

ACTA NEOPHILOLOGICA

TINE KURENT

THE OM MANI PADME HUM, THE PLATONIC
SOUL, THE TAO, AND THE GREEK CROSS
ARE AN ARCHITECTURAL TOOL

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THE OM MANI PADME HUM, THE PLATONIC SOUL, THE TAO, AND THE GREEK CROSS ARE AN ARCHITECTURAL TOOL

Tine Kurent

The plan of Borobudur conforms with two concentric octagrams.¹ The lines of the scheme,² their lengths, and their intersections, determine the articulation of the Borobudur composition, i. e. the sizes of every part and of the whole as well. (See Ill. 1) The sizes of Borobudur are modular. Their modular multiples are Pell numbers,³ the ratios of which rationally approximate the irrational proportions in octagram⁴ (Ill. 2). If Borobudur numbers are located in the Pell number-pattern and connected with a line, the syllable OM, written in Sanskrit, appears.

The word octagram is only the modern European name of the symbol of OM. The prayer OM MANI PADME HUM, translated as 'the JEWEL and the LOTOS', is a good description of octagram. The jewel, i. e. a well cut brilliant with its facets, is similar to the drawing of octagram. The flower of lotos with its eight petals evokes the eight-pointed star of octagram (illustration 3).

The earliest mention of octagram is Plato's Soul of the Universe (Ill. 4). The Soul is described as the composition of 'the Same' (= the circle), of 'the Other' (= the square), and of 'the Third Form of Being, compounded out of the twain' (= the octagon).⁵ According to Plato, the Universe was shaped by Demiurge with the aid of the Soul.⁶

The Chinese TAO is analogous in shape and in its beneficence to the octagram, or to the OM.⁷

The octagram is an architectural tool.⁸ Vitruvius is referring to it with his two 'octagonal *schemata*', formed as a windrose, in his explanation how to design a town.⁹ The Roman architecture is indeed shaped with proportions generated in octagram.¹⁰ As an example, see the plan of Roman Emona,¹¹ an Augustean town under the present name of Ljubljana, Yugoslavia (Ill. 5). An analogous Egyptian example is Ikhnaton's North Palace (Ill. 6). The Egyptian hieroglyphic *niwt* — said to mean »the crossroad of a village«¹² — is a mutation of octagram, meaning the »composition, building«.¹³

The forms in octagram are shaping architectures in Eurasia. In Asia, e. g., see the plan of Peking¹⁴ and of Kyoto¹⁵ (Ill. 7 and Ill. 8). As a Byzantine example, see the Serbian church of Hilandar¹⁵, on the Athos Peninsula, Greece (Ill. 9). A fine example of Islamic architecture is a mosque of Ottoman type, the Husrev-bey mosque in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia¹⁶ (Ill. 10).

In the Middle Ages, the octagram as an architectural scheme was called »the Greek Cross«. The early Christian symbol was IHTHYS¹⁷, but the cross,

which is one of the mutations of octagram, soon substituted it. The traces of OM, AUM, AVM, AUNG, in Europe are still evident in the word AM(en) and in the involution AV(e) M(aria).

The Indian *Vastu Purusha mandala*, the *manduka mandala*, and *paramasayika mandala*,¹⁸ are the modular subdivisions of the octagram's square (Ill. 11). The number of pada, determining the length of the mandala, is a specific Pell term.

The conclusion of my paper is that the scheme of octagram, under which the symbol of OM is known, is shaping the historical architecture of the Old World. It is evident in Egyptian, Roman, Byzantine, Moslem, Hindu, Chinese, Japanese, and Buddhist architectures. Apparently its origin is in Asia.

NOTES

¹ T. Kurent, *Symbols in Shapes and Sizes of Borobudur*, Paper read at the II. Congress of Indonesian Architects, *Persatuan Sarjana Arsitektur Indonesia*, January 1986, Jakarta.

² Or *les tracés régulateurs*, if we may borrow the term from Le Corbusier.

³ John Pell, 1610—1685, English mathematician who first published the series, now named after him.

⁴ The mathematical aspect of octagram and Pell series is described by P. H. Scholfield, *The Theory of Proportion in Architecture*, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1958.

⁵ Plato, *Timaeus*, 35 A.

⁶ T. Kurent, Stonehenge and the Vitruvian Amusium, *Architectural Association Quarterly*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1975.

T. Kurent, Atlantis after Critias and the Numbers of the Platonic Lambda, *Antiquité Vivante* (Skopje) XXIX, 1, 1979.

T. Kurent, The architectural Models of the Platonic Cosmos, Described in the Republic, *Antiquité Vivante*, XXX, 1—2, 1980.

T. Kurent, The Platonic Lambda is the Key to the Stonehenge Composition, *Antiquité Vivante*, XXIX, 1, 1979.

⁷ cf. *The I Ching or the Book of Changes*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London (Translation).

Lao Tsu, *Tao Te Ching*, Wildwood House Ltd, London, 1975, (Translation).

⁸ See T. Kurent, Cosmogramma della Basilica Romanica di Stična. — *Critica d'arte*, XLV, 174, 1980.

⁹ Vitruvius, *De architectura*, Liber I., Caput VI.

¹⁰ T. Kurent, The Modular Composition of Diocletian Palace in Split, *Antiquité Vivante* XX, 1970.

T. Kurent, The Modular Analogy of Roman Palaces in Split and Fishbourne, *Archaeometry*, 12/1, 1980.

T. Kurent, The Analogy in Modular Composition of Roman Fortresses at Caerleon and at Mogorjelo, *Antiquité Vivante* XXI, 2, 1971.

T. Kurent, Silchester, the Vitruvian Octagonal Town, *Antiquité Vivante* XXII, 1972.

T. Kurent, La composition modulaire de la ville Romaine de Lambaesis, *Antiquité Vivante* XXIV, 1—2.

¹¹ M. Detoni, Kurent T., *The Modular Reconstruction of Emona*, Dissertationes Musei Nationalis Labacensis, Ljubljana, 1963.

J. Šašel, Emona, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Supplementband XI, 1968.

¹² According to A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford University Press.

¹³ T. Kurent, Oktagram in hieroglif, ki pomeni naselje, *Sinteza* (Ljubljana, Yugoslavia) 49, 1980.

¹⁴ T. Kurent, Cosmogramma della basilica romanica di Stična, *Critica d'arte* XLV, 174, 1980; (In this paper, numerous examples are illustrated.)

¹⁵ T. Kurent, La coordinacion modular de las dimensiones arquitectonicas, *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (Madrid), III, 1985; (Numerous examples).

¹⁶ T. Kurent, *Brojevi Tolstojevih prostozidara tri i sedam u modularnoj arhitektonskoj kompoziciji*, Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Beograd, 1981; (Examples).

¹⁷ The Greek word IHTHYS, meaning 'fish' is an acronym of appellation Iesous Xrystos Theou Yos Soter.

¹⁸ Wolwahren, *Inde Bouddhique, Hindou et Jaina*, Office du Livre, Fribourg (Suisse), 1968.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The plan of Borobudur based on two concentric octagrams. The modular multiples in sizes of octagram's lines are Pell terms. If connected with a line, the Sanskrit form of the syllable OM appears.

2. The scheme of octagram and its proportions.

3. OM MANI PADME HUM. The brilliant resembles the scheme of octagram and the lotos flower is similar to the eight-pointed star of octagram.

4. Plato's Soul of the Universe, consisting of the Same, of the Other, and of the third Being, is the octagram's scheme.

5. The Roman Emona is in the proportion, called *quadriagon*.

6. The plan of the North Palace in Tell-El-Amarnah is a *quadriagon*, rationally approximated with the ratio 5:4.

7. The plan of Peking is in the octagram's proportions.

8. The plan of Kyoto is in the ratio 7:6, which is an approximation of *quadriagon*.

9. The Byzantine church of Hilandar, Athos, is designed with the aid of an octagram.

10. The Husrev-Bey mosque in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, is designed with the aid of an octagram.

11. The modular subdivision of Indian architectural mandalas is a combination of the octagram's square and of the Pell numbers.

12. The planning grid for the groundfloor of the church in Bogojina, Slovenia, by Jože Plečnik implies the Greek cross, analogous to the Indian *paramasayika mandala* or Vastu Purusha mandala (See Ills, 11. and 15.).

13. The Temple, as described by Ezekiel, is conforming with the octagram of the first Pell series: 1 — 2 — 5 — 12 — ...

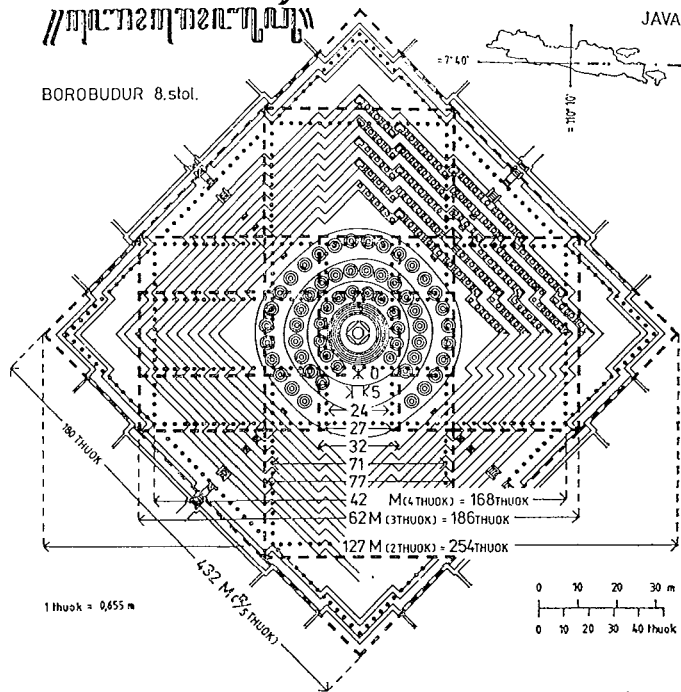
14. The Greek Cross on the groundplane of Michelangelo's St. Peter in Rome.

15. The Indian Vastu Purusha mandala, or *paramasayika mandala*.

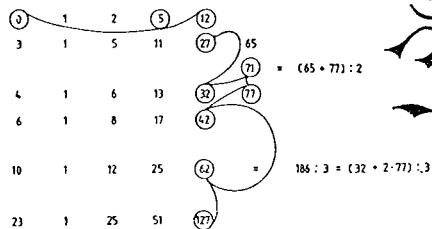
16. The metamorphoses of octagram: the Egyptian hieroglyphic NIWT, the early cross in catacombs, the Vitruvian wind-rose, the symbol of Rosy-crucians, the Indian Shri Yantra, the OM Yantra, the Indo-Chinese mandala, the TAO.

វិទ្យាសាស្ត្របុរាណសាស្ត្រ

BOROBUDUR 8.stol.



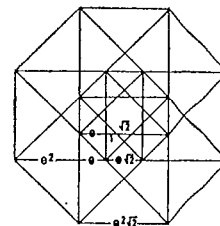
1 thuk = 0,655 m



1

JAVA

$$1 - \sqrt{2} - 0 - \sqrt{2} - 0^2 - \sqrt{2} - 0^3 - 0^4 - 0^5 - 0^6 - \dots \quad 1 - \sqrt{2} - 2 - 2\sqrt{2} - 4 - 4\sqrt{2} - 8 - \dots \quad 1 - 0 - 0^2 - 0^3 - 0^4 - 0^5 - 0^6 - \dots$$

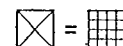
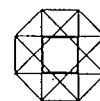


$$0 - 1 - 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 - 70 - 169 - \dots \quad 1 - 1 - 3 - 7 - 17 - 41 - 99 - 239 - \dots \quad 2 - 1 - 4 - 9 - 22 - 53 - 126 - 304 - \dots$$

$$\begin{aligned} 0 &= 1 + \sqrt{2} = 2,414... \\ \sqrt{2} &= 1 + \sqrt{2} + 1 \\ 20 &= 0 + 1 + \sqrt{2} \\ 0^2 &= 0 + 1 + \sqrt{2} + 1 \\ \sqrt{2} &= 0 + 1 + \sqrt{2} + 1 + 0 \end{aligned} \quad \begin{aligned} 0^2 &= 1 + 20 = 2 + \sqrt{2} \\ 0^3 &= 2 + 50 = 7 + 5\sqrt{2} \\ 0^4 &= 5 + 120 = 17 + 12\sqrt{2} \\ 0^5 &= 12 + 290 = 41 + 29\sqrt{2} \\ 0^6 &= 29 + 700 = 99 + 70\sqrt{2} \end{aligned}$$

1:1

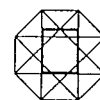
Q



PRIMA

1:1,207

XD

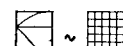
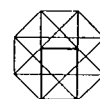


QUADRAGON

$$\begin{aligned} 1 - 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 - 70 - \dots &\rightarrow \frac{0 - 1 + \sqrt{2}}{2} = 1,207... \\ 2 - 4 - 10 - 24 - 53 - 120 - \dots &\rightarrow \frac{1 - 1 + \sqrt{2}}{2} = 1,207... \\ 1 - 3 - 7 - 17 - 41 - 99 - \dots &\rightarrow \dots \\ 2 - 6 - 14 - 34 - 81 - 198 - \dots &\rightarrow \dots \\ 1 - 4 - 9 - 22 - 53 - 126 - \dots &\rightarrow \dots \\ 2 - 8 - 18 - 44 - 106 - 256 - \dots &\rightarrow \dots \end{aligned}$$

1:1,414

D

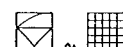
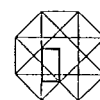


DIAGON

$$\begin{aligned} 1 - 3 - 7 - 17 - 41 - 99 - \dots &\rightarrow \sqrt{2} = 1,414... \\ 1 - 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 - 70 - \dots &\rightarrow \dots \end{aligned}$$

1:1,828

DD

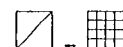
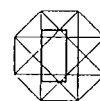


DUAL DIAGON

$$\begin{aligned} 1 - 4 - 9 - 22 - 53 - 126 - \dots &\rightarrow 2\sqrt{2} - 1 = 1,828... \\ 1 - 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 - 70 - \dots &\rightarrow \dots \end{aligned}$$

1:2

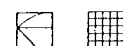
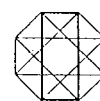
Q



OCTAVA

1:2,414

0



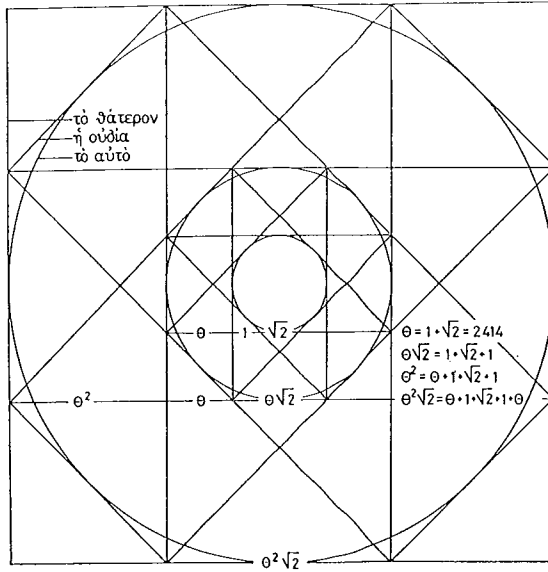
DOUBLE QUADRAGON

$$\begin{aligned} 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 - 70 - 169 - \dots &\rightarrow 0 = 1 + \sqrt{2} = 2,414... \\ 1 - 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 - 70 - \dots &\rightarrow \dots \end{aligned}$$

2

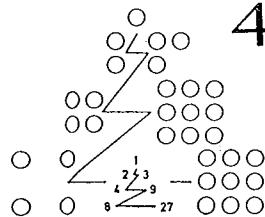
ἡ τοῦ παντός ψυχῇ (Timaeus 41a)

ἡ ψυχῇ (Timaeus 34b) = τὸ αὐτὸ (35a) + τὸ θάτερον (35a) + ἡ οὐδία (35b)

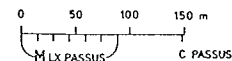
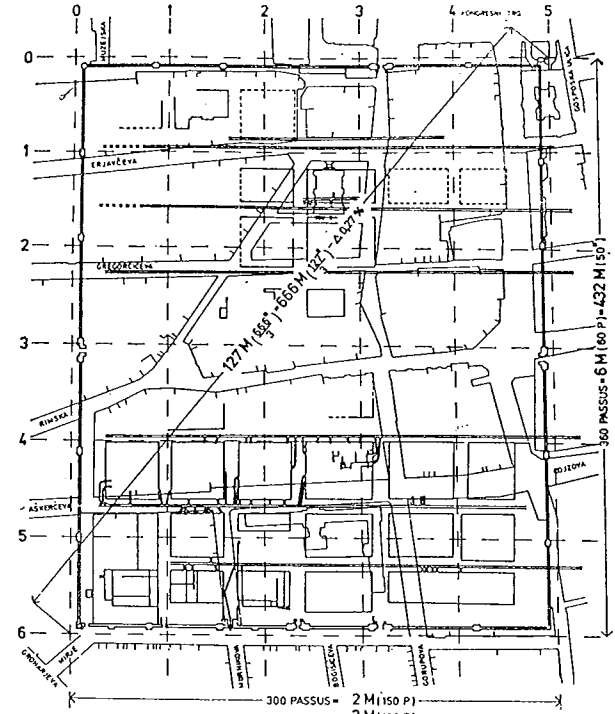


ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ φρόνησις (Timaeus 34a)

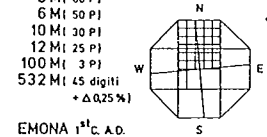
0 - 1 - 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 - 70 - 169 - ...
 1 - 1 - 3 - 7 - 17 - 41 - 99 - 239 - ...
 2 - 1 - 4 - 9 - 22 - 53 - 128 - 309 - ...
 3 - 1 - 5 - 11 - 27 - 65 - 157 - 379 - ...
 4 - 1 - 6 - 13 - 32 - 77 - 186 - 449 - ...
 5 - 1 - 7 - 15 - 37 - 89 - 215 - 519 - ...
 6 - 1 - 8 - 17 - 42 - 101 - 244 - 589 - ...
 7 - 1 - 9 - 19 - 47 - 113 - 273 - 659 - ...
 8 - 1 - 10 - 21 - 52 - 125 - 302 - 729 - ...



4

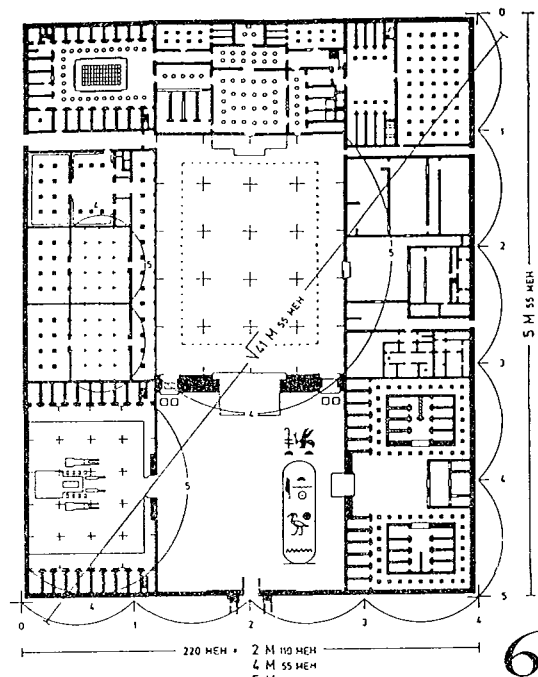


PELL SERIES
 1 - 2 - ⑤ - 12 - ... → $\frac{\sqrt{2} + 1}{2}$
 $\frac{1}{2} - 1 - 2\frac{1}{2} - ⑥ - ...$



5

TURRUM MURORUMQUE FUNDAMENTA SIC SUNT FACIENDA, UTI FODIANTUR, SI QUEAT INVENIRI,
 AD SOLIDUM ET IN SOLIDO, QUANTUM EX AMPLITUDE OPERIS PRO RATIONE VIDEATUR, CRASSI
 TUDINE AMPLIORE QUAM PARIETUM, QUI SUPRA TERRAM SUNT FUTURI, ET EA IMPLEANTUR QUAM
 SOLIDISSIMA STRUCTURA
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 VITRUVII DE ARCHITECTURA - LIB. I/5

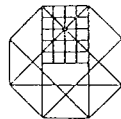


MODULES

- M 55 CUBITS
- M 225 CUBITS
- M 15 CUBITS
- M 7 CUBITS

EURHYTHMY

1 - 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 → 1m 8/2
2 - 4 - 10 - 24 - 58

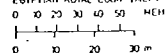


PROPORTION

5:4 (QUADRAGON)

$$\frac{5}{4} \sim \frac{12}{10} \sim \frac{29}{24} \sim \frac{8}{2} \sim \frac{\sqrt{2} \cdot 1}{2} \sim 1,797 \sim \frac{5}{4} \sim 1,250$$

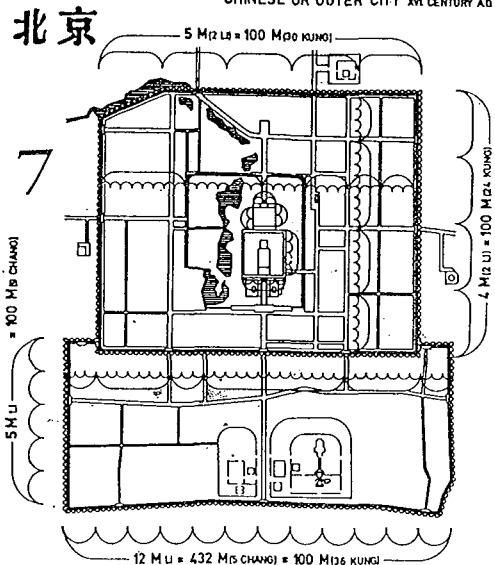
EGYPTIAN ROYAL CUBIT (MEH) = 52,4 cm



EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC
OF VILLAGE OR CITY

TELL-EL-AMARNAH THE NORTH PALACE
(1370-1352 B.C.)

PEKING, CAPITAL OF CHINA: TARTAR OR INNER CITY XIV CENTURY AD
CHINESE OR OUTER CITY XVI CENTURY AD



MODULES



LI ~ 680 m

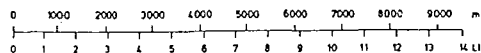
M 2 LI = 2 M LI = 6 M 10 LI = 6 M 60 CHANG = 6 M 100 KUNG = 18 M 10 LI = 18 M 20 CHANG

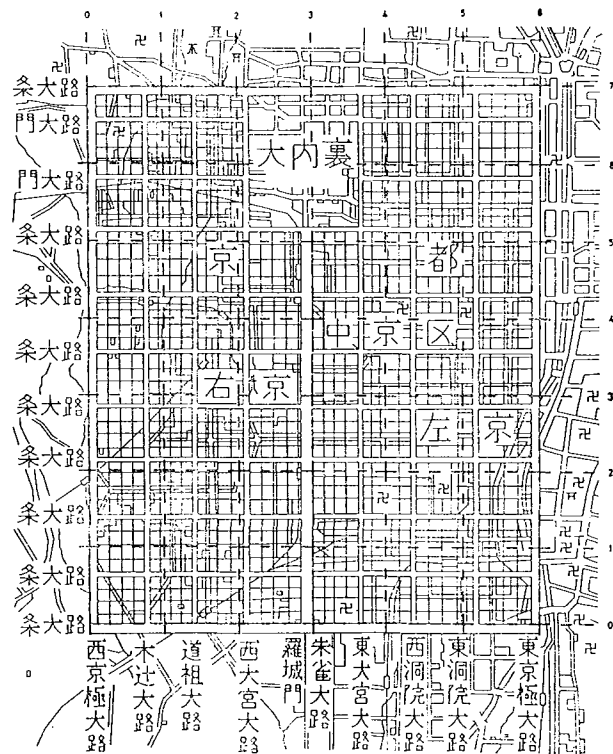
PROPORTION 1:1 PRIMA 5:4 QUADRAGON 12:5 DOUBLE QUADRAGON



EURHYTHMY

1 - 2 - 5 - 12 - 29 → 8 - 12 - 240
2 - 4 - 10 - 24 - 58





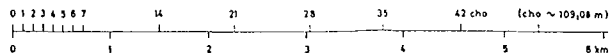
MODULE 7cho KYOTO, VIII CENTURY A.D.

EURHYTHMY $1-3-5-17 \rightarrow 8 \frac{H+1}{2} = 1207 \sim 128 = 7$
 $2-6-14-34 \rightarrow 2 \frac{H+1}{2} = 1207 \sim 128 = 7$

PROPORTION 7:6 QUADRIGON



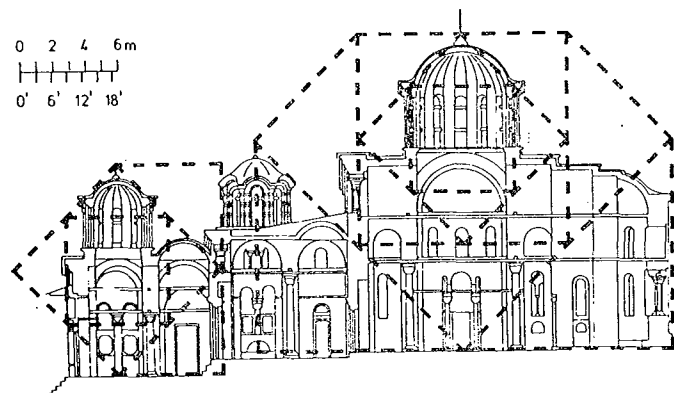
8



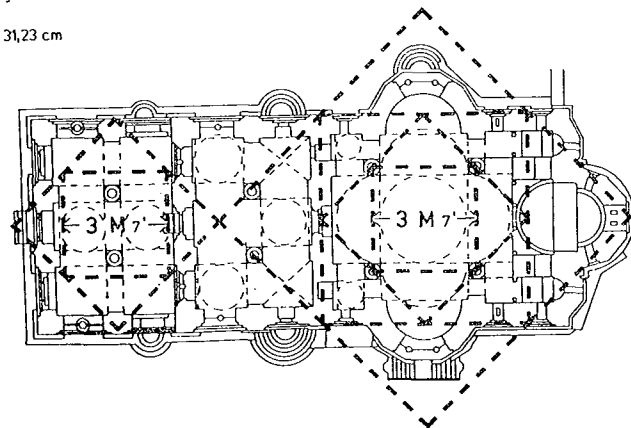
ХИЛАНДАР

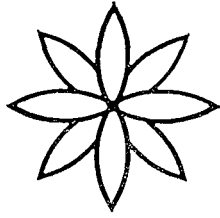
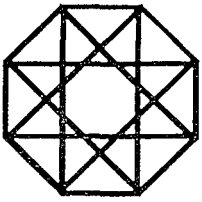
9

0 2 4 6m
 0' 6' 12' 18'



1' = 31,23 cm

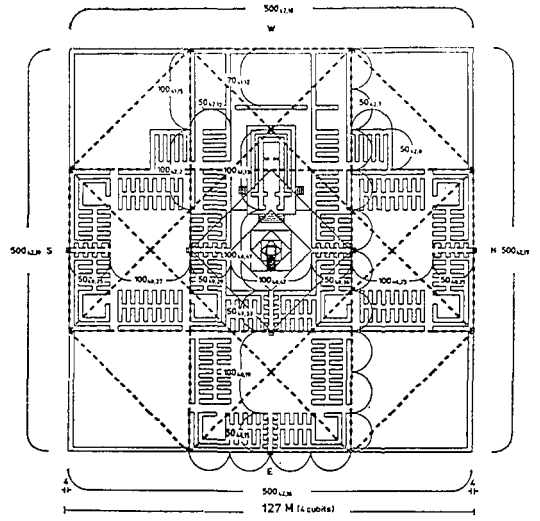




3

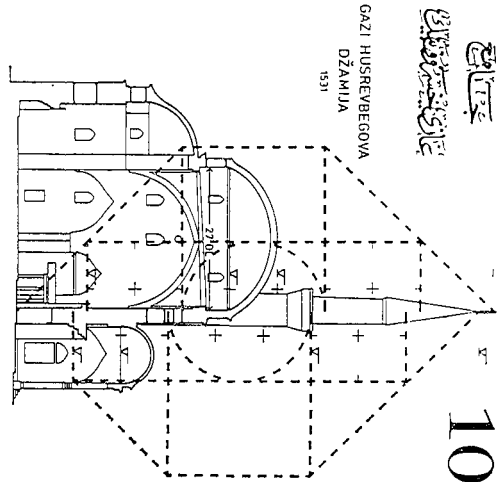
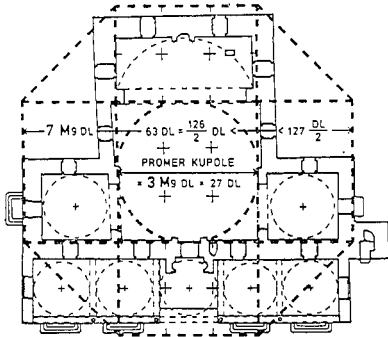
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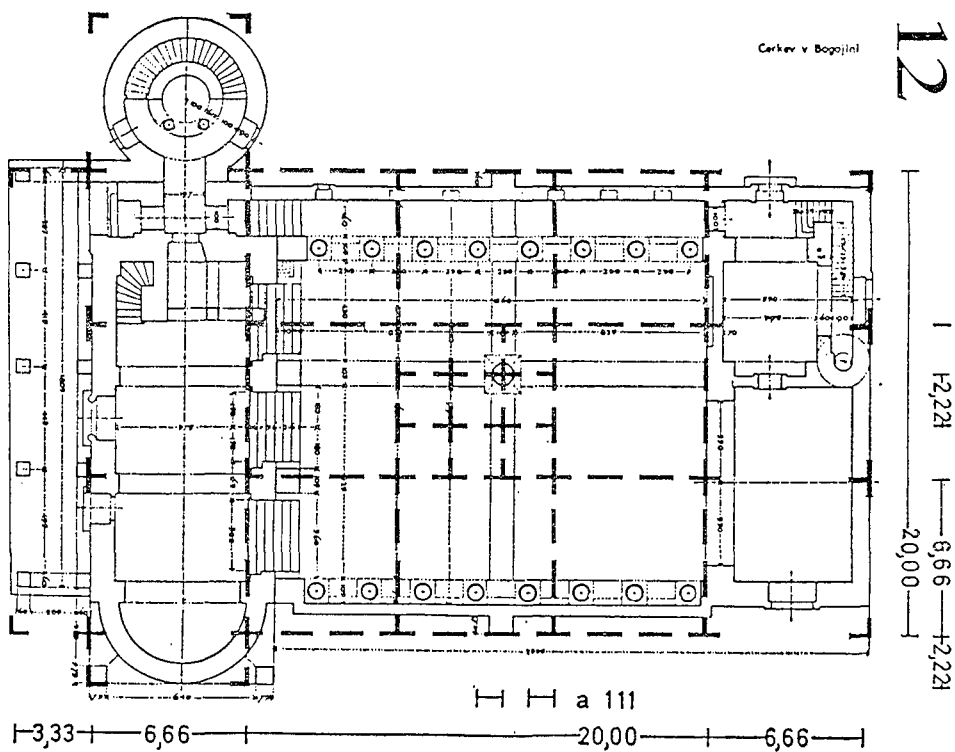
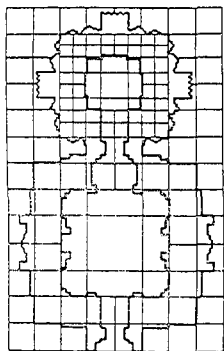
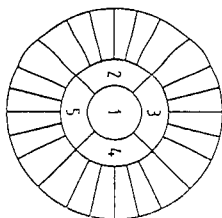
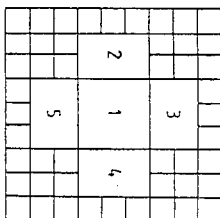
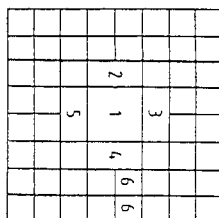


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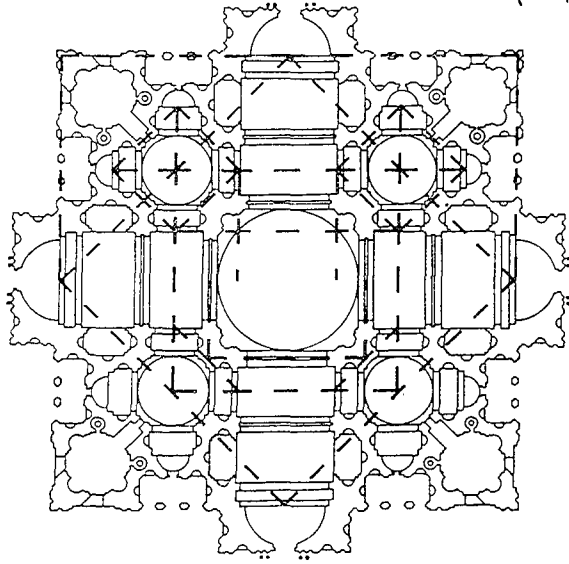
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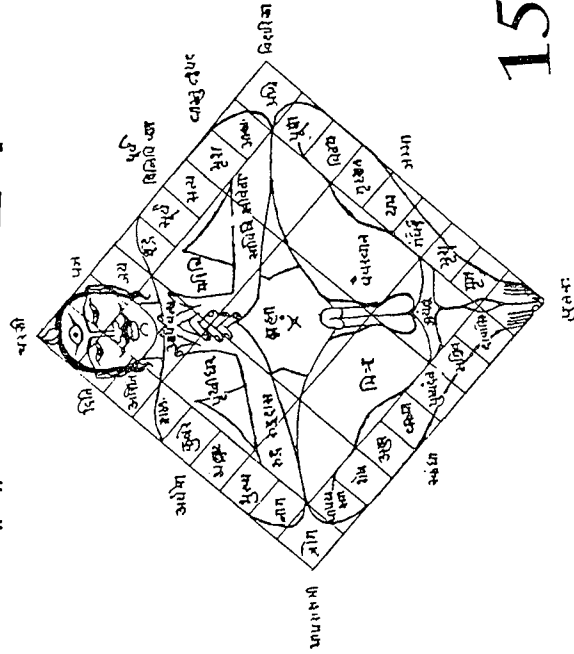
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TEMPELJ BRAHMESHVARA
V BHUBANESWARUVASTU PURUSHA
MANDALAPARAMASAYIKA
MANDALAMANDUKA
MANDALA

- 1 BRAHMA
- 2 ARYAMA
- 3 PRITHVIDHARA
- 4 MITRA
- 5 VIVASVAN
- 6 PROSTOR ZA
ZUNANE BOGOVE



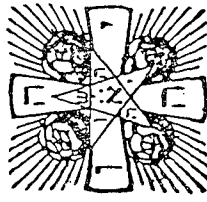
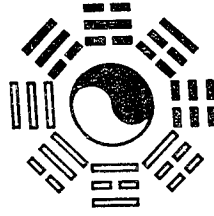
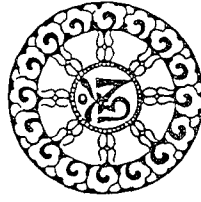
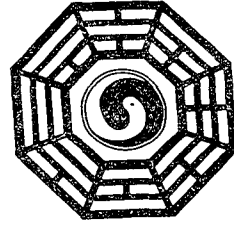
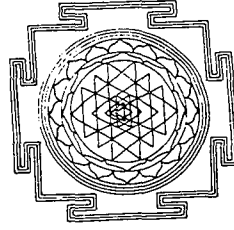
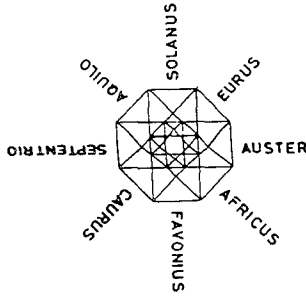
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LA CULTURA DE CERVANTES

Lúdivik Osterc

La cultura de Cervantes ha constituido un tema de apasionante controversia entre quienes se han ocupado de su vida y de su obra. Unos la niegan y otros se la reconocen. Los primeros se agrupan en torno a los enfoques conservadores, y los segundos reflejan puntos de vista progresistas. Dentro de estas dos corrientes existen distintos matices que van desde los moderados hasta los extremistas.

La idea de un Cervantes con poca o casi ninguna cultura arranca de Tomás Tamayo de Vargas que, en un manuscrito de 1624, lo llama «ingenio lego». Según este literato, el Manco de Lepanto sería ingenio, aunque lego, el más festivo de España.

Desde entonces ha hecho carrera el concepto de que el gran novelista fue apenas hombre de escasa cultura y, cuando mucho, un genio inconsciente. Dicho en otros términos: Cervantes era un ignorante, Cervantes era un hombre de su tiempo y, Cervantes era un hombre inconscientemente genial. He aquí las tres variantes que han venido sosteniendo los críticos tradicionales ante la tan discutida cultura de Cervantes.

La primera variante la compartieron Diego Clemencín, el comentarista español más prolífico del QUIJOTE, y modernamente el notable investigador alemán Helmut Hatzfeld, así como el glosador argentino de ascendencia francesa, Paul Groussac. Clemencín tilda a Cervantes de «ignorante en el arte de escribir» y lo trata con aire de maestro de atar escobas. Hatzfeld opina que el adjetivo «lego» supone una persona sin cultivo intelectual, en tanto que al crítico argentino nadie iguala en la posición negativa con respecto a Cervantes. En su *Crítica literaria* (B. Aires, 1922), después de señalar la supuesta ignorancia geográfica del gran alcalaíno, en el QUIJOTE, de la tierra aragonesa, añade: «Lo fenomenal es verle vagar... por esa Mancha, que no se sabe a qué santo eligió como teatro de tanta zurrubanda, no conociendo de ella, visiblemente, sino algunos nombres de lugares...» Y añade: «... parece imposible que Don Quijote no hubiera ido cien veces allí (a Ruidera) antes del almuerzo, a cazar algún pato, seguido de su galgo corredor.»

Así las cosas, veamos, primero, cuál fue el saber de los mencionados críticos, para refutar después, tan descabelladas conclusiones. Por lo que toca a Clemencín, he de sentar que la enorme cantidad de páginas de su comentario, que casi iguala al texto cervantino, está en proporción inversa a su escaso valor, ya que, por una parte, no le concede ni un párrafo que no esté lleno de descuidos, defectos o errores, los cuales, empero, conforme a la unánime apreciación de los filólogos modernos, no son tales, pues Cle-

mencín no entendía el texto y no desentrañaba su ironía, por lo cual lo interpretaba al revés, y, por otra, se ocupaba en explicar perogrulladas y cosas pueriles que rayaban en lo ridículo. Como ejemplo, mencionaré su afirmación según la cual Cervantes citaría los autores y las obras latinas a tuertas, y la verdad es que en tales casos se burlaba con donaire de la erudición barata de sus contemporáneos. Otro tipo de comentarios que lleva Clemencín al extremo, es el de ver a cada paso en el QUIJOTE remedos, imitaciones o parodias de los libros de caballería. Para este crítico petulante, apenas hay, no se diga ya aventura, pero ni vulgar incidente, por insignificante que nos parezca, que no caiga adrede en el QUIJOTE a fin de remedar o recordar otro caso semejante de uno o más libros caballerescos. De tal modo, por ejemplo, don Quijote ata su caballo a un árbol. Cualquiera cree que una acción tan común no necesita de comentario. Clemencín, no obstante, lo pone, y nos descubre, que don Quijote imitó en esta ocasión a este o aquel caballero que ataron también sus caballos a sendos árboles, como si, cuando cualquiera se apea, no hiciese la misma cosa. Y, al contrario, don Quijote no ata su caballo a árbol alguno, sino que lo deja libre pastando. Clemencín en seguida amontona citas de los infinitos caballeros que hicieron lo propio, como si fuera privativo de los libros caballerescos y acción extraordinaria, digna de ser comentada, el dejar sueltos los caballos para que coman la hierba.

Otra clase de comentario que hace este anotador consiste en explicar que el numeral cuatrocientos o la palabra cuadrillero se derivan de cuatro de suerte que uno no puede sino hecer notar, que lo que se le olvidó a Clemencín, fue averiguar cuántas veces a lo largo de las aventuras de la pareja andantesca, relinchó el caballo de don Quijote y rebuznó el burro de Sancho Panza...

Al leer el comentario de Clemencín, uno tiene la neta impresión de que este afilosofado crítico quiso servirse del gran libro, para, por un lado, exhibir su erudición, y, por otro, erigirse en dómine, pero lo que consiguió fue, que había ido por lana y volvió trasquilado, ya que queriendo demostrar la supuesta ignorancia de Cervantes, no logró sino manifestar la suya propia, pues, no es otra cosa querer explicar, por ejemplo, que *frisar* provenga del latín *fricare*, cuando este verbo, según las más elementales leyes fonéticas que rigen en español, pudo dar por resultado, como efectivamente lo dio, fue: *fregar*. El «sabio» comentador hubiera podido documentarse fácilmente en *El tesoro de la lengua castellana* de Covarrubias, el cual había salido a luz más de dos siglos antes que su famoso comentario (1611).

No le va a la zaga el referido glosador argentino, Paul Groussac, pues afirmar que el autor del QUIJOTE no conocía la geografía de la Mancha, quiere decir, que cuando leía el gran libro, pensaba con los pies, y observar que don Quijote debió de ir cien veces a caza de patos con su galgo corredor, en la laguna de Ruidera, equivale a inventar un estrafulario deporte nuevo: el de la caza de patos con veloces galgos corriendo sobre la superficie de las lagunas...

En cuanto a la segunda variante, extraña el que Juan Valera, novelista de amplia cultura, haya considerado a Cervantes como uno de tantos españoles de su tiempo, cuyas «máximas sobre política, moral y poesía... nunca traspasan los límites del vulgar, aunque recto juicio.» Son del mismo parecer dos conocidos críticos franceses, sus contemporáneos: Morel-Fatio y Ernest Mérimée. Este último, por ejemplo, escribe en su *Historia de la literatura*

española (México, 1948), que Cervantes expresa las ideas medievales y prejuicios corrientes en cuanto a la religión, la política y la moral, porque a este respecto no estaba de ningún modo a mayor altura que sus coetáneos. Según P. Savj-López, cuando señala que no se encuentra en Cervantes ninguna interpretación elevada del mundo, ningún pensamiento sólido político, religioso o moral. Para el hispanista norteamericano, Rodolfo Schevill, la mente del gran escritor no era especulativa, y su actitud hacia los dogmas religiosos y políticos de la época tan poco crítica como la de cualquier hombre del pueblo. En igual o parecido concepto lo tienen: Clemente Cortejón, Angel Ganivet y Ramiro de Maeztu.

M. Menéndez y Pelayo incurre en el mismo error que censura en otros críticos. Así, al refutar, por una parte, a Tamayo por haber tachado a Cervantes de ingenio lego, escribe, por otra, que nuestro autor «era poeta y sólo poeta, ingenio lego, como en su tiempo se decía». Sus nociones científicas eran las comunes y corrientes de la sociedad en que vivía y, aun dentro de ésta, no eran las más adelantadas, sino las ideas oficiales, dado que no había tenido — termina diciendo — tiempo ni afición para formarse otras.¹

En suma, a juicio de estos investigadores el magno novelista fue un hombre de letras de poca cultura, tanto general como literaria, pero dotado de gran sensibilidad e imaginación.

A decir verdad, uno queda asombrado que opiniones tan disparatadas hayan sido expresadas por eruditos de la talla de Menéndez y Pelayo. Por lo visto, el polígrafo español no pudo o no quiso — me inclino a pensar más en esto último — que los grandes ingenios suelen elevarse por encima de las ideas de su tiempo y adelantarse a los siglos, circunstancia que en este caso se dio, pues es conocida la genial predicción cervantina referente a las dimensiones de inmortalidad y universalidad de su obra maestra. Recordemos la conocida frase cervantina puesta en boca de Sansón Carrasco, a tenor de la cual no habrá nación ni lengua en que no se traduzca, predicción hoy ya prácticamente realizada (II, 3).

Lo que ha ocurrido, en realidad, fue, hablando en buen romance, que dichos señores midieron la grandeza y genialidad de Cervantes con la vara de su propia mediocridad, ignorando que los autores geniales poseen el don de ver con claridad y en una intuición rápida, lo que los demás literatos, por muy notables que sean, no alcanzan a ver con el más perseverante esfuerzo intelectual, y, de aprender en unos cuantos años lo que los escritores del montón no aprenden durante toda su vida.

La tercera variante interpretativa del adjetivo en cuestión es la más estrambótica e indefendible. Oigamos lo que al respecto dicen algunos eruditos. El sueco Hagberg cree que Cervantes fue de tal modo inspirado por el genio de su siglo que casi no presintió todo el alcance de su misión. El renombrado cervantista español, Francisco Rodríguez Marín, sostiene que Cervantes fue un hombre de su tiempo que, como Cristóbal Colón, murió sin darse clara cuenta de lo que inventó o descubrió. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, a su vez, escribe que por ser el QUIJOTE obra de genio, sugiere más de lo que dice. Y el famoso poeta alemán, Heinrich Heine, apunta que la pluma del genio es siempre más grande que el mismo genio, y, por ello, Cervantes sin darse cuenta escribió la más grande sátira contra el entusiasmo.

¹ *Historia de las ideas estéticas*, México, 1985, t. I, p. 517.

De acuerdo con estas opiniones, Cervantes sería un novelista mediocre e inculto, pero inconscientemente genial, de cuya péndola brotarían las ideas por sí solas sin que interviniera su cerebro. Su libro surgiría como por arte de magia al dar el autor por casualidad en el clavo, no sabiendo casi de letra escribiendo la novela más estupenda, de la cual dijo A. Fernández Guerra y Orbe que es «la obra más discreta, más hermosa y más grande del genio humano». ¡Los genios literarios no se dan cuenta de lo que escriben! ¿Hay mayor absurdo? Y decir esto con respecto a Cervantes quien puntualizó con orgullo: «Para tí sola nació don Quijote, y yo para él; él supo obrar y yo escribir; solos los dos somos para en uno» (II, 74).

Y para colmo, uno de los más prominentes autores de la Generación del 1898, Miguel de Unamuno, con su conocida altivez suelta esta gansada: «¿No hemos de tener nosotros por el milagro mayor de don Quijote el que hubiese hecho escribir la historia de su vida a un hombre que como Cervantes, mostró en sus trabajos la endeblez de su ingenio?»² ¿Unamuno más inteligente que Cervantes? Leer, para creer...

Por si fuera poco, hay quienes como el mencionado Morel-Fatio aseguran que si Cervantes conociera más profundamente el latín y leyera en mayor número los libros y autores clásicos, habría razonado y escrito mejor. También el profascista italiano, Cesare de Lollis, en su librito *Cervantes reazionario* (1924), así como el citado Rodolfo Schevill, ponen en duda su dominio del latín. La verdad es, por lo contrario, muy distinta. Que Cervantes sabía latín no cabe la menor duda. Hay más aún, él no sólo lo conocía sino que lo dominaba casi a la perfección. En la autorizada opinión de su más grande biógrafo moderno, Luis Astrana Marín, Cervantes asistió primeramente al Estudio de la Compañía de Jesús en Córdoba, y luego, al trasladarse su familia a Sevilla, cursó en el de los mismos jesuitas en esta ciudad. Una vez de regreso en Madrid, continuó sus estudios en el Instituto de la Villa, dirigido por su maestro López de Hoyos que lo llamó «mi caro y amado discípulo». Ahora bien, en todos los colegios de los jesuitas se aplicaba el mismo plan docente, dentro del cual figuraban obligatoriamente varios cursos de latín, con el indispensable Antonio o Arte de Nebrija. El propio Cervantes así lo cuenta en su novela *El Coloquio de los perros*. Luego, mayores ya, al pasar los jóvenes a las de Gramática, el latín constituía una de las enseñanzas principales. Cervantes permaneció en dicho Estudio de la Villa hasta edad muy adelantada (22 años), si bien con intermitencias. Dispuso, pues, de tiempo sobrado para aprenderlo bien. Las citas latinas de las *Geórgicas* virgilianas y otras harto largas de Ovidio en *El Licenciado Vidriera*, ambas en versos nada fáciles, como también las numerosísimas citas en latín tomadas de los Libros Sagrados del Antiguo y Nuevo Testamento revelan un saber profundo e incuestionable de la lengua romana.

Además, ¿quién dice que sólo la cátedra universitaria puede comunicar conocimientos por encima del abecedario y de la instrucción elemental? Lo evidente en este caso es que la verdadera formación intelectual de Cervantes no está en las aulas, sino fuera de ellas en el hervor de la vida. Su única universidad fue la vida misma de la que aprendió como nadie, con su genialidad, su formidable poder de asimilación y su prodigiosa memoria. Y estas cosas no se aprenden en ninguna universidad por muy célebre que sea, ya que *poeta nascitur, non fit* (el poeta nace, no se hace), como decían los anti-

² *Vida de don Quijote y Sancho*, México-B. Aires, p. 226. — El subrayado es mío.

guos romanos, habida cuenta de que el ingenio, el estro y la minerva no se adquieren ni se otorgan en las altas escuelas, sino que nacen con el individuo. Y Cervantes los llevaba en sus entrañas en grado sumo.

Fueron precisamente su genialidad y su enorme éxito lo que movió a sus contemporáneos a la envidia. De ahí el motete de »ingenio lego«. Así fue la envidia de los coetáneos la que dio el primer impulso a la crítica. Ellos vanidosos y presuntuosos en su mayor parte, ensimismados por los aplausos del vulgo, veían como atrevimiento inaudito el que un hombre pobre, sin altos títulos académicos ni aristocráticos intentase llamar la atención, y lo que es más, satirizarlos y mostrarles su pequeñez.

Ser lego en la sociedad en que vivía pasaba por un insulto, por tal lo tomó sin duda Cervantes, y no dejó de responder. Los que habían pisado las aulas universitarias, altaneros y orgullosos, ofrecían más de un blanco a su crítica, y no tuvo reparos en mofarse de sus títulos y diplomas. De esta calaña son el cura del lugar de don Quijote »hombre docto graduado en Sigüenza«, pequeña ciudad con su universidad de pacotilla (I, 1), y el loco del hospital de Sevilla »graduado en cánones por Osuna«, pero, »aunque lo fuera por Salamanca — dice Cervantes — según la opinión de muchos no dejara de ser loco« (II, 1), y otros. Estos títulos producían su efecto y dibujaban en aquel tiempo una sonrisa burlona en todos los labios.

Su sátira de los eruditos a la violeta llega a su apogeo, cuando en el diálogo entre los dos canes sabios sobre los latinos, en la novela *El Coloquio de los perros*, dice Cipión: »Hay algunos, que no les excusa el ser latinos de ser asnos«, palabras que remacha Berganza: »Y yo he visto letrados tontos, y gramáticos pesados...«, palabras, por fin, que bien pueden aplicarse a no pocos críticos cervantinos.

Otros cervantistas tradicionales, entre ellos A. González de Amezúa, ponen en entredicho sus conocimientos del turco y árabe. Sin embargo, ya el Padre Haedo en su *Topografía de Argel* (1612), al hablar de los cristianos cautivos en Argelia, dice que muchos de ellos sabían hablar muy bien las lenguas turca y árabe. ¿Pudo Cervantes que tuvo trato y comunicación, no solo con sus compañeros de infortunio sino con los mismos turcos, moros y renegados durante cinco largos años, no aprender dichas lenguas? ¿Era Cervantes menos inteligente que sus paisanos? Evidencianlo algunas frases turcas y árabes esparcidas en sus comedias de la primera época, en las que trata del tema de los cristianos cautivos. En lo concerniente al árabe, don Quijote hasta enseña a Sancho a identificar las palabras árabes puntualizando que comienzan por a l (II, 67), hecho confirmado por la moderna filología.

Pues bien, considero que ha llegado el momento de poner los puntos sobre las íes en este asunto. Cervantes era, para aquellos tiempos un verdadero políglota. Una sola pero atenta y detenida lectura de sus obras nos lo descubre a las claras.

Entre las lenguas »sabias«, como a la sazón se llamaban las lenguas clásicas, además del latín tenía conocimientos del griego. En *El Coloquio de los perros*, Cipión explica la etimología de la palabra filosofía: »Este nombre se compone de dos nombres griegos que son filos y sofía, filos quiere decir amor, y sofía, la ciencia...« Además, él mismo forja palabras compuestas de vocablos griegos, como Pentapolín y otras.

Daba indicios de poseer nociones, cuando menos rudimentarias, del alemán. En el encuentro entre Sancho y su vecino, el morisco Ricote, regresado

clandestinamente del extranjero y disfrazado de mendigo alemán, éste le pide dinero exclamando: »¡Guelte! ¡guelte!«, o sea, »Dinero, dinero!« (II, 54).

También tenía asomos de francés. En *El Licenciado Vidriera* menciona la locución interjectiva *Permafoy*, que en francés moderno reza *par ma foi* y quiere decir: a fe mía. Cita, además, el apellido *Papin*, dándole su significado etimológico de papista de acuerdo con su propósito satírico.

Asimismo sabía el portugués. En la misma novela juega con el sentido de dos palabras lusas: *tenho* (tengo) y *tinho* (teño), y en el Quijote se sirve del nombre genérico *carrasco*, que significa verdugo, como apellido del clérigo Sansón Carrasco quien funge como mochín de los ideales de don Quijote.

Conocía muchas voces del catalán, como se observa en las aventuras del bandolero Roque Guinart y Claudia Jerónima (II, 60), donde figuran *lladres* (ladrones), *frade* (fraile) y otras.

Tuvo vislumbres del caló o la lengua de los gitanos como se desprende de la novela *La Gitanilla* y la comedia *Pedro de Urdemalas*.

Hubo de conocer varios vocablos del vasco como se infiere de la comedia *La casa de los celos*.

Se entiende que usó y comprendió la lengua franca o bastarda de Berbería, de la cual dice el Capitán cautivo »que no es ni morisca, ni castellana... sino una mezcla de todas las lenguas con la cual todos nos entendemos.« (*La gran sultana*.)

Conoció a fondo la germanía o la jerga del hampa, de la que dio una verdadera cátedra, tanto en la novela *Rinconete y Cortadillo* como en el episodio de los galeotes del Quijote (I, 22).

Mas, el idioma que habló con soltura, fue el italiano que aprendió en la propia Italia, donde vivió cerca de seis años. Pruébanlo los italianismos que emplean en sus obras, así como varias palabras toscanas que intercala en el texto de sus escritos. Escribíalo corrientemente y aun llegó a componer versos, de los cuales dejó muestra en la comedia *El laberinto de amor* y en el *Viaje del Parnaso*. Entendió también algo del dialecto genovés (*Viaje*, VIII), así como del bergamés (*La gran sultana*) y del napolitano.

Ahora bien, la afirmación de que Cervantes era poco conocedor de libros y de humanidades es simplemente ridícula, ya que leía muchísimo y no sólo leía sino devoraba libros. Él mismo dice que leía hasta los papeles rotos de las calles (I, 9). Y cuando él no lo dijera, lo dirían sus obras. Sólo ignorándolas, podrá negarse la copiosísima lección de las más diversas materias. Según datos recopilados por el hispanista A. Cotarelo y Valledor, Cervantes debió de leer alrededor de 430 autores y, cuando menos lo doble de libros (*Cervantes lector*, 1943). Sólo en el Canto a Calíope, inserto en su novela pastoril *La Galatea*, menciona y ensalza a 133 autores cuyas obras leyó, y en el *Viaje del Parnaso* pasa revista de 123 poetas, cuyos versos recorrieron sus ojos.

Por otro lado, manejó más de medio centenar de libros de caballería que fueron leídos de cabo a rabo. En cuanto a humanidades, ya Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, refiriéndose a la cultura literaria del gran novelista, escribía: »Que Cervantes fue hombre de mucha lectura no podrá negarlo quien haya tenido trato familiar con sus obras... Pudo Cervantes no cursar

escuelas universitarias... pero el espíritu de la antigüedad había penetrado en lo más hondo de su alma.»³

Cervantes fue, pues, asiduo y gran lector. Y esto es tanto más meritorio, por cuanto no fue el tipo de escritor de asiento en una Corte, o del fraile erudito que goza de la quietud conventual teniendo a su alcance nutridas bibliotecas, como Góngora por ejemplo. Su inmenso saber fue logrado a costa de mucho trabajo y tiempo, siendo verdadero milagro el que pudiese hallarlo en su vivir andariego, falto de medios y reposo, sujeto a cada momento a los golpes de la mudable fortuna, pues poco conseguiría leer en las marchas, cuarteles y galeras; pero en las antesalas del cardenal Acquaviva, primero, en el hospital de Mesina, conveleciendo de sus gloriosas heridas, más tarde, y en las pasadas de Nápoles, estudió innumerables libros.

Sus lecciones abarcaban todos los campos del saber. Así, ensalzando don Quijote, sosia de Cervantes, la ciencia de la andante caballería, afirma que entraña todas las ciencias del mundo y expone cómo el andante caballero — sinónimo de luchador por un mundo mejor y más justo — ha de ser sociólogo, jurisperito, teólogo, médico, astrólogo, herbolario, matemático, ha de saber nadar, herrar un caballo, y estar adornado de todas las virtudes teológicas y cardinales (II, 18). No gozó el coloso de Alcalá sólo estas prendas y saberes sino otros que don Quijote omite, pues, como dice Sancho: «No hay cosa donde no pique y deje de meter su cucharada» (II, 22).

En vista de tales y tantas lecturas cervantinas, no es fácil catalogarlas ni cabe en el marco de un artículo. Por ello, me limitaré a los más importantes autores y obras.

Comenzando por la antigüedad grecolatina, salta a la vista la intimidad que Cervantes muestra con sus nombres y sus obras. Para demostrarlo, basta ya no leer sino sólo hojear la magna novela para darnos cuenta de ello. En verdad, allí están los de Homero y Marcial, Aristóteles y Cicerón, Platón y Virgilio, Demóstenes y Julio César, Hipócrates y Ovidio, Heródoto y Tito Livio, Heliodoro y Juvenal, Jenofonte y Tíbulo, y muchísimos más.

No sólo conoce a autores italianos, sino que está saturado de Italia. En efecto, las citas de literatos italianos son incontables. Entre ellos figuran brillantes como Dante y Petrarca, Sannazaro y Tasso, Ariosto, Pulci, Boyardo y Boccaccio. Incluso conoció la producción de poetas de segunda, como Tansillo y Serafino Aquilano. Se manifiestan en la obra cervantina, además, reminiscencias de Bembo, Policiano, Castiglione y otros más.

Por descontado que nuestro novelista leyó la Biblia y, en especial, el Nuevo Testamento. Sus obras están llenas de citaciones tomadas de estos libros.

Cuando se ha buscado su erasmismo, se ha opuesto la presencia de los índices de la Inquisición, para decidir por exclusión qué es lo que Cervantes podía leer, pero se ignoraba la lectura de libros prohibidos. Además, después de las investigaciones de los cervantistas progresistas, Américo Castro y Marcel Bataillon, no cabe ya duda alguna que Cervantes conocía las obras de Erasmo.

Por otro lado, el gran escritor había leído toda la literatura española de los siglos XII, XIII, XIV y XV, dominaba completamente la del XVI y la de los comienzos del XVII, y estaba familiarizado con la portuguesa. Baste saber, que conoció Cervantes y trató a la mayor parte de los ingenios de su

³ *El Quijote y la cultura literaria de Cervantes.*

tiempo, siquiera hubiesen sido los Argensolas que no lo dejaron llegar a una pobre recámara del virrey de Nápoles, conde de Lemos, y que tuvo la nobleza de citar a muchos que poco valían, bien así como en el *Viaje del Parnaso*.

Huelga mencionar el *Romancero*, porque había leído todos o los más de los romances que se oyeron en los siglos anteriores y en el tiempo en que vivió. Leyó, también, todas o la mayoría de las crónicas, tanto anteriores a su siglo como contemporáneas. Ilústralo la estrecha amistad que llevaba con Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, el cronista oficial de Felipe II y Felipe III, su hijo. (Lo alaba en el *Viaje del Parnaso*, I.)

La sabiduría popular, desgranada a manos llenas en las páginas cervantinas y particularmente en el QUIJOTE, hacen del libro un monumento folklórico. Sancho es un refranero vivo y su inagotable provisión de adagios, emulada en menor grado por otros personajes, hace patente la gran afición de Cervantes a esta clase de sentencias enjundiosas y pintorescas, así como su lectura de las principales recopilaciones de proverbios, en primer lugar, la de los Proverbios del Marqués de Santillana.

Su nada común saber de la astronomía revela las nutridas lecciones de libros dedicados a esta ciencia. Patentízalo multitud de tecnicismos de la esfera armilar y facilidad con que los maneja, como son: paralelos, zodiaco, eclíptica, coluros, polos y semejantes. Sabe que el Sol es mucho más grande que la Tierra (*Persiles*, III, 11), menciona varios planetas y cometas (*Numancia*, IV). Por ello, debió de conocer la *Cosmographia* de Pedro Apiano, cosmógrafo de Carlos V.

La pericia geográfica de Cervantes salta indudable cuando alude a las tierras y mares por él corridas y surcados. Así ofrece pormenores exactos sobre Nicosia, Chipre, Corfú y Malta (*El amante liberal*) y otros de Constantinopla (*La Gran sultana*), así como la precisión con que acusa la derrota común de las naves de América, lo cual presupone que había leído, así *Suma de geographia* (1519) de Martín Fernández de Enciso, como *Geographia y descripción de las Indias*, de Juan López de Velasco, por lo menos.

En lo que atañe a las ciencias naturales, no estaba peor informado que otros escritores de su tiempo y, aun pienso que mejor, ya que se muestra gran conocedor de plantas y animales corrientes en sus días, y que traen las raíces desde los autores clásicos, entre ellos Plinio, oráculo de Miguel. De ciento pasan los animales y a ciento se aproximan los vegetales mencionados sólo en el QUIJOTE. Cita desde luego a Dioscórides como gran botánico y a su famoso anotador Andrés Laguna (I, 18).

Era Cervantes hijo de un cirujano, y su hermana Andrea fue al menos en una ocasión, hábil enfermera, y entre sus amigos contó al licenciado Juan de Vergara

»de Esculapio y de Apolo gloria y lustre«,
(*Viaje*, IV)

ya antes elogiado por Calíope. Bastan estas circunstancias para no serle extraña la medicina que aprendió, primero, en los libros médicos de su padre, y en los tratados de medicina, después. Entre éstos cabe mencionar los célebres *Aforismos* de Hipócrates, a quien nombra el QUIJOTE, llamándolo »norte y luz de la medicina« (II, 47—49).

Las bellezas de la medicina práctica descubiertas en las obras del gran Manco se refieren principalmente a la asombrosa, y aun científica pintura de locos, lo cual implica que había leído las obras del médico-filósofo, Huarte de San Juan, cuyas tesis sobre los temperamentos Cervantes aplicó con maestría inigualable a sus monomaníacos.

Ahora bien, a la luz de lo anterior surge la pregunta: ¿Cómo compaginar la abundantísima lectura de Cervantes y su norme saber con el epíteto de ingenio lego? ¿Se puede atribuir tal disparate, más bien insulto, solamente a la envidia? ¡De ninguna manera! La cosa tiene móviles mucho más profundos y trascendentales que hay que buscar en el terreno ideológico, social y político.

Realmente, en la medida en que se extinguían las mezquinas cuestiones personales con la desaparición física de los literatos contemporáneos, aparecían otro tipo de animadversiones, mucho más acentuadas y enconadas, provocadas por la revelación de la orientación netamente renacentista y radicalmente humanista de la magna novela por parte de la crítica progresista. En efecto, la reacción de las clases dominantes españolas sumamente conservadoras y retrógradas, en primer lugar del clero, no se hizo esperar. Primero trataron de anular la obra con otra, la espuria — de facto el Anti-QUIJOTE —, escrita por un eclesiástico, pero una vez fracasada la treta, quisieron desconocerla y hasta hacerla desaparecer. Así, su contemporáneo ex eclesiástico D. Saavedra-Fajardo (1584—1648), de origen aristocrático, no la menciona para nada en su obra *La República literaria* y tampoco a Cervantes. Fray Benito J. Feijóo (1676—1764), en su vastísimo *Teatro crítico* y sus *Cartas eruditas*, en donde se nombran centenares de autores y libros, no encontró un modesto lugar para citar una sola vez a Cervantes y su obra maestra.

Los jesuitas en sus escuelas tronaban contra Cervantes tachándolo de hereje. El Padre Miguel Mir, quien abandonó la Compañía de Jesús, en 1891, pero conservó su condición de sacerdote, relata que en cierto colegio se celebró un auto de fe o quema de libros heréticos. Uno de los arrojados a las llamas fue el QUIJOTE, y, al lanzarlo se pronunció el anatema: «¡Por hereje, por impío, por ... liberal!»

Así y todo, ante el peso y la evidencia de los argumentos que ponían en ridículo la tan traída y llevada tesis de la crítica tradicional, según la cual el QUIJOTE no sería más que una pobre burla de los libros de caballería, los comentadores conservadores, sobre todo los más lúcidos, como M. Menéndez y Pelayo y F. Rodríguez Marín, llegaron a encontrarse ante el dilema: o admitir el verdadero legado cervantino poniendo en peligro su posición económica y social, o pasar por alto el contenido de la obra limitando sus investigaciones a la mera estética literaria, convirtiendo de tal manera las ideas cervantinas en tabú. Optaron por la segunda alternativa protegiendo sus intereses personales y tratando así de salvar su conciencia...

Otros estudiosos de menor calibre empezaron a buscar defectos en cada capítulo e incorrecciones en cada página del QUIJOTE. Presuntuosos y soberbios estos dómines de Cervantes, queriendo demostrar su privilegiada memoria y faltos de talento creador, pero sobrados de erudición barata, sólo lograron conseguir lo contrario de lo que se proponían: las obras del principal hablista español alcanzaron así mayor relieve, trascendencia y crédito; el movimiento literario iniciado se hizo más señalado y grandioso, mientras que los detractores de las obras cervantinas quedaron en el más profundo olvido y sus escritos presa del polvo y la polilla.

Los glosadores más reaccionarios, empero, no se dieron por vencidos. Recurrieron a todo género de artilugios con el fin de desvirtuar y tergiversar al auténtico significado y mensaje del gran texto cervantino. Para ello se valieron de forzamiento del texto (Padre J. Cejador y Frauca), sus enmendaduras arbitrarias (J. E. Hartzenbusch), y mutilaciones del mismo en forma de citas truncadas (Padre Moneva y Puyol).

En resumen, el «pecado» que cometió Cervantes consistía en haber censurado a los intereses creados de las poderosas clases dominantes con el clero a la cabeza, dispuestas a tolerar el ataque a la gran mayoría de sus dogmas e ideas, pero nunca el ataque a la mínima parte de sus bienes materiales. Precisamente a ello se debe el que el genial novelista haya tenido que soportar postergaciones, atropellos y vejaciones en su vida, y menosprecios, tergiversaciones y mutilaciones de sus obras, después de su muerte. ¡Qué miserable es la crítica reaccionaria!

LAS DOS DONCELLAS: PADRES E HIJOS

Stanislav Zimic

Los juicios críticos acerca de esta novela corta cervantina son preponderantemente negativos: »imperfecta«;¹ »mediocre, convencional y artificiosa«;² »una de las más endebles de la colección«;³ »nearest to failure«;⁴ »escrita sin mucha gana«;⁵ bajo la influencia de la novelística italiana, »contra la voluntad y el dicho de Cervantes«, con »el simple propósito de orden editorial y secundario de añadir una novela más a las que ya tenía escritas, para poder llegar a la docena proyectada ... novela de relleno«,⁶ etc., etc. Raras veces se concede — y aun entonces más bien por indulgencia hacia el Príncipe de los Ingenios — que *Las dos doncellas* tiene algún atractivo literario: »como novela no pasa de un discreto artificio idealista, inocente, pálido, aunque hábil en el relato a la italiana«;⁷ »the subject-matter of this *novela* is not particularly interesting«, aunque »the story is well constructed and presented«.⁸ Hasta en los más fervorosos exegetas cervantinos parece menguar el entusiasmo al estudiar esta novela, mientras algunos de sus editores modernos revelan una actitud casi de disculpa al tener que editarla con las demás. En efecto, ni siquiera hay acuerdo alguno sobre el sentido fundamental de esta obra; las interpretaciones que intentan explicar su idea o intención motriz — comúnmente destacando su trivialidad — suelen sustentarse en una evidencia textual muy parcial, a menudo haciendo abstracción total de la opuesta. Al principio, *Las dos doncellas* puede parecer, de hecho, »extraña«, frívola, pero una lectura atenta la revela como una obra extraordinaria por la concepción original con que se representan los sucesos, por la sutileza de la caracterización y por las importantes implicaciones de carácter histórico, social y literario que de ella se desprenden.

¹ M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, *Obras Completas*, ed. nac., XV, 113, 216—217.

² J. Ares Montes, »Las novelas ejemplares«, *Curso de conferencias para universitarios*, Madrid, 1959.

³ J. Apraiz, *Novelas ejemplares de Cervantes*, Vitoria, 1901, 96.

⁴ J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Exemplary Novels*, Glasgow, Gowans and Gray, 1902, »Introduction«, VII—XIV.

⁵ J. Rodríguez-Luis, *Novedad y ejemplo de las Novelas de Cervantes*, Madrid, Porrúa Turanzas, 1980, I, 78.

⁶ A. de Amezúa y Mayo, *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, Madrid, C. S. I. C., 1956—58, vol. II, 326.

⁷ A. Valbuena Prat, *Obras completas de Cervantes*, Madrid, Aguilar, 1965, 949.

⁸ J. Thompson, »The Structure of Cervantes' *Las dos doncellas*«, *BHS*, 1963, XL, 150.

Entre los «muchos» aspectos «endebles» de la obra se censura, con particular severidad, su «asunto imposible»,⁹ sus «inverosimilitudes e incredibilidades»:¹⁰ En busca de Marco Antonio, su seductor, Teodosia se encuentra de repente en el mismo cuarto de una venta con su hermano Rafael, quien viene de Salamanca. Al día siguiente, los dos emprenden juntos la búsqueda y en el camino encuentran a Leocadia, rival en amores de Teodosia, también abandonada por Marco Antonio. Rafael se enamora de ella. Al llegar los tres a Barcelona, topan con el fugitivo, defendiéndose de una turba, y le salvan la vida. Creyéndose mortalmente herido, Marco Antonio se casa con Teodosia, mientras Leocadia se consuela con Rafael. Los cuatro vuelven a su pueblo en el momento preciso en que sus padres se están desafiando a muerte, por el «deshonor» que a las familias ha causado la presunta traición de Marco Antonio. Por fin, todo se explica con satisfacción de todos y la novela se acaba del modo más feliz. Preguntan retóricamente los críticos: ¿No resultan quizás hirientemente artificiosas, pueriles al sano juicio, todas esas increíbles coincidencias episódicas, geográficas, temporales, etc. en las andanzas y en los encuentros de los personajes, como también las soluciones tan facilitonas de todos los problemas? Considerando oportuno justificar de algún modo tan «patentes inverosimilitudes» y «banalidades», in una obra cervantinal, se ha sugerido que «en algunas narraciones ... Cervantes parece olvidarse del principio de la verosimilitud, y se lanza a acumular *el absurdo por el absurdo, el embrollo por el embrollo, el gusto por la superposición de enredos, de encuentros casuales, etc.* ...», con la finalidad de alegrarle [al lector], lo cual él considera «como una forma de caridad, de servir al lector», su «principio supremo».¹¹ Sin embargo, en el *Quijote*, por boca del Canónigo, Cervantes declara categóricamente que «el que huyere de la verosimilitud y de la imitación, en quien consiste la perfección de lo que escribe ...» no podrá hacer «que sus fábulas ... admiren, suspendan, alboroten y entretengan, de modo que anden a un mismo paso la admiración y la alegría juntas» (I, cap. 47, 1251). Según todas las evidencias, a esta noción de que «an intelligent pleasure in fiction is impossible without verisimilitude»¹² Cervantes se mantiene escrupulosamente fiel en todas sus obras, desde sus piezas primerizas hasta el *Persiles*, acabado «con las ansias de la muerte ...», puesto ya el pie en el estribo» (*Persiles*, «Dedicatoria», 1527).¹³ Aunque el problema de la verosimilitud requiere una consideración crítica particular y distinta en cada obra estudiada, para Cervantes — esto nos parece siempre demostrable — cualquier elemento textual, no importa de qué indole, es verosímil, con tal de ser utilizado con plena justificación estética, temática y formal. La verosimilitud de todos los elementos textuales, que se constituyen en la metá-

⁹ F. de Icaza, *Las Novelas Ejemplares de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1916, 185.

¹⁰ Amezá y Mayo, *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, 335.

¹¹ J. M. Díez Taboada, «La estructura de las *Novelas Ejemplares*», AC, 1979—80, XIII, 101. Lo subrayado es cita de M. Baquero, «Introducción» a las *Novelas Ejemplares*, Madrid, Ed. Nacional, 1976, I, 64.

¹² E. Riley, *Cervantes' Theory of the Novel*, Clarendon Press, 1962, 88—94. En su interpretación de la verosimilitud, Taboada (ver nota anterior) discrepa de la de Riley, ¿sin proponérselo?

¹³ Según mostraremos en un estudio futuro, en algunas de sus obras Cervantes acumula, en efecto, lo inverosímil, pero con la intención específica de confrontarse, críticamente, con la inverosimilitud como recurso literario, lo cual es un problema distinto.

fora de la obra, depende así de la completa, esencial relevancia poética de éstos respecto al tema conceptual. Esta noción, de evidente raíz aristotélica, a que Cervantes se refiere también como »desatino« utilizado »con propiedad«, hecho »de propósito« (El viaje del *Parnaso*, 92)¹⁴ — y que así deja de ser »desatino«, claro está — se ejemplifica plenamente en todos esos »absurdos«, »embrollos«, »encuentros casuales«, etc., que tan inverosímiles parecen a tantos críticos. La »arbitrariedad« — prerrogativa fundamental de todo escritor — con que Cervantes inventa las situaciones, tan repletas de coincidencias externas, y con la que las ordena en esa secuencia espiciífica, asimismo abundante en coincidencias, responde a un determinado y claro propósito fundamental de la obra: revelar el modo de pensar, de ser de los personajes. Por ejemplo, de nada importa que Rafael no reconozca de inmediato a Teodosia, cuando ésta le relata sus desgracias en la venta (hecho tan censurado por algunos lectores), pues lo que a Cervantes interesa mostrar, ante todo, es la reacción del hermano, tradicionalmente pundonoroso, a la hermana »deshonrada«, y la de ésta a aquél, en el momento de revelarse sus identidades. El »artificioso« encuentro es así sólo un recurso, lícito, conveniente y apropiado para el retrato emocional y moral de los dos hermanos que empieza a dibujarse. Una confrontación similar de todos los personajes, dramática y conflictiva, en situaciones extraordinarias, oportunas para ese efecto, es lo que Cervantes persigue, principalmente, a lo largo de *Las dos doncellas*.¹⁵ Esto se demuestra ya por el hecho significativo de que obra abunda de conversaciones, discusiones, polémicas, exhortaciones, interpelaciones, diálogos, y, por otra parte, escasea de peripecias episódicas, de acciones físicas, anecdóticas, que no sean esenciales para la articulación de los conflictos íntimos de los personajes. Y las que se introducen, se condensan y abrevian notablemente. Así, por ejemplo, los itinerarios de los personajes se mencionan de manera casi perfunctoria, suficiente para advertir del cambio de lugar, en que va a representarse otra etapa del drama iniciado en las escenas anteriores: »...se dieron prisa a caminar sin perder jornada, y sin acaecerles desmán o impedimento alguno llegaron a dos leguas de un lugar que está a nueve de Barcelona« (955). Tales cambios instantáneos de escenario con las consecuentes apariciones muy repentinas de los personajes, se efectúan a veces con evidente diversión íntima del autor, siempre tan conciente de la problemática de su creación literaria: »volviendo a mirar a sus hijos, no sabían qué decirse; tentábanles los cuerpos, por ver si eran fantásticos, que su improvisa llegada esta y otras sospechas engendraba« (967).

A esta misma conciencia autocrítica, tan típica, de Cervantes — ¡y no a su deseo de »retardar el desenlace en beneficio de la extensión convencional de la trama, y hasta ocultar de paso la pobreza de episodios«!¹⁶ — atribuimos el detallismo ocasional con que refiere ciertos sucesos, lo cual contrasta, en efecto, de manera muy llamativa, con la frugal acción aventuresca: Todos los personajes hacen hincapié en el hecho de que para sus andanzas disponen de los necesarios medios económicos. Antes de empren-

¹⁴ Ver la aguda interpretación del »desatino« en Riley, *Cervantes' Theory of the Novel*, 60. También nuestras consideraciones en el estudio sobre *El rufián dichoso*, en *El teatro de Cervantes*, (de próxima aparición, Castalia).

¹⁵ Rodríguez-Luis destaca bien la »confrontación« de los personajes como elemento estructural (*Novedad y ejemplo de las Novelas de Cervantes*, 66).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

der su viaje, Teodosia »había metido la mano siete u ocho veces ... en el escritorio de su padre ... sacándola llena de escudos de oro« (955); con los »quinientos escudos« de la hermana »y otros doscientos que él tenía y una cadena de oro«, a Rafael »le pareció no ir muy desacomodado« para el viaje a Barcelona (955). Para su propio viaje, Leocadia hurtó a su padre »mucha cantidad de dineros« (958), etc. Al tratar de viajes en sus obras, Cervantes a menudo y por varias razones, destaca las »prevenciones« económicas; en este caso para explicar la fuente del dinero para esos extensos viajes de unos jóvenes que probablemente carecerían de medios propios para emprenderlos.¹⁷ Llamam mucho la atención también las referencias esporádicas a las cabalgaduras; que a veces impresionan como leves sonrisas irónicas, como la de Calvete, mozo de mulas, quien está a cargo de ellas y quien al fin »se quedó con la que de don Rafael había enviado a Salamanca« (968), etc.¹⁸ ¿No se criticó quizás la desaparición inexplicada del rucio de Sancho en el *Quijote* de 1605? (*Quijote*, II, 1284). Para Cervantes tal olvido no constituye »uno de los puntos sustanciales que faltan en la obra« (*Ibid.*), pues en nada perjudica la verdad poética y ni siquiera el lógico desarrollo episódico de la obra, pero no cabe duda de que esa crítica le puso sobre aviso respecto a la deseabilidad — con miras a la lectura literal — de atar bien todos los cabos y detalles en sus relatos,¹⁹ ¡y de llamar la atención del lector sobre tal procedimiento! Este puede constituirse así, a veces, en una auténtica e ingeniosa respuesta paródica a las anticipadas objeciones de sus pedantescos censores.²⁰

La designación de Avellaneda de las *Novelas ejemplares* de Cervantes como »comedias en prosa«²¹ resulta, pues, particularmente apropiada para *Las dos doncellas*, y algunos críticos modernos, impresionados por sus varios elementos »propios de la comedia«, hablan de su »construcción teatral«,²² aunque sin poner suficientemente de relieve el aspecto dramá-

¹⁷ Es notorio el episodio del *Quijote* en que el Ventero »daba por consejo« a D. Quijote »que no caminase de allí adelante sin dinero y sin las prevenciones referidas, y que vería cuan bien se hallaba con ellas« (1043). Cervantes sabe que »no sería menester escribir una cosa tan clara y tan necesaria de traerse como [son] dineros y camisas limpias«, (*ibid.*), cuando se trata de viajeros, pero los libros de caballerías dejan la impresión de que los andantes caballeros no necesitan preocuparse jamás de tales »prevenciones«, sin explicar como efectúan sus perpetuas andanzas, sin ellas. D. Quijote es la víctima de tal impresión. Como consecuencia de tales abusos en esa literatura y por la preocupación por satisfacer las expectativas de sus lectores, conscientes de las exigencias materiales del viaje, Cervantes llega incluso a extremarse en las explicaciones de éstas. Ver las consideraciones de este problema en nuestro estudio sobre *La española inglesa*, («El Amadís Cervantino», AC, 1987—1988, 480—1).

¹⁸ Las referencias al provecho económico de Calvete, al acompañar a su amo, es otra clara muestra de las preocupaciones destacadas en la nota anterior. Sólo en este detalle es posible encontrar una relación entre Calvete y Sancho. Por otra parte, es inaceptable la relación entre los amos, D. Rafael y D. Quijote, sugerida por A. Valbuena Prat (949).

¹⁹ También Rodríguez-Luis advierte esta preocupación (*Novedad y ejemplo de las Novelas de Cervantes*, 74).

²⁰ Revelándose como probables consecuencias de ciertas críticas contemporáneas del *Quijote* de 1605, esas »curiosas« referencias en *Las dos doncellas* circunscribirían, lógicamente, la fecha de la creación de esta novela.

²¹ A. Fernández de Avellaneda, *Ingenioso hidalgo D. Quijote de la Mancha*, »Prólogo«: »...comedias en prosa, que eso son las más de sus novelas«.

²² Ver Díez Taboada, »La estructura de las Novelas ejemplares«, 104; Rodríguez-Luis, *Novedad y ejemplo de las Novelas de Cervantes*, 73, 85—6. Es revelador

tico-teatral más significativo que, según se ha sugerido arriba, es la estructuración de la obra en una secuencia de escenas — con transiciones casi imperceptibles, sugestivas de entre actos —, que tienen la función casi exclusiva de representar la confrontación de ciertos valores, actitudes e intereses, a base de unos significativos problemas sociales y humanos. Se ha intentado identificar éstos como una serie de «cuestiones de amor», propuestas a la consideración de los personajes y del lector : «Which is more unhappy, Teodosia or Leocadia? ... Who has the greater claim, legally and emotionally, on Marco Antonio — Teodosia, whose love was consummated, or Leocadia, who was loved more recently than Teodosia? ... Who has the greater cause for jealousy...?»²³ Estas y otras preguntas relacionadas se suscitan en la mente del lector, claro está, pero no es la contestación a ellas en sí lo que principalmente importa, sino lo que los personajes revelan de sí al contemplarlas, en el intento de promover sus respectivos intereses.

Aunque Marco Antonio es «rico ... noble» y «alabado y estimado» de todos por su «gala, gentileza, rostro, discreción y cortesía» — atributos muy deseables de amante y esposo —, Teodosia asegura que al principio no sentía «otra cosa que ... una complacencia» al verlo (952). «La fortaleza de [su] honra» quedó derribada sólo después de un intenso y continuo asedio por «la artillería» de Marco Antonio: las miradas con que parecía «enviarle el alma», las dulces «palabras ...», los juramentos, las lágrimas, los suspiros y todo aquello «que a ella le parecía revelar «un firme amador», incluyendo, claro está, la promesa de matrimonio, grabada en una sortija: «Es Marco Antonio esposo de Teodosia» (953). Sin embargo, ¿fue por efecto de esta poderosa «artillería» de Marco Antonio, únicamente, que Teodosia se entregó, «sin saber cómo ... en su poder», o, más bien, se entregó en ese momento, por fin, con toda premeditación, porque quedó convencida de que con su larga resistencia ya había dado a su galán todas las pruebas suficientes de su «virtud»? En el relato de sus desgracias se vislumbran ambigüedades y contradicciones que hacen sospechar un comportamiento bien calculado. No cabe duda de que la empujó a rendirse también otro factor significativo, quizás decisivo: «Y finalmente, con la promesa de ser mi esposo, a pesar de sus padres — que para otra le guardaban — di con todo mi recogimiento en tierra ... a hurto de mis padres» (952). La preocupación de Teodosia con la «otra» o las «otras», como también su preponderante vanidad femenina, a que parece subordinarse todo genuino interés sentimental en el amante, se sugieren en su pregunta después del abandono: «¿Qué halló en mí que tan presto le movió a dejarme?» (953). De todos modos, «Teodosia's knowledge of this [que los padres de su amante «para otra le guardaban»] makes her in fact guilty of the treachery of which Leocadia accuses her»,²⁴ o, cuando menos, la revela como una joven desconsiderada, egoísta, inescrupulosa. También muy mañosa se demuestra Teodosia ya desde el principio, como, por ejemplo, cuando declara — con

el hecho de que en el siglo XVII en Francia e Inglaterra «se llevó el asunto» de *Las dos doncellas* al teatro (Amezúa y Mayo, *Cervantes creador de la novela corta*, 352).

²³ Thompson, «The Structure of Cervantes' *Las dos doncellas*», 144—150; J. B. Avallé-Arce coincide con esta erudita en que estas «cuestiones de amor» determinan la estructura de la obra, (*Novelas ejemplares*, Madrid, Castalia, 1982, III, «Introducción», 14.)

²⁴ R. El Saffar, *Novel to Romance. A Study of Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, 113.

probable intención de «afear» sutilmente la indiscreción de Leocadia — que por su propia «condición y recogimiento... nunca ella [Teodosia] se aventuraría a dejar la casa de sus padres ni acudir a la voluntad de Marco Antonio», y que es precisamente lo que ha hecho. A Leocadia pretende ofrecerle «consejos saludables», pero secretamente le guarda rencor, hasta «deseándole la muerte». Aunque esto se debe a «la rabiosa enfermedad de los celos», con que se suelen justificar los peores extremos, es no obstante, significativo que en la personalidad de Teodosia se destaquen tantas tendencias deplorables o, cuando menos, cuestionables. La misma observación es aplicable también a la caracterización de los otros personajes.²⁵

A menudo se señala una gran semejanza entre Teodosia y Leocadia, censurándola como innecesaria duplicación: «En primer término ha de repararse en que todo parece estar duplicado en el relato. Como si no bastase una doncella disfrazada de caballero, surge otra en traje de muchacho; si la una va en busca del novio que la abandonó, la otra sigue la misma demanda»;²⁶ «olvidémonos de Leocadia cuyo papel parece no ser otro que el de redoblar la acción con las variaciones necesarias para dar movimiento al argumento»;²⁷ «son tan semejantes entre sí que podrían trocar sus papeles y nombres respectivos sin detrimento de la trama»;²⁸ «Leocadia's role is a secondary one, significant only as an aid to the self-discovery of Teodosia and to her subsequent marriage to Marco Antonio ... Leocadia has no independent meaning in the story, being representative of Teodosia's repressed active self».²⁹ Pasma la arbitrariedad de tales declaraciones: ¿Con qué lícito criterio literario podemos sencillamente «olvidarnos» de un personaje que el autor obviamente tuvo a bien introducir en su obra y que, por mayor ironía, desempeña un papel aún más extenso y complejo que el de Teodosia? Aplicando la misma lógica con que se explica a Leocadia como personaje sin significado propio, como mero reflejo de un complejo íntimo de Teodosia, ¿no se podría quizás proponer también lo contrario, es decir, que Teodosia es mero reflejo de este o aquel complejo personal de Leocadia? Evidentemente, para tales interpretaciones no hay sólido sostén textual.

Leocadia queda impresionada ya a primera vista de «la gentileza... discreción» y de «la calidad del linaje» de Marco Antonio, como también de «la muha cantidad de bienes que llaman de fortuna que su padre tenía». Una pronunciada ambición y codicia, pues, aunque también cierta atracción personal y sensual — pero no un genuino sentimiento amoroso, que todavía

²⁵ Casaldueiro observa que Teodosia y Leocadia no son «dos mujeres ideales que se presenten como norma viva de una conducta», aunque también encuentre en ellas «el heroísmo de la virtud» (*Sentido y forma de las Novelas ejemplares*, Madrid, Gredos, 1974, 211, 109). Amezáa y Mayo destaca que Marco Antonio es un «vulgar seductor», mientras la conducta de los otros personajes lo deja a menudo perplejo (*Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, 347, etc.). Con muy fina intuición, A. M. Beaupied percibe importantes aspectos negativos de los «enamorados» («Ironía y los actos de comunicación en *Las dos doncellas*», AC, 1983, 165—176). Nuestro estudio coincide en varias de sus importantes observaciones.

²⁶ R. Schevill y A. Bonilla, *Novelas ejemplares*, III, *Obras completas de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1922, 393.

²⁷ Casaldueiro, *Sentido y forma de las Novelas ejemplares*, 208.

²⁸ Amezáa y Mayo, *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, II, 347.

²⁹ El Saffar, *Novel to Romance*, 116. Estas observaciones parecen contradecirse hasta por la detallada comparación que a continuación se hace de las dos doncellas (116—8).

no tuvo ocasión de cimentarse — le instilan el «pensamiento» de «alcanzarle por esposo», lo cual para ella sería «toda la felicidad que podría caber en [su] deseo». Con insistencia metódica comienza «a mirarle con más cuidado», y Marco Antonio, percatándose de ello, reacciona interesado. Poco después, consiguiendo de él «su fe y palabra, debajo de grandes ... , firmes y cristianos juramentos de ser [su] esposo», Leocadia está dispuesta a rendirse, «a que hiciese de [ella] todo lo que quisiese», pero no sin antes exigirle también una «cédula», para asegurarse de que todos esos juramentos y palabras ... no se las llevase el viento» (957—8). «Práctica inmoral»³⁰ por conducir a la entrega de la doncellez de modo tan fríamente calculado, casi sin emoción, como en un auténtico intercambio de bienes comerciales. De índole pasional es «la rabia de mujer engañada», herida en su vanidad, que Leocadia siente al no acudir Marco Antonio «al concierto señalado ... para coger el fruto que para él solo estaba señalado». Esta pasión y los celos la empujan también a la venganza de su rival, para turbarle a ésta el «sosiego», pero, sobre todo, para que «no piense ... gozar a tan poca costa lo que es mío ... le quitaré la vida si puedo» (959). Que Marco Antonio es suyo lo prueba la «cédula» firmada de su propia mano, que ella, antes de salir de casa tras él, leyó de nuevo para confirmar «las razones ... firmes y valederas» de su derecho exclusivo de posesión (958—9). La absoluta convicción de poseer este derecho y de conseguirlo, a toda costa, como si de un monopolio se tratase, exenta de genuinas consideraciones sentimentales, explica también la conducta de Leocadia después de encontrar a Marco Antonio en Barcelona: Muy agresiva, adelantándose a todos, se lleva al herido en el esqui, y después, apenas lo ve con alguna señal de vida «determinó de hacer lo que le pareció convenir para satisfacción de su honra». Muy significativamente, en presencia de todos los amigos, conocidos, médicos y criados en la sala, «se llegó a la cabecera del herido, y asiéndole de la mano», y advirtiéndole, ante todo, que las palabras que le dirigiría «convienen, si no para la salud de vuestro cuerpo ... , para la de vuestra alma», se puso a hacerle recordar su «entereza del recato y honestidad», el «valor de sus padres» y, sobre todo, «la palabra, que [el] le dió, firmada en una cédula de [su] mano y letra», la «obligación» en que él estaba para con ella y que debiera cumplir «por Dios ... , por vos, que debéis mucho a ser quien sois ... , por mí, a quien debéis más que a otra persona del mundo». Leocadia no sólo apela a la conciencia y al sentido de responsabilidad de Marco Antonio, sino que también intenta halagar su egoísmo masculino con un sutil chantaje: «si fuere Dios servido de llevaros de ésta a mejor vida, con hacer lo que debéis ... , prometo de daros tal vida después de vuestra muerte, que bien poco tiempo se pase sin que os siga». Hasta una mal velada amenaza hay en las reclamaciones de Leocadia de sus derechos: «que aquí luego me recibáis por vuestra legítima esposa, no permitiendo haga la justicia lo que con tantas veras y obligaciones la razón os persuade». Obviamente, Leocadia desea que Marco Antonio viva y sea su esposo, pero en todo lo que le dice en este momento «crítico» se percibe, sobre todo, su miedo de que Marco Antonio muera sin cumplir sus obligaciones para con ella (961—3).

A las reclamaciones de Leocadia sigue «un maravilloso silencio», típica pausa con que en las obras cervantinas se nos hace anticipar una contesta-

³⁰ Amezcua y Mayo, *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, 343.

ción correctiva o reprensiva.³¹ »No puedo negar ... lo mucho que os debo ni el gran valor de vuestros padres, junto con vuestra incomparable honestidad y recogimiento«, dice Marco Antonio, ¿sin algún tanto de sarcasmo respecto a la »incomparable« virtud de Leocadia, a pesar de creerse a punto de morir? No sería inconcebible en su carácter. »Sin embargo«, continúa Marco Antonio, »quiero deciros una verdad que sí no os fuere ahora de gusto, podría ser que después os fuere de provecho«. Confiesa que la »quiso bien«, pero que esos »amores« fueron sólo »de pasatiempo« para él. Halagado en su vanidad masculina por las miradas »apasionadas« que ella le echaba y tentado por el posible placer sexual que tan fácilmente se le ofrecía, hizo la cédula, pero sólo por »cumplir« con el »deseo« de Leocadia y contrariamente al suyo, pues entonces ya »tenía entregada [su] voluntad y [su] alma a otra doncella« (963—4).³² Del pueblo huyó tan de improviso, porque, con toda probabilidad, de repente se dió cuenta del embrollo en que se encontraba por las promesas que hizo a las dos mujeres. Personalmente inmaduro, en gran pánico y sin saber cómo salir del apuro, decidió eludir las consecuencias de su irresponsable, caprichosa conducta, ausentándose, yéndose muy lejos, a Italia, y esperando que a su vuelta, después de algunos años, encontrase todos sus problemas ya resueltos de algún modo: »a ver lo que Dios había hecho« de las dos mujeres. Reconoce que todo ese comportamiento se debió a su »poco discurso«, a su »juicio de mozo ... , creyendo que todas aquellas cosas eran de poca importancia, y que las podía hacer sin escrúpulo alguno«; confiesa todas sus »muchas culpas«; se arrepiente de todo lo malo que hizo; desea pagar lo que debe, en particular a Teodosia, a quien quiere »cumplir la palabra que le dió« (964). En algunos estudios se exalta esta »conversión« de Marco Antonio en términos de una auténtica conmoción espiritual dostoyevskiana: »his acceptance of his character role in a larger scheme of things ... In the context of his mortality he is able to see himself particularized and circumscribed by experience ... The freedom he dreams of, however, when placed in the context of death, becomes an illusion ... , self-confrontation«, etc.³³ Ahora bien, atribuir una capacidad tan repentina para esas filosóficas ponderaciones sobre la existencia humana a un muchacho que en toda su actuación anterior se nos ha

³¹ Recuérdese la contestación de D. Quijote al Canónigo, en el palacio de los duques, después de la pausa impuesta por la separación de los capítulos (II, cap. 31, 32).

³² Leocadia »is guilty of wanting seduction« (T. Pabón, »Secular Resurrection through Marriage in Cervantes' *La señora Cornelia*, *Las dos doncellas* and *La fuerza de la sangre*, AC, 1977, 116), y por las circunstancias mencionadas su culpa y deshonor no son en absoluto menores que los de Teodosia, excepto en el sentido más externo.

Cuando Leocadia insiste en las »obligaciones« de Marco Antonio, a base de la cédula, que, irónicamente, ya no tiene, porque se la robaron los bandoleros, Teodosia, a pesar de tener la sortija con la promesa grabada de Marco Antonio, no la esgrime. Ahora comprende que las obligaciones, precisamente por serlo, repelen, especialmente a los galanes como Marco Antonio. En efecto, ¿de qué le valió en el pasado la sortija? Las cédulas, sortijas y otras formas semejantes como promesas de matrimonio eran a menudo meros estratagemas, caballos de Troya de la deshonorosa conquista masculina de la mujer. La escarmentada Leocadia observa, de seguro con Cervantes mismo, que la cédula no puede ser »testigo de fé«, pues, »con facilidad negará las palabras que en un papel están escritas él que niega las obligaciones que debían estar grabadas en el alma« (959).

³³ El Saffar, *Novel to Romance*, 115.

presentado sólo como muy frívolo y ligero de cascos³⁴ nos resulta impropio. Lo que más verisimilmente ocurre es que Marco Antonio, convencido de que ha llegado al «término ... de su vida», experimenta un gran miedo por todas sus travesuras y «culpas» del pasado, ¡«mucho miedo y poca vergüenza»!, y así se dispone a expiarlas casándose con Teodosia, por la consideración oportuna — sin ningún asomo metafísico — de que ella le dió «el fruto que pudo dar[le]» y que él «quiso» que le «diese», mientras que Leocadia le dió tan sólo «flores» (964).³⁵ Ya al principio de este episodio Cervantes nos advierte de la clave cómica, o, cuando menos, no grave, para su lectura: «Llegó en aquel instante el cirujano de las galeras y dió cuenta al de la ciudad de la herida y de cómo le había curado y del peligro que de la vida, a su parecer, tenía el herido; con lo cual se acabó de enterar el de la ciudad que estaba bien curado; y asimismo ... exageró el peligro de Marco Antonio» (962).

Para asegurarse de que «algún contrario accidente no le turbase el bien ... hallado», en el pasado tan «huidizo», Teodosia se preocupa, ante todo, en encontrar con toda urgencia «quien los despose» (966). Viendo a su rival en los brazos de Marco Antonio, «la desengañada y sin ventura» Leocadia sale «con intención de irse desesperada por el mundo a donde gentes no la viesen». Rafael la sigue, consolándola: «ya veis que Marco Antonio no puede ser vuestro, porque el Cielo le hizo de mi hermana, y el mismo Cielo, que hoy os ha quitado a Marco Antonio, os quiere hacer recompensa conmigo». ¡No por culpa o error de ella y ciertamente no por su falta de atractivos personales la ha dejado Marco Antonio, sino tan sólo por la Voluntad del Cielo, inescrutable, incontrastable! Además, según el astuto joven, «el mismo Cielo» le trae ahora remedio, «recompensa» a Leocadia, pues, allí está él, Rafael, a quien Marco Antonio «no se le aventaja en el linaje», en «ninguna cosa», ni «en los bienes que llaman de fortuna» le hace «mucha ventaja»; en suma, es «caballero ... y rico». Como esposo «ha de olvidar ... el atrevimiento» que ella ha mostrado persiguiendo a Marco Antonio, pues ¿no le han «forzado» a él las mismas «fuerzas» a perseguirla a ella? Atreviéndose por fin a «tomarle de una mano», Rafael advierte que su propuesta de matrimonio conviene a la «honra» de Leocadia, facilitándole también la vuelta a casa, «rica, contenta, estimada y servida». ¿Por qué vacilar todavía? «Acabad, señora de mi alma, de serlo del todo a vista de estos estrellados cielos que nos cubren, y de este sosegado mar que nos escucha y de estas bañadas arenas que nos sustentan». Antes de este parlamento, Cervantes se pregunta con razón: «¿Con qué razones podré yo decir ahora las que don Rafael dijo a Leocadia, declarándole su alma, que fueron tantas y tales que no me atrevo a escribirlas?» La estrategia argumentativa de Rafael, tan reminiscente de la de las raposas

³⁴ Sus «costumbres» alabadas «del pueblo» (952), siempre impresionado por la mera apariencia, se desmienten por toda su conducta.

³⁵ Intuye vagamente este hecho Amezúa y Mayo (*Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, 347). Con toda probabilidad, por este miedo Marco Antonio también hace «voto, si Dios le sanase, de ir en romería, a pie, a Santiago de Galicia» (966), así como esos «devotos» de ocasión que Erasmo tantas veces fustiga en sus *Coloquios*, (ver *Naufragium*, por ejemplo). Con este respecto, es sugestivo que en otra parte «la romería» a los sagrarios sea vista, ante todo, como cuestión de conveniencia personal y de interés turístico: «partieron para Barcelona, sin querer subir por entonces al famoso monasterio de Montserrat, dejándolo para cuando Dios fuese servido de volverlos con más sosiego a su patria» (960).

esópicas, tiene todo el efecto deseado: »Ea, pues,« contesta Leocadia, »pues así lo ha ordenado el Cielo, y no es en mi mano ni en la de viviente alguno oponerse a lo que El determinando tiene, hágase lo que El quiere y vos queréis, señor mío«. ¿Cree de veras o sólo pretende creer Leocadia en esa intervención del Cielo en sus asuntos amorosos? Es, de cualquier modo, la salida que Rafael astutamente le ofrece y que ella necesita para salvar su orgullo ante el mundo. Leocadia tiene todavía cierta aprensión, pues, »cumpliendo con el pusto« de Rafael, ¿no la mirará quizás él »con otros ojos«, a pesar de todas sus promesas? Parece conocer bien la rencorosa vanidad masculina. Sin embargo, »sea como fuere«, porque »el nombre de ser mujer legítima de don Rafael de Villavicencio no se podía perder, y con este título sólo viviré contenta«. Por el título y la riqueza, principalmente, comenzó a interesarse también en Marco Antonio. La naturaleza utilitaria, venal, siempre predominante en Leocadia, se nos sugiere de nuevo y de modo ingeniosísimo en las últimas palabras con que acepta la propuesta de Rafael: »Sirvan de testigos los que vos decís: el cielo, la mar, las arenas y este silencio«, ¡todos despojados de los calificativos »románticos« que les dió, con premeditada pose »poética«, Rafael (964—6)! Resulta así erróneo exaltar lo idílico de este »nocturno matrimonio«,³⁶ pues es una unión de conveniencia económica y social, sobre todo para Leocadia, y de gratificación lujuriosa, sobre todo, para Rafael, según se puede conjeturar ya de su anterior actuación. Al encontrar a Leocadia, decide de inmediato »alcanzarla«, dar »feliz suceso en su deseo ... por el camino de la fuerza«, si no lo logra »por el de los regalos y buenas obras« (960). Tales tendencias hacen también por lo menos creíble que, en la venta, Rafael quiera »irse a la cama de la que creía ser mujer«, no tanto por curiosidad como por un deseo lujurioso.³⁷ Quizás por la extrema delicadeza de la situación — la mujer es la hermana de Rafael — Cervantes la presenta con intencionada ambigüedad por medio del notorio verbo bíblico: »el deseo de *conocerla*« (951).

El encuentro de los dos hermanos en la venta es notable también por otras razones. En la oscuridad del aposento, Teodosia revela a Rafael su »deshonra« y, reconociéndole poco después, »suspensa y muda y sin color en el rostro« le da su propia daga, y se hinca de rodillas delante de él, anticipando, como lo más natural y lógico, la muerte: »Haz con este hierro el castigo ..., satisfaciendo tu enojo ..., no es bien que ninguna misericordia me valga«. Sólo lo suplica »que la pena sea de suerte que se extienda a quitar[le] la vida y no la honra«, es decir, que »el castigo que [le] diere fuere secreto«. Sin embargo, a este notorio código de conducta pundonorosa, ¡»a secreto agravio«, (la razón de la ausencia de Teodosia de su casa no se sabe en el pueblo) »secreta venganza«!, Rafael no acude. Siente, sí, un fuerte impulso de »venganza«, pero lo suprime o, más bien, lo subordina, aparentemente, a una genuina compasión por la desventurada hermana, encontrando »disculpa« de sus »yerros« en sus »pocos años«, y a la consi-

³⁶ A. Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, Madrid, Noguer, 1972, 376.

³⁷ Casaldueño: »Rafael tiene mal deseo« (*Sentido y forma de las Novelas ejemplares*, 207. Rodríguez-Luis observa bien »la insistente sensualidad con que está tratado el tema amoroso« (*Novedad y ejemplar de las Novelas de Cervantes*, 78), y Avallé-Arce destaca que »El amor [de todos los personajes] no tiene el más lejano parecido con el idealismo neoplatónico« (*Novelas ejemplares*, III, »Introducción«, 13).

deración de que «aun no había cerrado la fortuna de todo en todo, las puertas [al] remedio» de Teodosia ..., «quería antes procurársele por todas las vías posibles, que no tomar venganza del agravio que de su mucha liviandad [de Teodosia] en él redundaba»: decide así ir con ella en busca de Marco Antonio (954). ¡Actitud noble y sensata!, pero ¿radica de veras en la nobleza de sentimientos y en la discreción, como condiciones personales ínsitas de Rafael, o más bien en un mero sentido práctico que le dictaría una solución cuanto más expediente? La pregunta es pertinente, porque, pronto después, para poder dedicarse a la conquista de Leocadia, Rafael está muy dispuesto, sin escrúpulo alguno, a dejar a la hermana en su desgracia: «tomara por buen partido ver a su hermana sin el remedio que le procuraba ... a trueco de no verse sin esperanza de alcanzar a Leocadia» (960). Ciertamente, «las flechas de Cupido» son una «fuerza in-contrastable» (968) — como dice Cervantes al fin, de seguro con ironía — pero lo significativo es que a Rafael lo inducen a contemplar un proceder egoísta patentemente vil.³⁸

La escena final de la novela, el desafío a muerte de los padres, se ha caracterizado como «estampa caballeresca»,³⁹ «arrancada de alguno de aquellos malditos libros [de caballería], como hubiera dicho el ama de D. Quijote»,⁴⁰ sin función muy clara respecto a los acontecimientos anteriores.⁴¹ A veces parece totalmente superflua, al considerar que todos los problemas de los protagonistas ya se han solucionado en Barcelona.⁴² En cambio, de acuerdo con nuestra lectura, esta escena final, contrastada con todo lo que precede, constituye una muy punzante ironía — en su efecto de sorpresa comparable con las más eficaces revelaciones finales en el teatro⁴³ — que así también hace apreciar debidamente la genial concepción artística y la transcendente inferencia satírica de la novela.

Estando ya «a vista» de sus pueblos, las dos parejas ven «en un ancho valle» a unos caballeros «poniendo las espuelas a los caballos», arremetiéndose «con muestras de ser mortales enemigos, comenzando a tirarse bravos y diestros botes de lanza, ya hurtando los golpes, ya recogiénolos en las adargas ...; ya andaban algo heridos [en] aquella tan reñida y singular batalla ...». Son los padres de los jóvenes: el de Teodosia y el de Leocadia han desafiado al de Marco Antonio «en razón de que él había sido sabedor de los engaños de su hijo». Y esta pendencia «parara en la muerte de uno

³⁸ En consideración de todo lo que se ha dicho de Rafael y los otros personajes, nos resulta particularmente irónica la observación de que en *Las dos doncellas* «alienta el espíritu de confraternidad..., de ayuda desinteresada al prójimo..., asistencia sincera..., sentimiento cristiano que preside a la vida toda de aquella sociedad» (Amezúa y Mayo, *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, 350).

³⁹ Valbuena-Prat, *Obras completas de Cervantes*, 949.

⁴⁰ Amezúa y Mayo, *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, 347.

⁴¹ Por esta razón, evidentemente, casi en todos los estudios citados se trata esta escena de un modo más bien perfunctorio, si se menciona en absoluto.

⁴² «La escena culminante ... es la degollina en Barcelona» (Avalle-Arce, *Novelas ejemplares*, III, «Introducción», 16); «La acción de la novela (hacerle cumplir su palabra [a Marco Antonio]) está terminada y debe acabar la novela. Pero no es así.» (H. Sieber, *Novelas ejemplares*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1980, «Introducción», 26).

⁴³ Casaldueño percibe este efecto, «cambio sumamente brusco», pero no su implicación (*Sentido y forma de las Novelas ejemplares*, 218). A la «teatralidad» de esta escena se refiere también Rodríguez-Luis (*Novedad y ejemplo de las Novelas de Cervantes*, 86).

o en la de entrambos», y quizás de muchos, pues por el valle «asomó ... gran cantidad de gente armada, de a pie y de a caballo, los cuales venían a defender al caballero de su lugar» (966—8). Se evoca »la aventura del rebuzno« del *Quijote* (II, caps. 25, 27), al recordar el lector la verdadera causa de esta potencial guerra civil, que Cervantes destaca, con toda claridad, como una mera muchachada de un ocioso señorito; al recordar todas esas maquinaciones, traiciones, engaños, etc., fría, cínicamente premeditados, que todos los personajes, cual más cual menos, urden y perpetran los unos contra los otros, con el único objeto, siempre bien calculado, del provecho material propio y de la gratificación sensual, egoísta; al recordar las situaciones cómicamente incómodas en que se enredan, por su propia imprudencia o necedad, estos jóvenes frívolos, insubstanciales, tan por completo despreocupados o ignorantes del verdadero amor y del genuino honor, aunque en nombre de ellos de continuo pretenden actuar. Recordando todo esto y teniendo bien en cuenta también el hecho sumamente significativo de que los jóvenes, de acuerdo con sus tendencias ingénitas y sus ambiciones personales, no importa cuán deplorables, ya han encontrado la solución más satisfactoria para ellos mismos — y que es, desde luego, mucho más sensata que la única que se derivaría del duelo de los padres —, toda la actitud y conducta pundonorosa de éstos — junto con sus »poderosos caballos«, sus »gruesas y largas lanzas«, etc. — no puede menos de resultar estridentemente anacrónica, irrelevante, en suma ridículísima. El hecho de que el duelo a muerte se emprende por tan vagas sospechas es en sí risible y condenable y nos hace pensar cuál sería el desenlace de los problemas de los hijos, si éstos se rigieran por la actitud de sus progenitores, como, en efecto, en varias ocasiones amenazan con hacer: »le quitaré la vida, mostrándome tan presta a la venganza ... , porque la nobleza de la sangre que mis padres me han dado ... « (953).⁴⁴ Sugestivamente, al fin los hijos salvan la vida a los padres: »No más, caballeros, no más, que los que esto os piden y suplican son vuestros propios hijos« (967). Intervención propicia, sensata, pero no parece representar una implícita expresión de confianza o esperanza del autor en la joven generación. En la escena final — breve, porque su materia fue tan notoria — se presenta la vieja generación en sus rígidas, osificadas actitudes frente a la vida, en pos de un quimérico, ridículo pundonor, de efectos a menudo catastróficos para la sociedad. Según se ha visto, a lo largo de toda la obra, la nueva generación se retrata como frívola, libertina, materialista, cínica, amoral... ¿Cómo preferir una sobre otra?

Si nuestra lectura es correcta, *Las dos doncellas*, a menudo despreciada como pálida, trivial fantasía, es, todo lo contrario, una novela »realista«, auténticamente histórica, pues contiene una muy significativa, excepcional visión de la condición moral de dos generaciones de españoles, padres e hijos, en los últimos años de Cervantes. »Por guardar el decoro« no se nombran los pueblos de los protagonistas; no es necesario, claro está, pues

⁴⁴ En efecto, se podría también concluir que el modo impropio de ser y de comportarse (engaños, mentiras, traiciones, disimulaciones, egoísmo, cinismo, etc.) de los jóvenes es consecuencia natural, directa del modo de vida rígido, irrazonable (honor externo, desconfianza, relaciones restrictivas, encerramiento, imposición tiránica de la voluntad paterna, etc.), de la educación que reciben de sus padres. Desde una interesante perspectiva psicológica se transparenta la verdad proverbial: »¡De tal palo tal astilla!«

sus problemas transcendían todo lugar particular, siendo de características y dimensión nacionales. No contradice estas sugerencias tampoco el tono juguetón, burlón con que a menudo Cervantes narra los acontecimientos y describe a los personajes, porque, como sabe bien el iniciado, es precisamente en este tono que suele decirnos las cosas más serias.

* * *

Las dos doncellas se ha clasificado casi siempre como novela italianizante: »Cervantes follows the Italians in *Las dos doncellas*«; »tiene por objeto emular a los italianos, apoderándose Cervantes del género y estilo de sus cuentos ..., todo el argumento es italiano«; »the most italianate of the collection«; »relato a la italiana«.45 A veces se intenta especificar esta »factura italiana« de la novela:

La técnica, el modo de concebir la novela... el irrealismo de algunas situaciones, el predominio de la aventura sobre la psicología, cierto paralelismo en los episodios, el imperio mismo del amor sensual, la irreflexión de sus protagonistas, que obran siempre por sentimientos, nunca por razón, la evanescencia misma del lugar de la acción, que cambia a cada instante, la verosimilitud sacrificada en aras de la fantasía, son rasgos, matices y elementos de la novela italiana, que, a no dudarlo, y de modo inconsciente, actuaron sobre Cervantes...46

Si aceptamos esta caracterización de la *novella* italiana — por cierto cuestionable en todas sus afirmaciones — ninguno de los »elementos« indicados aparece en *Las dos doncellas*. Según se ha mostrado en las páginas anteriores, el asunto es totalmente verosímil, hasta »histórico« en sus implicaciones; la »evanescencia del lugar« tiene justificación estética semejante a la que sostiene una típica estructura teatral-dramática; hay »irreflexión« pasional, amor sensual y cierto sentimentalismo amoroso en los personajes, pero casi siempre subordinados no ya a la »razón«, sino al cálculo frío del provecho propio; esta psicología del oportunismo determina todas las situaciones y aventuras y hasta el »paralelismo« de los episodios y de ciertas expresiones verbales, que, con toda probabilidad, tienen también la ingeniosa función de destacar rasgos y tendencias generacionales.

A no dudarlo, la influencia de la novelística italiana en Cervantes — y en todos los cuentistas españoles del Siglo de Oro — es de enorme importancia; en efecto, sin ella sería incomprensible la aparición de las *Novelas ejemplares*, como todos saben. Sin embargo, lo más significativo y fascinante de este problema es el modo de reaccionar Cervantes a esta influencia, pues nunca la admite sin radicales objeciones o modificaciones. En estudios futuros esperamos mostrar la genial transformación, a veces auténticamente paródica, que Cervantes efectúa respecto a algunos notorios elementos constitutivos, estéticos y éticos, de la novelística italiana.

Sin menospreciar ninguna posible influencia literaria, *Las dos doncellas* nos parece un tipo nuevo de novela corta, y es muy sorprendente que no lo haya percibido ya González de Amezúa y Mayo, máxima autoridad de la

⁴⁵ Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Exemplary Novels*, »Introduction«, VII; Apraiz, *Novelas ejemplares de Cervantes*, 96; Valbuena-Prat, *Obras completas de Cervantes*, 949.

⁴⁶ Amezúa y Mayo, *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, 325.

novela cortesana española del siglo XVII, quien, significativamente, también observa que «el ambiente, el escenario, los personajes, las costumbres y los valores morales» de *Las dos doncellas* «son sin duda españoles, vernáculos».⁴⁷ De hecho, aparte la pertenencia de estos personajes a la aristocracia de una provincia andaluza, ¿en qué característica o tendencia esencial se diferencian de los notorios protagonistas — comúnmente madrileños y de otros centros urbanos — de las novelas cortesanas, según la incisiva caracterización que nos brinda el mismo erudito?

Con la entrada de la España de Felipe III... se arraiga y robustece un tipo nuevo de su medio social: el del caballero galán, noble, rico y ocioso, héroe y cabeza de la novela cortesana..., copiará en un todo la vida ociosa y disipada de la distraída mocedad madrileña...; la nocturna aventura..., la cita amorosa [es] el eje principal de su vida, alma y substrato de la novela cortesana..., el caballero mozo es de una profunda, de una tiernísima sensibilidad para el amor...; comienza... el asedio de la fortaleza amorosa con los primeros tiros, los billetes y papeles...; rara vez de primeras contestará la dama que es caso para ella de menos valer...; y llegará un día en que el Amor, que es «encendido deseo de gozar lo que se ama..., olvido de la razón...», impondrá sus despóticas leyes...; todavía faltan... algunos encadenados lances: la cédula firmada en que el galán se obliga al casamiento; los desposorios mismos, que tantas veces se celebran sin más ministros que los cielos...; la presurosa huida, cuando el agraviado padre sorprende el menoscabo de su honor, con riesgo cierto para la vida de ambos...; todos los caballeros mozos de entonces prestanse mutua y generosamente estos inapreciables servicios [en la persecución del amor]...; llega siempre, ineluctablemente, en tales novelas, la consabida pendencia, ora con los deudos de la doncella, ora con algún desdeñado rival, asistido también de sus camaradas...; choque de espadas, repique de broqueles y juegos de dagas coronarán sangrientamente la erótica aventura...; el sentimiento de venganza familiar que surge...; las mil aventuras, episodios y nuevas intrigas que brotan de aquél y complican y alargan la fábula...; bodas felices de la errante pareja, fin dichoso de sus andanzas y enredos, y a la vez del cuento breve o de la novela larga que ha servido de crónica a esta empresa amorosa.⁴⁸

Cervantes utiliza toda esta temática en *Las dos doncellas*, pero, ¡diferencia radical! en clave crítica, irónica, no discrepante del tono juguetón, dirigida contra esa anquilosada, ridícula, insulsa y cínica sociedad cortesana de sus días,⁴⁹ y también contra esa literatura que se inspiraba en el modo de vida, en las costumbres de esa sociedad, sin poder o sin querer examinar y revelar también sus vicios y debilidades.⁵⁰ Este propósito, implícito en

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Amezcua y Mayo, *Formación y elementos de la novela cortesana*, Madrid, 1929, 39—47. Ver también M. W. Nichols, «A Study in the Golden Age», *Estudios hispánicos*, Homenaje a A. M. Huntington, Wellesley, Mass., 1952, 457—470 [Novelas cortas cortesanas]; M. de Pilar Palomo, *La novela cortesana* (forma y estructura), Barcelona, Planeta, 1976. Sorprende que en este sagaz estudio no se incluya la literatura cortesana de Cervantes.

⁴⁹ Avalué-Arce intuye este hecho pero proponiendo que *Las dos doncellas*, por la «cuestión de amor», procede de la literatura pastoril y acaba siendo «una aleación de temática pastoril con técnica narrativa de novela de aventuras» (*Novelas ejemplares*. III, «Introducción», 16).

⁵⁰ La crítica de la sociedad es ingrediente de la literatura cortesana posterior, particularmente en la época de Felipe IV, cuando es también más abundante. Sobre la degeneración de la novela cortesana en esta época, ver nuestro estudio, «F. de Quintana, un novelista olvidado, amigo de Lope de Vega», *BBMP*, 1975, 169—232.

toda la obra, se expresa de manera explícita en el distanciamiento irónico de Cervantes al decirnos al fin que »los poetas de aquel tiempo tuvieron ocasión donde emplear sus plumas exagerando la hermosura y los sucesos de las dos tan atrevidas cuanto honestas doncellas«. La perspectiva paródica literaria de *Las dos doncellas* se sugiere de manera particularmente llamativa en la actitud de heroína trágica teatral que Teodosia adopta al ofrecerse a la venganza pundonorosa del hermano,⁵¹ en el lenguaje »retórico« de los personajes,⁵² todo adquirido probablemente por su afición a las comedias de capa y espada y a la literatura cortesana. Respecto al énfasis que en estas manifestaciones literarias y teatrales se pone en la belleza física como atributo obligado de los protagonistas, no podría ser más inequívoca la pregunta burlona que Cervantes pone en boca de la ventera, al ver llegar a Rafael, »no de menos gallardía« que Teodosia, de tan »grande hermosura y gallarda disposición ... que jamás tal belleza habían visto«, quien vino un momento antes: »¡Válgame Dios, y qué es esto! ¿Vienen, por ventura, esta noche a posar ángeles a mi casa?« (950).⁵³

La novela cortesana es, pues, típica expresión literaria de la sociedad de Felipe III, en que, principalmente, encuentra su inspiración. Todavía no tenemos un conocimiento preciso de sus primeras manifestaciones, pero algunas de sus raíces están evidentemente ya en *Guzmán de Alfarache* y *Don Quijote*.⁵⁴ Estas parecen anunciar particularmente la novela corta de temática cortesana. Esta, según se ha deseado mostrar en este estudio, se revela por completo desarrollada en *Las dos doncellas*. Uno de sus atributos más significativos, ¡tan cervantino!, es que representa, con toda probabilidad, una de las primeras novelas cortas, si no la primera, de este tipo en España y, simultáneamente, ya un modelo acabado para los cuentistas siguientes. Es en sus recomendaciones implícitas respecto a lo ético y a lo estético que reconocemos su transcendental ejemplaridad.

⁵¹ Casaldueño: »Teodosia espera lo que la tradición literaria al parecer imponía« (*Sentido y forma de las Novelas ejemplares*, 216).

⁵² Amezúa y Mayo nota un »sabor de falsedad retórica« en el lenguaje de las dos mujeres (*Cervantes, creador de la novela corta*, 347).

⁵³ También en el *Persiles* expresa Cervantes reparos críticos respecto a la superlación literaria de la belleza física. (Ver nuestro estudio »El *Persiles* como crítica de la novela bizantina«, *Acta Neophilológica*, 1970, 59—60).

⁵⁴ Ya desde el libro de Apraiz, por lo menos, se viene destacando que las relaciones amorosas en *Las dos doncellas* tienen su »esbozo« en el cuadrángulo amoroso de Dorotea y Fernando y Lucinda y Cardenio del *Quijote*. Sin embargo, es crucial percibir la enorme diferencia en el retrato de los caracteres y en los casos de amor.

In memoriam
Dr. Boyan Ribnikar
from Berkeley, California

LETTERS OF MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS FROM COLONIAL AMERICA IV

Janez Stanonik

The letter of Marcus Antonius Kappus which we publish in our present — the fourth — continuation of his letters from Colonial America¹, is not preserved — as the first three letters are — in a manuscript. Instead we find it published in the famous contemporary collection of Jesuitic letters which appeared from 1728 till 1758 under the editorship of Joseph Stöcklein and his successors in Augsburg and Graz under the title *Der neue Welt-Bott mit Allerhand Nachrichten derer Missionariorum Soc. Jesu.*² Kappus' letter can be found in vol. I, part II, p. 86—88 under the number 56. It has never since 1728 been reprinted in German, neither has it ever been published in an English translation.³ Our reprint of the German text is justified because Stöcklein's collection is generally not available even in the largest libraries, especially in America. An English translation can be useful because of the difficulties the old form of its German with its localisms can cause to its readers.

In Slovenia Kappus has been known above all through this letter: because of it he has occasionally been even mentioned as an author in the early literary histories of the county of Carniola. More recently he has played an important role in the history of Slovene emigration to the United States as the first culturally active Slovene in America.

As a matter of fact, we find Kappus first mentioned in a literary history written already by a contemporary of Kappus, Joannes Gregorius Thalnitscher de Thalberg (Janez Gregor Dolničar of Thalberg).⁴ Thalnitscher's

¹ Cf. Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America, Part I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), 33—56; Part II, *AN* XX (1987), 25—38; Part III, *AN* XXI (1988), 3—9.

² The full title of Stöcklein's collection and the information about its editor can be found in *AN* XX (1987), p. 29—30, Note 15.

³ There exists in the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley a typewritten English translation of the letter here discussed. Its anonymous translator obviously had difficulties with the German text, especially with its southern German idioms. He translates the name of the country Crain with Corinthia (correct spelling is Carinthia). Carinthia, in German Kärnten, is now in Austria, and Crain (Carniola) in Yugoslavia.

⁴ Joannes Gregorius Thalnitscher de Thalberg, born in Ljubljana in 1655, died at Vič near Ljubljana in 1719, studied law at Ingolstadt and Bologna and was since 1689 a high official of the county of Carniola and since 1694 the notary of the town of Ljubljana. He was a central figure of the Academia Operosorum, a learned society which existed in Ljubljana, under the influence of similar societies in Italy and in other parts of Europe, from 1693 till 1725. Thalnitscher was

literary history is now preserved in a manuscript in the library of the Ljubljana Theological Seminary. The manuscript has the title: *Bibliotheca Labacensis publica Collegii Carolini Nobilium seu de Scriptoribus Carniolis, qui tum vetera, tum recentiora saecula illustrarunt, notitia locuples, qua non solum Auctorum, qui ad haec usque tempora scripserunt, codices exclussi, vel manuscripti adnotantur, verum etiam eorum Patria, Aetas, Professio, Munia, Dignitates, memoranda et obitus recensentur*. The author of this manuscript hid himself behind the pseudonym Joannes Fortunatus Menginus. Thalnitscher began to write it in 1715 and continued to work on it till his death in 1719. This manuscript was therefore written already before the publication of the first volume of Stöcklein's collection (in 1728). In the manuscript the authors are arranged into 21 groups: Kappus appears in the fourth group, called *Ascetae*, under the wrong first name Laurentius. According to Thalnitscher, Kappus was born in 1656, he entered the Jesuit Order, in 1687 he applied for work as a missionary »in the Indies«. He worked at Cucurpe in the »country of Sonora in California« which is »2700 German miles« distant from Carniolia and »430 German miles« from Mexico. Kappus was highly esteemed by the King of Spain who had asked to be given an extensive report on his work. He — i.e. Kappus — died, »killed by an arrow in 1692«. Kappus wrote, according to Thalnitscher: »Fasciculus epistolorum: Itineris in Indias relationes — De ritu paganorum et memoranda.«⁵

Thalnitscher's knowledge of the life and work of Marcus Antonius Kappus is superficial and often wrong, yet in spite of this, it is very interesting. Kappus was not born in 1656, but rather in 1657. He did not die in 1692 but in 1717: as a matter of fact, when Thalnitscher wrote his note Kappus was still alive. Nothing is now known of the report on Kappus which was written for the King of Spain. Interesting is above all Thalnitscher's statement about the »fascicle of letters« by Kappus which gave the description of Kappus' journey to America and spoke about the »religious customs of Indians and the memorable events«. No letter now known in Slovenia speaks about the religious customs of American Indians. Such a letter would be most interesting because nothing is known about the religion of Opatá Indians among whom Kappus lived. The question therefore remains open whether there existed another fascicle of letters written by Kappus, whether it is still preserved, or whether it was perhaps destroyed in the large fire in 1774 which damaged the Jesuit College in Ljubljana and ruined its archives.

Towards the end of the XVIIIth century, Marko Pohlin (born in Ljubljana on 13. April, 1735, died in the monastery Mariabrunn near Hüttels-

as a local historian author of several works in German and Latin, now mostly preserved in manuscripts in the library of the Theological Seminary in Ljubljana. About him cf: Viktor Steska: Dr. Janez Gregorij Dolničar, kranjski zgodovinar (Dr. J. G. Dolničar, A Historian of Carniola), *Dom in svet* XIV (1901), 517—526; *Slovenski biografski leksikon (Slovene Biographical Lexicon)* Ljubljana 1925 ff, vol. IV., p. 75—76.

⁵ A detailed description of this manuscript and its history can be found in Viktor Steska: Dolničarjeva »Bibliotheca labacensis publica« (Dolničar's »Bibliotheca labacensis publica«), *Izvestja muzejskega društva za Kranjsko* X (1900), 134—140, 145—174; Franc Ksaver Lukman: Pripombe o Dolničarjevi »Bibliotheca labacensis publica« (Notes to Dolničar's »Bibliotheca labacensis publica«, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, NJ V/VI (1959), 469—476.

dorf, west of Vienna, on 4. February 1801),⁶ a member of the Order of the Barefooted Augustinians, the initiator of the Slovene cultural revival in the second half of the XVIIIth century, wrote another literary history of the county of Carniola whose manuscript is now lost, yet its text was finally published — on the basis of a handwritten copy made by Jernej Kopitar, custos of the Vienna Court Library — in 1862 as an appendix to the *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* under the title *Marci a S. Paduano Er. Aug. Disc. Ord. Prof. Bibliotheca Carnioliae in qua reperiuntur scriptores qui vel ipsi, vel eorum opera in Carniola primam lucem aspexerunt; vel alias in, vel de Carniola scripserunt, ordine alphabetico, seu ad forma bibliothecae pro alphabeti scrinia dispositi, pro varia ex iis et historica et critica, et chronologica notitia, atque eruditione capesenda*. The text in which the names of the authors are arranged in alphabetic order, was edited by August Dimitz. Kappus (under his right first name Marcus Antonius) is mentioned here correctly as »S. J. Missionarius et totius Missionis in Provincia Sonora Praepositus«. The only bibliographic unit quoted here is the letter from Stöcklein's collection.

In 1825 Joseph Kalasanz Erberg (1771—1843) wrote another local literary history, *Versuch eines Entwurfes zu einer Literar-Geschichte für Krain nach den Quellen der lustaller Bibliothek und Archiv bearbeitet zu meinem blos eigenem Gebrauche*.⁷ Like Thalnitscher he divides authors into groups, and again we find among *Ascetae* the name of Laurentius Kappus, S. J., without any further information. This is obviously a repetition of the mistake first made by Thalnitscher. It is interesting that Erberg does not quote Kappus' correspondence, in spite of the fact that he is the first known owner of Kappus' letters which are now preserved in the Archives of Slovenia.⁸

The first Slovene translation of Kappus' letter from Stöcklein's collection appeared in 1864 in the Slovene Catholic review *Zgodnja Danica* (*The Early Morning Star*)⁹. The translator was perhaps Luka Jeran, the editor of the review. This was the time of the reign of the emperor Maximilian of Mexico (1864—1867) which brought also Slovenes as Maximilian's soldiers to Mexico. This awakened in Slovenia a new interest in Mexico. The translation is quite good; it omits, however, two shorter unessential passages of the original.

In the period between the two world wars the interest in Kappus was primarily oriented to his work as a missionary. In 1934 appeared a small booklet *Naši misijonarji iz prejšnjih stoletij* (*Our Missionaries from the Past Centuries*).¹⁰ The booklet was probably written by Ivan Martelanc. For

⁶ About Marko Pohlin, cf. *Slovenski biografski leksikon* (*Slovene Biographical Lexicon*), Ljubljana 1925 ff., vol. II, p. 417—425.

⁷ This work has only recently been published: Milena Uršič: *Jožef Kalasanc Erberg in njegov poskus osnutka za literarno zgodovino Kranjske* (*Joseph Kalasanc Erberg and his Attempt of a Sketch of the Literary History of Carniola*), Ljubljana 1975, Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slovenica, Classis II: Philologia et Litterae, Opera 38, Institutum Litterarum Slovenicarum et Scientiarum ad Litteras Pertinencium 6.

⁸ Cf. above AN XIX (1986), p. 51; AN XX (1987), p. 34; AN XXI (1988), p. 6.

⁹ Anonymous: *Pismo kranjskega misijonarja iz Amerike v 17. stoletju* (A Letter from the Carniolian Missionary from America in the XVIIth Century), *Zgodnja Danica* XVII (1864, No. 32), p. 253—255.

¹⁰ I(van) M(artelanc): *Naši misijonarji iz prejšnjih stoletij* (*Our Missionaries From the Past Centuries*), U. C. Miss. pro Jugoslavia, Ljubljana 1934. Cf. pp 42—52.

the still quite humble biography of Kappus the author investigated his family background and used for the first time German literature on the history of the Catholic missionary work, besides Stöcklein also Anton Huonder, De Backer-Sommervogel, Joseph Schmidlin, and P. Henrion-Wittmann. The author of this biography was well aware of his limited possibilities to do research on Kappus' work in Sonora.

Essentially the same material used by Ivan Martelanc served as a source also to Franc Ksav. Lukman for his brief article on Kappus which appeared in the *Slovene Biographical Lexicon* (*Slovenski biografski leksikon*)¹¹. Lukman repeats basically the data that can be found in De Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, which of course is a fundamental internationally acknowledged reference work, which, however, has just in connection with Kappus started an error that has since then always been repeated in modern researches on Kappus.¹²

After World War Two new endeavours have been made to obtain more information about the life and work of Marcus Antonius Kappus. New studies were started now in the United States by American Slovenes who became interested in Kappus as the first intellectually interesting Slovene immigrant in the history of the United States and as such a kind of a beginner of the Slovene cultural heritage in America. Louis Adamic, an American author of Slovene background, has already in 1944 in his book *A Nation of Nations* (New York, Harper & Brothers) briefly mentioned the work of Jesuits from Yugoslavia in Colonial America, although he did not mention Kappus. The most important early postwar study on Kappus published in the United States appeared serially in the Chicago Slovene daily *Prosveta* (March issues)¹³. Its author, Stanley Žale, a member of the editing board of *Prosveta*, was the first Slovene researcher who in his biography of Kappus used American texts written in English and in Spanish, which mention Kappus. He brought to light many new facts not known before him. The weakness of his research is that he tried to produce a broad survey of Kappus' life and work without a sufficiently careful screening of the available data. He is too prone to make conjectures which frequently prove wrong.

More recently Erik Kovačič has published two studies on Kappus in *Ave Marija koledar*, a Slovene calendar published yearly by the Franciscan Order in Lemont, Illinois. Kovačič has extensively searched for new bio-

¹¹ *Slovenski biografski leksikon* (*Slovene Biographical Lexicon*), Ljubljana 1925 ff.

¹² De Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris 1893, vol. IV, col. 916, speak of Kappus as author of a work on the journey of Kappus with Kino and »Alvarez Mateo Manje« (correctly: alférez Juan Matheo Manje) to the nation Pima »en California«. The reference is here made to the famous journey made in 1694 from Dolores to the Gulf of California. According to De Backer-Sommervogel, Kappus' report can be found in *Documentos para la historia de Mejico*, »dans la 3^e et 4^e Série«, Mejico 1853—57 (whose editor is probably the Mexican historiographer Don Manuel Orozco de Berra). I do not know where and how did De Backer-Sommervogel collect their information about Kappus and where they saw Kappus' above mentioned text. I have checked two copies of the *Documentos* (at Berkeley and Albuquerque) but could find no text by Kappus there. *Documentos* is an extremely rare work and especially the tercera serie is completely confusing because of the unusual size of its volume and irregular pagination.

¹³ Stanley Zele: Iz stare zgodovine Slovencev v Ameriki (From the Old History of Slovenes in America), *Prosveta*, March 1963 issues.

graphical data on Kappus in the libraries in America and in Europe. In 1970 he published a short biography of Kappus to which he added a new Slovene translation of Kappus' letter from Stöcklein's collection.¹⁴ In 1982 Kovačič published in the same calendar a new study of Kappus in which he gave a biographical chart of Kappus' life and work, based on materials collected in the Vatican archives. Here he reprinted also Kappus' Latin letter which appeared in 1707 in Leipzig in the review *Nova Litteraria Germaniae Alliorumque Europae Regnorum* together with Kino's map of Sonora, and with a Slovene translation of this letter.¹⁵

Kovačič's Slovene translation of Kappus' letter from Stöcklein's collection was republished also by Jerneja Petrič in her anthology of Slovene literature in North America to which she added a short biography of Kappus.¹⁶

II.

Kappus wrote his letter — which we now republish in German original and English translation — at Matape on 20. June 1699. Matape was at that time a Collegium and Kappus was its rector. The mission of Matape was situated in the source region of the River Matape. Its inhabitants were Opata Indians. The mission was established in 1645 and its church built in 1646 by Padre Pedro Bueno. It was at that time one of the most beautiful and spacious churches in Sonora. By 1683 the place was sufficiently important that it had two priests. The fact that Matape was called a Collegium and that the position of Kappus at Matape was that of a rector does not mean that there was at that time here an institution of higher learning. »Collegio« was merely a regular term to designate a mission centre.¹⁷

It is not known when exactly was Kappus transferred from Cucurpe to Matape. In Cucurpe Kappus is last mentioned in 1695 in connection with the revolt of Pima Indians. Kappus's letter from Matape which we reprint here is the first known letter of Kappus from Matape, yet he must have arrived to this place somewhat earlier. According to a statement by Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje, Kappus was rector at Matape already in 1697¹⁸. One would expect that in such a letter he would speak more about his transfer, but unfortunately he does not.

The letter is interesting above all because of Kappus's description of the living conditions in Matape. In this the letter resembles the description of the life in Cucurpe which he wrote in 1689.¹⁹ At Matape he was richly provided with fruits, vegetables, legumes (beans, peas, lentils), cereals,

¹⁴ Erik Kovačič: Peter Kapus — prvi slovenski misijonar v Severni Ameriki (Father Kapus — The First Slovene Missionary in Northern America), *Ave Marija koledar* LVII (1970), 89—95.

¹⁵ Erik Kovačič: Slovenski misijonar Kapus in zemljepisna odkritja v Severni Ameriki (Slovene Missionary Kapus and the Geographic Discoveries in Northern America), *Ave Marija koledar* LXIX (1982), 63—69.

¹⁶ Jerneja Petrič: *Naši na tujih tleh. Antologija Slovencev v Severni Ameriki (Ours on the Foreign Soil. An Anthology of the Literature of Slovenes in North America)*, Ljubljana (Cankarjeva založba in Slovenska izseljenka matica) 1982, cf. p. 13—17 and 411—412.

¹⁷ Ernest J. Burrus, S. J., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona, Their Vision of the Future*, Rome and St. Louis 1971, cf. p. 357, note 21.

¹⁸ *ib.* p. 357.

¹⁹ cf. *AN* XIX (1986), 51—57.

condiments (onions, garlic, mustard, fennel), and of course meat. He also had in his garden medical plants, like the rue. Among the latter he mentions also a plant which he calls *Magen*, which can literally be translated as »stomach« and obviously represents a plant to be used against stomach pains. The word *Magen* was formerly widely used in Bavaria, Austria, also in Slovenia for the opium poppy, *Papaver somniferum*. There can be no mistake in the identification of this plant.²⁰

When Kappus in his letters home uses the words denoting measures of length, weight and volume we must be aware of the fact that he used them in the sense as they were known at home, otherwise he would not be understood at home. Such words can only approximately be translated into English. In Slovenia, the metric system was introduced in 1876. Before the introduction of metres as the basic unit of length, and actually also of weight and capacity (1 litre of water is approximately equivalent to one kilogram) there was in Europe a large variety of measures which differed not only from country to country, but even from town to town, and they also changed during the course of time. There were also different measures of capacity for different goods (wine, grain, etc). The same word denoting a certain measure could have a different meaning in Vienna, Ljubljana, Trieste, Venice. There was, at least since the late Middle Ages an endeavour to standardize such measures, yet it was only partly successful. Still we can say that when Kappus uses the word *Mass* (measure) for wine he means here a quantity which roughly corresponds to the Italian *boccale* and which around 1700 had in Ljubljana 1.65 litres.²¹ Also the weight of the large silver coin called *Taler* changed considerably in time and place. In the XVIIth century the standard *Reichstaller* had 25.984 g of silver. It was in the middle of the XVIIIth century replaced by the *Konventionstaller*, widely known also as *Mariatheresientaller*, (after the empress Maria Theresa, 1740—1780) which had 23.386 g of silver. Thus, according to Kappus, the cost of wine in Sonora at the end of the XVIIth century was roughly 1.65 litres of wine (a little more than one and a half litres) for 140 to 156 grams of silver.²²

Kappus in his letter complains of the break in the correspondence with his relatives and acquaintances at home due to the war between Spain and France. The whole of the XVIIth century was a period of protracted wars which involved large parts of Europe and in which Spain was regularly at war with France, thus the Thirty Year's War (1618—1648) which as a war between Spain and France did not end with the peace of West-

²⁰ Heinrich Mazzell: *Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen*, Stuttgart (S. Herzel Vlg.), 1977, vol. III, col. 561—569.

²¹ Sergej Vilfan: *Prispevki k zgodovini mer na Slovenskem s posebnim ozirom na ljubljansko mero* (16.—19. stoletje), (Contributions to the History of Measures in Slovenia with Special Regard to the Ljubljana Measure, 16th to 19th. Centuries), *Zgodovinski časopis* VIII (1954), 27—86, cf. p. 54.

²² The name *Taler* comes from the German word *das Tal*, »the valley«. Meant is here Joachimsthal (Joachim Valley) in northwestern Bohemia which gave the original name *Joachimsthaler* whose abbreviation is the later name *Taler*. In Joachimsthal began in 1518 the counts of Schlick to coin it. This has become one of the most famous silver coins of the world and the prototype of many other coins, also of the American dollar whose name also comes from *Taler*. One dollar had after 1837 26.730 grams of silver. From *Taler* comes also the Spanish *Peso* which was originally an equivalent of dollar. Broadly speaking, in Sonora in 1700 one and a half litres of wine cost five to six silver dollars.

phalia (1648), but continued till 1659 when the peace was concluded in the Pyrenees; this was followed by the War of Devolution (1667—1668), the Dutch War (1672—1679), and the War of the Grand Alliance (1688—1697). These wars, which at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War started for religious reasons, soon changed into pure dynastic wars. In these wars France fought against the encirclement by the Habsburgs who controlled most of the countries surrounding France, including Spain. Under the reigns of Louis XIII (1610—1643) and Louis XIV (1643—1715) France grew into the leading political power in Europe. In these wars France had a natural ally in Turkey whose power was at that time at its climax, until 1683 when the Turks were finally defeated at the siege of Vienna and forced to withdraw from the whole of the Pannonian (Hungarian) Plain.

Spain was in the XVIIth century ruled by the last members of the Habsburg dynasty, Philipp IV (1621—1665) and Charles II (1665—1700). This was a period of the decline of the political power of Spain in Europe. In Europe it lost considerable possessions in the Flanders (the so-called Spanish Netherlands) and in 1668 was forced to acknowledge definitively the independence of Portugal. In America, where Spain was primarily interested in the consolidation of its possessions on the continent, Spain was gradually losing its control of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico (the West Indies) to France, England, and Holland. The reign of Charles II was also a period of moral and economic decline of Spain. When Charles II died in 1700 he was followed by Philipp V, the grandson of Louis XIV. With him the Bourbons took over the throne of Spain. This led to the War of Spanish Succession (1701—1713) in which Austria, the former ally of Spain, became its enemy.

Such changes must have had also consequences for Kappus. It is interesting that after 1700 no letters are known from him to his relatives at home.

THE TEXT

Brief R. P. Marci Antonii Kappus, der Gesellschaftt Jesu Missionarii aus der Österreichischen Provintz. Nachmahls aber Vorstehers der gesamten Missionen Soc. Jesu in der Landschafft Sonorâ. An Seinen Bruder Herrn Johann von Kappus, Land- und Edelmann in Crain. Geschrieben zu Matapa in Nord Americâ den 20 Junii, 1699.

Wohl-Edelgebohrner Herr, Hertzliebster Bruder!

P. C.

Ich bitte vor allem, mein Herr Bruder wolle sich nicht entfremden, dass derselbe einige Zeit von mir dernwegen keine Brief erhalten; weil nemlich diese Jahr hindurch, da Spanien mit Franckreich in Krieg verwickelt ware, etliche Spanische Post-Schiffe seynd aufgefangen worden. Nichts destoweniger seynd mir die zwey Brief, so mein werthester Herr Bruder den einen zwar den 1. Jenner 1698 und einen andern noch vorhin an mich erlassen hat, zu meinem sonderbaren Trost richtig eingeloffen: auf welche ich hiemit antworthe, dass ich Gott Lob! mich dermahl gar wohl befinde mit meinen Indianern gantz vergnügt lebe, und nachdem ich ihrer nunmehr gewohnt bin, auf die obere oder alte Welt schier dergestalt vergisse, dass mir solche bald vorkommt wie ein Sach, von welcher mir vor langer Zeit bloß allein getraumt hat: wozu der grosse Unterschied zwischen einer Welt und der andern nicht wenig beytragt.

Nichts fiele mir Anfangs allhier schwärer, als die unerträgliche Hitz; allein die Erfahrunus hat mich überzeugt, dass ein standhaffte Gewonheit alles überwinde, mithin ein stattliche Lehr-Meisterin seye, so denjenigen, den si unterrichtet, alles lehren, und so gar unmögliche Sachen möglich machen könne.

In dieser Welt-Gegend fällt im Jenner und Hornung kein Schnee, sonder Regen; hingegen bleibt der Himmel im Mertzen, April, May und Brachmonat verschlossen:

aber in dem Heu- und August-Monat gibt es wieder nasses Wetter: die vier übrige Monat seynd abermahl trocken. Unsere meiste Berg seynd kahl, etlich wenige Feichten- und Buch-Wälder ausgenommen. So wächst auch auf einigen Büheln und Feldern die Menge so wohl Bresily- als Eben-Holtz, welches bey uns wenig geachtet wird. Sonst aber siehet man auf dem Gebürg ins gemein nichts als unfructbare Stauden und spitzige Dörn: und dieses zwar bis zweyhundert Meil im Umkreis, den ich öftters durchwandert habe. Ein gantz andere Bewandtnus hat es mit dem Mexicanischen, welches von hier bis 400. teutsche Meil abligt, allwo man unterschiedliche Wälder und Obs-Bäum, welche denen Europaeischen gar nicht gleich sehen, antrifft: nicht dass dergleichen Baum-Früchten, dafern man sie nur pflantzen mögte, dahier nicht gerathen solten; dann ich selbst hab in meinem Haus-Garten über 80 grosse Pomerantzen-Stämm, wie nicht weniger Kitten, Feigen, Lemony, Zitrony, Granat-Äpfel, Biren und Pfersich in der Menge: hiernächst hab ich auch zwey kleine Wein-Gärten, nebst verschiedenen Früchten und Kräutern, als Petersil, Salat, Köhl, Rätig, Rüben, Zwibel, Knoblauch, Magen, Fenchel, Senff, Annis, Rauten, Linsen, Bonen, Erbsen und dergleichen mehr: aber all- dieser Gewächsen Zweig und Saamen seynd aus Europa nach Mexico und so ferner hieher gebracht worden.

Wir haben auch zwey grosse Berg von Magnet-Stein, welcher eben so wenig als das Eisen- und Kupffer-Ertz geschätzt wird; weil die Spanier sich eintzig und allein auf das Silber-Bergwerck verlegen. Unsere Indianer wissen weder von Brod, noch von andern Gebäck nicht das geringste; darum säen sie kein Getreid an, dann allein für ihren Missionarium. Sie aber essen an statt des Brods Türckischen Weitzen, welchen sie folgender massen zubereiten. Die Indianerin setzt einen Hafen zum Feuer, wirfft zwey oder drey Handvoll Türcken-Korn hinein, und schlägt oder rührt es mit einem dünnen Besem so lang ab, bis dasselbe auflaufft, und geröstet ist. Wann es nun genug gebraten, schüttet sie den Topf aus, und brennt auf eben solche Weise abermahl drey andere Händ-voll von besagtem Korn: womit sie auch fortfahrt, bis sie dessen zu ihrem Vorhaben genug hat. Demnach wird es zwischen zwey Steinen mit der Hand gemahlen, das Meel aber (so sie Pinol nennen) in einem Geschirr mit frischem Wasser vermischet, welches ihr Tranck, und zugleich ihre Speis ist, als wovon sie Morgens-frühe, zu Mittag und auf die Nacht trincken und essen, nicht allein zu Hauss, sonder auch auf dem Feld, und auf der Reis: mit einem Wort, diss Brand-Meel und Wasser seynd fast ihre eintzige Nahrung. Wann sie aber Fleisch, Kräuter, Kürbis oder was anders dergleichen kochen, so essen sie dannoch solches Gemüs mit Pinol, als welches dieser armen Leuten Brod ist. Es wachsen bey uns allerhand wohlgeschmacke Kürbis und Melanunen in der Menge; aber keine Erd-Beer, Kirschen, Zwespen oder Quetschen. Hingegen seynd all- unsere Missionen, so wir in gegenwärtiger Provintz Sonora verwalten, mit Rind-Viehe, Schaafen, Geisen, Tauben, Hünern, Pferdten und Maulthieren reichlich versehen.

Des Weins trifft man so wenig an, dass ein Maas bis sechs Thaler kostet; darum behilfft man sich gemeinlich mit dem kalten Wasser, gleich denen Gänsen, welche allhier nicht zahm seynd, wie in Europä, sonder gleich dem andern Feder-Wildprett, durch die Jagd gefangen oder getödtet werden: eben solche Bewandtnus hat es mit denen Aenten und Indianischen Hennen.

Gleichergestalten findet man da herum weder Maisen noch Zeisslen, noch Fincken, noch Amsel, noch Kramet-Vögel, noch Distel-Fincken oder Stiglitz, noch Nachtigallen, noch andere Vögel mehr: hingegen fliegen bey uns unterschiedliche andere in Europä unbekannte Vögel herum, unter welchen die kleinste, nicht grösser als die Heuschrecken, Tschuparosa genannt werden, ein über die Massen schönes Vögelein, doch nicht einerley Farb; dann etliche seynd roth, andere grün, einige Veyel-blau; ihr Flug aber ist wie ein Pfeil. Ein anderer mit dem Namen Cardinal-Vogel, in der Grösse eines Fincken, ist über und über ohne Vermengung einer andern Farb, samt dem Kamm und Schnabel (so aussiehet wie rothe Corallen) an dem gantzen Leib blut-roth. Diese, wie auch viel andere Vögel, absonderlich die Papageyen, derer Zahl kein End hat, fangen die Indianer mit geringer Mühe, und bringen mir solche nach der Wahl lebendig in meine Wohnung. Es lauffen zwar unter anderm Gewild auch Königlein oder Caninchen, Reheböck und Hirschen herum, aber ihr Fleisch ist sehr ungeschmack. Hingegen mercke ich zwischen denen Indianischen und Europäischen Schweinen keinen Unterschied. So gibt es auch in Indien Hund und Katzen, wie in Europa. Bey denen Apatschen (ist ein Indianisches Volck) dienen die Hund an statt der Maul-Eseln, und tragen einen ziemlichen Last.

Dass man in Americâ mehr und grössere Schlangen antreffe, als in Europâ, ist ohne dem bekannt: allein dis darff ich nicht ungemeldet lassen, dass etliche nur dem Ansehen nach erschrocklich seyen, in der That aber dem Menschen kein Leid anfügen: als da seynd die Colubras, Bobas, oder (wie sie bey denen Indianern heissen) die Coros, derer etliche nicht über anderthalb Ellen, andere aber bis vier Ellen lang wachsen, und etwann so dick seynd, als ein zwey- oder drey-jähriges Kind: einige werden so dick, dass sie ein Mann kaum umklaffern kan, und seynd dennoch so leutselig, wie Katzen oder Hund; sie schleichen in die Häuser, verschonen Leut und Viehe: fangen hingegen Ratzen und Mäus: seynd beynebens dermassen freundlich, dass ich ihnen öfters mit Verwunderung zugeschaut habe, wie sie mit kleinen Kindern spielen, ohne sie im geringsten zu verletzen; welches mir einen Muth gemacht, dass ich einen dergleichen Drachen zwar selbst etlichmal in die Händ genommen, allein wegen seiner Schwäre von der Erden nicht erheben kunte. Seine Art, andere Thierlein auf dem Feld zu jagen, hat was seltsames an sich; dann, so bald er auf sechs Schritt weit einen Maulwurff, ein Königlein, ein junges Hirschlein, oder Reheböcklein antrifft, sperrt er seinen Rachen auf, und fangt an die Lufft samt dem Thierlein mit solchem Gewalt an sich zu ziehen, dass es nicht anderst, als risse er solches in Stricken zu sich, graden Weegs in seinen Schlund fahrt, und von ihm verschlungen wird. Wann aber nur das geringste zwischen der Schlangen Rachen und dem Thier, welches sie auf diese Weise herbey ziehet, sich in die Mitte stellt, so wird der Gewalt seines Athems entkräftet, und das Gewild errettet.

Mit dieser Gelegenheit, da ich von Verschlucken rede, kan ich nicht umgehen ein traurige Geschicht hieher zu setzen, welche mir ein Spanier mit Namen Joseph Lopez also erzehlete, wie er sie selbst mit Augen gesehen hat. In der Haupt-Stadt Mexico, sprach er, ward wegen eingefallenem Freuden-Fest nächtlicher Weil ein Feuer-Werck angezündet, nächst welchem vier liederliche Pursch nicht allein mit Karten spielten, sonder einer aus ihnen GOTT abscheulich lästerte: aber sein Fluch kam ihm theuer zu stehen, da ein Racket wider seine Natur nicht aufwerts, sonder dem Schand-Maul grad in den Rachen gefahren, allda mit grossem Knall zersprungen, und ihm den Kopff in viel Stuck zerschlagen, alle Zuschauer aber nach so vielen andern Beyspielen noch einmahl überwiesen hat, dass die Göttliche Majestät mit sich nicht schertzen lasse. Damit aber diesen entsetzlichen Zufall niemand laugnen, sonder sich jedermann daran spiegeln solte, ist er ohne Verschub abgemahlt, und in der nächstgelegenen Kirchen U. L. Frauen von Albaneda aufgehengt worden.

Es ergienge einem andern Sünder weit besser, von welchem mir Herr Frantz de Leon, ein Spanier folgende Nachricht ertheilt hat: Als ein reicher Kauffmann, Namens Diego de Ocampo, aus dem Städtlein Pasquaro über Land reisete, erhub sich urplötzlich ein mit Hagel vermischtes Donner-Wetter, von welchem das Maulthier, auf welchem er ritt, todt-geschlagen, seine Steig-Bügel samt Spohren und Zaum zerschmolzen, der Sattel aber nebst seinem gantzen Kleid, auch so gar Strümpf und Hembd gantz verbrannt, doch ihm an dem gantzen Leib kein Härlein ist gekränckt worden. Er gieng also zu Fuss nach Pasquaro zuruck, und traff daselbst obgenannten Frantz de Leon an, dem er aufrichtig gestanden hat, dieser wunderbare Streich seye ein Göttliche Vermahnung, krafft welcher er erinnert wurde sein Gelübd, als er versprochen hatte in einen geistlichen Ordens-Stand zu treten, ohne längere Verzögerung in das Werck zu stellen, gleichwie er ihm damahls vestiglich vorgenommen, und bald hernach in der That erfüllet hat.

Nun wird mein geehrtester Herr Bruder zweifels-ohne von mir zum Denck-Zeichen aus dieser neuen Welt ein seltsames Geschenck erwarten, mit welchem ich, dafern nur ein Mittel wäre, solches sicher zu überschicken, von Hertzen gern aufwarten wolte; inmassen aber dieses ein so weite Entlegenheit nicht zulässt, schliesse ich wenigstens in gegenwärtigen Brief etwas von demjenigen Gras ein, welches ich unter Weegs, als ich von Mexico hieher reisete, in einer nächst dem Dorff Tepike befindlichen Capell selbst abgeschnitten, und als ein ungemeines Wunder hieher gebracht habe; dann es hat in gedachter Capell zur rechten Hand des Altars ein mit einer absonderlichen Rings-Mauer verschlossenes Plätzlein, auf welchem in Gestalt eines Creutzes ein immer grünender Wasen wachset, der übrige Raum aber Rings-herum gantz kahl bleibt. Man hatte zwar aus Argwohn, (es müsste vielleicht das grüne Creutz einen absonderlichen zum Wachsthum tauglichen Grund haben, welcher in solcher Gestalt in den Orth wäre eingesenckt worden) gemeldeten Wasen gänzlich vertilgt, die Erde ausgegraben, und den Boden eben gemacht: Allein den andern Tag fand man mit Verwunderung das grüne Creutz

wieder in seiner vorigen Gestalt, von welchem dann das wenige dürre Gras, so ich hiemit ertheile, oberwehnter massen herkommet. Bitte etwas davon der (Tit.) Frau Francisca Adlmannin des Closters zu Bischoff-Lagg würdigsten Abbtissin in meinem Namen mitzutheilen, mit dem Ersuchen, dieselbe geruhe samt Dero vntergebenem Gottsförchtigen Closter für mich und meine Indianer fleissig zu betten; da ich hinwiederum in meinem Heil. Mess-Opffer so wohl ihrer, als unserer gesamten Freundschaftt, wie bisshero, also auch künftighin ingedenck zu seyn niemahls unterlassen werde. Gebe der gütigste GOTT, dass wir alle insgesamt einander in jener Welt mit unsterblicher Freud wieder sehen mögen. Amen.

Meines vielgeliebten Herrn Bruders

Datum zu Matapa in der
Landschafft Sonora den
20. Junii 1699

Getreuester biss in Tod
Marcus Antonius Kappus
der Gesellschaft JEsu
Missionarius

TRANSLATION

Letter of the R. P. Marcus Antonius Kappus, Missionary of the Society of Jesus from the Austrian Province. Subsequently, however the Head of all the missions of the Society of Jesus in the country Sonora. To his Brother, Sir Johann von Kappus, landowner and nobleman in Carniola. Written at Matapa in North America, on 20th June, 1699.

To the well and nobly born Sir, dearly beloved brother!
P(ax) C(hristi)

Above all I beg that my Sir Brother would not think it strange that for some time he has received no letters from me; because during these years, when Spain was involved in a war with France, several Spanish mail ships were captured. Nevertheless the two letters which my esteemed Sir Brother had sent me, that is one on the 1st of January, 1698, and another one even earlier, have duly arrived to my singular consolation; herewith I answer them, that, thank God, I feel at present quite well and live quite pleasantly together with my Indians, and since I am now used to them, I forget so much the upper or the old world that it appears to me almost like a thing of which I had only dreamt long ago; the great difference between the one world and the other contributes not a little to this.

At the beginning nothing was harder for me here than the unbearable heat; still, experience has convinced me, that a steady habit surmounts everything, that she is a splendid teacher, so that he whom she teaches can learn everything, and can make even impossible things possible.

In this part of the world no snow falls in January and February, but rain; on the other hand the sky remains shut in March, April, May and June; but in July and August the weather is wet again: the four remaining months are dry again. Most of our mountains are bare, with the exception of a few spruce and beech forests. On some hills and fields grows thus a multitude of brazilwood and ebony which is little valued in our country. Otherwise, however, one generally sees nothing on the mountains but fruitless shrubs and sharp thorns: and this up to two hundred miles in circuit through which I have frequently travelled. Completely different is the situation in Mexico which is up to 400 German miles distant from here and where one can encounter various forest and fruit trees which in no way resemble those of Europe: this is not to say, that such tree fruits, inasmuch as one would wish to plant them, could not prosper here; I myself have in my orchard more than 80 tall orange trees, and also not less quince trees, figs, lemons, citron trees, pomegranates, pears and peaches in abundance. Furthermore I have also two small vineyards and various fruits and vegetables, such as parsley, salad, cabbage, raddish, turnip, onions, garlic, opium poppy, fennel, mustard, anise, rues, lentils, beans, peas and more the like; yet the shoots and the seeds of all these plants were brought to Mexico from Europe, and farther up to this place.

We have also two large mountains of magnetic ore which is as little valued as the iron and copper ore because the Spaniards pay their attention to the silver

mines only. Our Indians know not the least of bread, or of any other baked goods; for this reason they do not sow grain, except for their missionary. Instead of bread they eat the Turkish wheat, which they prepare in the following way. The Indian woman places an earthen pot to the fire, she throws two or three handfuls of the Turkish corn into it and beats or stirs it with a thin broom so long that it swells and is roasted. When it is sufficiently baked, she empties the pot and burns again in the same way three more handfuls of the said corn; with this she continues until she has enough of it for her purpose. After that it is ground by hand between two stones and the meal (which they call Pinol) mixed in a vessel with fresh water, which is their drink and at the same time also their food which they drink and eat early in the morning, at noon, and at night, not only at home, but also in the field and on their journey; in one word, this burnt meal and water are almost their only food. When, however, they cook meat, vegetables, pumpkins, or something similar, then they still eat such vegetable with pinol, which is the bread of these poor people. Various pumpkins and melons grow here in large quantities which have a pleasant taste; but no strawberries, cherries, plums or prunes. On the other hand, all our missions which we administer in the present Province of Sonora, are richly provided with cattle, sheep, goats, pigeons, poultry, horses and mules.

One chance so little upon wine that a measure costs up to six Thaler; therefore one usually gets along with the cold water, like the geese which are not tame as they are in Europe but are caught or killed by hunting like other wildfowl; the same is true also for ducks and Indian hens.

Similarly one finds here no titmouses, nor siskins, nor finches, nor black-birds, nor fieldfares, nor thistlefinches or goldfinches, nor nightingales, nor any other birds; on the other hand, here around fly various other birds which are unknown in Europe, among them the smallest, which is not bigger than the locust, called Tschuparosa, an exceedingly beautiful little bird, but not of one colour; because some are red, others green, some are violet-blue, and their flight is like that of an arrow. An other, with the name of the Cardinal Bird, of the size of a finch, is over and over, including his crest and bill (it looks like red corals), on his whole body without admixture of another colour red as blood. These birds, as well as many others, especially the parrots, whose number is endless, are caught by the Indians with little effort and they bring them after my choice alive to my dwelling place. Among other game the coneys or rabbits, roebucks, and stags also run around, yet their meat is very tasteless. On the other hand I notice no difference between the Indian and European pigs. Likewise there are dogs and cats in the Indies, just like in Europe. Among the Apaches (these are an Indian people) the dogs serve instead of the mules and carry a considerable burden.

It is known anyhow that in America one finds more and bigger snakes than in Europe: yet I must not let it be unmentioned that some are terrible in their appearance only, in reality they do no harm to man: such are the Colubras, Bobas or (as they are called among the Indians) the Coros, some of which do not grow beyond one and a half ells, while others grow up to four ells and are approximately so thick like a child of two or three years: some grow so thick that a man can hardly clasp them, and yet they are as sociable as cats or dogs. They creep into the houses, they spare men and cattle, but they catch rats and mice and are at the same time so friendly that I have frequently observed them with wonderment how they played with small children, without hurting them in the least. This gave me courage that I myself took such a dragon several times into my hands, yet because of its heaviness I could not lift it from the ground. The way how it chases other small animals in the field has something unusual to it; because as soon as it meets at a distance of six steps a mole, a coney, a little young deer or roebuck, it opens its jaws and begins to draw in with such a force the air together with the small animal that it moves straight into its gullet as if it were pulled by ropes, and is swallowed by it. When, however, even the least thing emerges in the middle between the jaw of the snake and the animal which is in this way drawn to it, the power of its breath loses its strength and the animal is saved.

On this occasion, when I speak about the devouring, I cannot avoid to add here a sad story which was told to me by a Spaniard by the name of Joseph Lopez in the way as he had seen it with his own eyes. In the capital of Mexico, he said, during a night a fire-work was lit because of an approaching festival;

next to it four dissolute fellows not only played at cards, but one of them also blasphemed abominantly GOD: yet he had to pay dearly his curse, for one of the rockets flew against its nature not upwards, but straight into the throat of this foulmouthed person, where it exploded with a great detonation and smashed his head into many pieces. It once more brought home to all observers that the Divine Majesty does not allow to speak with levity about Himself. In order, however, that nobody could deny this horrible event, but instead that everyone would take a lesson from it, it was painted without delay and hung up in the nearby church of Our Dear Lady of Albaneda.

Another sinner fared far better, of whom I was told by Sir Frantz de Leon, a Spaniard, the following news: when a rich merchant, by the name of Diego de Ocampo, from the small town of Pasquaro, was travelling across the country, a thunderstorm mixed with hail suddenly arose and killed the mule which he rode, melting his stirrups together with the spurs and his bridle; his saddle, however, together with his whole suit, and even his stockings and shirt were entirely burnt up, yet not a hair on his whole body was hurt. He then went by foot back to Pasquaro and there he met the above-mentioned Frantz de Leon to whom he openly confessed that this miraculous strike was a Divine admonition with which he was reminded to fulfill without further delay his vow, when he had promised to enter a religious order, and how he was now firmly decided to do so and soon afterwards he indeed carried it out.

Now, my most esteemed Brother will without doubt expect from me an unusual present as a token of remembrance from this new world, with which I would like from all my heart to serve him if there were means to send it securely. Since, however, such a far distance does not allow this, I at least enclose in the present letter some of the grass which I had cut on my way, when I travelled from Mexico hither in a chapel situated near the village of Tepike and which I had brought hither as an unusual wonder; because in the chapel referred to there is to the right hand of the altar a small place closed in by a strange round wall in which grows an evergreen sod of grass in the shape of a cross while the remaining space is all around completely bare. From suspicion (that the green cross must perhaps have a special soil fit for the growth which had been put in such a shape into the place) they completely exterminated this sod of grass, dug out the soil, and levelled the ground. Yet the following day they found to their great astonishment the green cross again in its former shape from which the few pieces of the dry grass which I herewith present come in the way as I have mentioned above. Please give in my name something of it to the (title) Lady Francisca Adlmannin, the most honourable Abbess of the cloister of Skofja Loka, with the request that she together with her subordinate godfearing Cloister deign to pray assiduously for me and my Indians; I, in return, will never omit in my holy Mass-sacrifice to remember her as well as all our friends, as I have done this until now, so also in the future. May the good GOD grant that we shall all see us again all together with immortal joy in the other world. Amen.

Of my much loved Sir Brother

Given at Matapa in the
County of Sonora on
20th June, 1699.

Most faithful unto death
Marcus Antonius Kappus
Missionary of the Society of Jesus

FROM ALBION'S SHORE: LORD BYRON'S POETRY IN SLOVENE
TRANSLATIONS UNTIL 1945

Igor Maver

The publication in 1830 of the early poems of the *doyen* of Slovene poetry — Dr France Prešeren¹ in *Kranjska čbelica* (*The Carniola Bee*) — marks the beginning of Slovene Romanticism, which ends in 1848, with the last of his poems published in the fifth volume of the same literary magazine. The period from 1830 to the »revolutionary« year of 1848 is thus committed to Romanticism as the leading movement of Slovene literature, artfully embodied in Prešeren's fine lyrical poetry that aimed at and considerably contributed to national unification and identification, as well as in the Europe-oriented literary criticism of Matija Čop.² Comparing the trends of the English and Slovene Romantic Revival, we can readily establish that the emergence of Romantic tenets expressed in poetry was somewhat late on Slovene ground. In England, of course, the crucial years are 1789, when *Lyrical Ballads* were published by Wordsworth and Coleridge, and the year 1832, which marks the death of Sir Walter Scott.

It is further significant for our research to stress that between 1800

¹ France Prešeren (1800—1849) studied law in Vienna. In 1828 he returned to Ljubljana, but was never allowed to practise law independently in the then Habsburg empire, because of his liberal political ideas and strong national, Slovene orientation. Between the years 1828 and 1840 he reached the peak of his poetic creativity and is nowadays considered the first classic of Slovene poetry, language and culture. He fell under the influence of Matija Čop, who directed him into the contemporary Romantic movement and further encouraged him to imitate Romance forms in poetry, such as sonnets, terzinas, romances, ballads, gazellas, etc. Some of Prešeren's most significant works are: *Soneti nesreče* (*Sonnets of Unhappiness*), *Gazele* (*Ghazels*), *Sonetni venec* (*A Wreath of Sonnets*, 1834), *Krst pri Savici* (*Baptism at the Savica*, 1936), *Poezije dohtarja Franceta Prešerna* (*The Poems by Dr France Prešeren*, 1847, a selection of his verse). Prešeren's *chef d'oeuvre* »Zdravljica« (»A Toast«), published for the first time in 1844, represents the most important Slovene political poem, stressing the ideas of national liberation and democracy. An English selection of his poems was published in 1954 by W. K. Matthews and A. Slodnjak.

² Matija Čop (1797—1835) studied in Vienna and became a classical linguist, literary historian and critic. He (allegedly) spoke nineteen languages and was thought to be the most well-read, broad-minded, and from the aesthetic point-of-view the most modern Slovene literary critic and connoisseur of his time. He particularly appreciated Dante, Goethe, Scott, Byron and Manzoni. His critical credo is that of a Romantic, albeit modified by the classicism of the Enlightenment. Apart from the typical Romantic tenets, the form is of great importance to him, too. After 1828 he influenced and shaped many Slovene *literati*, among them France Prešeren.

and 1843 only newspapers and magazines in German were published in Slovenia, because it was the official language of the Habsburg monarchy. The year 1800 saw the end of the Slovene paper *Lublanske novice* (*The Ljubljana News*), edited by Valentin Vodnik, while Janez Bleiweiss' *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (*Peasant and Farmer News*) appeared almost four decades later in 1843. These facts have to be taken into account when assessing the presence of Lord Byron's poetry in Slovene translations. Moreover, *Illyrisches Blatt* (*The Illyrian Paper*), published in German, is of prime importance for this study, for many translations of Byron's poems into German can be found in it. This is especially true of Josef Hilscher, the translator of Lord Byron into German,³ who in turn decisively enhanced France Prešeren's interest in the translation of Byron's verse tale *Parisina* into Slovene.

Prešeren's relation to European Romanticism was described in some detail by Janko Kos,⁴ particularly his affinity with those German poets who toed the line of the Heidelberg School after the year 1810. Austrian literature most certainly had its share in defining the aspirations and *procédés* of France Prešeren as the translator of (German and English) Romantic poets. Here we have in mind the poetry of Hermann von Hermannsthal and above all that of the already mentioned Austrian author Josef Hilscher. Both of these poets were typical of the literary circle of German-writing artists in Ljubljana in the 1830's.⁵ Hilscher began to publish his German translations of Byron in *Illyrisches Blatt* in 1829 and in subsequent years, even after his death, until 1837. In view of the relationship between Prešeren and Hilscher, Kos guesses that Prešeren must have known Hilscher well.⁶ Indeed, we have discovered a written proof of their previously »alleged« acquaintance and friendship in an article by their contemporary Josip Cimperman.⁷ Hilscher was at the time considered the best translator of Lord Byron's poetry into German and Prešeren was consequently in close touch with the then »ideal« translator of poetry, who

³ Josef Hilscher was born in 1806 in Litoměřice in Bohemia; he came to Ljubljana in 1818 and in 1823 became a teacher in the local military school. He wrote some very successful dramas in German (e.g. *Kaiser Albrechts Hund*, [*The Dog of Kaiser Albrecht*], *Friedrich der Schöne*, [*Friedrich the Handsome*]). He was very much interested in Byron's poetry and translated many of his poems into German, which were all published in Ljubljana in the newspaper *Illyrisches Blatt* (1829—1832). In 1835 he published Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (*Byrons hebräische Gesänge*), both in German translation and in the original, which can be considered the most direct influence on the first Slovene translation of this work in 1852 by Fran Jeriša. Hilscher then moved to Milan where he died of consumption. Apart from the shorter pieces he also translated some of Byron's »poems in prose«: *Manfred*, *Giaur*, *The Prisoner of Chillon*, *The Corsair* and *Tasso's Lament*. According to the foremost German translators and critics of Byron, Hilscher has up till the present day not yet been surpassed as an artistic translator of Byron. His huge apus as a translator had a significant influence on the then Slovene poets/translators (Jeriša, Prešeren), which has not yet been adequately researched.

⁴ Janko Kos, *Prešeren in evropska romantika* (*Prešeren and European Romanticism*). Ljubljana: DZS, 1970, p. 183.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 183—210. Cf. also the article about the extensive knowledge of Matija Čop in English literature, above all in poetry: Václav Burian, »Matija Čop kot Byronist« (»Matija Čop as a Byronist«), *SJ*, 1940, p. 108.

⁶ Janko Kos, *Prešeren in evropska romantika*. Ljubljana: DZS, 1970, p. 185.

⁷ Josip Cimperman, »O Preširnovem Senáni« (»About Prešeren's Senán«), *Ljubljanski zvon*, I (1881), 5, pp. 313—314.

most likely incited him to render Byron into Slovene after the year 1833. At this time Prešeren began to work on *Parisina*, first published in 1849 and afterwards reprinted several times.⁸

France Prešeren translated only twelve of the twenty sections of *Parisina*.⁹ (It is significant to establish that the number of verses of the translation is identical to the original.) The reasons for Prešeren's incomplete *oeuvre* on *Parisina* could be sought in his letter to Čelakovski (9th April, 1833), in which he hints that he is afraid of censorship, which might not let the translation to be published, although there seemed to be no direct hazard in terms of the political criticism of the Habsburg monarchy. The partly translated *Parisina* by Prešeren was also published in 1865¹⁰, 1903¹¹, and 1915.¹² To be sure, *Parisina* is not one of Byron's seminal works, but it should be pointed out that it directly influenced the writing of Pushkin and also shaped the Slavonic/Slovene poets. Thus it is from a literary-historical point-of-view the most concrete example of the relatively strong influence of »Byronism« in Slovenia in the second half of the 19th century. That is why it deserves special attention. The »verse tale« treats an incestuous love in the d'Este aristocratic family that formerly reigned in the Renaissance Ferrara. Byron performed certain changes with regard to the original historical source: he introduced in his poems Romantic attitudes, such as a more free conception of love, struggle against social norms and the belief in social equality of people.¹³ Prešeren's translation only emphasized these original Byronic ideas of the poem. There is no evidence of his sacrificing any of the themes for the sake of *translatio*.

In a separate study we researched Prešeren's pencilled corrections and remarks on the margins of his manuscript-translation of *Parisina*, which afforded us a revelatory insight into the translator's way of reasoning and his translating process.¹⁴ These also point to the fact that Prešeren proceeded to the translation of *Parisina* directly from the original English text and not from some German (for example Josef Hilscher's) translation of the same. We contend that after the initial »direct«, word-for-word translation, which seems deficient in some aspects of the semantic level, Prešeren then often moved on to the transposition of the metaphorical meanings of individual words or, better still, to the »partial« meanings that are of essential importance in a poetic translation. These changes result in a subtly poetic and sincere rendering of the poem into Slovene. The second, corrected variant of the translation is in addition more spontaneous, since Prešeren obviously wanted to get rid of his original

⁸ Lord Byron, *Parizina* (*Parizina*), *Pravi Slovenec*, 1849, 38, p. 217, translated by France Prešeren.

⁹ A detailed comparative analysis of the Slovene translation of *Parisina* and the original can be found in the typewritten M. A. thesis: Igor Maver, »English and American Poetry in Slovenia until 1945«, Faculty of Arts and Sciences in Ljubljana, 1988.

¹⁰ Lord Byron, *Parizina*, translated by France Prešeren, *Koledarčik slovenski*, 1852, pp. 25–26; *Zlati klasi*, 1856, pp. 74–77; *Naše gore list*, 5 (1865), 33, p. 265; pp. 272–273.

¹¹ *Zbornik znanstvenih in poučnih spisov*, 5 (1903), pp. 128–131.

¹² *Slovan*, 3 (1915), pp. 348–351.

¹³ The theme of *Parisina* is taken from Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. III., p. 470.

¹⁴ France Prešeren, *Parizina*, a manuscript. Ljubljana, National and University Library, MS 471, n. 5.

conformity to certain existing conventions, such as the metrical scheme, rhyme scheme, the taste of the public, and the like. The translation of *Parisina* proves once again that France Prešeren decidedly represents a meticulous (e. g. rhymes and metre) and able translator. This fact, however, does not exert a negative influence on the transposed contents of the poem. It remains on an enviable artistic level, which we also find in Prešeren's original poems. The poet-translator therefore certainly knew how to combine the complementary notions of content vs. form in the sense of the Structuralist conception of the signifier and the signified.

A detailed comparison of the translation with the original poem reveals a greater richness of Lord Byron's text in many details, which are generally more limited to a sheer narrative of events. Prešeren's translation clearly drops minor descriptive details and dedicates itself rather to the visualisation of the action. The latter leads us to consider Prešeren's *Parisina* an artistic superposition and elaboration of Byron's original text.

Prešeren's exaggerated use of rhymes, even when they are in Byron's original merely visual and semantically void, can only be considered a drawback. We also discover important differences in the number of syllables of individual verses in the original and in the translation, which consequently modifies the melody (the pitch of sounds) of verse. This is perhaps understandable, because of the apparent phonetic contrasts between the English and the Slovene language. Slovene translations generally require more syllables for the description of an event. The reasons can be sought for in the fact that Slovene is an »analytical« language, which, in contradistinction with the »synthetic« English, always makes use of more words and paraphrases. That is why it is possibly not as terse and compact as English is.

Furthermore, France Prešeren in the translation of *Parisina* shows an extremely loose and free usage of punctuations in relation to the original text. He particularly seems to dislike the colon and semi-colon, in lieu of which a simple comma is to be found. However, a comma cannot fully replace the »turn of thought« or a »thought division« as expressed by the colon or full-stop. On the other hand, the equivalent transposition of English modal verbs and the idiomatic uses of the verb into Slovene proves that Prešeren's knowledge of English was generally rather good. The work of Prešeren as a translator of Romantic poetry has so far perhaps not been adequately recognized. Admittedly, despite some earlier attempts to translate Thomas Gray (»Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard«, 1843), France Prešeren's translation of *Parisina* into Slovene remains the first really artistic poetic translation from Anglo-American poetry into Slovene. As such it has an important place within the Slovene cultural/literary heritage.

The translation of Lord Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* in 1852 is the second biggest poetic translation project of Slovene Romanticism, the author of which was Fran Jeriša.¹⁵ Byron wrote this collection following the example of *Irish Melodies*, composed by his friend and biographer Thomas Moore

¹⁵ Lord Byron, *Hebrejske melodije (Hebrew Melodies)*, translated by Fran Jeriša, *Novice*, 1852/10—99, published in instalments. Fran Jeriša (1829—1855) studied law and philosophy in Vienna. He wrote patriotic lyrical poems under the influence of Jovan V. Koseski. He translated Byron, Herder and Niemcewicz. He died of cholera at the early age of twenty-six.

(1779—1852), although he specifically stressed in the »Advertisement« that he wrote these lines at the request of a friend, Reverend Douglas Kinnaird. It was published in 1815, together with music sheets provided by Messrs Braham and Nathan.¹⁶ If *Hebrew Melodies* were intended for the musical accompaniment, it is understandable that the metrical scheme of the poems is regular and exact. The translator had to take it well into account and he consequently succeeded in producing a smooth-flowing, rhythmical movement of verse.

A lengthy introduction by Jeriša is significant in revealing at least some of the problems he encountered during the process of translation. Jeriša writes that these »songs« were composed to be sung and that is why one should not look in them for »perfect rhymes, for only dashes can be found«.¹⁷ We observe that Jeriša in truth uses an iambic tetrameter, which at times includes a few spondees or pirahics. He is, on the other hand, less consistent as far as the rhyme scheme is concerned, where he often uses dashes in order to disguise the irregularities. Fran Jeriša goes on to say: »The poems are the feelings and individual sighs of the *unhappy nation* (stressed by I. M.) — the clear drops in which is reflected a pale dawn of happier times, ...«¹⁸ There is an intriguing comparison between the Jews, to whom Jeriša referred to as an »unhappy nation«, and the Slovenes, who were, after the revolutionary events of 1848 and the Renaissance of nations within the Austrian empire, perhaps really anticipating a kind of »dawn of happier times«. It seems that Jeriša's decision to translate Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* largely depended precisely on these common points and symbolical connotations.

The translation of Lord Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* by Fran Jeriša can therefore be considered, second to Prešeren's *Parisina*, one of the most demanding and artistically perfect poetic translations of Slovene Romanticism. Despite his difficult task, for the original Byron's content and form had to be observed, Jeriša performed an excellent job: Slovenes thus read Byron's poems in translation well before people living in larger European countries. The language of the translation is certainly slightly dated, although this does not diminish its artistic power to any significant extent. We can conclude that Jeriša had to sacrifice some of the metaphorical transference of meaning in order to achieve, according to him, a most important objective, namely the realization of an identical metrical and rhyme scheme in the original poem and its translation. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that Jeriša's ambitious translation project, which was by the way published in many instalments, has so far been somehow overlooked and decidedly inadequately dealt with in Slovene literary history.

Apart from the translation of *Parisina* by the foremost Slovene Romantic poet, France Prešeren, the rendering of Lord Byron's verse tale *Mazeppa* into Slovene by Jovan Vesel Koseski in 1868¹⁹ is of equal impor-

¹⁶ Introduction to *Hebrew Melodies*. Lord Byron: *Poetical Works*, ed. F. Page. Oxford UP, 1964.

¹⁷ Fran Jeriša, Introduction to the translation of *Hebrew Melodies* (*Hebrejske melodije*), *Novice*, 10 (1852), 63, p. 249.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁹ Lord Byron, *Mazeppa* Jovan (Mazeppa), translated by Jovan Vesel Koseski, Ljubljana: Jožef Blaznik, 1868.

tance for Slovene literary history. Jovan Vesel Koseski was a sentimental poet, primarily a pre-romantic one, as well as the follower of the Enlightenment of the 18th century. As such he was in direct opposition with his contemporary, France Prešeren. Still, Koseski cannot really be considered his rival, for he is a far minor poet than Prešeren.²⁰

Koseski composed an original poem to preface the translation of *Mazeppa*. Its motto *Si parva licet componere magnis* («If the little may agree with the big») indicates Koseski's admiration of Lord Byron's poetic grandeur and at the same time discloses his »feigned modesty« as a poet. The poem speaks about an ancient Greek by the name of Epimenides, who lives as a recluse for a long time. Upon his return among the inhabitants of Athens he finds everything much changed. Reading between the lines, we would discover Koseski's nostalgia for the period of Slovene cultural/political history before the year 1848, i. e. before the March revolution that brought about several positive changes for the Slovene nation. This is altogether rather surprising, and moreover in direct contradistinction with the views of Koseski's younger contemporary and the first translator of Byron into Slovene, France Prešeren.

The Slovene literary critic of the second half of the 19th century Josip Stritar,²¹ who was also a poet, translator and novelist, fiercely attacked Koseski's translation of Byron's verse tale *Mazeppa* in 1868, therefore merely a few months after Koseski's translation was published in a book form. This rather long and analytical article is an important turning-point in Slovene literary criticism, for Koseski's fame began to decline after its publication, not merely as a translator but as a poet as well.²² Nevertheless, the critique of Koseski's translation of Byron's verse has never been examined in detail. We set out to amend this situation in a separate study.²³ Stritar primarily reproaches Koseski his deflection from the Byronic original's meter, rhythm and rhyme scheme, whereby the translator to a large extent changed the original text: Koseski namely used the Italian »ottava rima« (rhyme) in iambic pentameter. Stritar's article emphasizes the fact

²⁰ Jovan Vesel Koseski (1798—1884) was born in Trieste and became a clerk in finance, with working posts in Ljubljana, Gorica, Tolmin and Trieste. He was the most important poet that published in the paper *Novice (News)*, the voice of the Slovene circle of »older«, conservative authors, opposed to Prešeren and his followers. Josip Stritar's critique of Koseski's translation of *Mazeppa* caused the decline in his fame. He is a pre-Romantic poet, who is, however, important in strengthening Slovene national consciousness.

²¹ Josip Stritar (1836—1923) studied classical languages in Vienna. He was then a private tutor in various European towns and a teacher in several Slovene grammar-schools until his retirement. Stritar is the most important Slovene literary critic of the second half of the 19th century. He was among the first to show France Prešeren's true artistic merit and discredited Jovan Vesel Koseski's fake poetic fame. His own poetry reveals some parallels with the Parnassians and classical poetry, permeated with a strong feeling of *mal de siècle* (*Dunajski soneti, The Vienna Sonnets*, 1872). Rousseau and Schopenhauer certainly influenced him in this respect. Stritar also wrote novels. *Gospod Mirodolski (The Master of Mirodol)*, for example, is reminiscent of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*.

²² Lord Byron, *Mazeppa (Mazeppa)*, translated by Josip Stritar, *Slovenski glasnik*, II (1868), XIV/6, pp. 230—233.

²³ See my M. A. thesis on the reception of English and American poetry in Slovenia, Faculty of Arts and Sciences in Ljubljana, 1988, typescript.

that the translation of *Mazeppa* is in some places quite incomprehensible, while admitting to the real and acute difficulty of translating the »short and compact« English verse into Slovene. Stritar himself translated part of *Mazeppa* in order to show the linguistic and metaphorical deficiencies of Koseski's attempt. He evidently knew English very well, since his translation lives up to all the requirements of a good poetic translation: a thematically compact verse, an identical metrical and rhyme scheme with the original, which in no way diminishes the poetic meaning that has to come across to the reader, no contractions, syncopes, apocopes, etc.

In conclusion one cannot but remark that Koseski was as bad a translator as he was a poet, a judgement that can be upheld by several examples: his poor knowledge of English, the »direct« translations of individual words and syntagms to the detriment of the meaning, the lack of literary taste, the avoidance of original poetic techniques and the major changes he performed in the translation. All said, we could even say that Jovan Vesel Koseski's translation of *Mazeppa* is reduced to the level of a simple adaptation of the original Byron's text. In the second half of the translation he felt it necessary to underline Byron's verses »Justice for everyone!«²⁴ several times, which is very indicative. It seems that these verses had a great communicative value for the reading public at this crucial historical/political moment of the Habsburg monarchy (i. e. »justice« for the variety of its nations, including the Slovenes). Koseski very likely chose this verse tale by Lord Byron for translation because of its theme, which is taken from the Polish, that is by extension Slavonic history: he was led by some sort of »pan-Slavonic« spirit.

Jurij Varl, following the example of Josef Hilscher (as he pointed out in the Introduction) rendered into Slovene »Vision of Belshazzar« (»Ugled Belzacarjev«, translated from German by J. Varl, *Drobtinice*, 14/1859—60, pp. 267—268), which makes part of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*. It represents an isolated case, albeit just another proof what a strong impact Hilscher's enthusiasm for the translation of Byron had on Slovene poets of the 19th century.

In surveying the rest of the translations of Lord Byron into Slovene until 1945, we must point out the translation of his »Adieu, adieu my native shore« from *Childe Harold* by Branko Flegerič.²⁵ It is a faithful transposition of the original, full of *mal de siècle* atmosphere, which holds true also for his translation of the poem »To Inez« from *Childe Harold*, too (1877).²⁶ The first two cantos of *Childe Harold* appeared in England in 1812, and the last two between 1816 and 1818. Still, the Slovenes got this *Weltschmerz* masterpiece in translation with a substantial time-lag only after World War Two.²⁷ It is hard to believe that despite Byron's paramount fame (especially

²⁴ Lord Byron, *Mazeppa* Jovan (Mazeppa), translated by Jovan V. Koseski, Ljubljana: Jožef Blaznik, 1868, p. 51.

²⁵ Lord Byron, »Iz Byronove pesmi *Childe Harold*« (»From Byron's *Childe Harold*«), translated by Branko Flegerič, *Zora* (Maribor), 20 (1874), p. 21. Božidar (Branko) Flegerič (1841—1907) studied classical philology in Graz. For a short period of time he taught at the grammar-school in Osijek and then lived in his native Prekmurje. He wrote lyrical poems under various influences (Prešeren, Jenko, Stritar and particularly Vraz), and published two translations of poems from Byron's *Childe Harold*.

²⁷ Lord Byron, *Pesmi in pesnitve* (Poems), translated by Janez Menart. Ljubljana: DZŠ, 1975.

on the Continent), there are just two more of his poems to be found in Slovene translation in the discussed period until 1945: »Vision of Belshazzar« and the »Introduction« to *The Bride of Abydos* by Griša Koritnik in his collection (the first one) of Anglo-American poetry.²⁸

In Griša Koritnik's collection *A Leaf from English Poetry* he again translated »Vision of Belshazzar« that had been translated into Slovene more than seventy years earlier very deftly by Fran Jeriša and Jurij Varl. Upon the comparison of the translations by Koritnik and Jeriša one could say that Koritnik's version is generally much shorter and more terse, from the linguistic and poetic aspect very pleasant and smooth-flowing. The consistent use of an iambic tetrameter enables just that. On the other hand, the much earlier variant of Jeriša is closer to the original, because it does not omit so many more or less important details as Koritnik's translation does. For one thing, Koritnik uses a lot more commas, full-stops and other punctuation marks. This, of course, to a large extent changed the content of the poems: we find new enjambements and inappropriate caesuras in the middle of verses that abruptly interrupt the original thought developments and patterns.

Griša Koritnik's Slovene translation of the first stanza (Canto I) of Byron's work *The Bride of Abydos* strikes us especially, because its metrical scheme is so much different from Byron's original poem where a dactyl is used. Koritnik's use of the rocking foot gives an additional, pleasant, »rocking« effect, inkeeping with the theme of the poem. The Slovene translation is also characterized by a smaller number of words which consist of more syllables, though. There are more words with less syllables in the original, which makes it richer than the translation, especially in view of the content.

Surprisingly enough, some of the best known *chefs d'oeuvre* of Lord Byron, *Don Juan*, for example, or any of his complex dramas such as *Cain* and *Marino Falieri*, published in England during 1820—1824, have up to the present day remained available to a Slovene reader only in the original. Still, as far as the thesis question is concerned, it need be said that Byron's Romantic poetry fairly quickly entered the Slovene cultural conscience: it was extensively translated and influential in the second half of the 19th century, albeit with short time-lags. As we have seen, the majority of the translations are of an enviable artistic value and represent a significant part of Slovene Romantic heritage in the poetry of the century. After 1833, when Prešeren began to work on the translation of *Parisina*, we had to wait for another 124 years to get the first collection of Byron's selected poems in Slovene translation in 1956.²⁹ Likewise, the influence of Lord Byron's poetry on the Slovene poets of the second half of the 19th century

²⁸ Griša Koritnik, *Listič iz angleške lirike* (*A Leaf from English Lyric Poetry*). Ljubljana: a private edition, 1929.

Griša Koritnik (1886—1969) was a poet, novelist, journalist and translator. At the beginning of the 20th century he wrote verse under the influence of the Modern (Zupancič, Murn). Koritnik is undoubtedly the foremost and the most prolific Slovene translator of poetry from English and American literatures before the Second World War (Poe, Shelley, Kipling, Conrad, and many other authors). In 1932 he privately financed the publication of his selected translations from English and American lyrical poetry.

²⁹ Lord Byron, *Pesmi* (*Poems*), Ljubljana: SKZ TLdp, 1956, Mala knjižnica 68, translated by Janez Menart.

has not been negligible, and, what is more, »Byronism« in literature was indeed very strong. In the first half of the 20th century, however, until 1945, Byron's work literally fell into oblivion, for the two short poems in Slovene translation can hardly be regarded as an achievement.

THE ORIGINAL AND ITS TRANSLATION FROM THE READERS' PERSPECTIVE

Meta Grosman

To claim that the readers' experience of a literary work in translation is different from their experience of the original at first seems very paradoxical and even heretical. Such a statement is so unexpected simply because we always think of the original and its translation as being the same literary work without paying any attention to their different concretizations on the part of their readers due to textual differences. This tacit assumption of their sameness seems totally unaffected by the fact that we never think of the original and its translation as representing the same text; on the contrary, we always take it for granted that they are two different texts in two different languages. The differences between the two texts and the differentness of the translation are never lost sight of in the discussion of the qualities and adequacy of the translation. When it comes to criticizing the literary work or teaching it, however, the translation is tacitly assumed to be identical with the original and approached as if it were the original, with little or no critical awareness of the fundamental textual and other possible differences. This critical and pedagogical approach to literary translation seems to be almost immune to the growing awareness of the importance of the textual elements, to an increasing body of research concerning their impact on the reader, and to the ample evidence about various inadequacies of literary translations, revealed especially by the processes of retranslation and thus visible in all works that exist in several translations. This approach also takes little if any notice of the overall tendency of the translation to assimilate the original to the receptor culture, to simplify and sometimes also to reduce the original.

The illusion of the sameness of the original and its translation can naturally be maintained only as long as we pay no attention to their differences, i.e. as long as we do not start to examine them, and do not analyse only the textual differences and inadequacies of the translation, which have been scrutinized and attacked for as long as translation has been practiced, but move on to the comparative study of their impact, i.e. to the examination and analysis of the differences in the readers' responses to the two texts, or rather their experiences as invited by the two texts. Our experimental work in this field shows that translations cannot only invite readings different from the original but may also exclude readings invited and made possible by the original. When the same work is read in the original and in translation by several groups of readers,

some differences in their responses appear so frequently and rather uniformly so that it seems only reasonable to attribute them to the differences between the two texts. The analysis of the readings of several groups of readers, and the readings of both texts by the same readers thus furnish reliable evidence not only about the different readings but also about the different interpretive possibilities as made possible by the original and by its translation.

The differences between the readers' experience and appreciation of the original and its translation become acceptable and even logical the moment we think of them as two texts: they are an inevitable consequence of the differences between the original and its translation. In spite of the transferred and thus common content, sometimes conceived of as extra-linguistic meaning, each text represents a different embodiment of this shared content, conforming to the different linguistic rules of the two languages and to different cultural expectations. Because of these differences, each text exercises different control over the readers and invites specific realizations on their part.

The differentness of the literary translations has been taken for granted and the possibility of a fully satisfactory translation has been despaired of. Whereas some authors have struggled to analyze the inadequacy of translations, others voiced their dissatisfaction metaphorically, by using the analogy representing the translation as different clothes for the content of the original. The best description of the inadequacies of translation is perhaps the complaint of Virginia Woolf that mediocre translations make the reader feel that »every idea is slipping about in a suit badly cut and many sizes too large for it.«¹ Also Walter Benjamin's commentary that in the original work language fits the content as the peel fits the fruit, whereas in translation it hangs around it like a king's robe, calls attention to the changed relationship between the content and the language of translations.²

Recent reader-response studies and linguistics have furnished ample explanation why the differences between the original and its translation simply cannot be avoided. It has become common knowledge that texts only come to life when they are read, or rather, that texts, i.e. series of sentences, are transformed into works of literature by means of the reader's act of realization. Such realizations are never independent of the individual dispositions of the readers, who always appropriate meanings from the texts according to what they need or desire and according to the critical assumptions or predispositions which they bring to them. Today the reader is no longer regarded only as a decoder of what is written down, but is rather considered a supplier of much essential information that is not written down.³ The reader's active involvement and subjective contribution to the production of the meaning are considered to be essential to the realization of the literary work. Because of this all texts are subject to a vast variety of realizations, and since the translator can neither claim impersonal access to their meanings, nor translate in a vacuum, s/he can only transfer to the receptor language her/his own realization of the literary text with all the limitations of such a realization. The cross-cultural context

¹ Virginia Woolf, »Phases of Fiction« in *Collected Essays* II. London, 1966, p. 89.

² Walter Benjamin, »Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers« in his translation of Charles Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*, Frankfurt am Main, 1963, p. 15.

³ E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *Cultural Literacy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987, p. 33.

of the translator also calls for the assimilation of the original to the receptor language and culture. That is why all translations must be regarded as context-bound readings, reflecting the peculiarities of their time and culture, being as they are addressed to a given generation of readers. These features of literary translations have become quite obvious with those works which have been retranslated several times.

Linguistics, especially translation theory, has already made available some tools for examining various textual shifts necessitated by the different features of the receptor language which can account for some changes in the impact of the text upon the reader. Various kinds of contrastive textual analyses have revealed new complexities of meaning and its functioning, besides the changes in word-to-word relationship as usually discussed in terms of equivalence. Thus previously unsuspected changes in translation, as for instance shifts in textual cohesion due to the differences between languages and to the process of explication inherent in translating *per se*, and shifts in textual coherence resulting from the translator's misinterpretations of covert meaning relationships are attracting ever-more attention. Since cohesive ties do not only provide continuity and semantic unity, but may also function as devices for focusing the reader's attention on certain features of the text, such shifts can lead to differences in the experience, or rather, reader's realization of the translation.

Trying to find some compromise, every translation oscillates between two extremes: on the one hand, the source-oriented translation which endeavours to be as true to the original as possible, and on the other, the target-accommodating translation which tries to cater as much as possible for the taste and expectations of the target audience. Every actual translation can be seen as located between these two extremes. Every actual translation is only one possible realization of the countless possibilities between these two extremes. The oscillation between these two extreme possibilities explains why literary translations often have a dual character marked by an interweaving and conglomerate of two structures: on the one hand, the semantic content and the formal contour of the original; on the other, the entire system of linguistic and aesthetic features inhering in the receptor language. Depending on the translator's choice between the two extremes, the translation will invite also different experiences on the part of the readers, either by bringing the text closer to them, or by foregrounding its cultural differentness and alienness.

The outlined textual changes inherent in every translation are sufficient to explain why the translation, being a different text, invites a more or less different realization, or rather, literary experience. The differences in realization, however, become visible only when we compare readings and interpretations made possible by the original with those made possible by the translation. Such differences naturally remain inaccessible to the monolingual readers who, unable to read both texts, also lack the experience of the different expressive possibilities of various languages. These differences merit careful examination, not only because they can furnish important insights into the limitations and possibilities of the translation, but also because awareness of such differences can enhance the reader's appreciation and enjoyment of literature.

The differences between the interpretive possibilities made possible by the two texts and, accordingly, between their experiences on the part of

readers, seem to have the largest span in case of poetry. Reasons for this are not hard to find: in order to achieve the characteristic compression of meaning poetry makes extensive use of formal and linguistic devices that are frequently hard to translate and re-create, as for instance metaphors which are culturebound, and their placement in the poem which depends on the syntactic features of the language and has great impact upon the reader by determining the order of the perceived elements of the poem. All these features account also for the possibility of the reader's idiosyncratic reading and interpretation, which, when it serves as the basis for the translation, may also result in the exclusion of other possible meanings. Since the translator can only work from her/his own understanding of the given poem, her/his translation is inevitably governed by her/his interpretation of it. That is why some critics believe that translated poems could be regarded as a special case of retelling.⁴

The differences between the interpretive possibilities as offered by the original poem and by its translation have been shown to be significant and sometimes quite fatal in case of Janez Menart's Slovenian translations of Shakespeare's sonnets.⁵ To gain some insight into the actual impact of these translations on the readers, the answers of 122 respondents about the meaning of the Slovenian translation of Shakespeare's sonnets 116 and 129 have been collected.⁶ The analysis of these answers has shown that the Slovenian translation encourages, without a single exception, a rather uncomplicated reading of sonnets 116 and 129, which is at considerable variance with the interpretative possibilities contained in the originals. Some reasons for this reduction of meaning are traceable to the wording of the translation which, following as it does merely the obvious surface meaning, does not succeed in preserving the more complex implied meaning of the original. It also fails to re-create the formal features of the text used to direct the reader's attention to the latter, for instance the symmetrical repetition of »alters«, »alteration« in lines 3 and 11, or rather »bends« and »bending« in lines 4 and 10, and the persuasive rhetoric of the opening in sonnet 116, or the outstanding use of symmetry to establish important interconnection and intensify the meaning of sonnet 129. Thus Menart's translations, though seemingly quite adequate from the point of view of equivalence, do not succeed in preserving, or rather, re-creating the most important formal devices to condense the meaning and enrich the suggestive power of the original sonnets. In this way the translation loses an important means of controlling the reader and directing her/his attention to the rich ambiguities constituent of the challenging complexity of Shakespeare's meaning.

On reading the Slovenian translation of sonnet 116, most readers concluded that this sonnet is about »true« or »perfect« love, adding a relatively limited range of the descriptions of this abstract notion. When reading

⁴ Peter J. Rabinovitz, »Audience's Experience of Literary Borrowings« in *The Reader in the Text*, Ed. Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crossman. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 247.

⁵ William Shakespeare, *Soneti*. Prevedel Janez Menart. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1965.

⁶ The readers who provided responses concerning Shakespeare's sonnets were students of English between 1980 and 1986. Their cooperation was voluntary. The readings of the translations and of the originals were performed at different time intervals with groups of fewer than 25 students.

the original poem, however, some of the same readers have been able to notice the importance of the emphatic introductory lines and the presence, even pressure, of doubt behind the paradoxically numerous negative descriptions and the emphatic negative beginning of the fifth line, and thus to reach a more complex understanding incorporating several possibilities of meaning. Though at first they professed a moderate liking or even dislike for the easily understandable Slovenian translations, they eventually came to admire the original sonnets for their profound and deeply personal exploration of the tensions and stresses of human passion.⁷ The readers' awareness of the possible differences between the original poem and its translation and their understanding of the reasons for such differences will not only make them more critical readers, but will also make them more tolerant of the translation and enable them to make up for its losses of meaning.

Besides this the contrastive reading of the original and its translation is useful not only in revealing the differences and shortcomings of the translation, which constitute useful knowledge for every reader of literature, but in providing invaluable insights into the functioning of literary language and into the differences between the languages which enhance the reader's capacity for appreciation of literature and its language-bound nature. The contrastive reading of the original poem and its translation can be handled in different ways and used for different purposes in poetry reading classes. The discussion can start from the original, while the translation is used at a later stage as an illustration of a possible meaning of the original, offering also the possibility of a discussion of the differences introduced by the translation and of different expressive means of the two languages. With complex and difficult poetry the reading of translation initially frequently facilitates the readers' entry into the original. Should the readers decide to prefer the translation in spite of its limitations, simply because it may speak more directly to them, then the reading of the original can extend their reading of the translation. More experienced and interested readers will of course move on to the examination of the different interpretive possibilities as sometimes offered by the original and its translation, of the shifts in formal features used to condense the meaning and enrich the suggestive power, and of the consequences of such shifts for the poem's impact upon the reader. Last but not least, such contrastive reading is made possible and invited by ever more frequent bilingual publications of translated poetry.

The differences between the readers' experiences of longer fictional texts, such as original novels, and their translations are harder to locate. Novels are too long to permit the detailed analysis of the readings of both texts as is necessary for making such differences visible. Since the individual ways in which the readers assemble their meanings depend on so many unpredictable factors it is usually impossible to trace the differences to some particular features of the two texts, though such differences do appear and even reappear in several groups of readers. This is especially true of the differences which come to expression on the level of the final interpretation which depends so heavily on the readers' recall and com-

⁷ A detailed analysis of the responses to the Slovenian translation of sonnet 116 and 129 and the comparison of the responses to the translation and the original are published under the title »Shakespearejevi soneti v slovenščini« in *Slavistična revija*, Vol. 35, 1987, pp. 303—320.

bination of perceived elements that the readers' contribution must be considered more important than the initial differences in the perception of the text.⁸

With longer fictional texts the differences in the readers' experience of the original and translation often become visible in case of faulty translations. Such translations make it impossible for the readers to grasp those textual and conceptual features which have not been preserved and/or recreated by the translation. Such losses occur because of inattention or through unnecessary assimilation of the text to the receptor culture which does not have at its disposal the same or similar concepts. Depending on the importance of such concepts their elimination or assimilation may result in literary experiences that will be confusing and different from the experience invited by the original. The Slovene translation of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*⁹ seems to invite experiences at variance with those offered by the original. Thus the readers of it have reported uneasiness at ascertaining the characters social positions and the resulting motivations.

Taking for granted the readers' knowledge of the highly structured society in England of that time, especially of the position of gentry and of the underlying concept of gentlemanliness, *Pride and Prejudice* uses the word »gentleman« and its derivatives in several descriptions and conflicting situations. The translator, probably unaware of the importance of these words and of the underlying concept, does not translate them consistently. Thus when »gentlemen« and »gentlemanlike« are used in the descriptions of some characters the Slovene translation sometimes keeps »gentleman«, the use of which is permitted by Slovene dictionaries¹⁰, and sometimes renders these words by »gospod« and its derivative »gosposki«. Being the usual translation for »Mr« preceding the family name, »gospod« is used also in reference to all male characters thus presented. In this sense, »gospod« does not suggest to Slovene readers gentleman or gentlemanlike appearance, especially since it has many other more characteristic uses. Thus the introductory descriptions: »Mr Bingley was good looking and getlemanlike...« and »Mr Hurst, merely looked the gentleman« are rendered in Slovene as follows: »Gospod Bingley je bil čeden in gosposki... gospod Hurst je bil gosposki samo na videz,«¹¹ whereas »Colonel Fitzwilliam... (was) in person and address most truly the gentleman« is translated by »Polkovnik Fitzwilliam... a vsa njegova osebnost in nastop sta kazala, da je pravi gentleman.«¹²

⁸ Differences between the perception of the original and its translation seem, according to research done so far, to appear above all in the perception of the various elements of the novel. Thus in the readings of *Wuthering Heights* the differences in the perception of physical background seem to be more visible than the differences in the perception of characters. At this point of our research it is impossible to say whether such differences are attributable primarily to textual features or to other factors.

⁹ Jane Austen, *Prevzetnost in pristranost*. Translated by Majda Stanovnik. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1968.

¹⁰ *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika I*. Ljubljana: DZS, 1970, p. 676: gentleman, moški plemenitih lastnosti in uglajenega vedenja... France Verbinc, *Slovar tujk*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1974: getleman, prvotno angl. plemič, pozneje človek z vzgojo in navadami višjih plasti družbe; fig. poštenjak, vrl mož odličnega vedenja.

¹¹ Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972, p. 58. All further references will be to the same edition. *Prevzetnost in pristranost* (for bibliographical details see note 9), p. 53.

¹² *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 204 and *Prevzetnost in pristranost*, p. 192.

The use of »gosposki« for »gentleman« seems even more confusing in the situation of explicit social conflict between Elizabeth and Lady Catherine in Chapter 56, when the latter accuses Elizabeth of upstart pretensions and of wishing to quit the sphere in which she has been brought up. Elizabeth defends herself by claiming social equality with Darcy: »He is a gentleman; I am a gentleman's daughter; so far we are equal.«¹³ Though the Slovene translation tries to explicate her statement by adding »rod« (origin) »Gospo-skega rodu je in moj oče je gosposkega rodu: po tem sva si enaka.«¹⁴ This translation leaves many readers unable to see the importance attributed to this social status by Elizabeth. The uncertainty of their response should probably be attributed to the wide range of meanings of »gospod« and »go-sposki«, which for some readers may also be quite negative.

When Darcy first proposes to Elizabeth in Chapter 34, he is most startled and reduced to silence by her words reproaching him for his manner of (linguistic) behaviour: »Had you behaved in a more gentlemanlike manner.« Then, she tells him, also she would have had more concern with the wording of her refusal.¹⁵ On this occasion her words are rendered in Slovene in the following way: »če bi se bolj gentlemansko vedli.«¹⁶ These words are given central importance in Chapter 58, where Darcy quotes them as her well-applied reproof: »had you behaved in a more gentlemanlike manner.' Those were your words,« thus directly revealing how much they have been on his mind all the time.¹⁷ The Slovene translation, however, does not quote Elizabeth's words as translated in Chapter 34, but rather renders them in a different translation: »Če bi se bolj olikano vedli'. To so bile vaše besede.«¹⁸ In this inconsistent translation we can see a clear proof of the lack of awareness of the importance of the concept of gentlemanliness for this novel.

Though at first also unfamiliar with the concept of gentlemanliness, the readers of the original revealed no uncertainties as regards the social relations among individual characters. That is why it seems but reasonable to expect that constant use of »gentleman« and its derivatives without alternative use of »gospod« and its derivatives would make this translation more understandable for the Slovene readers. It would also help to foreground the importance of the concept of gentlemanliness and thus, making it more visible, also make it more graspable for the readers who have relatively little knowledge of the social structure of the English society of that time. Instead of unnecessarily assimilating the English »gentleman« to the Slovene »gospod«, the translation could in this way preserve and emphasize the differentness of the original and thus sensitize the readers to the fact that they are dealing with a different social reality and accordingly cannot rely solely on their own culturally conditioned and limited expectations. In cross-cultural reading such awareness of the possible differences often contributes to a better understanding simply by preventing unnecessary mistakes and by inducing the readers to make more effort at understanding. Last but not least, the translation could also add a note explaining the relevant meanings of »gen-

¹³ *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 366.

¹⁴ *Prevzetnost in pristranost*, p. 348.

¹⁵ *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 224.

¹⁶ *Prevzetnost in pristranost*, p. 210.

¹⁷ *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 376.

¹⁸ *Prevzetnost in pristranost*, p. 357. The Slovene translation means »had you behaved more politely«.

tleman« in *Pride and Prejudice*, which the readers of the original can find in any English dictionary. This seems highly commendable, especially because the Slovene dictionaries are mostly restricted to those meanings for »gentleman« which are currently used in Slovene.¹⁹

A comparative reading of the original and its translation can, in this sense, highlight the processes of assimilation which accompany translation, and, to some extent, all cross-cultural communication. Since every translation has been subject to some processes of assimilation and adaptation to the receptor culture, detailed analysis of the differences between the two texts makes it possible for the readers to see these processes at work. A careful comparison of the experiences as invited by both texts thus offers the best means of sensitizing the readers to the tendencies inherent in cross-cultural reading and so of enhancing their capacity for fuller appreciation in such a situation. This seems especially important when the particularities of the novel's socio-cultural context are not known to its readers, and when the readers bring significantly different extratextual and intertextual experiences to bear upon their readings.

¹⁹ The explanation concerning the social position of gentlemen in Jane Austen's time as a rule facilitated the understanding of this novel.

THE EDITING OF LOUIS ADAMIC'S BOOK THE EAGLE AND THE ROOTS

Janja Žitnik

1. The author's collecting material for his book

The Eagle and the Roots is Louis Adamic's last book and, in his own opinion, his most important one. The printed version of that work¹ is an expurgated version of the author's typescript which is preserved in several incomplete copies, kept in various public and private archives in Yugoslavia and in the United States.

The work was written on the basis of the author's personal impressions during his second visit to his native land in 1949. The published version of *The Eagle and the Roots* discusses the political and economic conditions in Yugoslavia in 1949, the moods of the Yugoslav people, their top politicians and intellectuals at the time of the first five-year plan (Book One²), including a biography of Josip Broz Tito until 1945 with an outline of the most important events in the country before and during World War II (Book Two³). In various passages scattered in both books, it describes the selfsacrifice and the resistance of the Yugoslav people during the Liberation War. An important subject is the dissention between Tito and Stalin which had its germs in the prewar period. The author follows its development through the war and during the first years after the liberation until the Cominform resolution in June 1948.

The major part of the book recapitulates Adamic's discussions with Marshal Tito, Vladimir Dedijer, Edvard Kardelj, Boris Kidrič, Milovan Djilas, and other Yugoslav political, economic, and cultural representatives. Their discussions tend to reveal the background of the Yugoslav-Soviet crisis. They represent a confrontation of two different viewpoints: Marxist ideology on the one hand, and the views of a politically independent, American author on the other hand.

The idea of revisiting his fatherland occurred to the author in autumn 1948 when the Truman-Wallace-Dewey election campaign in which he had been intensely engaged, reached its climax. In December 1948, Adamic applied for a Soviet visa. Since he was unable to get one, he decided to spend as much of the following year abroad as his finances and other circumstances would allow: five to ten months. He was going to visit Europe, starting with a short stay in the Slovenian Uplands where he might take a rest. For about

¹ Louis Adamic, *The Eagle and the Roots*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1952, 531 pp.

² Ibid., pp. 1—261.

³ Ibid., pp. 262—531.

a decade, he had been planning to write a book entitled »The Education of Michael Novak« in which he would treat various aspects of American life during the first half of the 20th century from the viewpoint of a successful American of Slovene descent. When he set out on his travels, he had no intention of writing another book on Yugoslavia⁴, although he was deeply interested in the causes and consequences of the Tito-Stalin split.

Soon after his arrival in Belgrade on January 12, 1949, events and circumstances made him change his mind about writing a new book. Staying in the Yugoslav capital for a few days, he started making notes about his impressions; this was the beginning of his collecting of material for the book about Tito and new Yugoslavia. He was quartered at Miroslav Krleža's apartment and thus had an opportunity to have long conversations with him, mostly about Tito and various Yugoslav cultural problems. During that time, he visited Vladimir Dedijer, Aleš Bebler, colonel Stane Valentinčič, and with Boris Kidrič he visited Edvard Kardelj. He also attended the opening session of the Second Congress of the Serbian Communist Party. A day before his departure for Slovenia, he was invited to lunch with Marshal Tito and the majority of the members of the Yugoslav Politburo, at the President's home.

From January 19 on, Adamic spent several days with his family in Slovenia. After that, he was invited to Josip Vidmar's villa, near Tržič, to spend a month or more there as a guest. Accompanied by Boris Kidrič, Franc Leskošek-Luka, and Marijan Brecelj, he visited the most important industrial and power plants, schools, and other institutions in Slovenia. On March 12, he made a trip to Northern Italy. Immediately after his return, he spent another week in Belgrade (April 12—18) where the Third Congress of the Yugoslav People's Front had just closed. During that week, Adamic had another meeting with Marshal Tito, and paid a visit to Milovan Djilas.

The next important event connected with his writing of the new book was his trip to President Tito's birthplace Kumrovec. To gather as many interesting pieces of information about the President's life as possible, he talked with Tito's one-time friends or neighbours, and with his aunt Ana living in Podsreda. Yet the information he collected during his visit to Zagorje was fairly incomplete. He had to supplement it with his later notes and a shorthand report of his interviews with Marshal Tito. On June 9, they had their longest interview, which lasted seven hours.

In the second half of June, Adamic went on a trip through Yugoslavia, accompanied by Edvard Kardelj, Moša Pijade, Aleš Bebler, and Stane Kolman, whom he does not mention in his book⁵. They visited parts of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia, stopping at the most important centers, connected with the antifascist resistance during World War II. The author and his hosts exchanged their views during this trip, which was very informative for both sides.

Toward the end of the month, Adamic left for Paris. He returned in the middle of July and made a journey to Skopje the next day. He revisited the Macedonian capital on August 1 to hear Tito's speech at a public meeting,

⁴ By then, Adamic had written two major works on Yugoslavia: *The Native's Return*, New York, London, 1934, and *My Native Land*, New York, London, 1943.

⁵ J. Žitnik, Interview with Stane Kolman. Ljubljana, May 21, 1986 (typescript), Centre of Scientific Research of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), Slovene Emigration Institute (SEI).

and stayed in Macedonia for a fortnight. On August 18, flying back to Ljubljana, he decided to leave Yugoslavia immediately, without saying good-bye to anyone except to his mother. Due to an invitation to join a group of American progressives who had an appointment with Tito a week later, he postponed his departure. When he returned from Brioni, he was surprised by a farewell party organized by the leading Slovene politicians. After Miha Marinko's and Josip Vidmar's speeches, he talked to the party for two hours, trying to sum up his major impressions of Yugoslavia. A month later, he received a transcribed shorthand report of this speech.

On his various trips through Yugoslavia, talking with a number of Yugoslav top politicians, cultural representatives, industrial managers, and ordinary people, Adamic collected enough material for his book. Soon after his arrival, a group of twenty-four assistants who helped him gather material for his book, was organized in Belgrade.⁶ Many other individuals all over Yugoslavia were ready to help.⁷ When he returned to the United States, he took four hundred pounds of notes, reports, maps, and literature with him. Most of it remained unused. The basic sources for his book were Adamic's notes; he used only a few published sources in his chapters on Yugoslavia.⁸ On the other hand, there is a long unpublished chapter on the United States in his typescript⁹ which contains over five hundred quotations from or references to various contemporary American published sources.

2. The genesis of *The Eagle and the Roots*

Back in the U. S. A., Adamic continued his work on the manuscript with incredible zeal. The first typescript version of the book¹⁰ was finished by early spring 1950. Suddenly, the publisher's interest in the book decreased.¹¹ At the same time, Adamic was confronted with other problems: a lack of finances, his and his wife's illness, and on top of everything, numerous threats that he must immediately give up writing his book in which he defends Tito and his policies. All these obstacles caused Adamic to put off work on the manuscript for several months. He left his farm in New Jersey, where he no longer felt safe, and went to California to join his wife. They rented a house in Manhattan Beach, a town near Los Angeles, and Adamic settled down to work again. Soon after the author's arrival in California, Marshal Tito's reputation in the United States improved¹², and the publisher showed new interest in the book. As his editor no longer minded the growing volume of his script, Adamic decided to extend the chapters on Yugoslavia and include

⁶ J. Žitnik, Interview with dr. Vladimir Dedijer and Vili Jager, Ljubljana, July 16, 1986 (typescript), SASA SEI.

⁷ J. Žitnik, Interview with Štefan Urbanc, Ljubljana, April 7, 1986 (typescript), SASA SEI.

⁸ E. g. Vladimir Dedijer, *Dnevnik 1941—1944*. Belgrade, 1945; Edvard Kocbek, *Tovarišija*. Maribor, 1967; Josip Broz Tito, *The report at the Fifth Congress of CPY*, June 1948; The report on the s. c. »Bomber Trial« (»Bombaški proces«), *Novosti*, November 8, 1928.

⁹ The Library of SASA (LSASA), folder R 67/III.

¹⁰ LSASA, folder R 67/I.

¹¹ Soon after his return to the United States, Adamic made an agreement to write a book on new Yugoslavia for Doubleday & Company, a large publishing house in New York. Bucklin Moon, his first editor at Doubleday, was deeply interested in his plan for the book. Unfortunately, he left Doubleday before Adamic had finished his typescript.

¹² LSASA, folder R 67/III, Chapter 4, pp. 314 a. b.

most of the material on the contemporary situation in the United States which he had gathered on his trip across the country. Thus, during the following months, he was engaged in writing the longest chapter of his manuscript, entitled »A Game of Chess in an Earthquake« in which he treats American domestic and foreign policy. He worked day and night, with short breaks for a few hours' sleep. His wife Stella helped type the script. By the end of spring 1951, the second version of the typescript was almost complete.

In June, he travelled back East to make a final arrangement with his publisher concerning the technical details of the publication. For the sake of his safety, he stayed in New York and drove to Milford on Fridays to hand new parts of the book to his secretary. On September 4, he was found dead in his home in Milford, New Jersey. His secretary remembers that when she last saw him, shortly before his death, he looked optimistic and satisfied with his work, which was almost finished.

The text was finally prepared for printing by Adamic's widow Stella and his new editor at Doubleday, Timothy Seldes. It was published nine months after the author's death. In their foreword to the only American edition of the book, the editors state that they cut about one third of the text, along lines the author had suggested or they were certain he would have followed.¹³

Until recently, the contents of the unpublished parts of the original script were unknown, with the exception of a shorter passage from Chapter IV, Book Two, which was posthumously published in *The Nation* by Adamic's friend Carey McWilliams. What was actually cut from the typescript and why, what other changes were made in the text by the editors, and the final effect of their editing *The Eagle and the Roots*, are some of the questions which were often raised but remained unanswered for a long time. The first study to treat these and related questions is my MA thesis *The Genesis of Adamic's Book Eagle and the Roots. An Analysis of the Final Editing*.¹⁴ In the following paragraphs, the principal conclusions of the study will be presented.

3. The typescripts of *The Eagle and the Roots*

The first version which was written by the end of 1949 or perhaps by spring 1950¹⁵, is a draft of the second version of his script. Two partial copies have been found:

the carbon copy kept in The Library of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana which was donated by Prof. Vladimir Dedijer in November 1980. The so-called first version of the Ljubljana typescript is incomplete. It contains 22 chapters, comprising 443 pages. In spite of the missing chapters, it is the most complete first version copy found so far;

the carbon copy kept in the Princeton University Library, New Jersey, which contains only a few individual chapters and disconnected passages.

¹³ *The Eagle and the Roots*, p. V.

¹⁴ Janja Žitnik, *Geneza Adamičeve knjige Orel in korenine. Analiza končne redakcije*. Magistrsko delo. University of Edvard Kardelj, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, October 1988 (typescript).

¹⁵ The approximate time of Adamic's writing the first version of his typescript is evident from his correspondence with Vladimir Dedijer, LSASA, folder R 67/V.

The second version was written from spring 1950 until September 1951.¹⁶ It is an extended version of the first one. The following copies have been located so far:

the carbon copy, kept in The Library of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, donated by Dr. Vladimir Dedijer together with the rest of the material concerning Louis Adamic. It contains all the chapters of the so-called second typescript version of *The Eagle and the Roots* except the last two. Comprising 1733 pages, it is the most complete second version copy preserved;

the carbon copy in the possession of Prof. Dr. Henry A. Christian¹⁷, given to him by Mrs. Stella Adamic's brother Dr. Sanders. It is a complete copy of only one chapter from the second typescript version, namely Chapter IV in Book Two (439 pp.). It is almost identical with the same chapter in the Ljubljana typescript;¹⁸

the typescript material which Prof. Christian received from a friend of Adamic's living in California. It comprises less than 100 pages from the unpublished part of the script;

several separate chapters from the second typescript version which Adamic sent to Janko Rogel. That material was passed on to Prof. Christian by Prof. Dr. Carole Rogel.

Prof. Dr. France Adamič, the author's brother, mentions two more copies of the typescript. The first one was sent to him from California by the author. France Adamič sent it to Belgrade in 1951. The second copy was brought to Ljubljana by Mrs. M. Stetten. It was personally given to her by Louis Adamic.¹⁹ Neither of the two copies has been located yet.

4. An inventory of the Ljubljana typescript

The first version of the s. c. Ljubljana typescript is kept in The Library of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts. Its class-mark is R-67/I. It contains 22 short chapters: 16 chapters from Book One, and 6 chapters from Book Two. The pagination continues through the chapters:

Book one: Chapter 1 (pp. 1—18), Chapter 2 (pp. 19—34), Chapter 3 (pp. 35—48), Chapter 4 (pp. 49—62), Chapter 5 (pp. 63—78), Chapter 6 (pp. 79—89), Chapter 7 (pp. 90—104), Chapter 8 (pp. 105—118), Chapter 9 (pp. 119—132), Chapter 10 (pp. 133—148), Chapter 11 (pp. 149—168), Chapter 12 (pp. 169—197), Chapter 13 (pp. 184—202), pp. 272—284 (not evident from which chapter), Chapter 22 (pp. 379—394), Chapter 23 (pp. 395—406), and Chapter 24 (pp. 407—428).

Book two: Chapter 1 (pp. 429—442), Chapter 2 (pp. 443—469), Chapter 3 (pp. 470—504), Chapter 4 (pp. 505—530), Chapter 5 (pp. 531—566), and Chapter 6 (pp. 567—590).

¹⁶ The time of the author's writing this version is evident from the text itself, especially from the unpublished Chapter IV in Book Two, LSASA, folder R 67/III-2.

¹⁷ Rutgers University, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, Newark, New Jersey.

¹⁸ Prof. Christian's copy contains some corrections in the author's handwriting later than the Ljubljana copy. It is the copy which Carey McWilliams used for his publication in *The Nation*.

¹⁹ J. Zitnik, A short interview with Prof. France Adamič in autumn 1985 (typescript), SASA SEI.

The first version of the Ljubljana typescript contains 443 pages. Pages 203—271 and 285—378 are missing (altogether 163 pages, belonging to chapters 14—21). The contents of the first typescript version correspond to the first 1103 pages of the second version of the Ljubljana typescript. The proportion between the corresponding chapters in both versions is 1 to 2.

The second version of the Ljubljana typescript, kept in the same place as the first, contains 15 chapters (1733 pages). Its class-mark is R-67/III.

Book One is complete. It contains all the ten chapters: the Opening chapter (pp. 1—61), Chapter 1 (pp. 1—75), Chapter 2 (pp. 1—95), Chapter 3 (pp. 1—76), Chapter 4 (pp. 1—87), Chapter 5 (pp. 1—94), Chapter 6 (pp. 1—77), Chapter 7 (pp. 1—82), Chapter 8 (pp. 1—34), and Chapter 9 (pp. 1—122).

Book two is incomplete. It contains the first five chapters: Chapter 1 (pp. 1—142), Chapter 2 (pp. 1—48), Chapter 3 (pp. 1—109), Chapter 4 (pp. 1—363), and Chapter 5 (pp. 1—192). The last two chapters are missing.

Several pages were added later, and some of the pages were shortened and combined on a single page by the author as he was revising the text. On each page of the typescript, including those which were written at the time of Adamič's first revision, there are several additional corrections in the author's handwriting. They prove that the author had made at least two revisions of the text before he passed it over to Aleš Bebler, who gave it to Vlado Dedijer.²⁰ Some of Adamič's hand-written remarks on the folders of certain chapters indicate that, in his opinion, the text was not definitively corrected when he sent it to Yugoslavia.²¹

5. An analysis of the final redaction

The extent of the cuts made by the editors in the original text has so far remained unknown. In order to find what it is, we must first establish the total number of pages comprised in the last version of Adamič's typescript. The second typescript version in the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts comprises 1733 pages, and does not contain Chapters VI and VII in Book Two (the last two chapters). While nothing is known about the final chapter except that Adamič wrote it and that it was completely omitted by the editors, we can assume that Chapter VI originally comprised at least 300 typed pages (but probably more)²². Thus, from at least 2033 pages of the original typescript, more than 750 pages were cut. Since the two numbers do not include the unpublished final chapter, it is quite certain that the extent of the cuts reached two fifths of the original text and not one third, as stated by the editors.

Before analysing linguistic, stylistic, and thematic changes made in the text by the editors, we must present the changes in the succession of chapters and the extent of the cut pages in individual chapters:

²⁰ The fact that the Ljubljana typescript is the copy which A. Bebler brought from the United States in April 1951 is evident from Adamič's hand-written remark on the folder of Book Two, Chapter Two, and from his letter to Vlado Kozak, April 3, 1951, LSASA, folder R 67/V. See also: J. Žitnik, Interview with dr. Vladimir Dedijer; France Adamič, *Spomini in pričevanja o življenju in delu Louisa Adamiča*. Ljubljana, 1983, p. 161.

²¹ E. g. on the folder of the Opening chapter, Book One, LSASA, folder R 67/III-1.

²² The relation between the number of printed pages in the American edition and the number of typed pages in the original script is 1 to 2, 6.

Typescript		American edition		
Chapter	Pages	Unpublished pages	Chapter	Pages
Book One				
Opening ch.	61	17	1.	19
1.	75	9	2.	30
2.	95	7	3.	33
3.	76	8	4.	30
4.	87	30	5.	26
5.	94	29	6.	28
6.	77	14	7.	4
7.	82	13	8.	25
8.	34	23	9.	29
9.	122	51	10.	29
Total	803	201		

Typescript			American edition	
Chapter	Pages	Unpublished pages	Chapter	Pages
Book Two				
1.	142	11	1.	49
2.	48	48	—	
3.	109	11	2.	36
4.	439	439	—	
5.	192	38	3.	54
6.	300+?	? } no typescript ? } preserved	4.	126
7.	?		—	
Total	1230	547		
	+?	+?		
In both	2033	748		
books	+?	+?		

It will be noticed that the chapters in the published version are marked differently from those in the typescript. The reasons are the change of the »Opening chapter« into »Chapter 1« and the elimination of three chapters in Book Two. The order of the rest of the chapters remained as it was, with the exception of Chapter 8 in Book One, which was moved two chapters ahead. Comprising only 4 pages, it is the shortest chapter in the book, describing a magnificent bird trying to free itself from a root. The change was made for the sake of the chronological order of the plot.

On the one hand, the editors of *The Eagle and the Roots*, Stella Adamic and Timothy Seldes, state in their foreword to the American edition of the book that save for cutting one third of the text, »no other changes

were made».²³ On the other hand, the comparison between the last version of the typescript and the American printed version proves that besides omitting three entire chapters (two of them comprising 487 pages) and cutting another 261 pages from the published chapters, the editors made no less than 3009 other changes in the text covering 404 printed pages. The average number of corrections on each page of the printed version is thus eight. In the analytical study of their editing, of which I am trying to present the main results here, the editorial changes are divided into three major groups: 1. formal changes, 2. minor changes affecting the contents, and 3. unpublished chapters.

Formal changes

The formal changes made in the text by the editors are those which influenced the form of the text or the grammatical, orthographic, or stylistic characteristics of its language. Such changes are: shifted passages (14 cases²⁴), changes in word order (8 cases) and other grammatical corrections (12 cases), a different orthography for Yugoslav words (763 cases), the replacement of small initial letters by capital letters (291 cases), the omission of apostrophes (135 cases) and other orthographic corrections (150 cases), the replacement of individual words by (partly) synonymous expressions (140 cases), changes in the use of italics (62 cases), division of long paragraphs into shorter ones (56 cases), and changes in punctuation (745 cases).

On the basis of a detailed analysis of the above mentioned editorial changes, the following conclusions about the editors' criteria and the quality of Adamic's English can be made:

a) the text was changed in order to make it as surveyable as possible (e.g. dividing long chapters into shorter ones).

b) grammatical corrections: there were less than ten justified grammatical corrections made in the entire text, including changes in word order. It is quite clear that Adamic had fully mastered English grammar.

c) orthographic corrections: the analysis of the corrections in the spelling of individual words shows that in most cases, the author's spelling is at least permissible, if not more usual than the spelling in the printed version. It is evident that the majority of the orthographic corrections in *The Eagle and the Roots* were unnecessary. On the other hand, it can be noticed that the author was weak in three respective points: in the use of capital initial letters in the names of the public and political functions, federal offices and institutions, in the use of the hyphen, and in the orthography of compound words; In all other respects, Adamic's English orthography is on the highest level which cannot be said of his knowledge of the orthography of French, German, and other foreign languages. There is no doubt that every correction the editors made in Adamic's spelling of foreign words was necessary.

Another interesting conclusion occurs in the analysis of the linguistic corrections made during the editorial revision of the text. There are a

²³ *The Eagle and the Roots*, p. V.

²⁴ The numbers in brackets indicate how often the respective editorial correction occurs in the printed text covered by the entire second version of the Ljubljana typescript.

number of cases where Yugoslav words are correctly spelled in the printed version of the book, whereas they are misspelled in its typescript. It can therefore be supposed that Stella Adamic had a Yugoslav consultant during her work on the script, whom she does not mention in her foreword to the American edition. Thus, the question of the third, Yugoslav editor remains open.

d) the orthography of Yugoslav words, changed for American readers, especially the change of č, ž, š into c, z, s. Because of such corrections, several ambiguous cases appear in the printed version, e.g. Sušak — Susak (Adamic gives the name of a place on the Croatian Littoral, the editors change it into the name of an Adriatic island). The writer had avoided the problem of ambiguity by means of the original Slovene or Serbo-Croatian orthography.

e) the corrections which the editors made in order to modify the author's language, rich with colloquial expressions. The editors replaced a number of colloquialisms by more literary forms. The most frequent correction of that type is the replacement of couldn't, he'll, I've, etc. by full forms. Moreover, there are many colloquial idioms in the manuscript (very often in dialogues) which are replaced by literary expressions in the printed version.

f) Regarding vocabulary and punctuation, Adamic's style has certain particular characteristics which are avoided in the printed version as often as possible. In the typescript, the author often tends to choose less usual expressions which the editors replaced by more conventional words. The same tendency of the editors is even more clearly evident where corrections of punctuation marks are in question. An important feature of Adamic's style is a frequent use of informal punctuation marks such as three dots or a dash. The editors usually omitted the three dots following a full stop or preceding a new paragraph, and replaced the dash by a comma or some other punctuation mark. With 745 changes in punctuation, the printed version evidently deviates from the original.

Minor changes affecting content

The editorial revision of *The Eagle and the Roots* affected the substance of the narrative much more than it did its language. Minor corrections of the kind are addenda, changed data, omitted words, and transformed or cut sentences. There are 68 cases of added words or sentences in the printed version. In more than one third of cases, a word was added for the sake of linguistic improvement. Individual sentences were corrected according to the editors' criteria of appropriate language (e.g. informal phrases were made more formal by the addition of a word which is usually omitted in colloquial English). There are only 16 cases of pieces of information added for the sake of clarity where the source of the additional information is not evident from the passages that were cut. In most cases, the interpolated information is generally known. Several addenda show that the author himself must have done some final editing after sending the second version of his typescript to Yugoslavia.

Another type of correction made by the editors is the replacement of inaccurate information in the typescript concerning events and persons

from Yugoslavia by accurate data in the printed version. Here, again, we must assume that Mrs. Adamic had a consultant from Yugoslavia who was able to check the data in question. There were also several cases where Vladimir Dedijer corrected the misinformation in the typescript but obviously did not notify the editors about the factual errors in the text. As a result, the printed version contains some unchecked data, as for example in the sentence which says that in four and a half years (1921—1925), Josip Broz led three strikes and was arrested and jailed seven times.²⁵ Dedijer made a note on the typescript correcting the author, with the information that during that period, Broz did not lead a single strike and that he was not arrested more than once.²⁶

The most obvious effect of the transformed sentences (55 cases) is when the editors give a formal tone to those sentences in which the author's informal language does not correspond to the context. A more frequent change is the cutting of individual words (116 cases). Three main causes for these corrections are revealed by our analysis: the avoidance of pleonasm, the elimination of superfluous emphases, and the reduction of colloquial elements in Adamic's language, especially the curses in dialogues. A number of sentences in the printed version had been shortened (76 cases). In the typescript, these sentences are usually too long and therefore unclear. Another reason for the shortening of sentences is to avoid exaggerated sentimentality or to cut down the frequency of colloquial phrases. By means of cutting whole sentences (112 cases), the editors tried to reduce repetition, exaggeration, pathetic inserts, and the mention of embarrassing private affairs.

The substance of the narrative was affected to a certain degree by cutting four fifths of the original footnotes. Of more than 130 footnotes in the typescript, only 28 are left in the printed version. The author's numerous footnotes in the typescript represent an important part of the content of individual chapters, as they contain valuable and interesting information. Many of them touch upon delicate political questions even more directly than the basic text of the work. Thus, it is possible that one of the reasons for cutting the majority of the footnotes was political. The main reason, however, was doubtless the editors' basic tendency to unify the form of the text and avoid frequent digressions from the central subject in order to make the narrative uninterrupted and thus easier to follow.

From the published chapters, 222 full pages were cut (79 passages comprising 1—19 pages each, and 87 shorter passages comprising less than one page each). The principal reason for cutting shorter and longer passages was that the publisher had demanded that the book be shorter. Otherwise the editors were motivated by a wish to avoid repetition, over-detailed descriptions, long passages without weighty substance, groundless meditations, extreme pessimism, black and white presentations of historical events, and speculative assumptions. In addition, several passages were cut in order to avoid mentioning certain events or persons from Yugoslavia. It is possible that the persons concerned requested the author not to mention them in the book, and he could have made the cuts himself as he was working on the final revision of the typescript. However, there

²⁵ *The Eagle and the Roots*, p. 316.

²⁶ LSASA, folder R 67/III-2, Chapter 3, p. 12.

is no way of checking this assumption since most of Adamic's later correspondence was destroyed in the fire.

The majority of the above mentioned corrections and cuts were advantageous to the book as a whole, although the editors had to sacrifice many interesting passages or footnotes.

The unpublished chapters

The editors of *The Eagle and the Roots* decided to omit Chapter Two («Old Yugoslavia: 1918—1940 — A Thumbnail Sketch»), Chapter Four («A Game of Chess in an Earthquake»), and the final chapter, all of them in the original version of Book Two. In order to establish the final effect of the editors' omission of three entire chapters from Adamic's typescript and to find the reasons for their decision to do so, we must first give an outline of the two unpublished chapters which are preserved in the second version of the Ljubljana typescript.

«Old Yugoslavia: 1918—1940 — a Thumbnail Sketch» is a short survey of Yugoslav history between the two wars. On 48 typed pages of a chronologically arranged narrative, the author describes the conditions in old Yugoslavia which led the country into a social revolution. The major part of the chapter is covered in Adamic's book *My Native Land*²⁷, in the chapters which have the common title «Death to Fascism, Liberty to the People!». The whole summarized history of old Yugoslavia presented in the unpublished chapter is written from a point of view which corresponds to the main interest of *The Eagle and the Roots*, that is the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union with special attention to the differences between the two countries. At the very beginning of the chapter, the author explains why he finds it necessary to insert a history of old Yugoslavia in his book about new Yugoslavia. The long historical process, says Adamic, which resulted in the formation of the new state of South Slavs in 1918, has been consistently ignored by nearly all writers on new Yugoslavia. This has created the impression that the Yugoslav revolution had no motivation apart from the fact — which in 1948 turned out not to be a fact — that Tito was Stalin's stooge.

The chapter «Old Yugoslavia» contains five subchapters. In the first, the author reaches back thirteen centuries to describe the main features of life on the Balkan peninsula, which was the crossroads of various imperialisms and messianisms for over a millenium. Starting with the arrival of the Slavs on the Balkans in the course of the great migrations of nations from the third to the eighth century, Adamic stresses that the development of the new cultures in the Slavic part of the Balkans went its own way, more or less independently of the cultural processes in the land of the Russians. He presents some of the differences, but more especially the common features of the history of the South-Slavic nations and the rest of the European nations, trying to prove that the progressive ideas which eventually led to the contemporary processes going on in Yugoslavia, originated in Europe and not in Russia.

The author compares the development of the Yugoslav idea in the 18th century with the Czech movement and states that the Yugoslav movement

²⁷ See note 4.

failed to produce a statesman as perceptive and eloquent as Thomas G. Masaryk, or attract an operator as precise and cunning as Edvard Beneš. The reader is acquainted with the completely unprepared situation of the Yugoslav leaders at the moment of the new state's foundation. Since the only possibility was an annexation of the former South-Slavic provinces of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to the Serbian monarchy, the Yugoslav idea became a victim of the pan-Serbian idea which was supported by the »civilized West«.

The second section of the text is a compact geographical report on old Yugoslavia with all the necessary statistics about its area, population density, different nationalities, the poor railway system in the country, the state of industry and agriculture, and especially about the country's financial situation influenced by its serious foreign debt.

The third section deals with the corruption of the government administration in prewar Yugoslavia and the miserable living conditions of peasants and workers. When a politician became a minister, says Adamic, one of his principal tasks was to serve foreign investment capital which helped him »make« a fortune for himself in a short time. Politicians, stresses the author, in their game against one another, used every trick to accentuate the religious and ethnic differences of the various nationalities in order to maintain the *status quo*: semi-feudalism internally, and semi-colonialism in relation to the big powers.

The main source of the material used in the fourth section is Tito's historical analysis, delivered at the Fifth Congress of the CPY in 1948. It treats the foundation and the development of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Adamic explains that the new CPY was an abrupt fusion of left-wing elements and individuals in the Social Democratic and Socialist movements in the country which inherited all their old ideological feuds. During the first eighteen years of its existence, it had no effective leadership. We read about the workers' strikes, organized by communists, and the circumstances which enabled the domestic counter-revolutionary forces to suppress the revolution before it could really break out. The anticommunist propaganda reached its climax at the end of 1920's. Adamic describes the *Obznana* — the anticommunist drive started by Minister of Internal Affairs Milorad Drašković, whose methods he compares to those used by the U. S. Committee on Un-American Activities from 1948 on. Under the aegis of the Yugoslav constitution, the Law for the Protection of the State was promulgated and the CPY was declared illegal. The illusion of Yugoslavia being a democratic kingdom, says the author, vanished on January 6, 1929, when King Alexander proclaimed an open dictatorship. Apart from the corrupt ministers and lesser government officials, King Alexander himself drew over a million dollars a year from the national treasury, and deposited most of it in foreign banks instead of investing in the country's industrialization. The instability of the situation is revealed by the fact that from 1918 to 1929, Yugoslavia had twenty-four governments, and from 1929 to 1941 ten more: a total of thirty-four governments in twenty-two years of its existence.

In the final section of the chapter, Adamic returns to the difficult situation of workers and peasants in prewar Yugoslavia which made more and more people turn to the left and join the underground CPY. The chapter is unfinished. Adamic planned to conclude it with a personal story of the early

youth of Aleš Bebler who, during the author's visit to Yugoslavia, told him how he became a Communist.

Adamic's chapter on old Yugoslavia contains fewer fictional elements than the other chapters in *The Eagle and the Roots*. Considering its form, it would probably have been more suitable if Adamic used it as an illustrative lecture or a separate historical article than to insert it in the narrative of his visit to new Yugoslavia. As we can clearly see, there was no political reason for cutting this chapter in 1951—52. The only obvious reason was the repetition of material which had already been covered in the author's earlier books on Yugoslavia.

»A Game of Chess in an Earthquake«

In his letters to his friend Vlado Kozak²⁸ and to some of his other correspondents, Adamic often expresses how difficult it was for him to write a book on Yugoslavia and on the world situation during 1949—51, quoting Osbert Sitwell's words: »As well try to concentrate upon a game of chess in an earthquake!«²⁹ In the context of the chapter bearing that title, »the earthquake« symbolizes the uncertain political situation in the world at the time of Adamic's writing his last book, with all the unpredictable moments, revolutionary movements and other »acts of subversion«, whereas »the game of chess« stands for the dexterous political moves made by the two superpowers on the chessboard of the world. The figure-heads are various countries all over the world. The author and the reader concentrate upon that complicated game as observers.

The chapter comprises 439 typed pages, and is divided into ten sections marked with Roman numerals. The division is partly based on individual themes treated in separate sections, and partly on the chronological order of the political and public events described or commented on in the chapter. The thematic framework of the chapter is a complex picture of public and private life in the United States during 1950—51, with special regard to the most important moves in American domestic and foreign policy at the time. To make the picture as wide and objective as possible, the author composes it of hundreds of references or quotations from contemporary speeches, articles, political and military works, economic studies, and other scientific or fictional works written from various ideological viewpoints. The quotations are used as a starting-point for the author's comments or reflections on contemporary social, economic, and political problems of America.

Adamic is convinced that the center of the world revolution is not in the Soviet Union, but in the United States. Marx and Engels foresaw the huge progress of the industrial revolution and the problems it would bring for mankind. Yet, the author doubts that they were quite able to imagine the 1950—51 level of productive capacity in the U. S. A. They also believed that the first signs of a social revolution would appear in Western Europe and not in Russia, China, or Yugoslavia (p. 9—10). At the end of the first section and at the beginning of the second, Adamic explains his fairly simplified views of the basic theses of Marxian philosophy. He reflects upon the use of force, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is supposed to be

²⁸ LSASA, folder R 67/V.

²⁹ A sentence from the last short story in Osbert Sitwell's collection of short stories entitled *Open the Door!*

necessary in order to win the battle for democracy. He quotes some of Lenin's statements about the importance of democracy and about the end of the state's existence, when there are no more social classes and when all the capitalists have disappeared. The author considers such statements »the irrelevances a politician, even a great politician, must toss about if he is to get anywhere, or at least stay in power« (p. 18—21e). On the other hand, Adamic gives his own, highly favourable evaluation of *The Communist Manifesto*. To illustrate the diverse and controversial definitions of »socialism« and »communism«, he quotes parts of statements by more than twenty well-known authors or public personalities.

Section IV (pp. 85d—142) treats the question of the character of American financial-industrial leaders and their actual role in the American system. It is another long passage with numerous references to all kinds of important publications discussing the problem. Adamic tries to explain how American tycoons wield their authority over the government, how they force the government to help them out financially and shift the costs to the public, and how easily they can hire all the technical, legal, and public-relations back-up they need »to keep afloat«. He touches upon the question of two-faced labour leaders who favour employers more than employees. The passage discusses the cultural and moral patterns which American industrial and trade managers imposed on the little man in order to raise sales. Another topic in this section is big industry's connection with organized crime. Finally, the reader is acquainted with the problems which managerial magnates have to deal with, and the way their minds work when they are confronted with unpleasant phenomena such as strikes or a communist movement. A vivid portrait emerges of a typical American magnate talking about the wonderful system, about F. D. Roosevelt who engineered the country into World War II because there was no other way of pulling it out of the Depression, about the war which was »a Godsend«, about the American free-enterprise system which works best through a war economy, and about stockmarket values climbing through the rest of 1950, after the outbreak of the Korean war.

In the last part of section IV, Adamic comments on the American communist movement and touches upon the problem of »ten million American families and six million unattached adults who are living under monopoly capitalism on sub-standard incomes, in shabby homes, with inadequate medical service and schools«. The author believes that the American people whose living standard is much higher are also somewhat unsatisfied. The pattern of American life brought on by the industrial revolution is turning into a monopoly feudalism which puts vast masses of people into psychological-political straightjackets while they drive around in shiny new Fords. But the industrial monolith sensitively registers the moods of the people and gives them surrogates of happiness to calm them down. Material goods, says the author, are an escape from the hopeless want of freedom, from investigations and guilt by association. Adamic's economic, ideological, and moral picture of America includes his own view of American culture at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century. He believes that it is being mechanized, industrialized, commercialized, »canned and gaily packed«, brought down to the level of the average person.

Another important question dealt with in the chapter on the world situation is the policy of »bilateral anti-imperialistic imperialism« and the cold war. Sections V and VI are almost exclusively devoted to this topic,

while it is also partly discussed in other sections. Adamic believes that if F. D. Roosevelt had not died in 1945, and if he had had the chance to make the United Nations a potent agency for compromise, conciliation and peace, he would not have used the chance. He would certainly have sided with the American »giant« against the Russian »giant«, the author says. The two super-powers have the rest of the world locked in a tension mutually advantageous to each. »Protecting« the world from the imperialistic danger of the other part, they create a general paranoia which helps them keep their own people under control, turning their attention away from their own economic, social, ethnic, and racial problems.

In section VII, Adamic mentions the question of the United Nations being a gimmick of United States foreign policy. The U.N. Commission in Korea, for example, is in Adamic's opinion completely subservient to the United States. Various problems connected with the United Nations' intervention in Korea are treated in sections VII, VIII, and IX. The scope of the problems which Adamic is concerned with is fairly wide. On the one hand, the author tries to explain the true motives for sending American troops to Korea, mentioning the profits for the American war economy. He tries to unveil the political background of President Truman's decision to take the country into war by executive action for which, as Adamic states, he had no authority. The reader learns about the role of the political fight between the American Democrats and the Republicans connected with the Korean problem. On the other hand, the author is alarmed by current reports from the Korean battle-fields, the barbarism of the American officers and their soldiers in Korea, and the increasing American, Korean, and Chinese casualties. We read about the growing demand of American people that the U.S. forces leave the Far East immediately. Adamic describes the means of the American domestic policy used to suppress every public expression of resistance against the war. The U.S. Senate Committee on Un-American Activities accused an incredible number of individuals and organizations of being subversive. Any writing which contained a message of peace was considered communist propaganda and was thus immediately suppressed. In section II, the author gives a list of well-known American personalities who had recently discovered that there were marks against them in the archives of the F.B.I., the Committee on Un-American Activities, and similar organizations (pp. 36—37). The general atmosphere in the United States was full of fear and suspicion as it had never been before.

Connected with the question of subversion is the author's own case of subversiveness. Being convinced that Senator McCarthy and his assistants were not aware of all his controversial deeds, he gives examples of his activities owing to which he could be paradoxically labelled un-American (pp. 58—62). Of course, Adamic was disturbed by the fact that he was controlled by the F.B.I. and by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Yet, if they had decided to subpoena him, he had his answer prepared: »What do you mean when you ask me if I'm a 'Comunist'? (...) If you mean whether I am a member of the CPUSA or any other CP outfit anywhere, the answer is no — not yet. But if this hysteria keeps up, I'll probably begin to look around and join almost anything that's against those who are creating it.« (p. 181)

Adamic's autobiographical notes form an important part of the »Game of Chess in an Earthquake« chapter. They start with section VII where the

author gives an account of the events connected with his writing *The Eagle and the Roots* (pp. 178—186). He mentions that when he returned from Yugoslavia, he immediately found a publisher for his book. By April 1950, he had written almost 1000 pages of the script, dealing mostly with new Yugoslavia and Tito. By July 1950, he had written the paragraphs on the Korean war planning to publish them in his paper *T & T*. However, in July and August, the American intervention in Korea was so popular that he felt it would be dangerous to publish the text, so he decided to suspend the paper and wait for a more suitable moment.

Instead of continuing his paper battle, he took some time to read. In the meantime, he visited a colony of pacifists in New Jersey who had gone on a hunger strike against the war. He also visited several friends whom he trusted, and showed them some of his new script. They advised him to return to his book and finish it (pp. 186—200a). Only one of his friends warned him that it was extremely dangerous to write a book of that sort at the time of the »witch-hunt« and that he had better give up the idea of publication. (p. 222b.)

In October 1950, Adamic settled down to work again. Soon afterwards, a car with a Michigan licence came to his place in New Jersey. Four men got out and warned him that he must not finish his pro-Tito book. They told him that his life was in danger. A dry-cleaner's car arrived just in time to scare the uninvited visitors. They ran away, unnoticed by the cleaner.

Adamic was frightened. In all probability, the intruders were former Axis collaborationists from Yugoslavia. He decided to leave New Jersey for a few months and rent an apartment near Los Angeles. He bought a car and requested the New Jersey State Police to keep an eye on his house (pp. 258—266).

He drove slowly through the country and visited some of his friends on the way. The last part of section VIII (pp. 266—287) covers his long conversation with a friend, an ex-Communist from Indiana. The paragraphs reveal their views on American domestic and foreign policy.

In section IX, the author continues with his impressions of life in the parts of the United States which he observed on his way to California. He bought papers and propaganda booklets in every town he passed through (p. 288). In order to get a full and complex impression, he tried not to rush through the country. When he reached California, he rented a house close to the ocean in his favorite beach town³⁰ (pp. 301—305). This is where his autobiographical notes end. He does not mention his wife living in California or his need to join her so that she could help him type the script — which was doubtless one of his main reasons for leaving home.

The rest of section IX is written in the form of a dialogue between the author and the Pacific Ocean (pp. 340—345b, together 28 pages). Actually, it is the author's monologue on the current problems of America, the problems which hurt him most. The passage is written in an extremely pessimistic tone, revealing Adamic's complete disillusion with his second homeland and especially with its government's policy.

Section X is the last section of the »Game of Chess in an Earthquake«. It occupies 22 pages of the typescript (pp. 345—363) and represents a sort

³⁰ 613 Ocean Drive, Manhattan Beach, Ca.

of link between the chapter on the United States and the preceding as well as the subsequent chapters in both books dealing with Yugoslavia. Adamic believes that it is impossible to understand the Yugoslav revolution without understanding the inner forces of the industrial revolution reaching its climax in the United States, and, on the other hand, that one cannot entirely comprehend the present situation in the world without having a clear notion of a phenomenon such as the Yugoslav revolution. He asks himself if we can put aside all the irrelevancies and find a point where America's great know-how and the industrially backward peoples' anti-imperialism can meet. If he could speak to Tito in 1950, Adamic says, he would have told him about his guess that the two »giants«, both fearful of peace breaking out and of total war at the same time, might make a deal to turn Yugoslavia into a new Korea. The American economy could certainly use a new Korea if the war in the »actual« Korea ended. The American planes, trying to »liberate« Korea, are actually reducing that wonderful land to dust, the author says. This must not happen to his old country. Adamic finds it important for the American people and their government to know Tito in considerable detail and understand »why he may be the potential father of Freedom that wants to be born in Yugoslavia, in the Balkans, elsewhere.« (p. 363)

Book two, Chapter VII

The typescript of the final chapter of *The Eagle and the Roots*, mentioned by the editors in their foreword to the American edition of the book, has not been found so far. Even Prof. Dr. Henry Christian³¹, who is better acquainted with Adamic's legacy than anyone else, is convinced that he has never seen the typescript of that chapter. Thus there is no information available about that part of the script except that it goes over ground already covered and that, in any event, it could not have appeared in its original form.³² Finding the typescript of the final chapter, written during the last weeks of Adamic's life, could represent a discovery of important new facts, perhaps even in connection with the author's death.

6. Conclusion

The principal results of the comparison between the typescript of *The Eagle and the Roots* and its printed version throw light upon the author's knowledge of English, the degree of his wife's influence on the final form of the text, and the reasons for cutting individual passages and chapters. As the first conclusion inferred from the analysis of the linguistic corrections made in the text, it can be stated that Adamic had fully mastered the English grammar, orthography, and vocabulary. As already stated, Adamic's choice of expression, his grammatical forms and his spelling which were orthographically corrected by the editors, is at least permissible. An occasional exception is the author's irregular use of the capital initial letter, his use of the hyphen, and his mode of writing English compound words. In most other cases, though, his forms are even more usual than those in the printed version of the book. On the whole, it can be said that the editors frequently

³¹ See note 17.

³² *The Eagle and the Roots*, p. V.

used their own individual criteria regarding their linguistic corrections of Adamic's text. As for the stylistic characteristics of its language, it can be noticed that the printed version deviates from the typescript in two main respects: in using a more formal punctuation and in avoiding colloquialisms.

Although many editorial corrections regarding orthography and vocabulary were unnecessary, this cannot be said of the shortening of parts of long sentences or cutting entire sentences which are somewhat superfluous. By means of shortening certain passages, the editors successfully avoided repetition, exaggeration, sentimentality, pathos, spun-out meditations, and unsupported presumptions. Most of the passages were cut for the sake of modifying Adamic's somewhat redundant style. On the other hand, several passages were cut in order to avoid mentioning certain events or persons from Yugoslavia, probably to answer those persons' requests not to be mentioned in the book.

Cutting individual passages was in most cases advantageous to the quality of the text as a whole. The same holds true for cutting the chapters on old Yugoslavia and on the political situation in the United States. By excluding those chapters from the book, the editors reduced the thematic frame of the narrative to the problems concerning new Yugoslavia and its President. Thus the reader finds it much easier to follow the thread of the narrative in the printed version than he would if he had the chance to read the typescript. The complexity of themes in the original version is further intensified by numerous footnotes which largely digress from the central subject. Knowing this, it is also easier to understand why the editors decided to omit the majority of footnotes.

If we compare the essential themes in the original version of the book with those comprised in the printed version, we see that in the latter, the problem of the Yugoslav-Cominform split is excluded from the larger framework of the world situation. In his typescript, the author's primary intention was to make a sort of comparison between his two homelands in order to »find a point where they can meet»³³, whereas that aspect is not obvious in the printed version.

With the longest chapter in the typescript («A Game of Chess in an Earthquake») left unpublished, the book obtained an acceptable size, but lost one of its central subjects. The international role of President Tito at the moment of his adopting a policy of non-alignment remains undiscussed in the printed version of *The Eagle and the Roots*. So do some other important problems treated in the typescript, e.g. the impact of eastern socialism on the situation in the United States, or the need for the West's economic help for industrially backward countries such as Yugoslavia.

It is clear that the editors' cutting of individual passages from the chapters on new Yugoslavia was partly political censorship, doubtless suggested by those Yugoslav politicians who had kept in touch with the author or his wife. On the other hand, political cuts of passages where Adamic sharply criticizes certain aspects of American policy were not necessary since the whole chapter on the United States was omitted.

Taking all the results of the present analysis into account, it can be concluded that in spite of numerous unnecessary linguistic corrections, the

³³ LSASA, folder R 67/III-2, Chapter 4, p. 354.

editors of *The Eagle and the Roots* improved the text in many respects and that the printed version of the book is much more acceptable to the average reader than the original version as regards length, complexity of themes, and density of language. However, the unpublished chapter »A Game of Chess in an Earthquake« is so interesting and rich in information that it certainly deserves to be edited and published.

MICHAEL ONDAATJE'S REINVENTION OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MYTHS: *IN THE SKIN OF A LION*

Branko Gorjup

From the beginning of his writing career in the early sixties until the recent publication of *In the Skin of a Lion* (1987), the Canada of Michael Ondaatje had represented one thing: a geographical locale which he has selected as his home but which, fundamentally, had failed to engage his imagination. The fictional worlds he created in *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*, *Coming Through Slaughter* and *Running in the Family*, has been located outside of Canada, each corresponding to an actual place complete with historical and geographical references. For this very reason it has been impossible — as Sam Solecki noted in his introduction to *Spider Blues*, a collection of reviews and essays on Ondaatje — to place this anomalous literary presence in Canada within »a specifically Canadian tradition of writing...«, a tradition that would »include and see relationships among figures as different as Roberts, Pratt, F. R. Scott, Purdy and Atwood...« Ondaatje's »characters, landscapes, stories and themes resist any taxonomies based on overtly Canadian thematics.« In fact, Solecki further suggested that Ondaatje, like »V. S. Naipaul, Derek Walcott and Salmon Rushdie..., compels a rethinking of the notion of a national tradition.«¹ Similarly, another critic from the same collection described Ondaatje's position in the context of Canadian writing as unique — a position according to which »language or audience or the identity and the role of the poet are indeterminate.« For example, he elaborated:

Canada offers Ondaatje a geography, but no inheritance; Sri Lanka offers him a family story, but no tradition, no way of passing things on; the English language offers him both an inheritance and a history, but no time and place.²

However, with the appearance of *In the Skin of a Lion*, Ondaatje's relationship with Canada underwent a radical change; a change that necessitates our reviewing the above definitions. With this new novel, the Canadian geography that had been peripheral to Ondaatje's literary activity no longer remained a mere ground with no signs upon it — it was transformed into a map that offers a historical depth of field. Ondaatje's Canada has become a place invested with inheritance; it has emerged, like the novel

¹ Sam Solecki, »Introduction«, *Spider Blues*, p. 7.

² J. E. Chamberlin, »Let There Be Commerce Between Us: The Poetry of Michael Ondaatje,« in *Spider Blues*, p. 31.

and like the novel's main character, Patrick Lewis, from a nameless landscape. Lewis, who is described at the beginning of the novel as someone »born into a region which did not appear on a map until 1910,« is metamorphosed by its end into a character who becomes involved with, and a witness to that history which Ondaatje had named *In The Skin of a Lion*. As Patrick re-claims his past, fragment by fragment, the nameless world of his birth and childhood emerge into presence. He can now tell its story and assume the role of a link between the presence of the past and the memory of the future. And, eventually, he will deposit this story into the custody of Hanna — the young woman whose mother, a political activist tragically killed, had been Patrick's consciousness and great love. Through the act of telling the story to Hanna, Patrick, in effect, himself inherits both a place and a future. In *In the Skin of a Lion*, Ondaatje has come nearer to those Canadian writers who, like Margaret Laurence, Robert Kroetsch, Rudy Wiebe and Jack Hodgins, dug into the local soil in order to unearth either private or tribal memories.

Throughout his writing career, Ondaatje has been consistently inspired by subjects from the past. In *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid* and *Coming Through Slaughter* he selected two historical personalities, Billy the Kid and Buddy Bolden, one notorious and the other rather obscure, however both 'betrayed' by history. Billy the Kid, for example, had fossilized into a cliché of a blood-thirsty monster, unable to escape the imprisonment of the legend. Buddy Bolden, on the other hand, had been by-passed by history. He languished in a different kind of imprisonment — one comprising a few fragmentary documents and a number of memories. The act of re-imagining the historical foundations of these two characters led Ondaatje to the creation of alternative stories in which Billy the Kid and Buddy Bolden were fleshed-out within a fictional reality different from the one to which legend had assigned them. It must be added here, however, that Ondaatje's creation of an alternative point of view was not motivated by his desire to unearth the truth about his characters or to render them historically accurate. He was less concerned, as he has stated in an interview, about whether his work is »physically and biographically right or wrong« than about its »emotional and psychological rightness.«³

As a consequence, the worlds in which Ondaatje's Billy and Buddy operate are situated somewhere on the borderline between fact and fiction. They are re-imagined realities in which the author himself plays an important role. In addition to being one who puts all the elements of the story together, he also enters the story as a character, thus deliberately obscuring the distinction between life and art. The main function of such 'transgression' on the part of the author is to reveal the process that orders and shapes all the disparate fragments of the story and that forms them into a continuous narrative. The author outside the narrative is someone who sifts through documents, re-imagines places, orders lives into relationships, re-structures myths and, in general, writes stories by means of selecting and interpreting. The narrator in the story is his surrogate, who often shows how these things are being executed.

Another important feature of Ondaatje's fiction-making seen in these works as well as *In the Skin of a Lion*, is the relationship between the author/narrator and the past. How does an author treat the historical material he chooses to use for his writing? According to Ondaatje, it should

be treated as fiction, rather than as something reliable. In this, he follows a post-modernist tendency in which the writing of history and fictional narrative stem from the same creative act. Historical texts are thus identified with poetic constructs since both involve the process of selection, interpretation and organization of material. Consequently, history is perceived as an unstable commodity that must be subjected to continual re-evaluation. Based on this assumption, Ondaatje's treatment of historical material in *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*, was, for example, governed by an iconoclastic attitude towards accepted social and cultural myths that crystallized around the person of Billy and were perpetuated through the so-called 'official' or, for that matter, 'popular' histories. Fundamentally, works like *Billy the Kid* scrutinize society's tendency to fix its heroic, legendary or pop figures into a unified and linear vision of the past. They also disclose to the reader subjective views from which, for the most part, histories are constructed. Ultimately, they expose the arbitrary nature of all historical writing which aspires towards veracity and seeks to tell the truth.

Unlike in his creation of *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*, in which Ondaatje had to work against a massive compilation of existing historical and apocryphal material, in writing *Coming Through Slaughter* he was confronted with the silence that surrounded the life of Bolden. The story of the real, historical Bolden — the great turn-of-the-century jazz musician from New Orleans — had its source in a few fragmentary documents and in interviews the author conducted with those who still remembered him. With the help of apocryphal material, however, the story of Bolden evolved into a complex portrait of the artist. Invented songs, quotations, personal references, together with real names and characters depicted in their historical situations, were all used by Ondaatje for the purpose of inventing and exploring the inner life of his character. Like in *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*, in *Coming Through Slaughter* he inserted himself into the fictional world of his hero. Such crossing of boundaries suggested the similarities in Bolden's and his own perception of art. The free character of jazz, its flexible form based on improvisation — »He would be describing something in 27 ways . . .«, Ondaatje said of Bolden — served as a metaphor for the open-endedness of his own fiction. The same idea is also suggested in a sentence borrowed from John Berger with which Ondaatje prefixed *In the Skin of a Lion*: »Never again will a single story be told as though it were the only one.« By extension, these thoughts can be seen as Ondaatje's comment on the limitless possibilities for historical interpretation.

In another novel, *Running in the Family*, Ondaatje continued to explore the fictional nature of history, only this time it was a journey into the personal past. The portrait of the family, built around the image of the father, emerged from a conjunction of personal memories of the author and those of his family with historical facts selected from documents. Through the process of ordering the chaos of historical and invented material and of placing it into a new verbal structure, Ondaatje created a history of his origin. The novel's open-endedness, its 'unfinished' quality, suggests the impossibility of anyone's really knowing the past. To this

³ Linda Hutcheon, »Running in the Family; The Postmodernist Challenge,« in *SP*, p. 300.

effect, Ondaatje leaves off the thread of his family history at the point at which the narrator, not without a sense of wonder, concludes that »there is so much to know and we can only guess.«⁴

In the Skin of a Lion is Ondaatje's latest attempt to recover, through the process of fictional re-creation, a fragment of a »lost history« of the place in which he now lives. The locale and the context are Canadian, more precisely those of Toronto and its surroundings. The period described is defined by the two World Wars. The theme concerns the articulation of the city's social history, both on the level of the characters who dreamt the city into existence, and on the level of the narrator who gathered and forged those dreams into a story. The characters themselves are, however, either historical or invented — the historical ones are released from the one-dimensionality of the document, and the invented ones are located within the temporal and spatial framework.

The story of Patrick Lewis, the novel's principal character follows the spiritual transformation of a young man who has detached himself from the nameless or »unbetrayed« landscape of Southern Ontario and who becomes, after a series of adventures, absorbed with and by the city's social history. His struggle for survival in an alien urban landscape is carried out on two levels — physiological and psychological. In addition to having to fight for a meagre existence reserved for underdogs, Patrick is confronted with a profound spiritual estrangement. The city of Toronto is for him an alien organism he can not grasp. It offers him no comfort of the familiar — at least, not at the beginning. Names of streets, public buildings and people have to be gradually de-codified and then transformed into the subtext of his personal history. From the rural world in which people define themselves as either farmers or loggers, Patrick crosses into the world of Toronto's complex social structure which at that time — the Depression era — is strained and in a state of some major readjustment. There is the gap between the rich and the poor which seems to be unbridgeable and getting wider. The nameless masses of immigrants from Europe are joining the ranks of the impoverished Anglo-Saxons. Responding to the appalling working conditions, union activists begin to urge workers to organize for a fight against merciless capitalism. It is within this volatile political and social theater that Ondaatje situates his protagonist; a theater in which Patrick will have to come to understand his own role and to know how to align it with those of the other 'actors'.

The south-east end of Toronto, where Patrick settles in the twenties, plays an essential part in the formation of his spiritual and social awareness. It is while living here that he descends into the demonic world of great suffering — loss of identity, mental confusion and physical hardship. With an elusive past — a past he will be able to name only much later in his life — he finds himself in an equally elusive present. Cast among immigrants — the east end of Toronto at the time was predominately Macedonian, Bulgarian and Greek — Patrick lives in a linguistic and cultural exile. Among these strangers, he confesses, he feels, »deliriously anonymous«. However, unlike them, he also feels to be a foreigner in his own country. The irony of his position is even further enhanced by the perception of him as an oddity by this minority group — a group that is itself an odd entity in the

⁴ Michael Ondaatje, *Coming Through Slaughter*, p. 200.

Canadian context. If these people, these Macedonians and Bulgarians — whose language, customs and history he does not understand — are his only mirror, what sort of a reflection of himself will he see? Being a person who lacks a cultural context, his view of himself will be grossly distorted.

However, Patrick gradually comes to familiarize himself with his neighbourhood — first through sounds, smells and colours, and later through relationships. He shares with these immigrants an indescribable hardship at work; he feels as they do, the humiliation of daily being de-humanized simply because he has to earn a living. But Patrick is also, as he will understand later when he begins to articulate his story, an observer of and a witness to an important segment of Toronto's social history. He will tell their story — a story of those who have worked in dyers' yards and on the killing-floors, surrounded by foul smells, dead animals, excrement, unprotected from chemicals and cold weather, and who will eventually die of consumption. The labour of these people, who were anonymous like the builders of medieval cathedrals, helped the city shape itself into existence. *In the Skin of a Lion* gives them the dignity of history.

In counterpoint to the nameless, Ondaatje presents the story of the visionaries who, like Rowland Harris, Toronto's commissioner of public works, gave the city two of its great public objects. He is seen as the great choreographer of matter and of human life. His obsession with the buildings he had dreamt depends upon those nameless, invisible participants, whose destiny and whose silent rapport with the history of the city are conceived, as the narrator described, in »the foresection of the cortex, in the small world of Rowland Harris' dream«.⁵ However, it is ultimately Patrick's own story that will contain both the dreamer and the dreamt.

As Patrick becomes involved, first unconsciously and later consciously, with the nameless, with those he knows only »on this side of language«, his desire to unearth the secrets of his past grows in intensity. Thus, the other main theme in the novel is that of a person who becomes obsessed with the possibilities of other peoples' unexamined lives and attempts to flesh them out. A photograph that had been taken of a group of men working on the Bloor Street Viaduct, one of the grand edifices envisioned by Commissioner Harris, leads Patrick to trace their individual histories. In that photograph, their lives were abstracted into a single pose that suggested their association with the construction of the bridge, but offered no insight into their lives as though they had neither a past nor a future outside of that moment. However, Patrick never believes that characters, »like in those romances he swallowed during childhood«, lived only »on the page«, or, for that matter, in a photo. For him they possess an independent life somewhere outside of fiction:

They altered when the author's eye was somewhere else. Outside the plot there was a great darkness, but there would of course be daylight elsewhere on earth. Each character had his own time zone, his own lamp, otherwise they were just men from nowhere.⁶

The »official« history of the bridge yields little insight to Patrick into the lives of those who worked on its construction. Newspaper clippings, photographs depicting various stages of the construction, survey reports, all

⁵ Ondaatje, *In the Skin of a Lion*, p. 111.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 143.

of which Patrick carefully examines in a public library, remained mute documents. As the narrator states, the articles and illustrations Patrick finds »depicted every detail about the soil, the wood, the weight of concrete, everything but information on those who actually built the bridge«. He continues that — and this we can take as Ondaatje's own statement on the nature of history — »official histories and news stories were always soft as rhetoric, like that of a politician making a speech after a bridge is built, a man who does not even cut the grass on his own lawn«. Only art can »betray official history and put together another family«. ⁷ Although Patrick may not be able to articulate these thoughts, he acts out his obsessions to identify himself with others by pursuing the intricate web of their individual destinies which lay on the other side of the photograph; it is he who eventually tells their story as part of his own to Hanna, who is the symbolic daughter of the entire community. This story will teach her that beyond every face there is a life of inheritance — an inheritance that is now also her own. Hanna, the daughter of the nameless, thus receives the story of her past which otherwise would have been lost, disinherit her.

Only when an interest in the past takes hold of Patrick can he consciously re-examine his role in the scheme of things. He has, as the narrator sees him, »clung like moss to strangers, to the nooks and fissures of their situations. He has always been alien, the third person in the picture.« Though born in Canada he is dispossessed of its history. »All his life [he] had been oblivious to it, a searcher gazing into the darkness of his own country.« The community of characters which surrounds Patrick, continues to live its own drama, without him. His role is a different one: not that of participant, but rather that of observer.

As the lives of others and the stories which lay behind them begin to fill Patrick's unbetrayed landscape with revealed meaning, they inadvertently give structure to his own life-story. Not only does he come to realize that he is »the sum of all he had been since he was that boy in the snow woods«, ⁸ but also that his »own life was no longer a single story but part of a mural...« He sees the interconnectedness of all the lives as a »wondrous night web«; as history in which fact and fiction are indivisible. Patrick, like the author himself, finds, selects and brings together all the fragments and shapes them into a story that shows him how he has been sewn into history. The mural of a particular moment in the history of Toronto came into existence when, to use the narrator's words, »the detritus and chaos of the age was aligned«. ⁹

In the Skin of a Lion, like Ondaatje's previous body of work, is an amalgam of historical and invented material. It interweaves actual personalities with fictional characters which are, however, unlike in some of his other works, situated within an actual, geographically accurate setting. And like his other work, *In the Skin of a Lion* is self-reflexive. The reader is continually let into the text, where he becomes a witness to the creative process. Most important, this novel reiterates Ondaatje's view of history as a multi-valent act of re-imagining the past. Every age invents the past anew and every generation of writers gives it a fresh interpretive meaning. Ondaatje's

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 145.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 152.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 143.

generation distrusts 'official' histories, not only because they have the tendency to reduce it to one-dimensionality. In such histories, people behind events are condemned to oblivion. Their stories would contaminate the purity of the main plot, take away the reliability of the document. Only through art can the past come alive again. And only the best art, as Ondaatje' narrator tells us, can realign chaos to suggest both the chaos and order it will become.«

With *In the Skin of a Lion* Ondaatje has not only expanded the literary map of Canada, but has also acknowledged the effect of the spirit of place on his imagination. Ondaatje's Toronto is now a part of our imaginative landscape.

*Tine Kurent*OM MANI PADME HUM, PLATONSKA DUŠA, TAO IN GRŠKI KRIŽ
SO ARHITEKTURNA SREDSTVA

Študija prikaže vlogo oktagrama v zgodovini arhitekture. Oktagram je moderno evropsko ime za OM MANI PADME HUM, to je Dragulj in lotos, kar je dober izraz za oktagram. Oktagram je najprej opisan v platonski duši veselja, je analogen kitajskemu Tao, ter se javlja že v rimski arhitekturi ter urbanizmu (Vitruvius), kot tudi v orientu. V srednjem veku najdemo oktagram prikazan v »grškem križu«.

UDK 860.09:929 Cervantes Saavedra M. d.

Ludovik Osterc

KULTURA CERVANTESA

O Cervantesu vladajo v literarnih zgodovinah zelo protislovna mnenja, često z izrazito negativnimi podtoni: prikazuje se ga kot izraz svoje dobe, kot neizobraženega človeka, ali kot podzavestnega genija. V resnici pa je bil Cervantes za svojo dobo izjemno izobražen. Poleg klasičnih jezikov in književnosti je obvladal več sodobnih jezikov (turško, arabsko, italijansko) ali pa jih je vsaj delno poznal. Temeljito je poznal evropsko srednjeveško književnost in literarna gibanja svoje dobe. Toda globoko humanistični in preporodni značaj njegovega dela je že v njegovem času motil konzervativne kroge, ki so proti njemu poskušali nastopati z molkom, z obtožbami krivoverstva, krivili so ga, da skuša smešiti viteški roman, skušali so okrniti njegov tekst ali pa ga osmešiti s parodijami; kasneje pa so se literarni kritiki pred njegovo vsebino zatekali v čisto estetiko. Toda vsi ti poskusi niso mogli zadušiti resničnega pomena Cervantesovega dela.

UDK 860 Cervantes Saavedra M. d. 7 Las dos doncellas .06

Stanislav Zimic

LAS DOS DONCELLAS: OČETJE IN SINOV

Moderni kritiki povečini negativno ocenjujejo Cervantesovo novelo *Dve dekleti* (Las dos doncellas). Vendar se novela odlikuje po svojih likih ter socialnih in zgodovinskih karakterizacijah. Značilna zanjo je neverjetnost njene pripovedi, ki stoji v nasprotju z nazorom Cervantesa, da bralci literarnega dela ne morejo uživati, če nima stika z realnostjo. V bistvu Cervantesova novela razkriva način mišljenja ljudi, v njej imajo prednost dialogi pred peripetijami epizod. Kritiki so primerjali zgradbo te novele s strukturo gledaliških iger. S tem, ko avtor konfrontira določene vrednote, opozarja na socialne probleme. V tem tekstu gre za probleme ljubezenskega trikotnika med junakom in njegovima dvema »zaročen-kama«. Literarna kritika je doslej domnevala, da je delo nastalo pod vplivom sodobne italijanske književnosti; v resnici pa je prvi znani primer tipične španske pripovedi, imenovane novela cortesana.

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

Janez Stanonik

PISMA MARKA ANTONIJA KAPPUSA IZ KOLONIJALNE AMERIKE IV

Študija objavlja Kappusovo pismo iz Matapeja v Sonori iz l. 1699, ki je sicer že izšlo l. 1728 v knjigi Stöckleina *Der neue Welt-bott*, a po tem datumu še ni bilo nemškega ponatiska ali angleškega prevoda in je v ameriških knjižnicah v glavnem nedostopno spričo zgodnjega datuma njegove objave. V slovenskem prevodu je izšlo večkrat od druge polovice preteklega stoletja dalje. Kappus je bil sicer že zgodaj znan v Sloveniji zaradi svoje korespondence, toda vedenje o njej je bilo zelo skromno in v veliki meri napačno. Navedbo Kappusa najdemo že pri Kappusovem sodobniku Janezu Juriju Dolničarju (Thalnitscher) ter nato pri Marku Pohlinu in Erbergu. Šele v dvajsetem stoletju se javlja vedno več konkretnih informacij o Kappusu kot prvem slovenskem ustvarjalcu književnosti v Ameriki. Citirano pismo prinaša zanimive podatke o življenjskih pogojih v Matapeju, ki jih študija podrobneje analizira.

Igor Maver

Z BREGOV ALBIONA: POEZIJA LORDA BYRONA V SLOVENSKIH PREVODIH
DO L. 1945

Vpliv Byrona se javlja v Sloveniji že v prvi polovici XIX. stol. ter postane zelo pomemben v drugi polovici. Zgodnji slovenski prevodi Byrona imajo visoko umetniško vrednost ter predstavljajo pomemben prispevek k slovenski romantiki. Študija obravnava prvenstveno prevode Prešerna (*Parizina*, 1833), Frana Jeriša (*Hebrejske melodije*, 1852), Koseskega (*Mazeppa*, 1868), Stritarjev spor s Koseskim o tem prevodu, ter manjše prevode Branka Flegeriša ter Griše Koritnika.

UDK 82.01.03

Meta Grosman

ORIGINAL IN PREVOD IZ PERSPEKTIVE BRALCEV

Razlika odziva bralcev na tekst v originalu ali prevodu temelji že na različnostih jezikov kot tudi na vlogi prevajalca, ki skuša na eni strani ostati čim bolj zvest originalu, na drugi strani pa se približevati zahtevam bralcev svojega prevoda. Sedanja analiza temelji na raziskavah odgovorov 122 bralcev. Raziskave so lažje in dajejo jasnejše rezultate pri poeziji radi konciznosti in metaforičnosti pesniškega jezika. Proučevanje Menartovega prevoda Shakespearovih sonetov je pokazalo, da ima Menartov prevod manj sugestivne sile kot original. Pri proznih delih so podobne analize težje, kot primer je bil vzet roman Jane Austen *Pride and Prejudice* v prevodu Majde Stanovnikove. Problem se tu javlja že pri neadekvatnosti prevajanja angleških nazivov v slovenščino. Tovrstne analize so lahko koristne tudi pri proučevanju vezi med različnimi kulturami ter posebnosti raznih jezikov.

UDK 820(73) Adamič L. 7 The eagle and the roots .09

Janja Žitnik

KONČNA REDAKCIJA DELA OREL IN KORENINE LOUISA ADAMIČA

V prispevku predstavi avtorica glavne rezultate svojega magistrskega dela »Geneza Adamičeve knjige *Orel in korenine*. Analiza končne redakcije«. Delo je rezultat podrobne primerjave med rokopisom in objavljeno različico besedila v ameriški izdaji. Z ugotovitvijo, da je Louis Adamič izvrstno obvladal angleško slovnico, pravopis in besedišče, podprto z analizo jezikovnih popravkov, ki sta jih napravila urednika Stella Adamič in Timothy Seldes in ki so se v veliki meri izkazali za nepotrebne, avtorica ovrže neosnovano mnenje nekaterih raziskovalcev, češ da Adamič ni obvladal angleščine in da je za kvaliteto jezika v njegovih objavljenih delih poskrbela njegova žena. S tematskim pregledom pasusov in poglavij, ki sta jih urednika izločila iz objave, nas prispevek opozori zlasti na pomen obsežnega neobjavljenega poglavja »Igra šaha med potresom«, v katerem avtor spregovori o razmerah v ZDA v času korejske vojne in McCarthyjevega boja proti ameriški levici.

UDK 820(71).09:929 Ondaatje M.

Branko Gorjup

MICHAEL ONDAATJE IN NJEGOVO PONOVO ODKRITJE SOCIALNIH IN
KULTURNIH MITOV: V KOŽI LEVA

V delih Michaela Ondaatjeja Kanada ne vzbuja domišljije avtorja, čeprav si jo je izbral za svoj dom. Zato je težko vključiti njegova dela v kanadsko literarno tradicijo. Njegovi romani se odvijajo nekje med realnostjo in fikcijo. Po njegovem mnenju je tudi zgodovina fikcija, ki si jo vsaka generacija na novo ustvari. To pride do izraza v njegovem biografskem romanu *Coming Through Slaughter*, v katerem prikaže življenje Boldena, jazzovskega glasbenika iz New Orleansa ob koncu preteklega stoletja. V kanadsko področje se je Ondaatje vključil s svojim romanom *In the Skin of a Lion*, v katerem poda socialno zgodovino Toronta, in njegov svet priseljencev iz Evrope kot tudi zgodovinske osebe, ki so bile pomembne za razvoj Toronta.

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