They will not melt. Today  
Is ours - today we'll close our eyes...

The poet then imagines treading on the heels of Henry James and John Ruskin, realizing "that the stones of Venice/ Are sinking, slowly sinking," using an elaborately sophisticated maze of allusions, referring also to Andrew Marvell: "there'll be time/ For us to take the boat and cross the water". The boat can be taken in a literal sense, to cross the canal from the Zattere to the Guidecca or, in a metaphorical sense, to cross the river Styx to enter the Hades; however, the poet feels Death has no place there yet, he can wait for them. He therefore proposes to have another bottle of wine, a kind of seize the day wine-tasting of the moment. It is the feeling of an immense freedom of the mind any visitor to the city on the lagoons can experience in some way or other. Venice enables the poet a kind of Yeatsian separation of the spirit and the body, the victory of the spiritual existence, represented by great art, over the bodily one, where the spirit and the past come alive in old Venetian palaces and churches, they float and linger in the air like the sound of Vivaldi's oboe he imagines hearing from the church of Santa Maria:

And in the small church of Santa Maria  
Del Giglio listen to Vivaldi's oboe  
Soar free above the strings  
And float forever.

The last poem in the anthology is John Forbes's "Europe: A Guide" (129-31), which was probably intended to round off the book, but does just the opposite; rather, it comes as a surprise. Short statements arranged in unrhymed couplets show just how provoking and somewhat too generalizing a traveller-poet may also be in his description of other peoples and cultures, even if his intention originally was to be satirical, funny, critical. In a kind of superior stance he, for example, says how "in Germany there's Kraftwerk/ & acres of expressionist kitsch", how "Denmark is neither vivid nor abrupt" or how "the Spaniards are not relaxed about sex/ & tourists are attracted to this". He thereby manages to construct largely negative heterostereotypes about individual European nations, thus fashioning the Australian mind. However, one must also look at it from the other angle, maybe it is precisely the outsider Australian poet that can really become detached, see things people do not see, and at least to some degree objective in describing the various nations, and just maybe he may say things the various nations would not want to hear? Perhaps these lines are just a little bit too condescending:

Besides, if you remove the art, Europe's  
like the US, more or less a dead loss

& though convenient for walking

& picturesque, like the top of a Caran  
D'Arche pencil case or a chocolate box, ...

The second book under survey is *Changing Places: Australian Writers in Europe*, 1994, edited by Laurie Hergenhan and Irmaud Petersson, who also wrote an extensive and well-referenced introduction. It embarks on a much more forbidding task, to try to present, not exhaustively, of course, the major Australian writings about Europe in verse and prose, fiction as well as non-fiction. It includes representations of encounters of various kinds, direct and indirect, with another land and culture, written in various genres and discourses - fiction, poetry, non-fiction, pieces of journalism, autobiography, interviews, guides, notebooks, etc. This essay, with a view to the proposed subject, focuses on poetry only, although travel (non)fiction constitutes the greater part of the book and sheds light on the perception of various European countries in the Australian literary imagination. Many of the (travel) poems that feature in the book could also be found in Geoff Page's anthology analyzed earlier. It is divided into four parts, which can be regarded as some sort of thematic clusters, although it would be difficult to speak about any kind of single theme in each of them: "Travellers, Tourists and Expatriates", "Trails and Trials: The Rituals and conventions of Travel", "Origins, Heritage, Pilgrimages", and "Out of the Cold: Testing Political Climates".

Vivian Smith's poem "The Traveller Returns" (91) strikes the reader as an instance of patriotic "Oziness" in the noblest sense of the word, voicing the feelings of an Australian traveller upon returning home. He can now see Sydney with its "Pacific lick" in quite a different light, for he needed detachment in order to be able to appreciate things near, and every journey is, it is safe to say, in some way or other a journey home: "After slow cathedrals, pilgrim towns/ Sydney's violent sky can offer this/ moment that catches us still unprepared". Katherine Gallagher's poem "Plane-Journey Momentums" (127) harps on a different strain, echoing the deep-set and yet unexpressed fear of flying there is in almost every air passenger "trying to forget/ your innate strangeness to this absurd/ transitory life you've taken on - ". Andrew Taylor's poem "Folds in the Map" (129) is a fine combination of a travel (postcard) poem and an intimate examine of a relationship. The two cancelled what was left of the tour and they stay in the Gasthaus "by a lake, with ducks, together". "The Journey with Children" (130) by Judith Rodriguez is likewise very personal, confessional almost, saying that now that she has children, she can no longer indulge for long periods in museums, now that "their eyes are your new museum of taste,/ young leaf in ancient gardens." But she is far from regretting it.

At least two of the poets presented in the book have had nightmarish "bad dreams" while abroad and wrote poems about it, Peter Porter and David Malouf. Peter Porter in his poem "Bad Dreams in Venice" (141) looks back somewhat nostalgically on his tourist trip to Venice with his wife years ago and again now. On this second journey revisiting the city, the speaker's wife "mutters to him old harshnesses", them both having ambivalent feelings about each other, who "like Venice, loved but hated too". David Malouf in "Bad Dreams in Vienna" (207), "sweating in snowfields of white sheets" at Hotel Graben (which he symbolically

sees as grave or ditch, as denoted by its name), in his dream relives the traumatic as well as glamorous historical events of the imperial city. He catalogues a number of instances from the Viennese past that haunt his imagination, from the Turks *ante portas*, Strauss and Freud, Mozart, Hitler and the Great Pest, concluding accusingly that in Vienna "bad dreams have monuments". In turn, Isobel Robin in her poem set in Vienna "Freud's Backyard" (176) finds no remnant there from the dreadful dreams of Dr Freud's patients, adding ironically that "the sanely waltzing Viennese/ have whipped it stiff and baked it in a torte". The section of the book titled "Origins, Heritage, Pilgrimages" brings most of the poems presented in the book, including some of the classic Australian (travel) poems such as, for example, A.D. Hope's long poem "A Letter from Rome" (146-148), which represents his search for the European roots of Australian culture, complemented by a fine Chris Wallace-Crabbe poem "Flat Out in the Mezzogiorno" (149) dedicated to the great maestro, the "tailtwisting Alec", A.D. Hope and his appreciation of Italy as the *fons et origo* of Western civilisation. Diane Fahey in "Sacred Conversations" (163) suggestively reinterprets Titian's painting "St Mark Enthroned" in Venice, finding in him both Eros and Dionysus rather than Christ, establishing thus that in Venice the sacred is always very close to the prophane. She speculates that Titian took for the model of Saint Sebastian a sixteenth century gondolier, who looks on the painting so undressed and "happy to be gaining money for so little effort", enjoying, she finds, of "being gazed at by each woman who enters / the church...."

There are also quite a few multicultural authors represented, who wrote poems upon revisiting their home country or the country of their ancestors, e.g. Jan Owen, Manfred Jurgensen, Antigone Kefala. The Australian poet of Greek origin Dimitris Tsaloumas is most clear on this score, stating that heterostereotypes about Greece do not hold true, or about any country for that matter: he addresses the reader, urging him/her to come "since you insist, but/ whatever you remember, now forget". The Aboriginal voice is represented by Mudrooroo and the poem "Sugar in London" (221). "Sugar" in the title refers to the London production of Jack Davis' play *No Sugar*, where he feels "vacant of any reason for ever belonging here". The last poem included, a fine example of a travel poem, is that of R.F. Brissenden, titled "Rock Climbers, Uluru, 1985" (145). It juxtaposes the two presences in contemporary Australia, the settler and the Aboriginal one, where the speaker of the poem claims he, too, has to have his dreaming and sacred sites, like the Aborigines have them; it is just that they are not in Australia, but in Europe, e.g. on the Acropolis in Athens where he climbs like the ant-like rock climbers of Ayers Rock, Uluru, in the very heart of Australia.

First hour in Athens: jet-lagged, raw eyes watering  
In the gritty wind, I stood on the Acropolis  
And knew my dreaming. We didn't climb Ayers Rock.  
Our sacred sites are elsewhere:...

However, spanning the two worlds, Europe and Australia, he concludes by stating that despite these European roots of Australian culture, the great Uluru rock is much older, the oldest of them all, a sacred site, where the genesis of the world took place, "where yesterday snake-man, goanna-man/ And wallaby-man emerged to make the world".

The question put forward earlier, whether travel is inherent in the Australian mind and culture, of course, cannot really be answered, at least not in a single way, nor was this the objective of this article. It is easy to agree with the view that in our jet age travel currently exists very much as writing or "text", as well as, or as part of the "lived experience" (Hergenhan xiii). Travel writing, including travel poetry, has namely become part of a global, international context, just as tourism and travel phenomena themselves. Don Anderson's piquant statement can be borrowed to the purpose, just as editors of *Changing Places* found it most appropriate, too: "Travel is to the '90s as sex was to the 60s. Everyone claims to be doing it. Certainly, everyone is writing about it" (Anderson 46); and so do Australian poets. Of course, the reasons to travel are as many as there are the authors in the two discussed books which suggestively portray the Australian poetic sensibility at work in various European locations. However, they all seem to have one thing in common; to Australian poets the real country, Home, the spiritual rather than just the physical one, is their own mind (Peter Porter, qtd. in Hergenhan and Petersson xxxiv).

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## UNRAVELLING THE MYSTERY OF REALITY: TYPICAL CANADIAN ELEMENTS IN THE SHORT STORIES OF ALICE MUNRO<sup>1</sup>

Aleksander Kustec

She loved a crisis, particularly one like this, which had a shady and scandalous aspect and which must be kept secret from the adult world. She became excited, aggressive, efficient; that energy which was termed wildness was simply the overflow of a great female instinct to manage, comfort and control.

Alice Munro, "An Ounce of Cure" (*Dance of the Happy Shades*, 1968)

The story is a kind of extension of myself, something once attached to me and growing out of me, now lopped off, exposed and abandoned. What I feel isn't shame or regret exactly – it would be quite hypocritical to say I felt that, when exposure, publication, was surely what I had in mind all along – rather it's a queasiness, an unwillingness to look or examine.

Alice Munro, "Introduction" (*The Moons of Jupiter*, 1982)

The contemporary Canadian short story has a specific place among literary genres in Canadian literature. It culminated in the sixties of this century, when the Canadians looked to their literature with greater interest. Canadian short story writers started to write in a different tone, and showed special interest for new themes. After 1960 authors, such as Henry Kreisel, Norman Levine, Anne Hébert, Mavis Gallant, Ethel Wilson, Joyce Marshall, Hugh Hood, Hugh Garner, Margaret Laurence, Audrey Callahan Thomas, Mordecai Richler, and Alice Munro, refused to use the traditional plot, and showed more interest for characterisation. By using a typical Canadian setting, their stories began to reflect social events of their time. A new awareness of identity stepped forward, and above all their stories became a reflection of the diversity of life in all Canadian provinces. The contemporary Canadian short story writers began to overstep the boundaries of their imagination. In their short stories we can find elements of European, American, Asian and Caribbean cultures. By changing the communication of ideas, they also introduced new literary techniques. The short story gained special interest among literary critics in Canada and abroad, which put the contemporary Canadian short story into

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<sup>1</sup> The study is a continuation of my research on Alice Munro'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.

a new position never before experienced. Since 1960 over 600 short story writers<sup>2</sup> in Canada have seen their works published in anthologies and other publications.

The most anthologised contemporary Canadian short story writer in Canada is Alice Munro.<sup>3</sup> When Munro was first making her name, it was the 1970s, she was considered as just one more feminist writer, interested only in writing stories of heartless men and emotionally or socially helpless women. Critics predicted that her books would not sell well, and even her family thought of writing as something she would get over. Today, 30 years later, Munro has proved they were wrong from the start. She has a special position in Canadian writing, which is in some ways equal to that of Margaret Atwood or Robertson Davies. Alice Munro is without any doubt Canada's most outstanding short story writer, probably the best short fiction writer in North America, and has become an acknowledged master of the literary genre. Author of eight volumes of short stories: *Dance of the Happy Shades* (1968), *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971), *Something I've Been Meaning to Tell You* (1974), *Who Do You Think You Are?* (1978), *The Moons of Jupiter* (1982), *The Progress of Love* (1986), *Friend of My Youth* (1990), and *Open Secrets* (1994), which were collected and celebrated in her latest short story collection, *Selected Stories*<sup>4</sup> in 1996, Munro shows us that she is much more than what critics predicted she would become at the beginning of her career. Her literary greatness can be summed up into three meaningful assumptions: first of all, she is a writer with knowledge of the human heart, with a keen perception of the fineness or delicacy of nature, character, and manner; secondly, she is a writer of human understanding, intellect and reason, and, thirdly, she is a writer of soundness of judgement in the choice of means and ends. For these reasons Munro's writing invites the critic and reader to analyse her style, form and content.

When reading Munro's stories, we enter into a New World, into a magic place called "Alice Munro country." As readers, we are constantly experiencing life as itself. We are continually forced in an eloquent way to re-examine the meaning and our understanding of art and language; nature and place (*Dance of the Happy Shades*); love and friendship (*The Progress of Love*, *The Moons of Jupiter*); generational connections, childhood, growing up and adulthood (*Lives of Girls and Women*, *Something I've Been Meaning to Tell You*, *Who Do You Think You Are?*, *The Moons of Jupiter*); relations between men and women (*Dance of the Happy Shades*, *Something I've Been Meaning to Tell You*, *Open Secrets*) and adultery (*Friend of My Youth*); life and death.

According to Munro, the function of art is to stay above reality. By taking a piece of reality, Munro interweaves it into the rest of her narrative – even if the reader may disagree, be shocked or even be highly indignant at what she has written. One must fish through one's imagination to find what serves the story at a particular moment. If short story writers wish to preserve their integrity, they

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kustec, "Tipično kanadski elementi v sodobni kanadski kratki zgodbi" [Typical Canadian Elements in the Contemporary Canadian Short Story], pp. 63-85.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kustec, "Tipično kanadski elementi v sodobni kanadski kratki zgodbi" [Typical Canadian Elements in the Contemporary Short Story], pp. 70-71.

<sup>4</sup> *Selected Stories* includes twenty-eight of her finest short stories written in the past 30 years of her career. They were selected with the help of Alice Munro herself.

should, as Munro asserts, "pursue their own visions of reality to the deepest - and possibly the darkest - places in their imagination."<sup>5</sup>

Alice Munro is such a fine writer that her short story collections have rightly found their place in the Canadian literary canon. The distinctive features of her stories are expansion, enlightenment and intensity. Her stories can be compared with the rhythm of a day. They represent a moment of recognition, an experience, or a certain kind of transition. Munro is very careful and elegant in her choice of words - particularly her beautiful use of unexpected adjectives must be pointed out - formation of balanced sentences, and use of startling idioms. Many symbols (for example, one that stands out are the *royal beatings* (*Who Do You Think You Are?*), meaning life's reality, which is brutal and without mercy), contrasts and oppositions can be found in her short stories. Munro shows all the characteristics of good style and harmonised rhythm. But even without such wonderful writing, her stories would speak for themselves.

The fact of the matter is that many Canadianists have asserted that Munro's realism can be defined as "deceptive", "magic", "heightened"<sup>6</sup>, "hyper- or super-"<sup>7</sup>, even "documentary"<sup>8</sup>, and that her understanding of reality is to be understood as a "dance of the sexes"<sup>9</sup>, "controlling the uncontrollable"<sup>10</sup>, or "the tumble of reason"<sup>11</sup>. Alice Munro heightens realism to the level that the truth becomes self-evident to the reader. In a similar way as William Wordsworth, she weaves material out of her memories or observations and transforms ordinary life into art. For this reason, Munro is such a great writer. By giving us just enough information to form our own conclusions, Munro creates a brilliant balance between writer, text, and reader. When Alice Munro is writing a short story, she wishes to achieve the following:

I want to make a certain kind of structure, and I know the feeling I want to get from being inside that structure. / I don't know where it comes from. It seems to be already there, and some unlikely clue, such as a shop window or a bit of conversation, makes me aware of it.

Then I start accumulating the material and putting it together. Some of the material I may have lying around already, in memories and observations, and some I invent, and some I have to go diligently looking for (factual details), while some is dumped in my lap (anecdotes, bits of speech). I see how this material might go together to make the shape I need, and I try it. I keep trying and seeing where I went wrong and trying again.<sup>12</sup>

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5 Munro, "What Is Real?" in *Making It New*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 224.

6 Moss, "Introduction" in *Here and Now: A Critical Anthology*, p. 9.

7 Moss, *A Reader's Guide to the Canadian Novel*, p. 215.

8 Cf. Visser, "Canadian Short Fiction: A Comparative Study."

9 Cf. Rasporich, *Dances of the Sexes: Art and Gender in the Fiction of Alice Munro*.

10 Cf. Carrington, *Controlling the Uncontrollable: The Fiction of Alice Munro*.

11 Cf. Heble, *The Tumble of Reason: Alice Munro's Discourse of Absence*.

12 Munro, "What Is Real?" in *Making It New*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 224.

Personally, Munro believes that her stories are "elaborations and combinations that it is very hard to figure out what they started from".<sup>13</sup> When Munro subverts reality, she actually reflects it, as if we are looking into a mirror:

I learned very early to disguise everything, and perhaps the escape into stories was necessary." / "I'm not a writer who is very concerned with ideas. I'm not an intellectual writer. I'm very, very excited by what you might call the surface of life ... It seems, to me very important to be able to get at the exact tone or texture of how things are."<sup>14</sup>

Munro's stories are not to be read in the traditional way from beginning to end. Although traditional short stories are supposed to observe a convention of "unity of time and place," we find the contrary in Munro's collections: a single story of Alice Munro's may cover a whole era, and move from Hanratty to Vancouver. When reading her stories, Munro wants us to experiment in every possible way: t. i. from end to beginning, or to simply go into the story at any certain part - in the middle or towards the end - and to continue from there. We should read her stories as Munro<sup>15</sup> reads stories written by other authors:

"I don't take up a story and follow it as if it were a road, taking me somewhere, with views and neat diversions along the way. I go into it, and move back and forth and settle here and there, and stay in it for a while. It's more like a house. Everybody knows what a house does, how it encloses space and makes connections between one enclosed space and another and presents what is outside in a new way."<sup>16</sup>

Her stories are not autobiographical, but she takes pieces from her "personal material".<sup>17</sup> There is an unconscious thread throughout Munro's creations, or as Lorna Irvine says, Munro moves us with "the fluid relationships between order and disorder, between stillness and movement, and perhaps most important, between revelation and secrecy".<sup>18</sup> In *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971), as in *Who Do You Think You Are?* (1978)<sup>19</sup>, Munro uses the same method of narration. In these two

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13 Munro in "On Writing 'The Office' " in *Transitions II*, edited by Edward Peck, p. 259.

14 Munro in *Personal Fictions*, edited by Michael Ondaatje, p. 224.

15 Alice Munro's most favourite short story writers are: Eudora Welty, John Cheever, Elizabeth Spencer, Edna O'Brien, John Updike, Katherine Anne Porter, Hannah Green, Maeve Brennan, Vladimir Nabokov, Mary Lavin, Frank O'Connor, Mavis Gallant, Flannery O'Connor, Grace Paley, Elizabeth Cullinan, and William Maxwell, from Canadian authors: Clark Blaise, Beth Harvor, Audrey Thomas, John Metcalf, Hugh Hood, Shirley Faessler. Cf. Alice Munro, "The Real Material: An Interview with Alice Munro". *Probable Fictions: Alice Munro's Narrative Acts*, edited by Louis King MacKendrick, p. 11.

16 Munro, "What Is Real?" in *Making It New*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 224.

17 Cf. Alice Munro, "The Real Material: An Interview with Alice Munro", *Probable Fictions: Alice Munro's Narrative Acts*, edited by Louis King MacKendrick, p. 17; Munro in "On Writing 'The Office' ", *Transitions II*, edited by Edward Peck, p. 259; Munro in *Personal Fictions*, edited by Michael Ondaatje, p. 224; Munro in "author's commentary", *Sixteen by Twelve*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 125; Munro in "The Colonel's Hash Resettled", *Narrative voices*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 181; and Munro in "What Is Real?", *Making It New*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 224.

18 Irvine in "Changing Is the Word I Want". *Probable Fictions: Alice Munro's Narrative Acts*, edited by Louis King MacKendrick, p. 99.

19 After receiving the Governor General's Literary Award for *Dance of the Happy Shades* in 1968, Munro was given the prestigious award for the second time in 1978 for *Who Do You Think You Are?*. She

short story cycles we deal with stories that are both self-sufficient and interrelated, that is, each short story can be read as a part of a sequence, or for itself.<sup>20</sup> In *Lives of Girls and Women* the stories are about Del Jordan's maturation. They are arranged chronologically, and all of them take place in Jubilee, a southern Ontario town. In *Who Do You Think You Are?* Munro tells us retrospectively by a third person narrator a story about Rose's development from childhood to adulthood. Even though only five out of 10 stories take place in Hanratty, Ontario, the town is significant in all of the stories. Each short story in the two cycles has a certain function, therefore, there is a kind of balance between the stories inside the cycle. In spite of this fact, not one story loses its individuality and specificity. If we were to leave out a short story from these two collections, this balance would be lost.

Alice Munro is not interested in the great moments of our lives, as, for example, novelists are. The short story builds on unimportant events, and teaches us why and how certain forces form our lives. When interpreting her short stories, we should focus on analysing the story's content. Therefore, it is expected that we shall show interest in the perception of the force, and not in the force itself. Although there is a close relationship between plot and character in her stories, the primary attraction lies in her characters and her illustrious ability of characterisation. Munro shows us the complexity of their inner lives – the emotional, the intellectual and moral of human personality. There is no doubt that Munro would also be a great painter, for she is capable of portraying even the ugly things with beauty and truth, including the understanding that a final truth can be found.

What is crucial to our understanding of Munro's writings is that we are concerned with three separate, but closely connected, activities. Firstly, we should be able to establish the personalities of her characters and to identify their qualities (moral, intellectual and emotional). Secondly, we should be concerned with the narrative techniques she uses to create, develop and present (portray) her characters to readers. Thirdly, we should ask ourselves whether her characters are credible and convincing. In evaluating her stories, the third issue is particularly crucial, for characterisation carries her work to the point of final value and importance.

Munro constantly surprises us with new characters, situations, events and insights. The central characters in the stories are all women, who undergo significant character change. Through their eyes Munro examines the culture and values of her world. Her protagonists and antagonists have to show a continued effort to resist force or free themselves from constraint. This struggle is full of passion, joy, adventure, and also despair. Her characters embody a complex mixture of positive and negative qualities, very much in the way their real life counterparts do. It is the protagonist's fate (the conflict or problem being wrestled with) on which the attention of the reader is focused. The protagonist is always, in a typical way, set between the devil and the deep blue sea, which sets off dramatic complications and creates crisis situations. Often her titles identify the protagonist. Sometimes it is very difficult to identify her antagonists, for she may use a hostile

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earned her third Governor General's Literary Award in 1986 for the international best seller *The Progress of Love*, which was also selected as one of the best books of the year by the *New York Times*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. "Cikel kratkih zgodb" [Short Story Cycles] in my MA thesis, p. 25-30.

social or natural environment, instead of the presence of a human being. Munro uses flat (one-dimensional) and round characters. Her flat characters (Uncle Benny, Flo, Jack, George, etc.) usually play a minor role in the stories in which they appear. Flat characters are often convenient devices to draw out and help us to understand the personalities of characters who are more fully realised. In a way, if I broaden Martin's assertion<sup>21</sup>, they represent the peculiar, rough, grainy world of small-town Canada.

Her round characters (Del, Rose, Prue, Frances, Louisa, Maureen, Gail, Marietta, Lydia, etc.) embody a number of qualities and traits, and are complex multidimensional characters of considerable intellectual and emotional depth who have the capacity to grow and change. For example, in *Who Do You Think You Are?* Munro reveals a new tip of heroine, who after reconciling with her step-mother, father and other people from the past, comes to know more about herself. It takes Rose 15 years, t. i. after she returns to old Hanratty, where she helps to place Flo in an old age home, for her to become aware that there is no such thing as absolute truth about human relationships and identity. We have to see life in a subjectively psychological manner: *each of us is something special and no one can take this something away from us*. Rose is finally prepared to accept herself.

Munro's characters are, first of all, very dynamic, for they exhibit a capacity to change, which comes slowly and incrementally over many pages. Her static characters leave the plot as they entered it, largely untouched by the events that have taken place to the protagonist. In presenting her characters, Munro uses several different methods or techniques of direct and indirect characterisation. She reveals her characters through the use of names, through appearance, through dialogue, and through action. By using these techniques the author reveals, establishes, and reinforces character. Like Munro in life, her characters experience a sharp conflict between dependence and ambition. She reveals them gradually by showing, or immediately by using direct methods of characterisation. Munro shows the reader the illusionary nature of everyday, common and well-known life, but keeps an ironic distance, and by doing so is able to keep her thinking and final judgement to herself. She does not impose upon the reader with her writing, but wishes only to open the door. We are to form our own opinions and we are allowed to understand her short stories in our own way. Munro's characters are doomed to have a rich imagination. They have to be able to think, if not they are likely to suffer dire consequences, and are faced with an uncertain future.

Munro is inclined to use the retrospective narrative technique. By doing so, she keeps a balance between different points of view, and creates some sort of a prism, which provides the means for the reader to clearly understand the sequence of events. With the third-person limited narrator Munro wishes to produce a totally distinct effect, as she does in all of her short stories. She chooses to employ more freedom, so that she can intervene at any time she desires and needs to. By going forward and backwards, Munro wishes to remind her readers of what John Orange calls "inexorable change and unfathomable fate."<sup>22</sup> The author achieves this by

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<sup>21</sup> Martin, *Alice Munro: Paradox and Parallel*, p. 102.

<sup>22</sup> Orange in "Alice Munro and A Maze of Time", *Probable Fictions: Alice Munro's Narrative Acts*,

using flashbacks, reflections and spatial intervals, which are shown by applying double spaces inside the texts. Many times the narrator reminisces about the past, and then at crucial moments returns to the present to show the on-going action.

All through Munro shows us people who are in confrontation with contradictory impulses and emotions. By using deceptive realism with humour, wit, paradox, irony, staggering comparisons, eagle-eyed details, absurd-comical scenes and split personalities, Munro succeeds in convincing the reader about the absurdity, though truthfulness, of this world. In Munro's realm we meet real people living in a world that is bloodthirsty, cruel, unkind. Truth, veracity, honesty and sincerity can be found only in an imaginary world, a world that surpasses us mortals. This ability to show the reader the world of a small Canadian man has contributed to her international reputation and affirmation.

Alice Munro selects material for her short stories from her personal experience and experiences of others, but she must see the material through her own eyes, by doing so she transforms it into art. Writing to her is an invention of ideas, words should follow in a free manner. Munro does not rewrite her texts. She sticks to the first (original) draft, and by doing so, she believes her writing does not lose on its originality and its final effect. In contrast to Hugh Hood, another great Canadian short story writer, she does not have a set plan when she sits down to write, she creates stories as she goes.<sup>23</sup> Munro's writing is very spontaneous. When she is taking material from life – she wishes to achieve "a straining of something immense and varied"<sup>24</sup>, so that we can get "a whole dense vision of the world"<sup>25</sup>, and then she offers a work of art to the reader, who may/will understand it in his own way: "The writer removes (fields, roads, landscapes, dishes itn.) from their natural, dignified obscurity and sets down in print."<sup>26</sup>

Besides exploring female themes - for example *feministic search*, which is the main topic in most of her stories - Munro also deals with subjects that are typically Canadian. For example: the question of *Canadian identity*, a topic that has been a matter of debate since the 1970s with the publications of the so-called *Canadian thematic school*: D. G. Jones, *Butterfly on Rock: A Study of Themes and Images in Canadian Literature* (1970); Northrop Fry, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (1971) and *Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture* (1982); Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1972), and John Moss, *Patterns of Isolation in English Canadian Fiction* (1974). Her characters are constantly asking themselves about the quality or condition of being the same in substance. Another topic, which is very close to Munro and the imagination of Canadian women writers, is *survival*.<sup>27</sup> Before Munro's characters achieve the goals to which their effort or ambition has been directed to, they usually have to "suffer", for they live their lives simply, directly

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edited by Louis King MacKendrick, p. 96.

23 See Munro, "The Colonel's Hash Resettled" in *Narrative voices*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 182.

24 Munro in author's commentary, *Sixteen by Twelve*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 125.

25 Munro in author's commentary, *Sixteen by Twelve*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 125.

26 Munro in "The Colonel's Hash Resettled" in *Narrative voices*, edited by John Metcalf, p. 181.

27 Cf. Margaret Atwood's *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*.

and often painfully. Many obstacles stand ahead of them on their way to the destination of their (more or less laborious) journey. Munro's originality can be compared to James Joyce's, both use universal themes and lay them on philosophical foundations. Munro makes us morally content, but at the same time, stimulates us intellectually. She uses an immense quantity of material, creating what Robert Thacker calls "a dialectic between present and past, between experience and understanding."<sup>28</sup>

Most of Munro's stories take place in native Canada, and particularly in the small Ontario towns. It is right to say that Munro has south-western Ontario - Jubilee (*Lives of Girls and Women*), Hanratty (*Who Do You Think You Are?*), Carstairs (*Open Secrets*), etc. - as her setting, therefore, her imagination is stimulated by that region. She uses the rhetoric of her people, and speaks in an easy conversational voice. It is close to the speech found on the streets, but maintains a language that expresses the matter-of-factness of everyday life. She is deliberately robust, sarcastic, and at moments quite blunt or harsh in her narration. Munro continues the tradition of typical Canadian humour employed in the past by Haliburton, Thomson, Leacock, today by Mitchell, Ross, Atwood, and Kroetsch. Her attitude towards rural Ontario is comparable to Leacock's attitude towards provincial (smalltownish) Ontario, which Leacock so excellently displays in *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* (1912). Both Leacock and Munro approach it with a majestic dimension of compassion and irony. A tone appears in Munro's short stories which is distinctively refined and recognisable. Paradox becomes a structural, technical and linguistic device, which Munro uses very skilfully. By employing paradox Munro wishes to expose the differences and oppositions that are present in everyday life. All her stories capture the notion of death, or the shadow-of-the-coming death. For example, in *Who Do You Think You Are?* Rose's father is mortally ill, Simon ("Simon's Luck") and Ralph Gillespie ("Who Do You Think You Are?") die unexpectedly, Flo goes to an old people's home, many characters die mysteriously and peacefully. It is *Death* that makes life mysterious, and for this reason it is impossible to foretell the outcome of events and the duration of our staying.

This voice of destiny does not only speak about the private lives of the main characters, but also the internal and external voice of all women. Munro does not only speak about feministic search, she wishes to open the path to the imaginary world, where one can find the answers to the shoes that pinch us. By using juxtaposition of episodes, the reader is forced to change his perspectives of reality, in a similar way as we do in everyday life. For example: What Rose felt for Patrick ("Providence"), Clifford ("Mischief"), or Flo and her father, the author puts into contrast later in the story of what Rose feels for herself. Or as Coral Ann Howells asserts, "the relationship between realism and fantasy is one of opposition".<sup>29</sup> It is a fact that in literature we examine realism and fantasy as two separate notions, but

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<sup>28</sup> Robert Thacker in " 'Clear Jelly': Alice Munro's Narrative Dialectics" in *Probable Fictions: Alice Munro's Narrative Acts*, edited by Louis King MacKendrick, pp. 37-38.

<sup>29</sup> Coral Ann Howells in "Worlds Alongside: Contradictory Discourses in the Fiction of Alice Munro and Margaret Atwood" in *Gaining Ground: European Critics on Canadian Literature*, edited by Robert Kroetsch and Reingard M. Nischik, p. 121.

in everyday life they coexist with each other. We should not see fantasy as a world alone, where reality has no part, but as a world where we can find small pieces of reality. Our imagination has to challenge and provoke our understanding of presence. This does not mean that the notions can be united, reality acquires only a new dimension. As Heble points out in *The Tumble of Reason: Alice Munro's Discourse of Absence* (104-105), Munro is interested in both the realistic surface of things and the creation of invented worlds.

As Munro has implied on several occasions, we must learn to live in this world, and we have to find our own way in this maze of confusion. We should not wander about in some world of imaginary truthfulness. Real life itself is too full of unexpected moments of recognition, events that may turn the course of our lives forever, or as Alice Munro writes in *Friend of My Youth* (49):

*To know that what you think – and, for a while, hope – is the absolute end for you can turn out to be only the start of a new stage, a continuation.*

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## UNCLE TOM'S CABIN IN THE SLOVENE LANGUAGE

*Darja Mazi-Leskovar*

Harriet Beecher-Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America* (1852) is one of the American books that have been most often translated, issued and reprinted in Slovene. The article will present a few facts about the numerous translations, from the first ones to those sold in today's bookshops.

In 1853, only a year after the first publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the Slovenes got the translation of this American 19th century best-seller. As if the early translation was not surprising enough, there were even two translators who wanted to bring the famous book to Slovene readers: *Janez Božič* and *Franc Malavašič*. *Janez Božič* (1829 - 1884) did the translation as a student of theology in Ljubljana. After his ordination he worked as a chaplain and a teacher and only in 1858 started studying classical and Slavonic philology in Vienna. *Franc Malavašič* (1818 - 1863), on the other hand, was trained as an army surgeon in Ljubljana. He devoted nevertheless most of his time to writing (drama, prose and poetry) and translation work. After 1850 he mainly translated and adapted drama and prose from German into Slovene - it is in this period that he adapted H.Beecher-Stowe's novel.

The adaptation of *Janez Božič*, entitled *Stric Tomaž ali življenje zamorcov v Ameriki (od Henrijete Stowe)*, was published by *Janez Leon* in Celovec; *Franc Malavašič's* adaptation, *Stric Tomova koč, ali življenje zamorcov v robnih državah severne Amerike*, was published in Ljubljana by *Janez Giontini*.

The fact that there were two Slovene translations on the market can be considered as a proof that in the middle of the 19th century Slovenes were well-informed at least about the most remarkable international contemporary literary events. At the same time the two books, translated from German, prove that the main source through which the Slovenes came in touch with American literature was the German book market. Even if both translations have the same German source the two books do differ, accordingly they will be presented in contrast.

Both translators have preceded the text with an introduction. *Franc Malavašič* starts his by stressing the importance of the book that has been translated into almost all the languages of "civilised" nations. Afterwards, in order to help the reader understand the novel, he explains the terms presumably unknown in the Slovene environment. He thus explains the name of the "United States of America" and the geographical expression "North-American," as well as the terms used to

denote people whose predecessors belonged to the white and black human race, e.g. mulatto, quadroon. With the same objective, i.e. wanting to facilitate the comprehension, he does not only mention the USA monetary unit, but also indicates its comparative value to the currency used in Slovenia.

The second part of the introduction is characterised above all by a moralistic tone. Malavašič points out that even in the States where slavery is permitted by legislation there are masters who treat their slaves better than some Slovenes deal with their domestic servants. In the conclusion his wish that American slaves may be free one day is expressed.

Janez Božič also first of all brings the information about the importance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: he declares that no contemporary literary work has attracted so much attention and mentions that it has already been translated into some other Slavic languages. He additionally tells that his adaptation is made from the German translation. Supposing that all readers do not know what evil slavery is, the translator presents the condemnation that H.Beecher-Stowe wrote in the 45. chapter (Concluding Remarks) of the novel: "Nothing of tragedy can be written, can be spoken, can be conceived, that equals the frightful reality of scenes daily and hourly acting on our shores, beneath the shadow of American laws and the shadow of the cross of Christ." (441), what is rendered as: "Nič bolj žalostnega /.../ kar bi bilo podobno temu, kar se vsako uro ...pod varstvom američanskih postav in med kristjani godi." (viii)

To facilitate the reader's geographical orientation Božič furthermore introduces the three American states - Louisiana, Ohio and Kentucky - where the novel takes place.

The second part of the introduction reveals some aspects of the moral situation among Slovenes. Despite the fact that the institution of slavery is unknown, suffering caused by immoral and unfair behaviour can be met in Slovenia, too. Discord within families has many faces and it is often rooted in alcoholism, an evil that should be eradicated by joint efforts, including those of public authorities, and not left to be fought with just by the Church. In this context the importance of education to responsibility is underlined. The sense of responsibility should be evident also in the fair treatment of domestic servants. The author reveals that the unjust ways which legally exist in the USA have their clandestine existence among Slovenes as well, as *it is from sin that slavery derives*. (xi, underlined by Božič).

The author explains various degrees of mixing between the white and the black races and thus repeatedly shows his wish to facilitate the understanding of the story. In addition his intention to make the readers sensible to the suffering and to the injustice in their own country and in their own lives is clearly expressed. There is furthermore a suggestion for those who would like to help in America: they should help the Slovene missionaries there.

The two introductions prove that both translators:

- presented the importance and the popularity of the novel on the international level;
- explained the words and expressions that Slovene readers could not be expected to comprehend;

- understood that for H.Beecher-Stowe slavery was a moral evil that poisons the life of society as a whole;
- considered the moral condition of the Slovenes and encouraged the readers to combat injustice and show compassion in their own environment.

Malavašič and Božič thus proved that they understood the importance of extra-literary elements that particularly effect the comprehension of a foreign literary work.

The analysis of the texts shows that both translators shortened and summarised many chapters where the story evolves; on the other hand they simply omitted some chapters, especially those containing less action. In spite of this procedure they managed to preserve the two parallel stories: the one about Uncle Tom and the other about the young Negro family. The original novel with 45 chapters (446 pages of the pocket edition of Bantam Classics containing the complete text of the original hard cover edition) is reduced to 9 chapters of almost the same format.

The adaptation of Janez Božič covers 155 pages: accordingly, the first chapter gives the main information of the first three chapters of the original. The same procedure can be noticed in the rest of the translation. Consequently, some lines of the action are presented in a new order. A few episodes of the same story, which are to be read in various chapters in the original, are thus placed together (and most often considerably shortened) in a single chapter. The sixth chapter, for example, includes the story of the family that succeeded in reaching Canada: this is told in the original in the chapters 13, 17 and 37. Among the omitted parts of the original there is the whole chapter 23, "Henrique," in which H.Beecher-Stowe confronts the children who have completely opposed attitudes to slaves and slavery. If it can be claimed that the adaptation in itself does not basically alter the content of the novel as a whole, this is not true for the chapter 9 in which Božič transforms Cassy's daughter into her sister, what is in contradiction with the original (chapter 43).

The adaptation is also strongly felt as far as the conclusion is concerned: the reader is only informed that George writes to one of his friends about the family's intentions to move to Liberia in order to enjoy real freedom. The Concluding Remarks (chapter 45) with H.Beecher-Stowe's evidences that her story is based on real life situation are thus completely omitted.

Franc Malavašič presented the text on 139 pages. Only three of the titles of his chapters differ from the titles found in the adaptation just presented, but even these differences are not due to the different contents of individual sections but only to other wording. The contents of the adaptations are thus basically identical.

Besides some other minor differences, Malavašič gives another ratio between a dollar and a florin than Božič and, what is much more important for the authenticity of this adaptation, Eliza is discovered to be Cassy's daughter. On the other hand Malavašič shortened the ending even more than Božič: George tells in just two sentences that he has decided to move to Liberia.

As far as proper names are concerned the two translators have followed more or less the same policy: they have left some names in the original form, as the one

of Mr. Bird, and changed the others. Among the latter there are some differences, e.g. the family name Shelby becomes Šelbi with Božič, and Želbi with Malavašič.

The two translations are accompanied by illustrations: Božič's adaptation contains 6 pictures, the one of Malavašič only 4. The illustrators are not named. This is not surprising since even the translator Janez Božič is indicated only with his initials, as J.B.

In 1888 the second revised edition of Malavašič's adaptation was published under the title *Strijc Tomova kočā ali življenje zamorcov v robnih državah svobodnih držav Severne Amerike*. The book was again published by Janez Giontini.

A new translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was issued in 1918. The translator *Silvester Košutnik* formed a new title: *Stric Tomova kočā: Povest iz suženjskega življenja*. Surprisingly enough the author is not mentioned, but there is a note "Translated from the German original." The reprinted translation that was issued in 1932 appeared with the same omission of H.Beecher-Stowe's name and the misleading information about the original language.

The book does not contain any preface or specific information for the reader but it is evident already from the Contents page that the adaptation is even shorter than the previous ones: 127 pages of the approximately the same format as the books from 1853. It seems that Košutnik translated only those parts of the text which most directly concern Tom's and George's endeavours. A new feature of the translation are the Slovenized names of protagonists: for example Eliza's husband George Harris becomes Ivan Harij. The adaptation that does not contain any illustrations was published by Anton Turk.

In 1934 the most important Slovene translation of the novel was published. Its significance is not due just to the new title, *Kočā strica Toma*, which became the standard one, but to the translated text as a whole. In addition, the accompanying texts and notes reveal a new, a more professional approach towards both, the primary source and the secondary material.

The cover page itself is a turning point as the author's name is written correctly in its complete form. Besides, there is the information that the translation is a "selection from the novel with the same title" and the annotation that *Olga Grahor* (1907 - 1985), the translator, adapted the original text and accompanied it with an introduction as well as with notes. Her text brings relevant information about the geographical, socio-historical and literary aspects of the masterpiece. At the time of the publication of *Kočā strica Toma* O.Grahor had already finished her studies of history and geography at the Ljubljana University, but it is only after the second world war that she graduated also at the Department of English (Faculty of Arts) in Ljubljana.

The Introduction gives the biography of Harriet Elisabeth Beecher-Stowe, emphasizing the facts that enabled her to be acquainted with the slavery issue. The reader is also informed that the author had to write *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853) in order to prove that her novel was founded on real knowledge of the matter.

O.Grahor did not only present the conditions which gave rise to the writing of the novel, but also explained slavery in its historical and social context. The causes and the consequences of the importation of slaves in America are raised, and the endeavours for the abolition are followed from the Quakers' fight and the American Anti-Slavery Society to the rebellion led by John Brown. The translator stresses the exceptional role of H.Beecher-Stowe who was fervently against the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) and succeeded in convincing masses of readers that slavery cannot be reconciled with Christianity.

In the presentation of the literary criticism and the artistic value of the novel among the positive traits humour and irony are accentuated; while among the elements subjected to much criticism sentimentality is stressed. The novel, particularly appreciated because of its ethical values and warm humanity, is shown as a literary creation worth of the attention of scholars as well as of the general reading public.

The translator's Introduction is followed by the Introduction H.Beecher-Stowe herself had written for the translations in Europe. The book is concluded with the Notes in which O.Grahor tells that all the names, with the exception of America, which was by then familiar to Slovenes as "Amerika," are spelled in their original form. They are even accompanied by the annotation of the pronunciation. After the explanation of a few terms, as abolition and plantation, some cultural information is given - quakers for example, are presented as an important group in the anti-slavery movement.

The fact that the translation is an adaptation is evident from the very start of the novel. Those parts of the text that are not translated are summarized in smaller print at the beginning of each chapter: e.g. the introductory text to Chapter 2 sums up most of the events of the original chapters 3, 5, and 6 and even part of Chapter 7. The remaining text of the seventh chapter forms the core of Chapter 2 - the famous story about the crossing of the Ohio river. The part of Chapter 19 in which St.Clare reveals to Ophelia what he thinks and feels about slavery and about the capitalist exploitation in England forms Chapter 6 of the translation. It is thus situated in the centre of the Slovene book, what is not surprising as the translator has considered it to be essential already in her Introduction.

*Koča Strica Toma* became the basic text for all subsequent editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the Slovene language.

After the second world war *Koča strica Toma* was first published in 1954. The translator *Olga Grahor* wrote the introduction "For the new edition of Uncle Tom's Cabin" in which she introduced the slavery issue, the author and her work to young readers. She explains that colonialists imported slaves to perform the hardest labour and that they had no rights whatsoever and that even their children became the sole property of their masters. It is stressed that H.Beecher-Stowe wrote the novel in order to protest against the enacted law prohibiting any assistance to the fugitive slaves. The writer is presented as a happy wife and mother who could not stand the idea that other wives should be separated from their husbands and children. O.Grahor presents the book as a sentimental novel in spite of the fact that it is based on real facts. She underlines that the author was not ignorant about the oppression of the working class in Europe and that she predicted a social

revolution. In conclusion the translator claims that everybody should be familiar with the novel as it expresses H.Beecher-Stowe's opposition to any form of exploitation.

Follows the word of *Kristina Brenkova* who adapted the novel. While telling that the original text had to be shortened and adapted, she emphasises that despite the adaptation "the whole story and the way of narration, and above all the basic idea and the intention of the writer are preserved." (ohranjena vsa zgodba in način pripovedovanja, predvsem pa osnovna misel in hotenje pisateljice).(6) The comparison with the original and with the 1934 issue, however, reveals the opposite. It is evident that all parts of the text where H.Beecher-Stowe claims that Christianity and slavery cannot exist together are left out. Suffice it to say that the resulting "new version" changes the message of the novel and completely distorts the author's argument and consequently the spirit of the book. Only a few examples will be given to illustrate the misrepresentation.

On the page 38 of the Slovene version the senator's wife tells to her husband, "You know, John, that I don't know anything about politics, but I know that I must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and comfort the desolate." /"Veš, John, da ne vem ničesar o politiki, toda vem, da moram nahraniti lačne, oblačiti gole in tolažiti žalostne."/ H.Beecher-Stowe, on the contrary, wrote, "Now, John, I don't know anything about politics, but I can read my Bible; and there I see that I must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and comfort the desolate; and that Bible I mean to follow."(77). When the Slovene version describes the stay of the fugitive family in the Quaker settlement all the sentences in which the noble people explain the reason of their help are left out. Among the rest also the sentence in which Simeon reassures George by saying, "Fear not, then, friend George; it is not for thee, but for God and man, we do it." The other key sentences which reveal how George started to understand the meaning of home, God and Holy Providence are not translated either.

There is another big discrepancy between the original Chapter 28 entitled "Reunion" and the Chapter 19 in the Slovene version. Even if also the latter has the same title, "Združitev," it does not adequately convey the message of the original. Several key elements are left out, as for example the importance of Mozart's Requiem in St.Clare's life and of his late mother's singing Dies Irae; or the change in Eva's father attitude towards Christianity which is expressed also in the following statement: "My view of Christianity is such that I think no man can consistently profess it without throwing the whole weight of his being against this monstrous system of injustice that lies at the foundation of our society; and if need be, sacrificing himself in the battle. That is, I mean that *I* could not be a Christian otherwise..."(312)

In the last part of the same chapter St. Clare is brought home; wounded he feels his death is near. He tells it to Tom, but not as indicated in the Slovene text, namely "I am dying," said St. Clare, pressing his hand./ "Umiram," je rekel St. Clare in mu stisnil roko."(123)/ because in the original the sentence is finished with the Master's supplication: "pray"(316) The English text then shows Tom's ardent praying which is followed by St. Clare's murmuring of the verses from Requiem. The Slovene chapter finishes with the translation of the last but one

sentence of the original: They saw that the mighty hand was on him. /Videli so, da je silna roka počivala na njem.(123) The message of the last sentence - "Just before the spirit parted, he opened his eyes, with a sudden light, as of joy and recognition, and said "Mother!" and then he was gone!" - thus remains out of reach of the Slovene reader, even if it is essential for the understanding of the chapter's title. The "Reunion" is the reunion of St. Clare with his mother, what is clear from the very last sentence that is the key to the message of the whole chapter.

Despite the omissions the adaptation as a whole reads well: its fluency is not interrupted by summaries in special print as it is the case with the 1934 translation.

The 1954 version was first reprinted in 1959. Several reprints and new editions followed up to the second part of the 90ties. In some of them, as for example in the 1973 edition, a new introduction addresses young readers. Similarly to other prefaces it underlines some prominent facts connected with H.Beecher-Stowe and the book, but again leaving out any point that would enable the reader to appreciate the positive role of Christian values either in the American anti-slavery movement or in the text of the novel itself.

Therefore, it is expected that the readers could be finally offered the real *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, where the way of narration and above all the basic idea and the intention of the writer would be preserved. Thus the promise given in 1954 could be kept, and a due tribute would be paid to the novel which has a special place among American literature classics and which has established itself among the classics of children's literature.

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## THE RECEPTION OF CANADIAN LITERATURE IN SLOVENIAN TRANSLATIONS TILL 1980

*Julijana Mary Dolenšek Vode*

At the beginning of this research, there were first of all some main questions that had to be taken under consideration. The primary questions were: how many Canadian authors writing in English were translated into Slovenian, how far back do these translations go, who were the translators and what was the influence on the Slovenian reader.

The main focus was given to the literary works that specifically spoke about Canada, her characteristics and people. On the other hand, literary works viewing the Canadian lifestyle, were not given thorough attention. This way the answer to how Canadian literature was accepted in Slovenia could be summarised.

The geographical point of view has been a very important aspect. The vast Canadian land and the different locations mentioned in the translated works are of importance, especially when reflecting the great distances.

The basic work undertaken in the research of Canadian literary history was Margaret Atwood's, **Survival**. In this work the authors are arranged thematically and not chronologically, which is understandable when one takes into consideration the relatively short history of Canadian literature. Margaret Atwood stresses the difference between British or American literatures on one side, and Canadian literature on the other. She shows how Canadian literature became independent "I had seen animals, quite a few of them; a dying porcupine was more real to me than a knight in armour or Clark Kent's Metropolis. Old mossy dungeons and Kryptonite were hard to come by where I lived, though I was quite willing to believe they existed somewhere else; but the materials for Seton's stick- and- stone artefacts and live-of-the-land recipes in Wildwood Wisdom were readily available, and we could make them quite easily, which we did."

Some thoughts awakened while reading and analysing the translations can be found in the preface to Robin Mathews' **Canadian Literature – Surrender or Revolution**: "It has been this editor's exciting task to select and arrange the essays that develop Mathews' thesis that the strong consciousness of collective existence that is within Canadian identity and Canadian imagination is readily accessible in our literature – if only we can learn to read our classics with de-colonized eyes."

W.H.New on the other hand took a different stand in **A History of Canadian Literature**. First of all, he divided Canadian literary history into periods marked

with historical dates. And within these periods he united the authors thematically, just as Margaret Atwood had done it in her work.

The first task that New found important to establish was to define the term Canadian literature. It is a controversial term if we take into consideration questions such as, "Is citizenship the answer to become a Canadian writer, or could they also be only visitors, emigrants or people that moved to Canada and found there their new home?". Some authors lived even in exile or were disloyal to their homeland, nevertheless their work is connected with Canadian literature. According to all these facts a general definition was established: "A shared familiarity with popular culture, a localised adaptation to space and distance, a reliance on common civil rights and expectations of behaviour, and a recognition of local forms of speech and intonation ... all underlie the more immediately observable regional and linguistic disparities ..."

We must not forget that Canadian literature cannot be thought of as only one identity: it has cultural plurality. This is also how Canadians define their political character, the dimensions of their literature, and develop their attitude to different morals, institutions and individualities.

It is interesting that the authors translated into Slovene have an important place in Canadian literature, yet their best works were not rendered into Slovene. Still, it is important that at least their thoughts and ideas were transferred to Slovenia.

With my work I have tried to analyze the reception and meaning of Canadian literature and of her authors in Slovenia. But first of all, I had to find out the importance of the American author Jack London, who knew well Canada's Yukon territory. Through his work the first information about the land of snow, ice, struggle and honesty came to Slovenia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Jack London introduced to the Slovenian reader the strong individual and true comrade. He showed that in this country there is only time to think how to survive. Therefore the law of nature lets only the strong to survive. Despite the fact that Jack London was not a Canadian, his knowledge and love of nature enabled him to recognise the beauty of the Canadian land. That is why his work was important for the first students of Canadian literature in Slovenia.

In our subsequent examination how Canadian authors see Canada's nature, and the wildlife, we had to pay attention to the Canadian authors E.T.Seton, A.R.Evans, Martha Ostenso, and others.

In the works of James Oliver Curwood and Ernest Thompson Seton we meet life in the wilderness in its primary form, where the hunter is not a mass killer, but a naturalist. Unfortunately, there are only a few dozen of Seton's essays about animals translated into Slovenian. Many appeared several times under different titles. His most frequent translator was Pavel Holeček (1882 – 1964), who was a secondary school teacher.

A new element was introduced in the works of James Oliver Curwood. In the vast North-Western territory it was difficult to keep control over the whole region. Only the bravest and toughest members of the Royal Mounted Police could carry out their duties and maintain law and order.

On the other hand territory the Hudson Bay Company is shown as an alien element in this territory. The owner of a large segment of the countryside, with employees loyal to their company, but merciless towards the Indians and hunters.

In the translated novels of Martha Ostenso, the reader was able to meet the Canadian farmer who is kindred in spirit to the Slovenian peasant. As in the works of the Slovenian realistic authors, in her novels we find similar thoughts expressed by Canadian farmers. The voice of the owner is the law and his bond with his farmland is bordering on fanaticism. The works of Martha Ostenso are therefore closer to the Slovenian reader, who could find it difficult to understand the big snowy land hunting grounds, and wild rivers of Curwood's novels. Her life on the farm looks so real. The reader can almost feel the sweat of labour. The characters are described realistically: we meet the master of the house, the obedient wife, and the labouring children, who all suffer under the pressure of farm work. But her novels are not dark, they include characters who positively influence the emotional development of farm children. The position of intellectuals is secondary, because manual work is still of the utmost importance to the farmer.

Two new views appear with the novels of A.R. Evans. In the novel **Veter nad belo cesto (Northward Ho!)** Evans shows the personal metamorphosis of a lazy fellow into a working and honest citizen. The transformation was not based on political grounds, but as the only possibility to survive in the cold and forsaken tundra. The novel **Pohod severnih jelenov (Reindeer track)** is the first translated work to talk about the simple life of the Eskimos. In its care for the Eskimos, the Canadian government organized the transfer of a large herd of 3000 reindeer 5000 miles away to feed the Eskimo tribes and taught them how to economically take care of the herd.

With Evans' translated novels the Slovenian reading public was able to get a more complete picture of Canada and her people. In his descriptions of nature he is accurate, and colourful. His characters combine different human qualities, which makes them life-like.

An general picture of Canada was given to the Slovenian readers with the geographical survey by Bruce Hutchinson **Kanada, orjaška sila jutrišnjega dne (Canada, ...)**. In it, the author describes the country from the east coast to the west, with all its different landscapes, people, nationalities, architecture, religion, and thoughts. For him, speaking two languages – English and French, – is not a disadvantage, but a link between two nations/religions, who can work side by side creating a new joint country. The work shows the progress of civilisation, where the individual can hardly cope with the achievements. Nevertheless, the Canadian man is a farmer, explorer and traditionalist in his heart, and tolerant towards other nations.

Mazo de la Roche was the author of a 16 novel series about **Jalna**, but only 3 novels have been translated into Slovenian. New settlers came from Britain to the promised land, but they could never abandon their old English traditions and remained loyal British subjects. Here we meet the colonial thinking and the problem of new countries to step on their own and become independent.

The frequency of translations from Canadian literature in the period 1919 – 1980 was highest from 1925 – 1939. Many works were published as books and

around 40 appeared in Slovenian newspapers as serials. The serials usually produced a feeling of a remote romantic area. Their aim was not to educate, but to entertain. Not only were the best Canadian works not translated into Slovenian: the selection of translations was not systematic, and the translators were frequently linguistically insufficiently trained.

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### The Titles of Books from Canadian Literature translated into Slovenian till 1980

| No. | Author          | Title                                         | Translator        | Publisher/year                      |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1.  | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Lobo, currumpavski kralj.</i>              | anon.,            | ND, 1919 podlistek, št. 86 –91.     |
| 2.  | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Winnipeški volk.</i>                       | Marija KMET,      | JU, 1921. podlistek, št. 75 – 91.   |
| 3.  | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Kazan, volčji pes.</i>                     | Pavel BREŽNIK,    | SL, 1924. podlistek št. 94 – 146    |
| 4.  | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Kazan, volčji pes.</i>                     | Pavel BREŽNIK,    | JK, 1924.                           |
| 5.  | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Onstran pragozda.</i>                      | Fran GOVEKAR,     | J, 1925.                            |
| 6.  | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Onstran pragozda.</i>                      | Davorin RAVLJEN,  | J, 1925. podlistek, št. 126 – 163.  |
| 7.  | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Tepček.</i>                                | Franc BOLKA,      | M, 1925.                            |
| 8.  | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Bingo.</i>                                 | Pavel HOLEČEK,    | C, 1925.                            |
| 9.  | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Ris in deček.</i>                          | Pavel HOLEČEK,    | C, 1926.                            |
| 10. | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Stari volkodlak.</i>                       | Pavel HOLEČEK,    | C, 1926.                            |
| 11. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Preganjana žena.</i>                       | Davorin RAVLJEN,  | J, 1927. podlistek št. 151 – 238.   |
| 12. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Črni lovec.</i>                            | France MAGAJNA,   | E, 1927/28. podlistek št. 190 – 26. |
| 13. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Medved Tir.</i>                            | Davorin RAVLJEN,  | J, 1930. podlistek št. 190 – 196.   |
| 14. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Medved Tir.</i>                            | anon.,            | P, 1931.                            |
| 15. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Podarjeni obraz.</i>                       | Boris RIHTERŠIČ,  | ND, 1931.                           |
| 16. | Martha OSTENSO, | <i>Klic divjih gosi.</i>                      | Griša KORITNIK,   | JK, 1931.                           |
| 17. | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Tita/lisica.</i>                           | Pavel HOLEČEK,    | C, 1931.                            |
| 18. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Na meji sveta.</i>                         | Davorin RAVLJEN,  | J, 1932. podlistek št. 1 – 71.      |
| 19. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Hči divjine.</i>                           | Davorin RAVLJEN,  | J, 1933. podlistek št. 111 – 193.   |
| 20. | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Zgodba zajca z<br/>bombažastim repkom.</i> | A. PETRIŠIČ,      | MJ, 1936. podlistek, št. 43 – 51.   |
| 21. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Lov na ženo.</i>                           | anon.,            | AD, 1937.                           |
| 22. | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Lisica iz Springfielda,</i>                | anon.,            | MJ, 1937. zgodnica v št. 1 – 6.     |
| 23. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Zlata zanka.</i>                           | J. OMLADIČ,       | DO, 1938.                           |
| 24. | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Rolf Gozdovnik.</i>                        | Miran DERŽAJ,     | S, 1938.                            |
| 25. | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Sivko.</i>                                 | Vladimir LEVSTIK, | CS, 1938.                           |
| 26. | E.T.SETON,      | <i>Vuli.</i>                                  | A. PETRIŠIČ,      | R, 1939.                            |
| 27. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Niva in Miki.</i>                          | Davorin RAVLJEN,  | J, 1942. podlistek, št. 134 – 185.  |
| 28. | J.O.CURWOOD,    | <i>Blisk.</i>                                 | A. PETERLIN,      | SK, 1943.                           |

29. J.O.CURWOOD, *Ogenj divja.* Vinko GABERC, SK, 1943.
30. J.O.CURWOOD, *Dolina molka.* anon., S, 1943.
31. Martha OSTENSO, *Objestneži.* Niko KURET, SK, 1944.
32. E.T.SETON, *Vinipeški volk.* Marija KMET, MK, 1947.
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38. E.T.SETON, *V senci gozdov.* Saša DOBRILA, LD, 1954.
39. E.T.SETON, *Srebrni svizec.* Pavel HOLEČEK, MK, 1954.
40. A.R.EVANS, *Veter nad belo cesto.* Rapa ŠUKLJE, TT, 1955. podlistek, št. 13 – 36.
41. E.T.SETON, *Zgodba o dobrem jazbecu.*, anon., TB, 1955/56.
42. E.T.SETON, *Zvesti pes Cink.* Marijan TAVČAR, PIL, 1956.
43. A.R.EVANS, *Srečni par.* Marjan BREGANT, TT, 1956/57.
44. J.O.CURWOOD, *Kazan, volčji pes.* Tit VIDMAR, SP, 1957.
45. E.T.SETON, *Družina iz Wyndigola.*, Anton S. PIRC, MV, 1957.
46. E.T.SETON, *Povest o dobrosrčnem jazbecu.*, Jože KRANJC, MS, 1957.
47. Allen Roy EVANS, *Pohod severnih jelenov.*, Josip RIJAVEC, L, 1957.
48. E.T.SETON, *O zajcu, ki žvižga.* Jože KRANJC, CI, 1957/58.
49. E.T.SETON, *Vidra na drči.* Jože KRANJC, CI, 1957/58.
50. E.T.SETON, *Voluharjev muzej.* Jože KRANJC, CI, 1957/58.
51. J.O.CURWOOD, *Baree.* anon., SP, 1958.
52. E.T.SETON, *Rolf Gozdovnik.* Rudolf KRESAL, MK, 1958.
53. E.T.SETON, *Stari volkodlak.* anon., B, 1960.
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57. E.T.SETON, *Rolf Gozdovnik.* Rudolf KRESAL, MK, 1964.
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59. Thomas B. COSTAIN, *Poslednja ljubezen.*, Drago GRAH, PZ, 1967.
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62. Mazo de la ROCHE, *Jalna.* Katrina PUC, CZ, 1970.
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64. Mordecai RICHLER, *Main.* Ivan DOLENC, TT, 1972.
65. E.T.SETON, *Črni kljusač in dr. zgod.*, Alenka GORIČAR, Pavel HOLEČEK, MK, 1973.
66. E.T.SETON, *Rolf Gozdovnik.*, Rudolf KRESAL, MK, 1973.
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## THE GEMATRICAL NUMBERS IN DIMENSIONS OF THE "MELENCOLIA I" ENGRAVING

*Tine Kurent*

The Melancholy engraving by Dürer and Agrippa is hiding its gematrical<sup>1</sup> messages not only in the numbers of its magic square but also in the numbers forming its modular dimensions. If the sphere on the lower left side of the composition is 10 modules in diameter, the magic square measures 8 by 8 modules, and the print is 70 by 55 modules large. The circumference of the etching equals 250 and its diagonal 89 modules.<sup>2</sup>

In the numbers **55**, **70**, **250** and **89** are hidden gematrical messages, prayers, cursing, the name of the Melancholia itself and the names of its authors.

### Number 55.

**IN NOMINE JESU OMNE GENU FLECTATUR,  
COELESTIUM, TERRESTRIVM ET INFERNALIUM,  
ET OMNIS LINGVA CONFITEATUR, QUIA  
DOMINVS JESVS CHRISTVS IN GLORIA EST DEI PATRIS.**

Gematrically, the prayer equals  $1650 = 33 \times 55$ .

### Number 70.

The pious salutation **AVE MARIA**, or in numbers  $(1+22+5) + (13+1+18+9+1)$ , is equal to **70**.

Provided the capital letter **R** is composed of letters **D** and **A**,<sup>3</sup> the salutation is the acronym of the incantation **AETERNUM VALE EDURA MELANCHOLIA**

<sup>1</sup> More about gematria in my article: The Gematric Cryptography in the Art, *Acta neophilologica*, XXIX, 1996. 89-107

<sup>2</sup> The print is 24 by 18,6 cm large. The module is 3,408 mm long. Theoretically, the print is 1,44 mm wider and 1,44 mm shorter than the actual measurement.

<sup>3</sup> By composing the capital R out of letters P and L, the architect Josef Plečnik's salutation AVE MARIA is the acronym for his proud and militant statement AD VICTORIAM ECCLESIAE MILITANTIS ARCHITECTON PLEČNIK IOSEPHUS ADIUVAT. More about Plečnik:

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**ADEPTI ALBRECHTI DUERERI IPSIUSQUE<sup>4</sup> AGRIPPAE**, or in gematrical figures  $(1+5+20+5+18+14+21+13) + (22+1+12+5) + (5+4+21+18+1) + (13+5+12+1+14+3+8+15+12+9+1) + (1+4+5+16+20+9) + (1+12+2+18+5+3+8+20+9) + (4+21+5+18+5+18+9) + (1+16+19+9+21+19+17+21+5) + (1+7+18+9+16+16+1+5) = 701$ . Thanks to the rule of kolel,<sup>5</sup> the sum of 701 is equal to 700 and, thanks to the rule that zeroes can be omitted, to 70.

The name of **ALBRECHT DUERER** is gematrically equal to  $(1+12+2+18+5+3+8+20) + (4+21+5+18+5+18) = 140 = 2 \times 70$ .

### Number 250

The prayer **EXURGE, DOMINE, ADIUVES NOS** is equal to gematrical numbers  $(5+24+21+18+7+5) + (4+15+13+9+14+5) + (1+4+9+21+22+5) + (14+15+19) = 250$ .

### Number 89.

The engraving's diagonal is practically **89** modules long. It is hiding the name **ANGELUS NIGER MELANCHOLICUS**, gematrically equal to  $(1+14+7+5+12+21+19) + (14+9+7+5+18) + (13+5+12+1+14+3+8+15+12+9+3+21+19) = 267$ , that is to  $3 \times 89$ .

The following quotation, signed with initials of **Quintus Horatius Flaccus**, **Albrecht Durer** and **Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa Von Nettesheim**, **NIHIL EST AB OMNI PARTE BEATUM**,<sup>6</sup> **QHF, AD, HCAVN**, equals **356**, that is to  $4 \times 89$ .

The number **89** + 10 and – 10 results in numbers **79** and **99**.

### Number 79.

The Greek name of the print, **MEΛΑΓΧΟΛΙΑ** is equal to the sum of numbers  $40+5+30+1+3+600+70+30+10+1 = 790$ .

The name of **AGRIPPA VON NETTESHEIM** is equal to  $(1+7+18+9+16+16+1) + (22+15+14) + (14+5+20+20+5+19+8+5+9+13) = 237 = 3 \times 79$ .<sup>7</sup>

The question **WAS HAST DU GEMACHT, ISRAEL**,<sup>8</sup> is equal to  $(23+1+19) + (8+1+19+20) + (4+21) + (7+5+13+1+3+8+20) + (9+19+18+1+5+12) = 237 = 3 \times 79$ .

- Kurent, T., Plečnikov napis AVE MARIA v Bogojini. – Dva tisoč, 64-66, 1992.

- idem, Pregljev Epitaf: gematrična kompozicija. – Borec., 555-556, 1997.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ipse' is a higher rank than 'adeptus'. cf: 'Ipse dixit.' 'Ipse' autem erat Pythagoras. (Cicero, De natura deorum, I. V. 10.)

<sup>5</sup> One unit, or kolel in Hebrew, may be added or subtracted from the value of a word without affecting its symbolic meaning. See Michell, J., The Dimensions of Paradise, Thames and Hudson, 1988, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Horace, odes, XVI, 27.

<sup>7</sup> In the article Kurent, T., The polyhedron on Durer's "MELENCOLIA I". – Acta neophilologica, XXVII, 1994 are explained other gematrical equivalents of the number 79.

<sup>8</sup> German translation of the key sentence in the Easter sermon by Melito, bishop of Sardis, late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century.

The reaction to the question, **PAREANT PERFIDIOSI IUDEI** is hidden in the same gematrical number:  $(16+5+18+5+1+14+20) + (16+5+18+6+9+4+9+15+19+9) + (9+21+4+5+9) = 237 = 3 \times 79$ .

### Number 99.

The gematrical value of pious thanks **DEO GRATIAS** is equal to  $(4+5+15) + (7+18+1+20+9+1+19) = 99$ .

### Number 4895 = 55 x 89

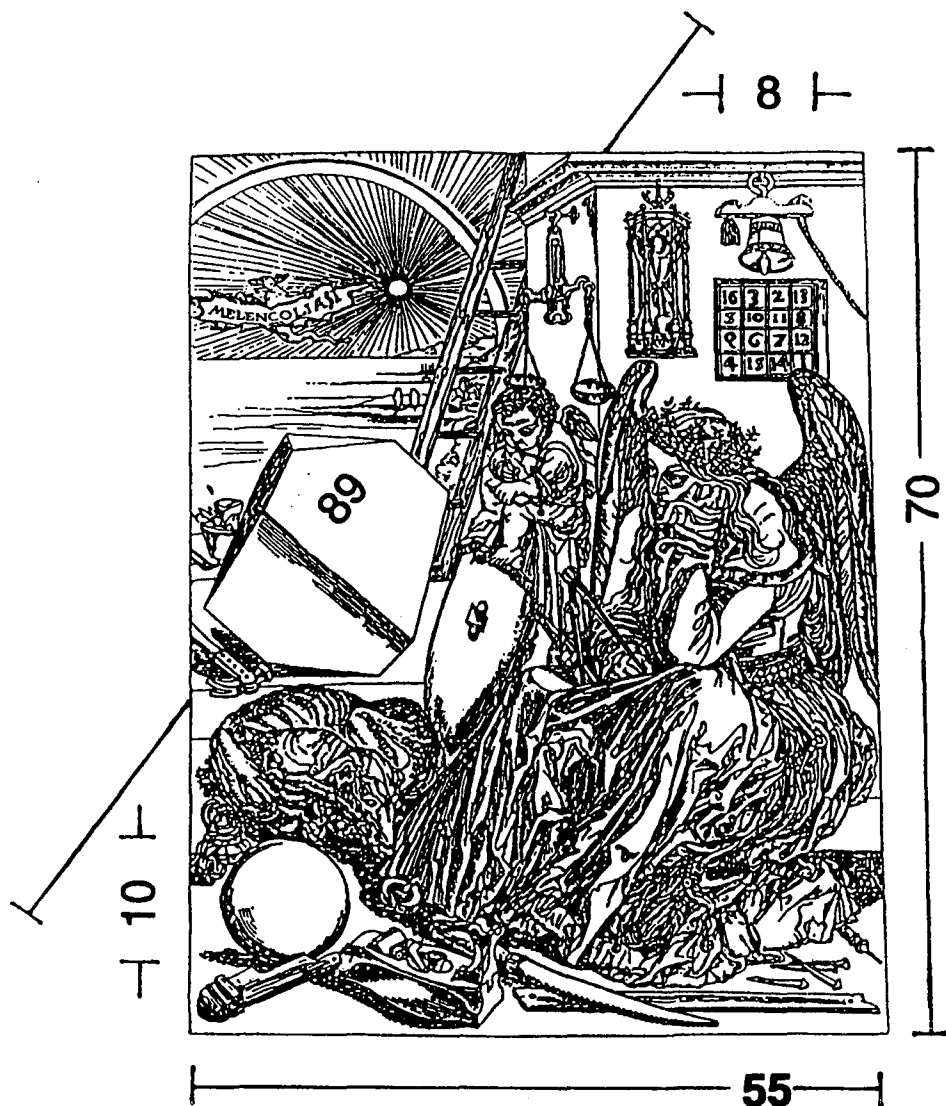
The product of numbers in the smallest and the largest dimension of the composition, the width and the diagonal, is **55 x 89 = 4895**.

The Greek statement by Plato,<sup>9</sup> that melancholy is disease of the soul, signed by the three wise men, is hidden in the number 4895. Together with the Latin initials of Albrecht Durer and Heinrich Cornelius Von Nettesheim:

**ΜΕΛΑΝΧΟΛΙΑΝΟΣΗΜΑ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ**, **AD, HCVN** =  $(40+5+30+1+3+600+70+10+1) + (50+70+200+8+40+1) + (700+400+6008+200) + (5+200+300+10) + (80+30+1+300+800+50) (1+4) + (8+3+22+14) = 4895 = 55 \times 89$ .

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<sup>9</sup> Plato, Timaeus, 78 a.



## SUMMARIES IN SLOVENE

UDK 243:091=112.2(497.4)"14"

Marija Javor Briški

### DUHOVNI 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 prostov iz drugih rokopisov omogoča povezavo besedil s tradicijo molitvenikov v poznem srednjem veku.

UDK 821.133.1'01.09

Irena Prosenc

### ČUDEŽNO V PESNITVI HUON DE BORDEAUX

Članek analizira element čudežnega v pesnitvi Huon de Bordeaux. Analizo začenja teoretična definicija čudežnega, nato pa se posveti pojavom le-tega v pesnitvi s tekstualno ilustracijo posameznih primerov.

Miha Pintarič

## ČAS IN IZGUBA IDENTITETE V POEZIJI JOACMIMA DU BELLAYA

Niti ideal nesmrtnosti slavi niti navidezno sprejemanje stoiškega prepričanja o cikličnosti časa. Du Bellayevi pesniški personi ne moreta zagotoviti osebnostne celovitosti, oziroma istovetnosti. Pesnik obupa in se odloči poistovetiti se s *trenutkom*, kar pride najbolj do izraza v njegovi ljubezenski poeziji: zavrže platoni(sti)čni ideal in sprejme čutno ljubezen kot edino stvarno možnost, ki ga privede na psevdo-mistični rob *trenutka*. Zavest o nepovratnem toku časa kot posledice neodvisnih in neomišljenih trenutkov pa izniči iluzijo brezčasnega trajanja in požene pesniški subjekt v gibanje skozi (sovražni!) prostor, ki se bo lahko končalo samo s smrtjo.

UDK 821.134.2.09 Cervantes Saavedra M. d.

Ludvik Osterc

RAZISKAVA KNJIŽNICE DONA QUIJOTA IN  
KONZERVATIVNA KRITIKA

V Zlatem veku španske književnosti nam ni znano nobeno literarno-kritično delo. Pisateljem niso bili znani pogoji, ki omogočajo zanesljivo vrednotenje literarnega dela. Edina izjema je Cervantes: njegove sodbe viteškega romana in sodobnih avtorjev so prepričljivo utemeljene. Najpomembnejši Cervantesov literarno-kritični tekst je odlomek I, 6 v *Don Quijotu*. Noben sodobni španski pisatelj se topogledano ne more primerjati s Cervantesom (Saavedra Fajardo, Pérez de Montalban, González de Salas, Tamayo de Vargas). Medtem ko so ti avtorji polni znanstvene pedantnosti, je Cervantesov kritični pristop tudi k težkim problemom sproščen, naraven. Današnja kritika vidi v Cervantesovem romanu le parodijo viteškega romana. Toda v nobenem viteškem romanu ne najdemo literarno-kritičnega vrednotenja drugih avtorjev. To je iznajdba Cervantesa. Cervantes je imel pozitivno mnenje o romanih *Amadis de Gaula*, *El Palmerín de Inglaterra* ter *El Tirante el Blanco*, grajal pa je druge viteške romane zaradi nemogoče fantastičnosti in nerazumljivega stila. Enak je bil Cervantesov pristop do sodobne pastorale in pesništva. Današnja literarna kritika se v ocenah Cervantesovega dela izgublja v komentarjih, ki z glavno temo pri Cervantesu nimajo zveze. Cervantes gleda na *Amadisa de Gaula* kot idealni viteški roman, ki ga v marsičem tudi posnema.

Tomaž Nabergoj

PISMO MARCUSA ANTONIUSA KAPPUSA EUSEBIUSU FRANCISCUSU  
KINU (SONORA LETA 1690)

Prispevek obravnava doslej neznano pismo Marcusa Antoniusa Kappusa, ki ga je avtor članka našel v splošnem nacionalnem mehiškem arhivu v Mexico Cityju in je, kot je doslej znano, edino Kappusovo pismo ohranjeno v originalu. Kappus je pismo pisal svojemu nadrejenemu Eusebiusu Franciscusu Kinu iz Sonore leta 1690.

UDK 292 Fister A.

Janez Stanonik

## ANTON FÜSTER – SLOVENSKI EMIGRANT IZ LETA 1848

Študija prinaša življenjepis Antona Füstera (roj. l. 1808 v Radovljici, umrl na Dunaju l. 1881), njegov idejni razvoj, udeležbo v Marčni revoluciji na Dunaju l. 1848, emigracijo v ZDA, kot tudi njegovo literarno ustvarjalnost. Füster je svojo mladost do l. 1847 preživel v Sloveniji (do l. 1835 v Ljubljani, nato v Trstu, ter 1839-1847 v Gorici, nakar je bil nekaj mesecev pred izbruhom Marčne revolucije imenovan za univerzitetnega profesorja na Dunaju. Odločilna za njegov duševni razvoj so bila njegova ljubljanska leta. V ZDA je prva tri leta preživel v Bostonu ob pomoči bostonskih nemških emigrantov, nato pa do povratka v Avstrijo l. 1876 v New Yorku. Füster je v svojem odnosu do vprašanja lastne narodne pripadnosti ugotavljal, da je po rojstvu Slovenec, po izobrazbi pa nemško orientiran. Nacionalno vprašanje je podrejal socialnim ter ideji politične svobode. V odnosu do vere je bil zapornik posvetljenega teizma. Njegov najpomembnejši dokumentirani stik s poedinimi Slovenci je bil v Gorici v Valentinom Staničem, manj dostopni so nam konkretni podatki o njegovih stikih s Francetom Prešernom in z Matijem Čopom, med Nemci morda z Anastazijem Grünom. Med njegovimi publikacijami so zlasti pomembni spomini na leto 1848, prvič pa se v današnjem času pojavljajo v tisku (v slovenščini) spomini na življenje v Ameriki po l. 1848, ki so pomembni za dopolnitev njegove osebne biografije in za spoznavanje kulturne zgodovine Bostona v sredi XIX. stoletja.

UDK 821.111(94).09-1(4)"1960/199"

Igor Maver

## AVSTRALSKI PESNIKI V IN O EVROPI OD ŠESTDESETIH LET DALJE

Članek obravnava dve pred kratkim izdani knjigi, *On the Move: Australian Poets in Europe* in *Changing Places: Australian Writers in Europe*, ki pričata o pomembni prisotnosti evropskih lokalitet v sodobni avstralski poeziji. Ukvarja se

tudi z literarnimi razsežnostmi t.i. "potovalne" oz. "potopisne" poezije in skuša odgovoriti na vprašanje ali je potovanje morda specifičen element v avstralski kulturi in literaturi.

UDK 821.111(71).09-32 Munro A.

Aleksander Kustec

#### RAZPLET TAJNOSTI RESNIČNOSTI: ZNAČILNI KANADSKI ELEMENTI V KRATKIH PRIPOVEDIH ALICE MUNRO

Alice Munro je danes brez dvoma ena najbolj popularnih in znanih kanadskih pisateljic kratkih zgodb. Njene zgodbe so zelo zahtevno branje, kajti kljub navidezni resničnosti, ki jo avtorica tako spretno upodablja v svojih zgodbah, je v njih moč najti bogat spektrum nasprotij in ironije. Tako kot Munro v življenju njene književne osebe doživljajo močan konflikt med odvisnostjo in ambicijami. Munro uporablja južno-zahodni del province Ontario za kraj in čas njihovega dogajanja. Lahko bi tekli, da prav ta regija stimulira njeno pisateljstvo. Munro poskuša z uporabo "slepilnega" realizma obvladati neobvladljivo. Ko prevrača stvarnost pravzaprav zrcali stvarnost. S tem, ko povzdigne realizem na višjo raven in ga naredi umevnega za preprostega bralca, ne dovoli, da bi njeno pisanje ostalo brez argumenta ter tako doseže, kot sama pravi v članku o svojem pisanju: "the exact tone of texture of how things are". Avtorica nam daje le toliko informacij, da se lahko opredelimo do dejanj književnih oseb in razvoja dogodkov, s tem pa ohranja čudovito ravnovesje med piscem, besedilom in bralcem.

UDK 821.111(73).03=163.6 Beecher-Stowe H.E.

Darja Mazi-Leskovar

Uspešnica *Harriet Beecher-Stowe Uncle Tom's Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America* (1852) se uvršča med največkrat prevedena dela iz ameriške književnosti.

Roman je prvič izšel v slovenščini že leta 1853 in to v prevodu kar dveh prevajalcev, *Janeza Božiča* in *Franca Malavašiča*. Božič je priredbo naslovil *Stric Tomaž ali življenje zamorcov v Ameriki (od Henrijete Stowe)* in jo izdal v Celovcu; Malavašič pa je svojo priredbo z naslovom *Stric Tomova Koča ali življenje zamorcov v robnih državah severne Amerike* izdal v Ljubljani.

Prevajalca sta prevoda pospremila z uvodom, v katerem sta bralce seznanila s pomenom uspešnice in z ameriškim suženjstvom. Razen tega sta opozorila tudi na domačo moralno in socialno problematiko. Z vsebinskega stališča med izdajama ni večjih razlik. Franc Malavašič je svoje mestoma popravljeno besedilo ponovno izdal pod naslovom *Stric Tomova koča ali življenje zamorcov v robnih državah svobodnih držav Severne Amerike* (1888).

1918 je izšel prevod *Silvestra Košutnika, Stric Tomova koč: Povest iz suženjskega življenja*, ki je bil ravno tako prirejen po nemškem besedilu.

Posebno pozornost zasluži prevod *Olge Grahor*, ki je izšel leta 1934 kot *Koč strica Toma*. Prevajalka je priredbo opremila z obsežnejšim uvodom, v katerem predstavi pisateljico, podaja zgodovinsko in socialnopolitično ozadje ameriškega suženjstva ter opozarja na odlike in slabosti uspešnice. V opombah, ki sledijo pripovedi, Grahorjeva navaja vire, po katerih je besedilo prevedla in priredila, ter poleg razlage posameznih izrazov podaja tudi angleško izgovorjavo lastnih imen. Razen tega delo vključuje spremno besedo, ki jo je H. Beecher-Stowe napisala za evropsko izdajo. Knjiga tako prinaša prvo celovito predstavitev romana v slovenskem jeziku.

Leta 1954 je v prevodu Olge Grahor in v priredbi Kristine Brenkove izšla nova izdaja, *Koč strica Toma ali življenje črncev v suženjskih državah Amerike*, ki je postala standardna "slovenska inačica" ameriškega dela *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Ustalen naslov sicer povsem ustreza angleškemu, vsebinsko pa se podoba slovenskega besedila v marsičem razhaja z izvirnikom. V uvodni besedi, ki jo je zapisala Kristina Brenkova, sicer lahko preberemo, da je "ohranjena vsa zgodba in način pripovedovanja, predvsem pa osnovna misel in hotenje pisateljice" (6), vendar pa že površna primerjava obeh besedil razkrije, da je slovenski tekst osiromašen za vse tiste dele pripovedi, ki kakor koli prikažejo pozitivno vlogo krščanstva v boju za razrešitev suženjskega vprašanja in posledično tudi tistih, ki posebej poudarjajo pomen krščanskih vrednot v razpletu zgodbe same.

Zaradi tega lahko le želimo, da bi v prihodnjih izdajah slovensko besedilo dejansko ohranjalo misli in hotenja pisateljice. S tem bi izrazili dolžno spoštovanje pisateljici, literarnemu delu in slovenskemu bralcu.

UDK 821.111(71).03=163.6"18/1980"

Julijana Mary Dolenshek Vode

#### SPREJEM KANADSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI V SLOVENSKIH PREVODIH DO L. 1980

Kanadska severna pokrajina se prvič pojavi v slovenskih prevodih v začetku 20. stoletja v povestih Jacka Londona, sicer Američana. Tudi prvi kanadski avtorji prevedeni v slovenščino – James Oliver Curwood ter Ernest Thompson Seton – prikazujejo kruto subarktično naravo ter sožitje človeka z naravo. Življenje kanadskih kmetov so posredovali prevodi romanov Marthe Ostenso, zgodovinski in geografski prikaz Kanade pa delo Brucea Hutchinsona. V šestdesetih letih se začenjajo tudi v slovenskih prevodih javljati novejši tedence v kanadski književnosti (Thomas B. Constain, Mordecai Richler, Dennis Feltham Jones). Priložena bibliografija evidentira za čas od 1919 do 1980: 73 prevodov kanadskih del v slovenščino, od teh jih je okoli 40 izšlo kot nadaljevanke v periodičnih publikacijah in časopisih.

Tine Kurent

GEMATRIČNA ŠTEVILA V MERAH BAKROREZA "MELANCOLIA I"

Duerjeva ( in Agrippova) grafika "Melanholija" je visoka 70 in široka 55 modulov, če kot merilo velja na njej narisana krogla s premerom 10 modulov. Njena diagonala meri 89, njen pa 250 modulov. V naštetih številih so skrita gematrična sporočila, molitve, prekletstvo, citati v zvezi z melanholijo in imeni obeh avtorjev.

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